The Role of Concert Dress in the Performances of Solo Female Classical Instrumentalists

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Abstract

This thesis examines the role of concert dress of solo female instrumentalists performing within the Western classical tradition. Previous studies of the effect of visual information in performance have largely focussed on the role of expressive body movement, or have treated concert dress as a confounding variable in the study of other visual factors. The effect of specific styles of dress in performance has not been previously researched. However, some have argued that there is a dominant beauty culture within classical performance, which may have a negative effect on perceptions of female performers' musical abilities. An analysis of promotional images of performers and images of soloists playing, suggests that this dominance of beauty culture exists only in explicitly promotional images of performers.

Four empirical studies were carried out to investigate the role of concert dress in performance from both performer production and audience reception points of view. Controlled experimental designs were used to take measures of observers' perceptions of performance quality and appropriateness of performers' body movement style as a result of concert dress. Semi-structured interviews were used to gather data on factors affecting performers' choice of concert dress and individual differences between performers.

Findings suggest that style of concert dress and expressive body movement style have a significant effect on observer perceptions of performance quality. Performers were shown to behave highly consistently in their choice of concert dress and to use it to meet the practicalities of performance, as a tool for social communication and to help them mentally prepare for performance. The results suggest that practical, social and psychological factors influence performers' choice of concert dress and audience perceptions of performance due to dress. Models of the Spheres of Influence on Performers' Choice of Concert Dress and the Spheres of Influence of Audience Perceptions of Performance Due to Dress are proposed to explain the complex role of female soloists' concert dress in classical performance.

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"Canadian violinist Lara St. John was riveting as the focal point of the evening's first half... Wearing a floor-length red satin dress, St. John added layers of emotive impact by simply taking a step forward, tossing her long blond hair or staring intently at the conductor as the music reached its peaks." Miller (2006)

This extract from a concert review is revealing of a dominant reception ideology of classical performance in which specific features of the soloist's concert dress and appearance are central to how the performance is received and understood by the audience. In this review the soloist is the focus of the critic's attention and the visual spectacle of the soloist is an integral part of the performance. Within contemporary classical performance men and women's dress codes differ in style and it is explicitly feminine aspects of this soloist's appearance that are cited in this review as contributing to performance.

This extract from a concert review reveals that the concert dress and appearance of female solo instrumentalists performing within the Western classical tradition have the potential to affect how their performance is received. This has ramifications for performers and audience members alike. For performers, their choice of concert dress may have an impact on audience perceptions of performance while audience members' perceptions of performance may be influenced by a soloist's attire. This shapes the meanings and values of classical music. For these reasons, the role of concert dress in performances by female solo instrumentalists is worthy of exploration. This introductory chapter examines the historical and cultural context of Western classical art music and looks in detail at the origins of rituals associated with this performance style and the ramifications they have for performing soloists' appearance today. Following this, research questions are identified for further investigation and the research approach is discussed in detail.

1.1 Introduction

1.1.1 The Role of the Soloist in Performance

Concert Practices in Contemporary Classical Performance

In order to fully appreciate the role of concert dress in performance, it is necessary to understand the context within which it exists and plays a part. The following description of classical concert behaviour comes from an online pamphlet by the record company Naxos and aims to help those unfamiliar with classical performances feel at ease in attending concerts.

> "In an orchestra, the leader of the violin section is called the concertmaster. Often the concertmaster stays backstage until the rest of the orchestra is ready to begin. Then the concertmaster comes onstage and takes a bow as the audience claps. The concertmaster turns to the orchestra, a tuning note is sounded, and the musicians tune their instruments. The audience should stay quiet during tuning. Next the conductor comes onstage. As the audience applauds, the conductor may invite the orchestra to stand up to share in the applause. The conductor shakes hands with the concertmaster as representative of the orchestra. As the players sit back down, the conductor turns toward them (away from the audience), and begins the music. You won't see the front of the conductor again until the first piece is over. That may be a short time, or it may be more than an hour. The music may start and stop a few times within one piece of music, but when the whole piece is over, the audience claps, and the conductor turns toward the audience to accept the applause. Then the conductor leaves the stage. As long as the applause keeps going, the conductor will keep coming back onto the stage to bow and receive the applause. He or she may ask the orchestra or individual players to stand to share the applause... If there is a featured soloist, he or she will walk onstage with the conductor, and you might notice the conductor staying a bit more in the background during the applause, allowing the soloist to be the focus of the audience's attention." Naxos [online].

What is not described explicitly in the account by Naxos is the fact that during performance audience members are expected to listen silently and attentively to a performance without creating noise of any kind; the audience's applause at the end of a piece is the only audible appreciation that it is considered appropriate for them to make. Another element of performance that the Naxos concert scenario does not explore fully is the seating arrangement of the audience. The seating plan of Sheffield's City Hall, the venue for the Sheffield International Concert Season, is illustrated in Figure 1.1; this demonstrates that seating in the auditorium is arranged in rows, all of which focus upon a raised stage. It is this focal point within which musicians appear, with any soloist stood at the front.
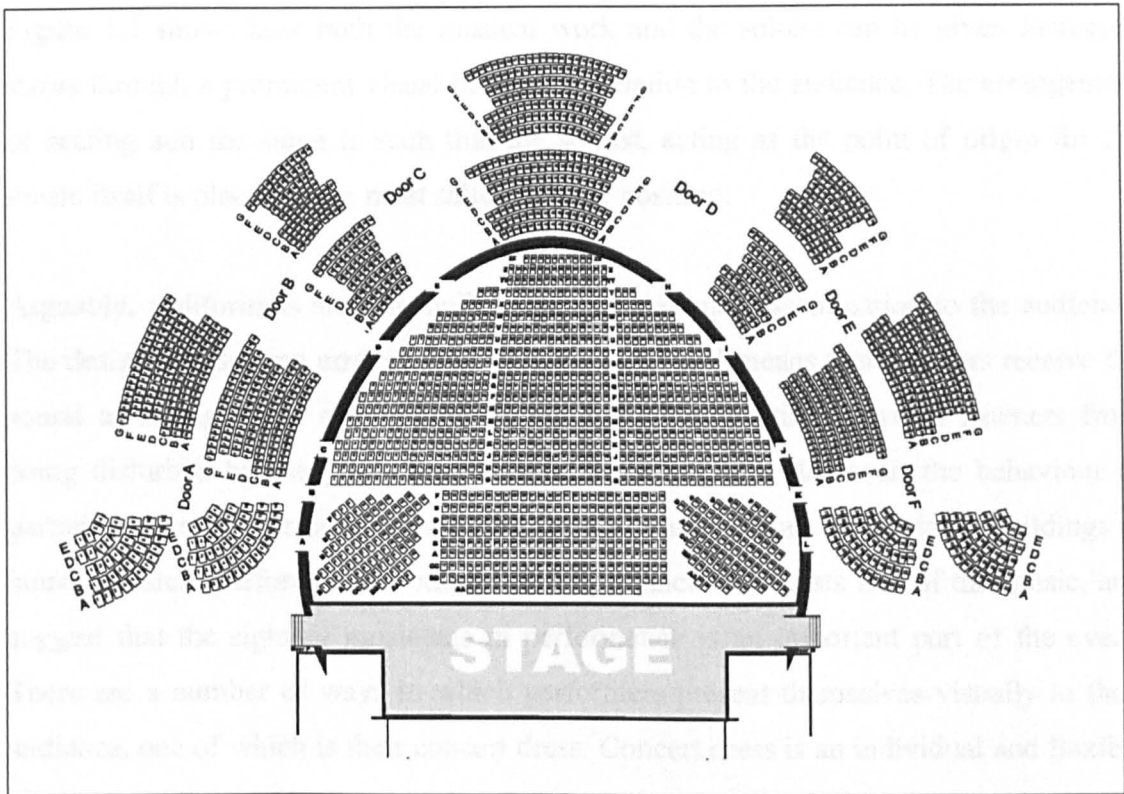
Figure 1.1 The seating arrangement in the auditorium of Sheffield's City Hall (Sheffield City Hall [online])

In the scenario detailed above, there are a number of features of the behaviour exhibited by both audience members and performers that place the soloist at the centre of attention of every participant in the musical process. The soloist enters the stage only after other instrumentalists have tuned their instruments and are ready to begin performing. Therefore the tuning of the orchestra does not split the audience's attention between orchestral musicians and the soloist, as the soloist has yet to enter the stage. The soloist enters alone or accompanied by the conductor, which distinguishes them from other musicians and confirms that they are of higher status than orchestral musicians in the musical proceedings. This is reinforced by the audience's applause for the soloist and the fact that the conductor steps back from an otherwise prominent position in order to direct attention towards the performer. In addition to the prominence afforded to the soloist in classical performance, the music itself is given priority. In the description above, audience members clap at the close of a piece and not at the pauses between movements referred to as 'starts and stops'. This allows a whole piece to be performed uninterrupted and for the audience and the musicians' concentration to remain unbroken throughout. During the performance the audience remain silent so as to focus entirely on the music. The illustration of the traditional concert hall as shown in

Figure 1.1 shows how both the musical work and the soloist can be given increased status through a prominent visual position in relation to the audience. The arrangement of seating and the stage is such that the soloist, acting as the point of origin for the music itself is placed in the most salient visible position.

Arguably, auditoriums are also built to prioritise sound dissemination to the audience. The design and seating arrangement of the concert hall means that listeners receive the sound as strongly and clearly as possible and tiered seating prevents listeners from being disturbed by the presence of others (Small, 1998). However, the behaviour of participants in the performance situation, and the architecture of specialist buildings to house classical performance, confirm the importance of soloists and of the music, and suggest that the sight of musicians in performance is an important part of the event. There are a number of ways in which performers present themselves visually to their audience, one of which is their concert dress. Concert dress is an individual and flexible component of a soloist's appearance, but nevertheless follows strict conventions. Male performers almost exclusively wear black tie and dinner jacket in performance; more recently less conservative musicians attempting to make the format of classical performance more informal have altered their dress code to wear open-neck black or coloured shirts. However, these groups are still very much in the minority. Female soloists are not bound by so strict a dress code as male performers and it is the tradition for female soloists to wear full length coloured evening gowns in performance. In addition to the degree of personal choice afforded to female soloists in their dress, their visual prominence on stage raises the question of the effect that a female soloist's concert dress has on performance. In order to answer this question it is necessary to examine the social position of the soloist and their body within Western classical music and explore approaches to female classical soloists' concert dress. A fuller understanding of these issues will shed light on the direction that research should take into the effect that a female soloist's concert dress has on their own performance and its reception by an audience.

The roles, statuses and behaviours of musicians and audience members in a classical concert situation that were described above do not appear remarkable to those with experience of concert etiquette of this genre of music. However, as Cook (1998a) points out, it is merely because these processes are built into our language and culture that they are taken for granted and we forget that they are in fact a product of human

construction. These assumptions define a soloist's role in performance and in order to fully understand their role and the potential role of their concert dress it is necessary to examine how and why these assumptions developed.

Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries musical understanding referred to and was regulated by authorities such as the church and royal courts. Due to the rise in aesthetic or 'fine' arts that had been witnessed from the mid-18th century it became less expected that music convey some explicit moral or religious meaning by the end of the 18th century. Music began to emerge as a fine art but required an enduring product that would make it comparable with other fine arts such as sculpture and painting. Nicholas Cook (1998a) suggests that this permanence was achieved with the development of the concept of the musical 'work', which transformed music from 'an activity or experience that fades into the past as soon as it is over' (Cook, 1998a: 15) into a concrete object. This idea is substantiated in Lydia Goehr's (1992) *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works* in which she details the rise of the work-concept in the 18th century. This became the focus and goal for music-making and as such, the occasion and activity of performance became subordinate to the musical work. The dominance of the work was intensified by what she calls the 'separability principle' whereby it became common to speak of the arts as "separated completely from the world of the ordinary, mundane and everyday" (Goehr, 1992: 157). Musical meaning underwent a shift in representation from imitating particulars such as nature or the divine to embodying and expressing the transcendent. Where music had previously been a vehicle for establishments such as the church or court to convey their values, it now became increasingly autonomous as music's meaning came to reside in its ability to express emotion, the soul and otherworldly concerns in their most general forms. As the text accompanying vocal music was semantically specific, purely instrumental music became increasingly integral to expressing these otherworldly concerns. Around this time public attitudes began to shift with regard to the age of the music being performed and it was thought that the greatest music may not be that of modern composers and may have already been written. Great works were seen as transcending temporal barriers, which would allow them to continue to be performed hundreds of years after their composition.

The change in the function of music from a tool of the church to an autonomous art form also brought about changes in the status and roles of musical personnel involved in performance. In the 19th century, Beethoven broke new ground by refusing to accept a

secure salaried position, allowing him to compose music in a style of his choice without reference to an outside agency. Other composers adopted this method of working and it became increasingly difficult and less acceptable for patrons to tamper with the creative content of musicians' works as composers themselves became autonomous. The status of the composer changed from that of a skilled labourer in the service of an institution to that of author and 'genius' working independently. Goehr (1992) argues that this elevated status associated composers with god-like traits that helped to strengthen the transcendent quality of their music, and which Cook (1998a) asserts transformed the composer into a source of authority. The elevation of the composer and their works diminished the status of the soloist and lead to the value of performance being reduced to an imperfect and approximate representation of a work (Lawson, 2002). The subordinate status of the performer also lessened their claim to a work; according to Said (1991) performers' only rights to the music were won by their specialised training in interpretation and not their ability to create similar works themselves. The result is that performers are credited with no contribution to musical meaning in their own right, as this has been pre-determined in the composer's writing of the work (Small, 1998). In this formulation, performers can clarify or obstruct meaning, they can present a perceptive or an insensitive interpretation, but their role is fundamentally passive: to convey the composer's meaning to members of the audience. Cook (1998a) suggests that the passive role that performers play has lead to the belief that the most skilled performers are those of whom an audience is unaware. This perspective is indeed borne out by the testimony of pianist, Susan Tomes. In her diary of experiences performing with chamber groups *Domus* and *The Floristan Trio* she describes as a positive accomplishment those performers who have "the knack of making themselves 'disappear' so that one seems to be hearing just Schubert, not so-and-so playing Schubert" (Tomes, 2004: 163). Tomes describes this clarity of interpretation as the performer "subtracting themselves from the situation" (Tomes, 2004: 164) and so it is that performers are recognised as reaching the pinnacle of their art as specialised interpreters by becoming entirely transparent in performance.

Another explanation for the subordination of the performer to the composer is the traditional mind/body dualism. Traditionally, activities have been linked to either the mind or the body, with mental capacities given higher status than physical ones by Western culture. Therefore, in musical performance the physical creativity of the soloist is associated with the body and seen as less prestigious than the mental creativity of the

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composer in writing the work. This may have been a contributing factor to the lower status of the performer in comparison with the composer.

The rise of the work-concept and associated development in the statuses of performer and composers led to changes in the way that music was performed and staged, many of which continue today. The manner in which a work was staged was crucial to its acceptance as an object of fine art (Goehr, 1992) and Said (1991) has stressed the "social abnormality of the concert ritual itself" calling it an "extreme event, beyond the everyday" (Said, 1991: 17). The performance of musical works, within specially constructed concert halls, following a rigidly proscribed behavioural routine does nothing but strengthen music's transcendent properties by separating the experience of concert-going from any worldly or mundane activity. In order to maintain the dominance of the musical work, it was necessary for it to occupy a position of prominence in performance; this led to the work, embodied by the performer, taking a physically prominent position raised on a stage at the front of the hall. The work was given greater prominence still by the expectation of silence during performance, which showed respect for the work but also allowed for personal contemplation of the music by the audience. The aims of total concentration on the work by the audience could certainly be realised within the bounds of the concert hall. In her description of listening within a traditional setting in comparison with the portable geodesic dome in which her ensemble habitually performed, Susan Tomes states: "Once inside… I certainly appreciate the peaceful warm surroundings, and find that I can concentrate on a superb performance without cold, noise, movement… and I felt we could listen somehow more purely." (Tomes, 2004: 45). It seems that the concert practices that are familiar to classical audiences and the status of musical participants today are the product of cultural constructions designed to reflect the prominence of the musical work and to reinforce music's values of transcendence and high art.

Musicological Perspectives on Performance

It was stated above that the apparent naturalness of the classical performance ritual, and the hierarchy of its participants, is due to the fact that these behaviours have become built into our language and culture and are now taken for granted (Cook, 1998a). Recently, musicologists have challenged the traditional production-based approach to music and offered a reception-based alternative. This perspective removes the power

residing in the concept of the masterwork, whose value is intrinsic and is created and reproduced by musicians alone, and replaces it with the premise that anyone involved in the activity of music-making be they listener, performer or composer is involved in interpreting the music. According to Cook (1998a) a reception-based approach to music prevents the exclusivity of traditional classical aesthetics, which fail to recognise the non-musically trained listener as a "stakeholder" in performance (Cook, 1998a: 78). By contrast the reception-based approach is entirely *in*clusive and "says that we can best understand music by being in the middle of it" (Cook, 1998a: 80). This prevents prescriptive judgements being made about to what and how we ought to listen. However, Cook (1998a: 80) does point out that a balance between product- and reception-based approaches should be struck so that "what there is to hear determines what people want to hear" and vice versa. In other words, people need a range of 'products' or works to select from in order to have something to listen to, but the individuals involved in listening should have a voice in determining the style of the products that are created.

The value of such a perspective, highlighting a participatory approach to music is shared precisely by Christopher Small. Small (1998) coined the verb *to music*, which he defined as:

> "to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance, or by dancing" (Small, 1998: 9).

From this point of view musical performance is a pursuit in which people actively take part: those involved in the creation of meaning are not limited to a composer and his or her audience, but to every individual that engages in the performance process. Small (1998) believes that music outside of performance is merely an abstraction of the action, and he likens music to the concept of good and evil. The sole means by which good and evil can come into being is through the good and evil deeds of individuals: similarly, music only exists through action. Outside of the context of performance music is merely an abstraction. If music must be realised in performance in order to exist, then the traditional view of performance as an inaccurate representation of a work and the impotency of the performer in creating meaning is redundant. Instead, the performer transforms the score in to a unique musical event and it is the score that becomes a representation of the music.

The traditional view of performance as a one-way channel of communication between composer to audience via the performer relies on the unrealistic view that music takes place in a social vacuum (Small, 1998). The implications of socio-cultural factors on the reception of performance are recognised in Davidson's (1997) model, shown below, which details a complex pattern of interactions between performers and audience members (Figure 1.2).
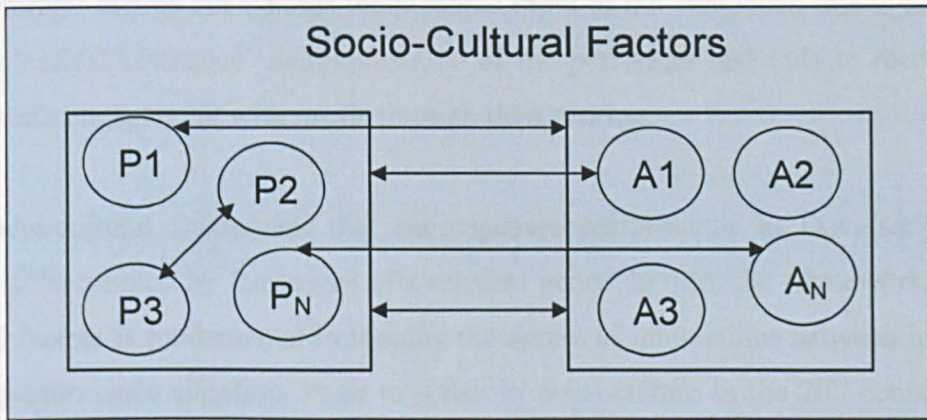
Figure 1.2 Davidson's (1997) model showing the social elements in music performance. Within a framework of socio-cultural factors, interactions between performers (P) and audience members (A) continually take place.

Within a framework of socio-cultural factors, such as historical musical practices and performance etiquette, interactions between individuals in the concert situation take place. There are interactions between performers (P1-PN) and audience members (A1-AN), inter-performer (P1-P2-P3 etc.), and inter-audience (A1-A2-A3 etc.) interactions. These interactions occur at both individual (A1-P1), group, and a combination of individual and group levels. For example, a soloist interacts with the orchestra (P1- PN), the audience (P1- AN), but also with individual members of the audience (P1- A1). This model demonstrates the varied and multi-level relationships that occur in performance and supports Small's (1998) position that there is not merely a linear relationship between performer and audience, but a multifarious network of interactions involved in creating and receiving music. In this situation power is removed from the musical work, as it becomes only one of a number of socio-cultural factors that shape the performance event. However, although Davidson's (1997) model highlights a reception based approach to music, there is no specific representation of the music being performed. This model does not show explicitly that participants in the musical performance are

interacting as a result of a musical stimulus. If every individual in the performance situation is involved in interpreting the music through their own involvement with it (Cook, 1998a) then the music should remain a priority within the performance setting. Additionally, Small's (1998) definition of musicking encompassed those who engaged with performance by providing material to be performed but Davidson's model is limited by failing to recognise the influence of the composer as an individual. She allows the composer's product or 'work' to be considered as one among a number of socio-cultural factors but ignores the personal input of the composer; this is tantamount to the classical aesthetics' marginalisation of the performer and fails to recognise the composer's engagement with music through their writing.

The socio-cultural framework that encompasses performance in Davidson's (1997) model is determined by the values of a musical genre. In turn, the framework of socio-cultural factors is fundamental in shaping the nature of interactions between individuals in the performance situation. Prior to a rise in mass culture in the 20th century (Frith, 1996) and an acceptance of commodity form, genres of music fell into distinct categories (Middleton, 2001). A definite split was seen between popular and classical music: pop was portrayed as a physical art form, enjoyed by moving to the music and representing modernity. Classical music by comparison was the antithesis of this, being valued as a serious, mental activity (Frith, 1996) which prized tradition and formality. Therefore the values of a genre determine the socio-cultural climate of its performance, which in turn determines the nature of the interactions between participants in performance both with the music and with each other. A genre's values have a distinct effect on the classical concert situation as we know it today: performers wear formal attire, greet the audience with a bow, and sit or stand in place while performing. The social etiquette of classical music has remained unchanged for generations; in conjunction with the formality of the occasion this indicates a permanence that reinforces values of temporal transcendence and intellectualism in classical music and maintains its status as a fine or high art form. In popular music the audience shows engagement with the music by using their bodies to dance and their voices to sing along; this is reflective of the values of pop music which values music by its use rather than its internal features (Frith, 1996). The performance environment differs greatly according to genre and the values of each genre determine requirements made of participants both in terms of production and reception.

According to Julian Johnson (2002) changes in classical music practices have less to do with music itself and more to do with changes in other cultural values and practices. It is perhaps not surprising then, that following the rise in mass culture in the 20th century there evolved a high culture diluted for mass sales and consumption, also known as 'mid-cult' (Frith, 1996). The result of this was a blurring of boundaries between classical and pop genres that was especially apparent at an aesthetic level (Middleton, 2001). Attempting to categorise artists using long-stable information found in dress, appearance and image proved increasingly difficult as artists pushed the boundaries of traditional notions of performers of their genre. It is plausible that even for artists who remain firmly in the classical tradition they are susceptible to outside influences from other genres. For some classical performers the changes in musical practices in the area of mid-cult may have been an impetus for change in practice within the classical arena. For Susan Tomes, this extended further than individual presentation and pushed the boundaries of how and where music was presented. In touring in a geodesic dome with the chamber group *Domus*, Tomes (2004) reported that she sought to remove what she perceived as obstacles to the audiences' ability to bond with the music by taking away the alienating elements of formal concerts. These elements included a lack of integration between performers and audience members after performances, formal seating and applauding rituals. However, she believes that the dome project ended because the music that was being performed "was maybe not best served by a fun atmosphere and a light-hearted presentation" and that the informality in the presentation of musical works was "betraying their real importance and perhaps making it harder for the audience to sense their true dimensions" (Tomes, 2004: 8). Participants' reception of a performance may be tied closely to the values of the musical genre; removing the music from its traditional surroundings may remove part of the means by which it is understood. The success of attempts to push the boundaries of a genre of musical performance may be jeopardised as values associated with a genre of music may not be compatible with all styles of performance. It is possible that the 'work' concept is too deeply ingrained into the performance of classical music and a greater shift in cultural values and practices is needed before such an informal environment as Tomes' can successfully house classical music performance.

Traditional notions of the musical work and the resulting hierarchical position of performers have been shown above to influence the way in which classical music is performed and received. This performance tradition revealed that the performer,

although not traditionally credited with a share in creating musical meaning, is required to play in a place of visual prominence in performance in order to maintain the status of the musical work. However, it may be naïve to adopt the traditional view of musical performance as a channel used solely to communicate a composer's intentions to an audience; recent musicological perspectives give the performer a more central and influential role in performance and as such the visual appearance of performers may play a key role in how their performance is received.

1.1.2 The Role of the Body in Performance

This section looks at ways in which the sight of the soloist's body may influence perceptions of performance. Despite the prominent position that musical works began to occupy in performance during the 19th century, musicians themselves were not always physically the centre of attention. The rise of the work-concept in the 19th century had transformed music from a background activity in establishments such as the church or royal courts into an event worthy of attention in its own right. However, as shown above, this focus on musical works was associated with comparatively low status for performers, whose role in musical creativity was largely ignored. Goehr (1992) states that in order to heighten the prominence of the work references to occasion and activity of performance became subordinate to references of their product, i.e. the work. She believes that this perspective meant that "a work of fine art had to conceal its human origins or its moment of creation." (Goehr, 1992: 161). This created a paradox as the performer was required to be simultaneously visible and hidden: in order for the work to remain the focus of a performance the audience needed something concrete on which to focus their attention, but for music to be perceived as truly transcendent, it must disguise its human origins. This paradox can be seen to exist for performers today, as Susan Tomes speaks of the need for the performer's body to be both visible yet imperceptible. Tomes (2004) describes performers "subtracting themselves from the situation" when she recalls "hearing someone really good, who has the knack of making themselves 'disappear'" (Tomes, 2004: 163), yet she recognises the value to the audience of an obvious presence of the body in performance:

> "your eyes are there to help you while you listen. When you go to a concert, you see *and* hear the player…you add the information you get from seeing to the information you get from listening." (Tomes, 2004: 140)

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According to the work-concept the performer's visually prominent position is a by-product of attracting attention to the work itself, although performers can capitalise on this by using the sight of their bodies as the site of musical sound to communicate with their audience. Musicians can communicate both visually and aurally with their audience and it is taken for granted that Western classical soloists will stand in a place of visual prominence. Musical sound, by its nature and the social construction discussed above, is intangible and ethereal; with the added factor of aural decay, the visual experience of musical production is crucial for both performer and audience in allowing them to locate music in culture and society (Leppert, 1993). The combination of socio-cultural practices are specific to a genre of music and the sight of a performer taking part in these practices is a signal to the audience of the performance tradition within which the performer is operating. This may communicate to the audience a performer's engagement with the performance tradition and consequently its values. Small (1998) posits that it is only through activity that music comes into being and therefore the visual code which functions through the performer's body is vital in transforming music into an embodied experience for an audience. An audience hears the music but they also witness how a performer looks in terms of dress, movement, gesture, and interaction with the audience and other performers. These visual features connect classical music to its values through a shared link with the body. For example, classical performers' formal concert dress signals temporal transcendence, as this is a style of dress no longer worn for the majority of formal occasions today. In the classical tradition musical works achieving temporal transcendence are valued. Formal dress is therefore representative of the value of temporal transcendence in classical music; concert dress is anchored to the body of the performer and as a result, through the body music is connected with its values. This link is communicated to the audience, as they are able to witness it through the visually prominent position of the performer.

Frith (1996) asserts that the body is also an expressive site where musical meaning is created as a performer's internal state is externalised as a body shape or movement; this is then interpreted and given meaning by observers as they make reference to the intention that produced it. A work's formal requirements may be seen as limiting expression in the performer as the body is required to move in specific patterns in order to create musical sound. However, the persona of the musician also sculpts the performance. An artist's shape and exactly how they create the movements superfluous to those required for note production are essential dimensions in live performance and

are ways in which performers can convey their expressive intentions. In addition to creating expressive movements, the body can be a visual cue to the status of the music being performed. The sight of the body in relation to surrounding socio-cultural factors informs the audience of the status of the music in terms of high and low culture. Some socio-cultural practices are associated with the body and their interaction with other factors or other participants in performance can send this message. For example in classical music a performer's adoption of traditional concert behaviours such as wearing formal concert dress, entering and leaving the stage with a bow and receiving applause uses their body to reflect and create formality within the performance situation. Through a combination of social and aesthetic practices, classical musicians maintain the 'high art' status of Classical music.

Frith (1996) believes that musicians' bodies are instruments of their art and therefore the physical creation of music is a representation of the score on another level. This point of view suggests that the body is an important element in performance and one which a performer may make use of alongside their instrument in order to communicate with their audience. In this way musical meaning is created not only by the composer in writing the musical work but also by the performer through their use of the body during performance. Therefore the performer is able to create musical meaning by using their body in addition to using their instrument to convey that which resides in the score.

Frith's (1996) perspective challenges the traditional view of the dominance of the musical work as he does not believe that attention in performance is focussed solely on the music. From Frith's perspective the audience are receiving information from the performer's body movements; as a result their attention must be split between the performer and the music itself. This view also recognises the importance of the soloist in performance: the traditional work-centred view of music placed the performer as subordinate in stature to the composer and their work. However, from Frith's point of view the work and the performer appear on a similar footing as both are seen as creating musical meaning that is communicated to the audience. As the visual aspect of the performer's body is recognised in performance, musical sound is not the only medium of communication between audience and performer. This can be seen as a controversial position to take as it places importance on the body and challenges the traditional dominance of mental processes as the sole means of creating musical meaning.

However, Frith's (1996) view does recognise meaning derived from notes of the score as one representation of the music. This is akin to the combination of production- and reception-based approaches to performance that Cook (1998a) advocated above. The musical product i.e. the work, is valued for providing material to perform and for having a degree of musical meaning; the performer is valued for their creation of another layer of meaning through their expressive movements communicated to the audience. This combination suggests that there are multiple layers of musical meaning in a performance originating from a number of sources, such as the musical work and the performer's body. These sources coalesce to provide a rich source of meaning for the performance.

As well as the shape of the soloist's body during performance the socialisation of their body provides a direct link to the world outside classical music. Only a small percentage of a performer's life is spent on stage in performance; for the remainder they live in the world carrying out both musical and non-musical activities. Their experiences of the world impact upon them and play a part in the formation of their views. Part of this they bring with them to the performance situation and it is expressed through a number of channels such as stage behaviour and choice of concert dress. Formality and attitude to others are subtly indicated by styles of dress (Tseelon, 1995) and before a note is played, the presence of the musician is in itself a spectacle from which much information can be gleaned. As the performer takes the stage they are immediately communicating their values and intentions to their audience.

Sartorial research extends well outside of the field of musicology and shows that clothes are an indicator of social trends but they also convey messages of attitude and intention. From a distance, as in a musical performance, it is possible to gain immediate information on an individual's sex, occupation and social standing among other things (Flugel, 1940). Performers are able to show physical characteristics through their clothes, for example the biological construct of gender may be denoted by a performer's wearing a dress or skirt. However, there is not always a linear relationship between style of dress and physical characteristics as for example it is no longer the case that only men will perform in trousers. In performance, dress is also a method of revealing an individual's social role and may aid the audience in distinguishing between soloists, orchestral players and the conductor on stage. Of course social hierarchy is also delineated by other factors such as the order in which performers take the stage, but

dress remains one method of signalling social status in performance. Also embodied in the images of a performer's dress are the individual's ideas and beliefs (Rubenstein, 2001) as performers communicate both their ideals and their status with their choice of dress. For example, the sight of a female soloist wearing a coloured evening gown suggests that she is both engaged and familiar with the expectations of classical performance and is willing to distinguish herself from orchestral players to highlight her more prominent role in the proceedings. By wearing clothes that signify characteristics appropriate to the performance setting and the performers' role, performers visually cement their approach to their work. Through enculturation both performers and audience members will have expectations of the visual appearance of soloists and conforming to these expectations reinforces stereotypes held by observers of social hierarchy and performer intention.

In a discussion of image and music Cook (1998b) states that "visual image and musical sound circulate indivisibly and are consumed together" (Cook, 1998b: 115). In a musical performance it is plausible that the audience sees a soloist's body and takes on board the attitudes and beliefs that the soloist presents to them through concert dress. The characteristics and beliefs suggested by the concert dress are then associated with the music that the audience hears; both visual and aural media are amalgamated and perceived as a single experience by the audience. The symbiotic nature of this relationship means each has an effect on how the other is received, as visual elements of concert dress may effect perceptions of musical elements of performance and vice versa. Stan Godlovitch (1998) likens the effect on the audience of 'packaging' soloists in performance to that of packaging food products. Using wine as the subject, Godlovitch states that a good wine in the packaging of a poor wine may not receive the full appreciation that it would in its original packaging. Similarly a poor wine in the packaging of a good wine may lead to it being more highly valued than it otherwise would have been. Transferred to the concert situation, a soloist who appears less than appropriately dressed but whose performance is of high quality may find their playing is less well received than if they had appeared more appropriately dressed: negative visual signs may be associated with their aural performance and impact on perceptions of their performance as a whole.

Exactly how visual information is processed by an audience depends on inherited dispositions and previous experiences of the audience (Small, 1998): all individuals

have prior knowledge and experience so will react differently to the same stimulus. Audience members' past experiences of soloists' visual appearance in performance will affect their perceptions of performance quality. Audience members will expect different things from soloists' concert dress and not all members of the audience will make the same judgements and reach the same conclusions; although they may be guided more by some factors than other, such as sound quality, each audience member will react slightly differently because of their individual experiences. However, a performer's body is a vital element in communication of musical meaning to an audience. Through the use of their body that is socialised by dress and gesture a performer can reinforce or contradict what they perceive to be the expectations of their audience and create a level of musical meaning in their own right.

1.1.3 Female Soloists' Concert Dress and Appearance

It was shown above that men and women have different social practices of concert dress. As women have a less strict dress code (Chapkiss, 1988) and are under greater pressure than men to conform to stereotypes of dress and physical appearance (Bartky, 1990), female soloists are the focus of this thesis. The following section examines in greater detail the role of women's concert dress in performance.

Gender must be central to any discussion of the body, not least because the body is central to the meaning of gender (Frith, 1996). Sexual differences are read from physical differences, for example the presence of breasts denotes a woman. However, biological differences such as the presence or absence of breasts are coded culturally into different expectations of the body. These expectations have little if anything to do with biology and are cultural constructions of how a body should behave. Society's reaction to and expectations of gendered bodies in performance has a profound effect on their reception and in light of this, the degree to which soloists choose to highlight their gender and sexuality in performance will have a bearing on how their music is both received and perceived.

In an essay discussing the increasing dominance of beauty culture in Western classical music, Marcia Citron (2004) states that female sexuality and allure is placed front and centre in performance, and female classical artists now dress in a way that we associate

with pop stars. This position suggests that following the emergence of mid-cult, described above, a blurring of boundaries between the styles of appearance of pop and classical artists has led to changes in female artists' projected image. Citron suggests that even if a female performer's repertoire consists of traditional works, her image may cross over into a less formal and more body-focussed style of dress. She cites performers such as the Eroica Trio for their "drop-dead gowns, sexy and low cut" (2004; p. 49) and violinist Lara St. John who posed nude for her album of Bach works for solo violin. That images such as these are common currency is undeniable, as Figures 1.3 and 1.4 demonstrate; however it must be borne in mind that both figures are promotional shots of performers that are carefully constructed to project a specific image of an artist and their music.

Figure 1.3 The Eroica Trio (Eroica Trio [online]).
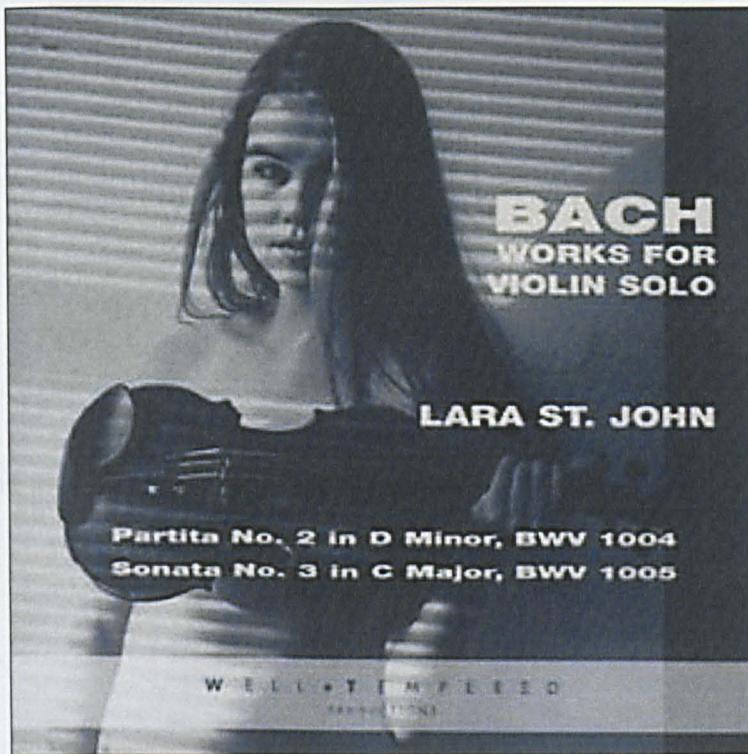
Figure 1.4 The album cover of Lara St. John, Bach: works for solo violin (Lara St John [online]).

A focus on women's bodies in promotional material is not confined to the representation of female musicians, indeed it is prevalent throughout Western culture. Figures 1.5 and 1.6 show promotional material of the tennis player, Anna Kournikova, and the actor, Scarlett Johansson. The degree of their bodies that their dress reveals, confirms that a focus on women's bodies is now a socially accepted way of portraying women. There is empirical research to support this observation as Reichert and Carpenter (2004) found women's dress in marketing material has become significantly more body-focussed and sexually explicit since the 1980s.
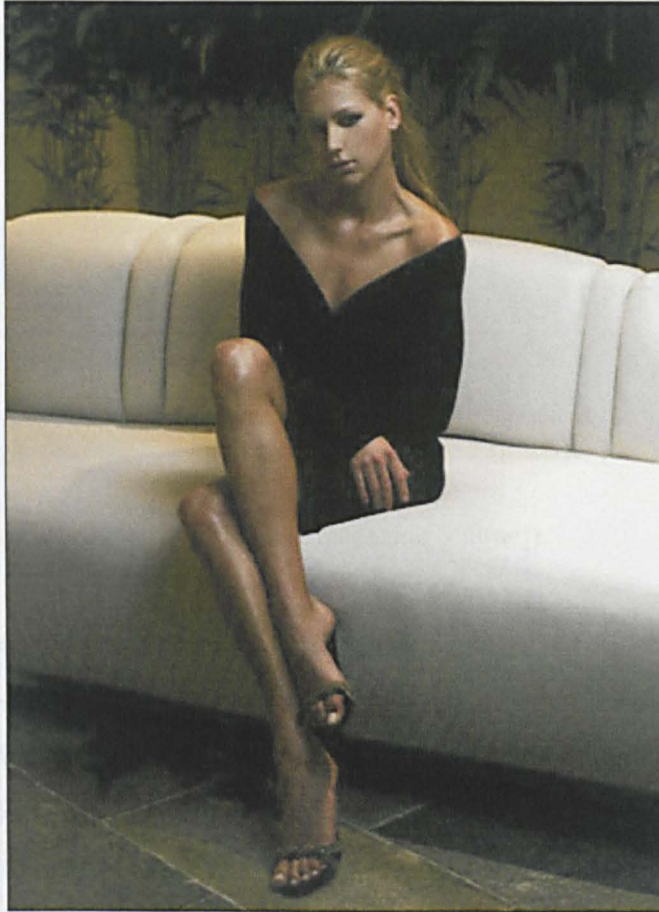
Figure 1.5 Tennis player, Anna Kournikova (GQ Magazine [online]).

Figure 1.6 Actor, Scarlett Johansson (Esquire Magazine [online]).

Cook (1998a) describes record companies as being engaged in brand marketing and they now market classical performers in a way that was previously reserved for popular artists. Popular artists are marketed in such a way that their image provides visual cues that link them to their target area of the market, while at the same time allowing them to remain visually distinct from other artists within the same field. In her investigation of the images of popular girl groups, Cyrus (2003) found that each group dressed with a slightly different style to other girl groups in order to remain distinct. This can be seen by comparing the style of dress of the Eroica Trio (Figure 1.3) with that of violinist, Lisa Batiashvili in Figure 1.7. Both members of the Eroica Trio and Batiashvili wear black dresses, but the styles of dress are different enough to make a distinction between the artists. An explanation of why these popular marketing strategies have been applied to classical performers is given by Julian Johnson (2002) who believes that music has been turned into a capitalist commodity, the accompanying value system of which prizes newness in order to create openings in the market and encourage sales. In terms of performers' appearance through concert dress, modern or body-focussed dress keeps

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the performer (and their music by extension) new and therefore saleable. These promotional images of artists in contemporary dress are used to promote the products of their art such as CDs and tickets to concert performances and are frequently found on websites advertising these products, in specialist magazines and accompanying box office literature from performance venues. In disseminating such carefully constructed images that show a contemporary style of dress, a version of the performer is projected that will help them to seem relevant in the modern world and will resonate with their target audience to attract consumers in greater numbers.

Figure 1.7 Violinist, Lisa Batiashvili (Lisa Batiashvili [online])

The practice of using constructed visual images for the purposes of promotion is further evidence of musical performance's social nature and reinforces the importance of the body and of dress in communicating musical ideals. The examination of such constructed images can reveal a great deal about how female performers' bodies are used to portray both personal characteristics and an approach to their music. Cook (1998b) investigated the value of iconography in music by deconstructing images from record sleeves across the 20th century. He found the presentation of artists to contribute to musical meaning and to anchor aesthetic views of the music. The image of the

performer gives the music human form through the body itself. Cook's analysis detailed the subtle ways in which record companies manipulate the image of their artists to encourage an aura of authority and therefore make their interpretation of the musical work more valid. Cook showed that the 1950s singer, Kathleen Ferrier was frequently depicted in formal evening dress, holding a score and looking away from the camera (Figure 1.8). The remoteness of this image encouraged the view of her as an icon, while her gaze into the distance reinforced the classical value of transcendence. The inclusion of elements of the performance, such as the evening dress and the score demonstrated that she conformed to traditional classical performance expectations and accepted these practices. The dress Ferrier wore in this example is consistent with formal attire usual by Western classical solo performers. By wearing an appropriate dress for the genre she showed her support for the values of the Western classical tradition, and as a result its values of intellectualism, seriousness and high culture could be projected onto her. In the case of an audio recording such as this, although visual information was absent during the performance the presence of the artist and her dress on the record sleeve allow musical ideals to be attributed to the performer.

Figure 1.8 The album cover of Kathleen Ferrier's recording of Brahms' *Alto Rhapsody* (Cook, 1998b, p. 108)

It is common practice for performers to be promoted in this way. However, our consumption of these images through the mass media may give us a distorted impression of the degree to which female sexuality is exploited in classical music performance: female musicians may actually appear quite different in performance than

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in their promotional images. To investigate the balance of promotional photographs and images of musicians in performance, I conducted a frequency count of pictures of female soloists in *BBC Music Magazine*, the world's best-selling monthly classical music magazine (ABC Average Net Circulation 01 January – 31 December 2007). Photographs were counted in issues over the period from January 2007 to January 2008 and in images where the performer's dress could be seen clearly the photograph was categorised as being either a promotional or performance image and either traditional concert dress (formal evening dress) or other dress. Table 1.1 shows the results of this count and reveals that female performers were overwhelmingly depicted in promotional photographs, where the posture, dress, gaze etc. of the artist could be carefully constructed. In addition, the vast majority of promotional images showed performers in casual and more body-focussed dress in comparison with the photographs of musicians in performance, where the dress was formal in all but one instance. It appears that the images of female performers that we consume are predominantly staged rather than natural shots of performers at work, and the dress that performers wear in promotional pictures is not necessarily representative of dress adopted by these same female performers in concert.

Table 1.1 Frequency count of female performers by type of image and style of dress in *BBC Music Magazine* January 2007- January 2008.

PROMOTIONAL IMAGES		PERFORMANCE IMAGES	
Formal concert dress	Other dress	Formal concert dress	Other dress
4	39	7	1
Total: 43		Total: 8	

A deconstruction of images from a female soloist both in promotional pictures and in performance can be used to examine more closely differences between the images that we consume. The following figures show the Dutch violinist Janine Jansen, who is a traditional classical musician in terms of repertoire: she was a BBC New Generation Artist in 2003 and opened the 2005 Proms season with the Mendelssohn violin concerto. She has appeared as a soloist with numerous international orchestras and as a chamber musician with many renowned players. Below are pictures of Janine Jansen in

a promotional photograph circulated by her record company, Decca, and in performance.

Figure 1.9 Janine Jansen in a promotional picture taken for her second solo album, Vivaldi's *Four Seasons* (Janine Jansen [online], 2005).

In Figure 1.9 Jansen sits with her legs crossed, one hand in her lap and the other holding her violin by her side. This demure pose is off-set by her gaze; her head is turned away as she looks back to the camera with a half smile and coy expression. Jansen's hair is styled in a fashionable, shoulder-length layered cut with a side parting. Jansen's dress is reasonably formal in that it is long, covering her knees, and made from a heavily beaded fabric. However, the fabric of the dress clings to her figure, emphasising her outline. Thin straps cross her shoulders and the neck line drops to an extremely deep V at the front, revealing her chest, neck, shoulders and arms. The violin at Jansen's side acts as a symbol that ties her image to the music she performs. However, only the neck and scroll of the violin are shown so Jansen's instrument appears as a decorative object, like the brocaded fabric of her dress, rather than a tool for her job.

Figure 1.10a Front view of Janine Jansen in concert with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra (Scheherazade, 2006)
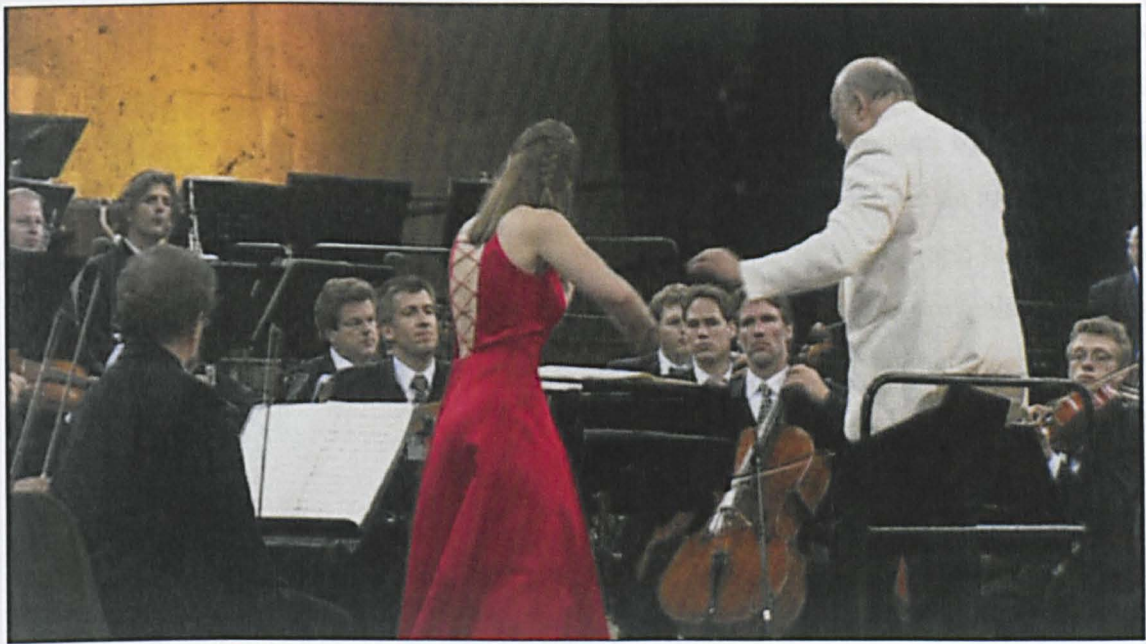
Figure 1.10b Rear view of Janine Jansen in concert with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra (Scheherazade, 2006)

Figures 1.10a and 1.10b show Janine Jansen during a performance with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra in June 2006. Her dress is high necked, with a long, full skirt in a stiff fabric. The dress is well fitted but the nature of the fabric and the fullness of the

skirt means that the dress skims rather than clings to her figure. The full skirt increases the size of her silhouette and makes her appear physically larger, increasing her presence on stage. The bright colour of this dress is in keeping with the tradition of female classical soloists to wear coloured gowns in order to affect a contrast with the black clothes worn by the orchestra. The dress's neck line is conservative in its height, covering Jansen's chest. The front of Jansen's hair is tied back from her face in a plait, which is a style more regularly seen on young children than women. However, Jansen's appearance is not completely conventional as there is a panel absent from the rear of the dress that stretches from neck to waist, revealing her back. Red laces cross this area, holding the two sides together. Jansen's dress is sleeveless and thin straps extend from the front neckline to the top of the rear of the dress, showing her arms, shoulders and part of her back.

There are similarities between Janine Jansen's dress in Figures 1.9 and 1.10, but also striking differences. On both occasions she wears a dress, and on both occasions these dresses are long, which is conventionally the most formal attire for women in performance. However, the dress worn in the performance with the Berlin Philharmonic is more conservative and formal in nature. The cut of this dress and the fabric make it fitted rather than figure hugging. Areas of Jansen's body are revealed by both dresses but it is the promotional image that heightens her sexuality: breasts are an area of sexual focus and in revealing them the dress worn in the promotional photograph highlights the sexual aspect of her persona. The dress Jansen wears in concert also reveals an area of her body for decorative purposes but as the back is not an erogenous zone it is more femininity than sexuality that is highlighted. The difference in hair is also significant. The promotional photograph shows a modern cut whereas in performance, Jansen adopted a more practical and less fashionable style. This reinforced her position in performance as holding traditional values of formality in classical music.

The image that Janine Jansen projects in the promotional picture and in this performance also differs greatly. Although there is a degree of sexuality and femininity present in both images there is a greater focus on these aspects in the promotional photograph than in the professional images. The promotional image also suggests the influence of mid-cult (Middleton, 2001) as it shows a blurring of boundaries between classical music's valuing of formality and popular music's valuing of the body: the promotional dress is formal in style but draws attention to Jansen's sexuality by

revealing her breasts. However, when it comes to performance, Jansen's occupation, her dress is more conservative and in keeping with classical music's values of formality and seriousness. From Table 1.1 and the images of Janine Jansen above, it seems that the images of performers that we consume through the media are 'popular' in style despite the fact that these images are not necessarily representative of musicians' appearance in performance.

Promotional pictures today depict female performers in contemporary dress that is representative of current fashions. However, images of performers in concert show them to select dress that is not reflective of current fashions but of a tradition of dress that has remained relatively unchanged for over 60 years. It is possible that the formality of classical music performance exaggerates the body-focussed nature of women's dress: if female concert dress is more conservative than women's everyday dress then the significance of a move towards more modern concert dress will appear increased against a backdrop of a constrained tradition. Looking at examples of dress from both the past and present can be used to examine how closely the concert dress tradition of classical music correlates with other dress of that day.

Formality of dress from the past and present can be compared using photographs of women from the same family. This ensures that socio-economic group is not a factor in differing style of dress. It is clear from Figures 1.11 to 1.14 that in the 1940s and 1950s both every day and evening dress were more formal than the equivalent dress today. Figure 1.11 shows my grandmother in 1947, aged 19, on a day at the beach. For what was an informal occasion she wore a skirt and blouse with a long over coat, heeled shoes, a hat and gloves and a clutch bag. By contrast Figure 1.12 shows a daytrip I made to York in 2007. I am standing second from the right and I wore jeans, a cotton jumper and a blazer-style jacket with flat shoes. In the 60 years in between the two photographs the formality of everyday dress has reduced dramatically: not only are trousers, and specifically jeans, commonplace for women today, but informal clothes in general are more prevalent. Evening dress has also reduced in formality. Figures 1.13a and 1.13b show my grandmother before and during the 1955 Press Dinner in Middlesbrough. She is wearing a bustier top in black velvet, with a matching floor length skirt (Figure 1.13a). The top is trimmed with swan's down (Figure 1.13b) and worn with a shawl to cover her shoulders.

Figure 1.11 An example of every-day dress from the 1940s, Robin Hood's Bay, Yorkshire: March 1947

Figure 1.12 An example of modern every-day dress, York, Yorkshire: April 2007

Figure 1.13a An example of formal dress from before the Press Dinner, Middlesbrough: 1955.

Figure 1.13b An example of formal dress from during the Press Dinner, Middlesbrough: 1955.

Figure 1.14 gives an example of evening dress from 2007 and shows a dress that I wore to a Sheffield architectural firm's annual dinner dance. The dress is reasonably formal in that it is knee-length and made from layers of chiffon. Thin straps cross the shoulders, and the neck line drops to a V, which exposes a degree of the chest, neck, shoulders and arms. The dress is worn with fish-net tights and black, patent-leather, peep-toed shoes. In contrast with the photograph from 1955, this dress is less formal in that it is shorter in length, shows more of the body and is worn with fishnet tights.

Figure 1.14 An example of formal dress from before a dinner dance, Sheffield: 2007.

The above Figures have shown that both every day and evening dress were more formal 60 years ago than today. The dress that we associate with classical music performance reflected the formal dress of the past, and in the same way that we associate values of seriousness and formality with classical music, these values were also reflective of social values of the day. Today, dress is less formal and it is no longer so taboo for

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women to show their bodies. However, the ritual surrounding classical music performance, including concert dress remains largely the same, and the formal dress associated with classical music could be seen as old-fashioned and out of date.

Looking back to the images of Janine Jansen, sexuality does play a part in both instances of her dress, and there is a greater amount of her body on show than would have been acceptable in the past. However, the degree of Jansen's body on show in either the promotional picture or during performance is no greater than that commonly found in formal dress today. In addition, her dress for performance was distinctly more conservative than in promotional pictures. It is likely that the sexuality that Citron (2004) says is front and centre in classical music is no greater than is present in women's dress in general today. Even slight changes in the character of female performers' concert dress are intensified and become highly noticeable against the backdrop of the traditions in classical music performance which have remained static over generations. As concert dress remains at a constant level of formality while every-day dress becomes increasingly less formal, the gap between the two styles of dress widens. However, the fact that female soloists today are dressing more formally for performance than for other formal occasions suggests that they still wish to adhere to the social values of classical music. Formality is a value associated with classical music and female performers continue to make an effort to adhere to this value despite the fact that it is no longer present to a great degree in other aspects of their culture. That performers conform to formal concert dress instead of pushing for a more modern style shows that performers believe formality to be a valuable part of the concert tradition and worthy of continuation.

Male classical concert dress follows the rigid code of black tie dress and a move away from this style of dress would be a significant step. However, for women, who follow a more varied code, their dress is, in part, dictated by the fashion of the time and the styles of clothes that are available to them. As women in performance do not dress identically, differences in individual dress are unavoidable. Small steps towards modernity in female performers' dress are easier to make, though perhaps come under greater scrutiny.

The mind/body dualism that was described above has been extended by feminist theorists (cf. Citron, 1993) to explain gender divisions in society. The above account of this construct stated that roles in society were connected with either the mind or the body and that those associated with the mind were given greater status by Western culture. Traditionally men and women have been attributed with different dominant characteristics, namely that men were associated with the mind, and women with the body (Citron, 1993); because of the value placed on mental capacities by Western culture women were relegated to a position of inferiority and powerlessness through their gender (Cusick, 1999). Creativity, construed as a predominantly mental process is therefore viewed as a masculine occupation and historically has been seen as a skill in which women are unable to rival men. By placing attention on the female form, the idea of women's bodies being synonymous with their identities and inferior in creative skill to men is enforced. Clothes not only draw attention to the body, but accentuate it, as in the example of Janine Jansen's promotional picture (Figure 1.9). Comparing this image of Janine Jansen (Figure 1.9) with that of the formal dress from the 1950s in Figure 1.13 shows that both styles of dress draw attention to the body, although to different degrees. The contemporary style of dress worn by Janine Jansen is much more explicit in this respect and it is possible that it may devalue perceptions of female musicians' creative abilities by directing attention away from their musical skills.

The world of Western classical music performance exists within a patriarchal society that for centuries has depicted women as objects of male desire and resulted in women feeling under the constant gaze of a male 'other' (Tseelon, 1995). If female performers do select revealing clothes, which by their nature promote and exhibit their bodies they run the risk of being turned into powerless and passive objects, with little or no attention given to their musical skills. The image of popular artists created by companies such as MTV has supported traditional ideas of male power and dominance over women (Lewis, 1990) and in a survey of 300 music videos 74% portrayed women in stereotypical roles as decorative objects, rarely treated as equal to men (Vincent et al., 1987). Music videos and pop dress in particular reinforce these cultural views and classical performers adopting similar dress and using popular images to promote their music associate themselves with these ideals and risk being perceived as powerless, decorative objects rather than the independent, creative individuals that they are.

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However, the self is also an audience and as such allows individuals to perceive themselves as social objects (Rubenstein, 2001). Self-objectification separates an individual from their personal connection with a situation and allows them to imagine themselves as others would see them. From this perspective individuals can scrutinise the image they present in terms of the social responses they expect it to elicit. Female soloists could imagine how they would react to their own image if it were presented to them as an audience member and aim to make judgements based on social knowledge rather than personal preference. With the wealth of information instantly presented to audiences in the form of an artist's dress and appearance, this is a useful tool to ensure that the performer's true intentions are perceived.

There are other, more positive perspectives that associate women with their bodies. A rise in third wave feminism in recent years has moved away from a struggle for equality between genders and instead engages with differences between women (Citron, 2004). Second wave feminism in the 1970s mainly gave a voice to white, middle class women but through third wave feminism the many constructions of femininity are recognised and the feminist voice is diversified. This engagement with differences between women is perhaps only possible now due to the work of second wave feminists in the 1970s, which addressed fundamental areas of concern for women in terms of employment and social equality. In her discussion of third wave feminist ideals Citron (2004) states that individual control is a key concept and by extension so is self-display and self-presentation. Women can reclaim areas that were previously taboo, for example a focus on the female body, and through increased choice they can gain control and power. For example, by selecting her own concert dress a female performer gains control over her body and the power to portray the image to her audience that she wishes. Women no longer need to reject assumptions and structures that previously restricted them, as they are able to reclaim and reuse these structures to their advantage.

Third wave feminists claim that women can now embrace a traditionally feminine look without encouraging the negative stereotypes with which it was previously associated (cf. Klein, 1997); women can assert that by creating a strong visual image of themselves in performance they are not sacrificing their musical abilities. This effectively breaks the mind body dualism by refusing to accept and perpetuate the myth that image has a bearing on intellectual or musical capacities. From an individual point of view this perspective is empowering as women become free to conform to, subvert or reject a

traditionally feminine look. From this they can gain power and freedom of expression, although it is impossible to control the views and understanding of observers, who may hold on to traditional notions of femininity. However, women's attempts to gain complete control over the sight of their bodies by projecting the image they desire may go some way to achieving autonomy. One female classical soloist who embraces a traditionally feminine image yet is acclaimed for her musical skills is the American violinist, Sarah Chang who is pictured in Figure 1.15.

Figure 1.15 Promotional picture of Sarah Chang (IMG Artists/Sarah Chang [online])

In this image Sarah Chang projects a distinctly feminine look; her dress is modern in style, extremely fitted and accentuates the curves of her body. The femininity is

intensified by decorative, impractical shoes, obvious make up and her long hair. However, her violin hangs from her side and faces towards the camera making a strong link to the music she performs. What makes this a powerful image is her upright posture and strong gaze focussed in the distance: instead of seeming weakened by a traditionally feminine appearance, Sarah Chang looks determined and self-possessed. Her upward gaze is similar to that of Kathleen Ferrier in Figure 1.8 and can be seen to reinforce the transcendence that Goehr (1992) states is so valued in classical music. Arguably, because this image reinforces classical performance values and provides a strong visual link to the music, its femininity does not weaken Chang's position as a classical performer but offers an alternative perspective from which to receive her music.

1.2 Research Questions

The opening of this chapter described a traditional scenario of classical performance. The discussion that followed this revealed that due to a rise in the work-concept, music moved from a background activity to the central focus of performance and soloists began to perform in a place of visual prominence in relation to their audience. Soloists are clearly visible as they perform and the research reported in this thesis aims to discover how the concert dress of soloists affects both audience perceptions of the performance and a soloist's approach to performance. This thesis targets female soloists as its focus as they have some flexibility in their concert dress and perhaps find their bodies under greater scrutiny than male soloists.

This chapter has examined the status of the soloist, the role of their body in performance and has investigated the suggestion that beauty culture is becoming increasingly dominant in Western classical music. This discussion highlighted four areas that require further investigation and within these areas a number of research questions are raised. The research areas and their associated research questions are described in more detail below. The research areas are ordered so that they initially address more elementary concerns. Sequencing the research areas in this way establishes whether an effect of visual appearance on perceptions of performance exists before trying to discover how that effect might manifest itself.

To what extent does the visual appearance of female soloists in performance affect perceptions of their performances?

Firstly, the sight of a soloist in performance is clearly valued in classical music as specialist halls are constructed with seating arrangements to facilitate the audience's view of the performer. Concert ritual makes the soloist the centre of attention in a number of ways, including giving them specific applause and requiring them to enter the stage separately and after orchestral musicians. It was suggested that performers adopting a more body-focussed approach to their concert dress may risk being objectified and having their musical skills devalued as a result, whereas performers wearing traditional concert dress reinforce the values of classical music with their appearance and appear more able. It is therefore important to determine whether the concert dress of female classical soloists affects perceptions of their musical skills.

The unique experiences of each soloist will shape their views and approach to their work, which can be represented to their audience through their choice of concert dress. Female performers were shown to have a more flexible dress code than male performers although performance tradition was shown to exhibit strong cultural rules in a tradition dating back over a hundred years. Each soloist has different life experiences and beliefs but operates within the confines of a performance tradition and so this research investigates if there are individual differences between performers in how they approach their concert dress and how they appear visually in performance.

Frith (1996) argued that the body plays an important role in performance and creates additional interpretations of the score on a physical level through expressive body movement. The body in performance can be seen as a concrete link to the culture and society in which music is created as the style of concert dress worn by a soloist also has links to both the performer's body and to the performance tradition of classical music. Therefore it is necessary to determine if performers' concert dress and expressive body movement are linked in their effect on audience perceptions of performance.

To what extent do the social rules associated with classical music mediate the visual appearance of soloists and what effect does this have on perceptions of their performance?

Small (1997) claimed that it is unrealistic to think that music exists in a social vacuum, which is a view shared by Davidson (1997) who proposed a model of musical performance that placed it within a framework of socio-cultural factors. One aspect of this that is of interest for this research project is whether the social factors involved in Classical performance determine the perceived appropriate dress for soloists. In addition to discovering if social factors in performance are involved in determining perceptions of appropriate concert dress, it is important to discover the result of soloists' wearing appropriate dress on perceptions of their performance.

In what way is concert dress used by performers as a method of communication with their audience?

In Cook's (1998b) deconstruction of images on record sleeves and in those carried out on pictures of female performers above, it was suggested that the bodies of performers were used to signal the values of classical music. In order to determine whether this phenomenon is limited to carefully constructed promotional images, it is necessary to investigate whether the sight of a soloist's body in performance can convey values of classical music.

Cook's (1998b) deconstruction of images linked performers with the values of classical music, but Rubenstein (2001) believes that dress can also be used to portray an individual's own values and ideals. The research reported below aims to understand if soloists can convey non-musical characteristics to their audience through their visual appearance.

What approach do female soloists take in portraying their bodies in performance and what effect does this have on perceptions of their performance?

The end of the previous section of this chapter discussed whether female soloists do indeed take a body-focussed approach to their concert dress or if the degree to which these performers reveal their bodies is distorted by their presentation in the media. Therefore, one of the aims of this thesis has to be to determine whether female soloists today do adopt a deliberately body-focussed image.

The mind/body dualism that traditionally associated women with the body and men with the mind put the predominantly mental skill of creativity as an area in which women were unable to rival men. A focus on women's bodies through dress was shown to reinforce the idea that their bodies were synonymous with their identities. The last thirty years has seen greater equality and freedom for women and as such it is hoped that such perspectives are now confined to the past. However, the rise of beauty culture in classical music at least within the media requires the investigation of whether there is evidence of the mind body dualism in existence for female soloists today.

1.3 Methodological approach

In order to address these research questions, an empirical approach was adopted. Empirical musicology is defined by Cook and Clarke as being:

> "musicology that embodies principled awareness of both the potential to engage with large bodies of relevant data, and the appropriate methods for achieving this." (2004; p. 5)

Adopting this approach gives the potential to engage with bodies of research into dress from disciplines such as psychology, sociology, business and marketing, as well as the potential to relate to other empirically led research projects within musicology. The systematic investigation that results from the empirical approach enables generalisations to be made both within and between participants taking part in this research. The use of established tests and procedures is an integral part of this approach, which minimises the likelihood of results being misinterpreted and makes them accessible to a wide body of

potential readers, using similar methods in other disciplines (Windsor, 2004). As sartorial research extends well outside of the field of musicology, this was an essential methodological requirement. In this empirical approach the use of participants engages with music's links to social processes rather than just musical structures or representations, such as the score, and highlights music as a social activity (De Nora, 2004). This is imperative when researching musical performance as in the vast majority of music-making contexts the real or implied presence of others means that at some level social communication or interaction takes place (Davidson, 2004).

The research reported below takes the form of four empirical investigations, addressing various aspects of concert dress from both a performer perspective and an audience point of view. This research used a combination of quantitative and qualitative techniques. Quantitative methods were valuable as they are able to transcend the individual differences and identity patterns of participants, and so can make links with social structures and group organisational features (Robson, 2002). Qualitative methods on the other hand, can capture the subtleties and complexities of individual human behaviour (Robson, 2002). The mixed method approach used in this thesis provided a way of addressing different, but complimentary research questions. Using a variety of methods aids the interpretability of the results, as qualitative data can enhance the interpretability of statistics, and qualitative accounts can be supported or clarified by quantitative data (Robson, 2002). Additionally using a variety of quantitative and qualitative techniques permits 'triangulation', as participants' views are accessed through a variety of convergent perspectives and the degree of error due to method is minimised (Davidson, 2004). Details of the specific methodological approach used in each investigation are incorporated into each relevant chapter for that study.

1.4 Research participants

The studies reported in this thesis investigate the perceptions of a specific section of the population. The focus of this research is on perceptions of individuals within the environment of classical music and as such all participants were classically trained musicians. This was defined as individuals holding either A level music, Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music Grade 8 in performance, or having equivalent practical experience. The investigations are concerned with women's concert dress and

so all performers that took part were female. Citron suggests that the exhibition of beauty culture in classical music is especially prevalent in young or up and coming female performers (2004; p. 49) and in order to investigate this the age of performers taking part in this research was limited to between 18 and 30 years. Orchestral and chamber performers have added social requirements of their concert dress that are associated with performing as part of a social unit. To prevent this from becoming a confounding variable, the perspectives of and reactions to solo female performers were investigated. Finally, instrumentalists alone were the focus of this research to prevent any influence from characterisation in opera or semantics from the text of songs.

Robson (2002) believes that while the researcher themselves brings useful resources such as experience and understanding to a project, with them also come biases that must be acknowledged, and every attempt to counter these effects must be made. Therefore, as the researcher for this thesis I must present my own status and potential biases in researching in this area. I am a 26 year old female flautist, who is an active performer. I am also a keen concert-goer and my interest in this research area comes as a result of my experiences as both a performer and an audience member. In order to counter any biases that would come unwittingly as a result of this I used established scales and tests in my quantitative work so that the analysis of these data took place within recognised frameworks and at commonly accepted levels of significance. In the analysis of my qualitative data a number of steps were taken to ensure the validity of the investigations. So as to avoid an invalid description of participants' points of view, interviews were audio taped and fully transcribed. Where areas of the recording were unclear, participants were contacted and asked to clarify their position. This reduced potential researcher bias by ensuring that participants were accurately represented. Informal peer debriefing was used to discuss emerging themes in the data. This again guarded against researcher bias as justification was needed for attributing themes to a participant's opinions. Negative case analysis (Robson, 2002) was used to confirm the theories attributed to participants' perspectives. For each theory of participant behaviour that appeared to emerge from the data, examples to the contrary were sought to disprove the theory. This ensured that all participant perspectives were represented and led to more elaborate theories of behaviour. To prevent meaning from being imposed upon the data and to allow themes to emerge freely, an audit trail was made; raw data including tapes of interviews and transcripts, and coding and data analysis details were kept in order to see a clear route to the interpretations made.

1.5 Ethical considerations

All empirical work reported in this thesis was carried out in accordance with the University of Sheffield's policies on research ethics and with the British Psychological Society's Code of Ethics and Conduct. All work was approved by the Ethics Review Committee of the University of Sheffield, Department of Music. To maintain the anonymity of participants, performers who took part in the initial investigation (Chapter 2), the investigation into the interaction of dress and body movement style (Chapter 3) and the investigation into factors affecting performers' choice of concert dress (Chapter 4) are referred to by pseudonyms. This has the added benefit of making their story seem more personal and easier to follow. Due to the volume of responses received for the investigation into individual differences in concert dress choice (Chapter 5), performers are referred to by their participant number.

1.6 Chapter overview

The following chapters present details of empirical work carried out in order to answer the research questions detailed above, and of discussions of the implications of their findings. The relevant literature is considered with each investigation.

The initial investigation (Chapter 2) presents a controlled experimental investigation into the perceptions of female solo instrumentalists as a result of their concert dress. Four female violinists were recorded playing three pieces in four styles of dress of varying formality. Each combination of performer, piece and dress was recorded twice, once as the performer's own interpretation and again with a mastertrack dubbed over the top. The mastertrack provided a constant musical sound track and allowed the investigation of observer perceptions based on changes in visual information alone. Fifteen male and fifteen female observers rated the clips in terms of technical proficiency, musicality, appropriateness of dress and attractiveness of performer on 6 point Likert scales. Statistical analysis was carried out on the quantitative data and findings are discussed in relation to relevant literature.

The research questions addressed in investigation into the interaction of dress and body movement style (Chapter 3) followed on from those of the initial investigation (Chapter

2). In Chapter 2 body movement style was presented as a possible cause of low ratings of aspects of two musicians' performances. In Chapter 3 participants were asked to watch the same video footage used in the previous investigation and rate each performance for appropriateness of body movement style. Significant differences in these perceptions were investigated by gathering data from the violinists' dubbed performances on the frequency, type and size of gestures they used. Significant differences in audience perceptions of appropriateness of body movement style are discussed in conjunction with observational data of performers' expressive movements. These findings are used in part to shed light on significant differences in perceptions of performance quality from the initial investigation.

Findings from the initial investigation (Chapter 2) and the interaction of dress and body movement style (Chapter 3) suggested that individual differences in performers' expressive body movement, and therefore observers' perceptions of their performances were as a direct result of performers' preferences for style of concert dress. The investigation into factors affecting performers' choice of concert dress (Chapter 4) gives details of a qualitative study using semi-structured interviews. This study aims to uncover what affects performers' choice of dress and what, if anything, artists hope to project with their choice of dress. Data were analysed using a grounded theory approach and the data are discussed in relation to emerging themes.

The investigation into individual differences in concert dress choice (Chapter 5) focuses on the different perspectives of concert dress choice revealed in the investigation into factors affecting performers' choice of concert dress (Chapter 4) and uses self-monitoring as a theoretical framework to investigate these individual differences. Participants completed an online questionnaire that assessed their level of self-monitoring and posed questions that were designed to identify their behaviour in choosing and performing in their concert dress. Statistical analysis was carried out on quantitative measures from the questionnaire and a grounded theory approach was taken with the qualitative responses. As there were minimal differences between individuals as a result of self-monitoring, results for the two groups are combined and are discussed to give further insight into factors affecting soloists' choice of dress and the effect it can have on their performance in general.

The research aims identified above are readdressed in the Conclusions in Chapter 6. A summary is given of the findings from the four empirical chapters and these findings are drawn together and discussed in relation to the relevant theory, in order to address each of the research aims.

In Chapter 7, the conclusions drawn in Chapter 6 are used to create two models, one outlining influences on performers' choice of concert dress and another showing influences of audience perceptions of performance due to concert dress. The first model show how factors within three spheres of influence, namely practical, social and psychological influences interact to affect performers' choice of concert dress. The interactions of factors at this level are discussed. The same model is applied to factors affecting audience perceptions of performance due to concert dress. The three spheres of influence (practical, social and psychological) remain the same as in the previous model, although factors within these spheres alter. Interactions between factors at this level are discussed. Finally, general conclusions are drawn across the work as a whole and potential directions for future research are suggested.

2. The effect of concert dress and appearance on perceptions of female solo instrumentalists.

2.1 Introduction

The discussion in the introductory chapter of female classical soloists' role in performance and the importance placed on their bodies revealed a number of issues for investigation. The body of a soloist was shown to be highly visible during performance and as such was credited both with creating a degree of musical meaning through expressive movements and with the potential to represent the values and status of classical music. Artists' promoters were shown to use carefully constructed images of female performers. In these images, soloists were linked visually to the values of classical music. One way in which this attribution of values is achieved is by using the concert dress and appearance of performers. It was suggested (cf. Citron, 2004) that beauty culture was becoming increasingly prominent among female classical soloists and that greater attention on the body though body-focussed dress may diminish perceptions of female soloists' musical skills. The study reported below aims to investigate the following areas: if the concert dress of female classical soloists affects perceptions of their musical skills; are there individual differences in how female soloists appear in performance; what is the result of appropriate dress on perceptions of performers; and is there evidence of the mind body dualism in existence for female classical soloists today?

In order to determine a suitable research approach, previous work that has addressed the effects of visual information in musical performance is examined. This is an area of investigation that has been given very little attention in the past as such research has mainly focussed on co-performer communication and expressive body movement, with relatively little work considering the effects of concert dress and physical appearance on audience perceptions. Therefore, it is necessary to turn to other fields of study such as psychology, sociology and gender studies to gain a clearer picture of the effects that dress and appearance may have on perceptions of classical female soloists. Initially the

work from within music is examined, followed by the investigation of literature from other disciplines.

Visual information in performance research

Elliot (1995) investigated gender and race bias as factors in judgements of musical performance. He showed participants performances of eight musicians, four of whom were trumpeters and four of whom were flautists, where one white male, one black male, one white female and one black female performed on each instrument. Each performer played a short piece and a pre-recorded audio track was synchronised over the video recording, providing a constant musical soundtrack across all clips for each instrument. Observers were asked to give a rating of performance quality on a 9 point scale and subsequent analysis revealed a significant effect of instrument and race, where flautists were rated significantly higher than trumpeters, and black performers were rated significantly lower than white performers. These findings suggest that the visual appearance of performers can significantly affect the reception of their performances.

The significant effect of visual information on perceptions of performance was confirmed by Davidson and Edgar (2003), who investigated the effects of race and gender on perceptions of classical soloists' performances. In this investigation, two black men, two black women, two white men and two white women were recorded performing a short piano piece. The audio track of each performance was dubbed over with a pre-recorded soundtrack so that each performance was aurally identical and therefore any significant effects of race or gender must be as a result of visual information only. A significant effect of gender revealed that female performers were rated significantly higher for performance quality than male performers. This finding suggests that visual information in performance may influence audience perceptions of a performer's musical skills.

A series of studies by Wapnick *et al.* (1997, 1998, 2000) investigated the effects of several non-musical variables namely performer attractiveness, stage behaviour and concert dress on evaluations of musical aspects of a performance. These non-musical attributes did indeed affect evaluations of musical criteria and performers that were perceived as more attractive and more appropriately dressed achieved higher ratings of performance quality. However, higher ratings of performance quality for these

performers were observed in both vision only and audio-visual conditions. It is possible that these performers were rated significantly higher in the audio-visual condition for musical criteria than other performers because their performances were actually of a higher standard. Although Wapnick et al.'s (1997, 1998, 2000) studies do not prove conclusively that dress and attractiveness affect perceptions of performance quality, it is an effect that has been observed in other research. In examining performances by popular musicians, North and Hargreaves (1997) revealed that positive responses to the attractiveness of performers were again associated with positive evaluations of their music.

Although research by Wapnick et al. (1997, 1998, 2000) and North and Hargreaves (1997) are the only instances of work carried out into the direct effects of concert dress and attractiveness on perceptions of musical performers there is a wealth of research from the disciplines of psychology, sociology and gender studies that has addressed people's reactions to individuals as a result of their appearance. This research is the focus of the following section. Specifically, research from these fields will be consulted to determine how meaning from dress is inferred, what judgements are likely to be made as a result of a soloist's dress and attractiveness, and which issues of appearance are of particular concern for women.

Dress and appearance research

The concert dress of a performer is an abundant source of visual information, but the value of this medium as a form of social communication is often underappreciated. As a musician takes the stage their audience is able to gain immediate knowledge of the performer's sex, social standing, ideas and beliefs as communicated by their dress (Lurie, 1992; Rubenstein, 2001). In addition dress is crucial in the formation of first impressions as personality traits are associated with characteristics inferred from appearance (Hamid, 1968). Satrapa et al. (1992) for example found that individuals dressed in an informal manner were perceived as more charming, attractive and sympathetic compared with those in formal dress, who were considered to be older and politically more right wing. Before a musician plays a note, the audience has made judgements of their character and intention based on their appearance. Appropriate dress demonstrates a willingness to engage in a social situation and has been shown to enhance perceptions of professional qualities such as intelligence (Kwon and Farber,

1992). Appropriately dressed individuals also enjoy enhanced perceptions of their task performance (Lapitsky and Smith, 1981) and competence (Douglas and Soloman, 1983), and Lambert (1972) found that smartly dressed individuals were more likely to have positive interactions with others, after market researchers in varying levels of formality of dress were asked to interact with members of the public.

This research demonstrates that an individual's choice of dress can have a powerful effect on how they are perceived, as observers associate styles of dress with certain personality traits, characteristics and beliefs. However, it is also important to determine how observers draw these meanings from clothes. In his investigation of *Fashion as Communication*, Barnard (2002) applied the theory of human linguistic communication by Ferdinand de Saussure (1974) to the concept of extracting meaning from dress.

Saussure (1974) stated that human linguistic communication takes place through the use of signs. The sign is made up of two components that are 'intimately united' (Saussure, 1974: 66): the signified is the concept that is being referred to and the signifier is the sound-image or spoken word used to describe it. Saussure states that in general the signified is more abstract than the signifier. Barnard (2002) applies this concept to human communication through dress. Barnard states that the signifier is the physical aspects of dress, for example shape and fabric, and the signified is the concepts to which the signifier refers. However, the signifier does not have to refer to only one garment and an ensemble can be classed as a signifier. In the same way that Saussure's signified is more abstract than its signifier, so too are the concepts referred to by Barnard's signified more abstract than the signifier that refers to the physical aspects of dress. Barnard believes that there exists a culturally shared set of rules or a 'code' that connects signifiers and signifieds and through this, meaning can be inferred. There are two types of meaning that can be inferred from dress: denotational and connotational. Denotational meaning is read from the shapes, lines and patterns of clothing that imply a style of dress. The social implications of a style of dress provide an observer with connotational meaning. For example, the denotational meaning of blue denim trousers allows us to identify them as jeans, and one connotation of jeans is casualness. Barnard believes that there are multiple connotations associated with dress and so there are multiple meanings that alter with wearer and situation. Through interpreting signs of performer dress in musical situations, their attitude to the music and the performance situation can be broadly understood.

Dress can also give information on an individual's social status. Social status comes from a variety of sources such as occupation, age, gender and family. Status can be ascribed, i.e. largely fixed, as in the status of being a woman, or achieved, i.e. changeable, as in the status of being a performing musician. Dress is tied to status and communicates an individual's social standing; it acts as a sign that a person occupies a certain role and certain behaviour is expected. For example a formal, coloured evening dress of a female classical performer indicates that she occupies the role of soloist and is of higher status than the surrounding musicians wearing black, who play an accompanying role.

Performers propose their ideals and status with their choice of dress. By wearing clothes that signify characteristics appropriate to the performance setting and the performers' role, soloists visually cement their approach to their work and reinforce stereotypes held by observers of social hierarchy and performer intention. By contrast, those individuals wishing to subvert the traditional hierarchy of musical personnel in performance may signal this desire to their audience through unconventional concert dress and communicate alternative values to observers.

Women in particular are the focus of this investigation for personal presentation differs according to gender. Women are under increased pressure to conform to stereotypes in terms of dress, body norms and physical appearance in all contexts (Bartky, 1990). Differences in societal perceptions of men and women's bodies have led to fashion marking the gender gap (Entwhistle, 2000). In general, women's clothes are more ornamental than men's and through decoration, aim to beautify the body and attract admiration (Flugel, 1940). Partial nakedness in Western women is seen as culturally disrespectful, for example women often cover their shoulders and heads in churches and décolleté is seen as a deliberate attempt to reinforce the attraction incited by nakedness (Flugel, 1940). Women today are freer to dress in a way that reveals more of their bodies but a consequence of this may that the importance placed on the image of women's bodies by society is heightened. Further difficulties arise for women in the physically restrictive nature of their dress. For example, it would be unusual to see a woman in performance in flat lace up shoes, the equivalent of her male counterpart, although the narrow toes and high heels that are so often seen, restrict movement and negatively affect posture and balance (Bartky, 1990). Decoration in women's dress is often given priority over practicality and it is because of this that it is more difficult for

a woman to project a serious demeanour with her dress (Chapkiss, 1988). By wearing clothes that are essentially decorative and restrictive in nature, the female performer looks less physically capable of producing an intellectually sound interpretation of the music. This is made all the harder as there is no strict dress code for women (Chapkiss, 1988), which prevents any woman from being entirely confident that the dress she has chosen is the most appropriate for the occasion. The visual connotational sign of seriousness is therefore lacking as a woman walks onto the stage, and before she has played a note she is at a disadvantage. The quandary experienced by women of how to balance feeling attractive with looking professional in their dress is summed up by the experience of one female flautist:

> "[The flautist] described it as a political and moral decision: whether to ignore the 'display' and 'decorative' aspect completely or whether to actively choose something sexy... She was grappling with the competing demands of being taken seriously on one's performing merits; of expectations that women must look good or even seductive to 'sell' the product; and her sense that this should not matter at all." Citron (2004 p49).

Dress is not the only visual stimulus to affect perceptions of an individual: when meeting a stranger physical appearance was found to be the characteristic that left the greatest impression (Cash and Janda, 1984). Generally, outward signs of health such as clear skin and shiny hair are found attractive in both sexes. Faces that are found the most attractive are average in size and shape but with exaggerated features, specifically larger eyes and lips in women, and strong jaw lines in men (Grammer and Thornhill, 1994). Physical appearance is especially influential in forming impressions of women (Abramowitz and O'Grady, 1991) and physical cues such as facial symmetry and feature size are determinants of attractiveness. However, it is not just the face that governs attractiveness and in women the whole body is sexualised (Flugel, 1940).

Body shape is highly influential in perceptions of female appeal, and attractiveness correlates to waist:hip ratio (WHR). Of individuals of average weight, those with a low WHR were rated as most attractive and healthy (Singh, 1993a, 1993b, 1994). Overweight individuals with a low WHR were preferred to slimmer women with a higher WHR. Although WHR is shown here to be a determinant of attractiveness independent of weight, the body shape most disliked is that of excess fat (Harris, Harris and Bochner, 1982). This appears to have been taken to the extreme with the current fashion for women's bodies to be thin with narrow hips (Weitz, 2003) and in order to conform to this social 'norm', women are forced to diet and exercise. For most women

this body shape is unnatural and impossible to achieve and the media's portrayal of grown women with childlike bodies can lead to unreal expectations of what a woman's body should look like. Cultivation Theory states that ongoing exposure to a set of values can powerfully influence an individual's concept of social reality (Gerbner et al., 1994). If society is constantly reminded through images and features both in the media and from the clothing industry that women's bodies should fit a specific physical template then this template becomes the accepted form of the female body. This leads to the perception of women's bodies as objects that are in need of correction in order to be considered satisfactory (Paquet and Raine, 2004). The same pressure to modify the body is not applied to men and so it is only women that are perceived as appearing imperfect and in need of correction. Therefore through the media's portrayal of weaknesses in the feminine form, women are positioned as unequal and subordinate to men (Cusick, 1999).

Hair is an important cultural artefact that is simultaneously public, in that it is visible to all, personal, in that it is biologically linked to the body and malleable, in that it can be adapted to suit cultural and personal preferences (Weitz, 2001). Long hair, associated with youth and femininity is found most attractive (Weitz, 2001), while short hair is associated with freedom and independence (Lurie, 1992). Hair colour can affect perceptions of an individual's personality traits, as was seen in the case of appropriate dress earlier. A CV for an applicant of a professional job was attached with a photograph of the same model with varying hair colour; participants rated her significantly more capable and deserving of a higher salary as a brunette than as either a blonde or a red head (Kyle and Mahler, 1996).

Ratings of attractiveness and healthiness were found to be linked to suntan: in a study by Johnson and Lookingbill (1987) 72% of respondents found suntanned skin to be more attractive than non tanned skin. 78% of respondents found a suntan to enhance perceived healthiness and in a later study by Broadstock, Borland and Gason (1992) a mid tan was found more attractive and healthy than either a light tan or a dark tan. In the same way that individuals with clear skin and shiny hair are perceived to be healthier and more attractive, a degree of suntan is perceived as attractive by suggesting the individual has spent time outdoors, without the dangers to health that prolonged exposure to the sun can cause. However, it should be noted that this is a historically malleable trend: traditionally tanned skin was considered undesirable as it represented

the 'peasant' existence of those that worked outside. In the 1920s a number of factors coincided that led to a change in this perception. During the First World War women had taken on traditionally male working roles and had adopted a more masculine style of dress to suit this purpose; following the end of the war women were reluctant to return to restrictive, corseted clothing and fashion for women changed to simple, sleeveless dresses, unsupported by corsetry and with higher hemlines than had been seen previously. The introduction of paid annual leave in Britain around the same time led to people taking holidays at seaside resorts and the suntan became a symbol that an individual was sufficiently wealthy to take a vacation. The fashion of the time revealed more of women's bodies than had been seen in the past and so clearly displayed the sun tan that women acquired as they holidayed.

The direction and shift of an individual's gaze shows the object of their engagement (Baron-Cohen, 1995) and men were found to find women more attractive when the women's gazes shifted towards them, than when it shifted away from them (Mason, Tatkow and MacRae, 2005). Although a woman is more in control of the direction of her gaze than the shape of her body or the size of her mouth, these studies add to the wealth of research that show women's physical characteristics to be determinants of the attractiveness felt by others.

There is evidence that dress can affect attractiveness as, in addition to covering the body, clothing accentuates it and provides layers of cultural significance (Entwhistle, 2000). Unsurprisingly, body-focused, sexually alluring attire has an effect on perceptions of women's attractiveness, although this is not the direct correlation one might expect. Subtle forms of sexually alluring dress, such as a miniskirt made women more attractive to men; however more blatant styles of dress such as a wet t shirt with no bra underneath made women no more attractive to men and less attractive to women (Williamson and Hewitt, 1986). Less body-focused styles of dress can also affect perceptions of attractiveness. Formal attire is associated with intelligence and higher socio-economic class, and Hewitt and German (1987) found that individuals in this style of dress were perceived as more attractive than those in casual clothes. Observers based a judgement of attractiveness on the style of dress worn by an individual.

In the same way that appropriate dress affects perceptions of an individual's abilities, so too does their perceived attractiveness as people are more likely to react positively to an

attractive individual (Collins and Zebrowitz, 1995). Attractiveness was found to compensate for a lack of experience and skill in a job application situation (Watkins and Johnston, 2000) and a meta analysis by Eagly et al. (1991) reported that attractive individuals were judged to be more intelligent and more socially competent than less attractive individuals. However, there are disadvantages to being beautiful, as attractive people were perceived as vain and materialistic (Sigelman et al., 1986). Although beauty is said to "turn men into admirers" it is only a woman's beauty that is admired, not her abilities (Chapkiss, 1988), and a study of American women running for political election found attractive women were hindered by their physical appearance as they were judged to be too feminine and less effective than a man at their potential job (Sigelman et al., 1986). In the performance situation, it is likely to be the attractive image of the performer that the audience warms to, yet her musical talents may be considered secondary to this or even devalued because of it.

The research examined above has shown that through their concert dress performers may communicate personal characteristics, their social status and approach to performance to the audience. However, there are certain features of female soloists' dress that may affect the level of seriousness that they are able to project. As decoration is often prioritised over practicality in women's dress, female soloists' concert dress may not be the most physically appropriate attire for performance and as such their appearance may lack professionalism or engagement with the performance situation. Soloists' appearance may also affect initial perceptions of their performance. Features such as waist: hip ratio, weight, hair style, sun tan and direction of gaze were all shown to affect perceptions of individuals' attractiveness, which in turn was shown to affect perceptions of individuals' abilities. In addition to the appropriateness of concert dress, soloists' perceived attractiveness may have a bearing on how they are received.

Research Approach

Studies carried out by Wapnick et al. (1997, 1998, 2000) revealed that concert dress had an effect on perceptions of performance quality; however, these studies did not distinguish between different styles of dress nor did they investigate the impact of style of dress on participant perceptions. Goehr (1992) believes that formality is valued in classical performance and formality and attitude to others are subtly indicated by style

of dress (Tseelon, 1995). Therefore, the investigation reported below aims to determine the extent to which formality of dress is used by observers in making judgements of performance quality. Appearance and selection of appropriate dress are issues particularly affecting women, who have a less rigid code of dress to follow than men. There is also evidence that women are under increased pressure to conform to gender stereotypes in terms of dress, body norms and physical appearance; compliance with these stereotypes may have an effect on perceptions of individuals' success in traditionally male roles such as music performance (Sigelman et al., 1986). Historically, there have been sanctions against women wishing to play a more publicly creative role in music making (Citron, 1993) and so by looking at women performers today changes in perceptions of 'suitable' roles for women can be investigated.

The research outlined above and in Chapter 1 demonstrates the importance of visual information in performance. The study reported below aims to investigate a number of the research questions highlighted in the Introduction (Chapter 1), namely if the concert dress of female classical soloists affects perceptions of their musical skills; are there individual differences in how female soloists appear in performance; what is the result of appropriate dress on perceptions of performers; and is there evidence of the mind body dualism in existence for female classical soloists today? This study aims to investigate the many facets of concert dress including how dress indicates engagement with a social situation (Kwon and Farber, 1992) and provides information on that situation's status through formality of dress; how wearing the appropriate dress for an occasion demonstrates an individual's willingness to engage with that situation; how enhanced perceptions of task performance and competence were also linked to appropriate dress (Lapitsky and Smith, 1981; Douglas and Soloman, 1983); and how the restrictive and predominantly decorative nature of women's dress poses problems for women in terms of physical freedom and the lack of seriousness projected by their dress.

A quantitative method was adopted for the initial empirical investigation because such an approach can transcend individual participant differences and identify patterns and processes which can be linked to social structures and group features (Robson, 2002). To achieve this, an investigation was devised that built on previous research that investigated gender and race bias in classical music, namely that of Elliott (1995) and Davidson and Edgar (2003).

Elliott (1995) showed participants performances of eight musicians, four of whom were trumpeters and four of whom were flautists, where one white male, one black male, one white female and one black female performed on each instrument. Each performer played a short piece and a pre-recorded audio track was synchronised over the video recording, providing a constant musical soundtrack across all clips. Participants were asked to rate each performance on a 9 point Likert scale (where 1 was low and 9 was high). No further guidance was given to participants as to which aspects of the performance they should attend.

In Davidson and Edgar's (2003) two each of black men, black women, white men and white women were each filmed playing a short piece for piano and presented in three observation conditions: sound only, full vision and point light technique (this prevented race and gender information from becoming available to participants). A pre-recorded soundtrack was edited over full vision and point light versions and presented in both original and dubbed versions. This allowed a standardised musical performance to be judged in light of the visual information of gender and race. For each performance, participants were asked to rate its technical and artistic merit on a 7 point Likert scale (where 1 was low and 7 was high). Participants were asked to "to think about technique and interpretation" (Davidson and Edgar, 2003; p. 176) when making their judgements.

The methodologies of Elliott (1995) and Davidson and Edgar (2003) allow the investigation of participants' perceptions of visual information alone. The framework of these studies affords the flexibility to alter and insert variables to suit the current research questions and the use of Likert scales ensures that the measure of participants' perceptions has internal consistency (Robson, 2002). In the investigation report below four violinists were recorded in three styles of dress of varying formality and in point light condition. They were asked to play three short pieces of different genres in each style of dress. This was recorded twice: once as the violinists' own interpretations and once with a pre-recorded mastertrack dubbed over the top. Participants viewed both original and dubbed states of the video clips and were asked to rate each performance in terms of technical proficiency, musicality, appropriateness of dress and attractiveness of performer on 6 point scales (where 1 was low and 6 was high). The four rating scales in the current investigation provide a detailed account of participants' perceptions of both musical and non-musical qualities.

2.2 Method

Four female violinists performed in four styles of dress (jeans and a t shirt, a nightclubbing-style dress, black concert dress and point light condition), and performed three pieces (classical, jazz and folk). Every combination of performer, dress and piece was recorded once with the performer's own interpretation and a second time with a pre-recorded audio track edited to the visuals. The material was recorded on DVD format and played to observers.

Observers' recorded each of their ratings of each performance on four six point scales, one each for the dependent variables of technical proficiency (TP), musicality (MU), appropriateness of dress (AD) and attractiveness of performer (AP).

Design

This study aimed to investigate the effects of dress and performer on audience perceptions of performance quality by employing a 3 (piece) x 4 (performer) x 4 (dress) x 2 (gender of observer) x 3 (order of presentation) mixed measures design. There were three within subjects variables: piece with three levels (classical, jazz and folk), performer with four levels (Elizabeth, Laura, Lisa and Bella) and dress with four levels (jeans, nightclubbing dress, concert dress and point light condition). There were two between subjects groups: gender, with two levels (male and female), and group, by order of piece presentation with three levels (Classical, Jazz, Folk; Jazz, Folk Classical; and Folk, Classical Jazz).

The dependent variables were the ratings on 6 point Likert scales for technical proficiency, musicality, appropriateness of dress and attractiveness of performer that observers gave to each combination of performer and dress in performance. On these scales 1 represented 'not at all' and 6 represented 'very much so'.

Participants

Five violinists took part in the creation of the test material. They were recruited from students in the Department of Music at the University of Sheffield and ranged in age from 20 to 22 years (mean = 21.2 years, s.d. = 0.84). The violinist providing the mastertrack was male, the four violinists recorded on film were female.

The four female violinists were highly competent performance majors in music from the University of Sheffield aged from 20 to 22 years (mean = 21.2 years, s.d. = 0.84), having achieved marks in the top 10% of their cohort. Four female performers were used in the creation of this test material to ensure that the results obtained were not due to participants' feelings towards a particular individual. The four female violinists were chosen as they were all active performers and working towards public recitals. They were also selected as they were visually similar, which minimised the likelihood of one individual standing out and therefore kept the focus on the independent variables: the women were similar in terms of height, physique, hair length and eye colour, were of white European origin, wore a size 10 dress and size 4/5 shoe. The performers were judged to be of a similar level of facial attractiveness by the author and according to the MBA California Facial Mask (Beauty Analysis [online]), which equates attractiveness with the best fit of a geometric mask over the face.

Thirty musicians observed the test material and were recruited from students at the University of Sheffield and members of the Sheffield Philharmonic Orchestra. Observers ranged in age from 18 to 28 years old (mean = 22.43 years, s.d. = 3.26). The group comprised of 15 women and 15 men.

Materials

The music of the mastertrack and that performed by each of the 4 female violinists consisted of three newly composed pieces in the classical, jazz and folk idioms (figures 2.1a, b and c). The pieces were written for the study by a professional western art music composer (Mark Slater); this prevented participants' preconceptions about particular works affecting their judgements. Mark Slater was asked to compose pieces for violin

that emulated the harmonic and melodic idioms of classical, jazz and folk genres, and that were coherent in style. The pieces had a pulse of 104 beats per minute and lasted approximately 17 seconds, which minimised testing time while allowing the performance of several phrases.

Figure 2.1a The classical piece composed for this study and played by the performers.

Figure 2.1b The jazz piece composed for this study and played by the performers.

Figure 2.1c The folk piece composed for this study and played by the performers.

Violinists were chosen as theirs is a common solo instrument in the Western repertoire, and the posture of a violinist clearly displayed the concert dress on which participants made judgements.

A male violinist recorded each piece as sound only and this was used as the mastertrack for subsequent dubbing and editing of clips. This performer was a post-graduate student of Trinity College of Music and his high quality performance and recording ensured that participants' ratings of the dubbed clips would not be influenced by imperfections in the playing.

The four female performers played in four styles of dress of increasing formality (Figure 2.2). Dark jeans, a black t shirt and black moccasins represented the casual style of dress in which performers habitually practice, but would not perform. To characterise the modern style of body-focussed dress a black strapless nightclubbing dress with leather thonged halter neck and mini rah-rah skirt was selected; this was worn with high heeled black pointed shoes. A traditional black concert dress represented the highest level of formality and had long sleeves, a long full skirt and a high round neck. The same black pointed shoes were worn. Point light technique was the fourth condition; this was achieved by placing reflective tape on the major joints and foreheads of the performers, the scroll of the violin and the tip of the bow. In this condition the performers played against a black background on black flooring, and a spotlight was shone onto them as they played. The contrast of the recording was altered until only the reflective points of light from the tape were visible on screen. This eliminated all visual information apart from body movement from participants' view and functioned as a control condition to compare the effects of participants' ratings with and without the influence of concert dress. Point light technique also gave information on individual movement style that was not influenced or restricted by dress as, first, performers wore tracksuit bottoms and a t shirt and second, only points of light were shown to observers. It also enabled analysis of movement style in relation to perceptions of performance quality. All states of dress were predominantly black to control for effects of colour on ratings. Blue jeans were used as they are most fashionable and therefore most accurately represented this style of dress; over-dyed denim had the added benefit of keeping the overall effect of the outfit dark. The performers were asked to tie their hair back in a ponytail to control for effects of hair style and to remove any jewellery or accessories such as belts, for the same reason.

Figure 2.2 The four states of dress used in the test material, from left to right: Jeans and a T shirt, Nightclubbing dress, Concert dress, Point-light condition.

The violinists were given the music three weeks before the recording date in order for them to learn the pieces. Although they used a copy of the music and a music stand in performance, all knew the piece well. The performers were asked to be consistent in their 2 interpretations of each piece, and this was assured as they matched a metronome beat given to them before final recordings of each clip.

Every combination of female performer and dress was recorded as 'her own interpretation', and again with a mastertrack edited over the top. For these latter versions the mastertracks were recorded as sound only and played over a loud speaker to the performers, and they were filmed playing along. The performers' sound was recorded on the left audio channel and the mastertrack on the right; this made the editing process simpler as the mastertrack was an integral part of the clip when it was edited. The editing process is explained in more detail below.

The recordings took place at the television studios at the University of Sheffield. The performances were recorded using Betacam, and captured onto DVD in MPEG 2 format for digital editing using Adobe Premiere. The mastertracks were recorded, followed by each female performer in turn, who recorded each piece in both her own and mimed versions in each style of dress. Several takes were often required for each clip due to performer error and to ensure that the mimed performances matched the mastertrack exactly.

The editing process used video-editing software. A project was set up in Adobe Premiere and approximate start and end times for the required takes were noted. The

clips were cut out of the original sequence and placed in the project's timeline. A problem with the synchrony between sound and vision that had occurred during the digital capturing process meant that there was a delay in the sound commencing after the vision began. After investigation, the solution was to split the sound from the vision by moving the visual aspect of the clips back 12 frames, then reconnecting them. The start and end points of the clips were cropped so the participants only saw material that aided them in making the judgments required. The live performer recording was recorded onto the left audio channel and the mastertrack onto the right; for performers' own interpretations a 'left fill' was added to the track (i.e. the left track was made to fill both left and right channels) and for the mimed tracks a 'right fill' was added. This allowed all clips to be presented in stereo, as participants would be alerted to a difference in performance if all clips did not come from the same speaker. Each clip was then rendered to finalise it.

Clips for each piece were ordered using a combination of orthogonal Latin squares, so each combination of dress, performer and interpretation appeared only once. One square for dress was combined with a second square for performer playing their own version; a third square for dress was combined with a fourth square for performer miming to the mastertrack. Rows and columns on both squares were randomised, and the two squares were then combined; the rows and columns of this square were randomised. Appendix 1 shows the final order of presentation. The clips were arranged in blocks of eight with a twenty second break between each set to allow participants a short break before continuing. Within the blocks, clips were placed eight seconds apart to allow participants time to complete the rating scales. Chapter marks were placed at the beginning of each group to allow the material to be started at different points for different groups of participants to avoid order effects. The material was then burned to DVD. Three DVDs were made, each containing the test material for one piece (Appendix 2). The same order of presentation was used for each DVD.

Two example clips were burned onto a separate DVD as familiarisation trials for participants to complete before they embarked on the test proper. The example material consisted of a full vision clip followed by a point light clip to familiarise the observers with the scales, the time that was available to them to complete their ratings, and the appearance of full vision and point light conditions.

Observers were provided with an answer booklet in which to record their rating of performances (Appendix 3). The sheet was headed with the information that observers should complete all scales and judge the performances on their first impressions, as if the clips were a recording of a public recital. The scales for each individual performance were headed with the number of the clip. For full vision clips observers were asked to judge musicality, technical proficiency, appropriateness of dress and attractiveness of performer on six point scales with 1 being 'not at all' and 6 being 'very much so'; for point light scales observers could not see dress or the performer's body so scales on appropriateness of dress and attractiveness of performer were removed. Observers were asked to concentrate on practical elements such as note production for technical proficiency, and more expressive characteristics for musicality. Observers were asked to imagine performers were playing at a public recital and asked to rate appropriateness of dress accordingly. No guidance was given for participants' ratings of attractiveness of performer. The six point scale was chosen as there is no middle value, making it impossible for observers to make a neutral decision. There was space at the end of the answer sheet for observers to make qualitative comments. The example answer sheet was the same layout as the test sheet but with scales for only two clips.

Procedure

Pilot tests were carried out to determine if the length of the test and the clips were appropriate, and that participants could not detect the presence of the mastertrack. From observations of participants completing the pilot tests it was clear that all participants filled in their answer sheets within the first several seconds although they were given a 17 second clip and eight seconds in between clips to complete the rating scales. From this it was determined that the extract length would not affect ratings, as participants did not make use of the full time available to them. Participants also indicated that they were happy with the length of the test, so the pilot test material was used in the main study. At the end of the pilot test, participants were debriefed and the full method was revealed. Not one participant reported being aware of a mastertrack in the test material.

The main testing procedure took place in a meeting room at the University of Sheffield's Firth Hall. The room had a capacity of around 30 and observers sat at tables facing a television. Observers completed the testing over three sessions, one piece per

session so as to maintain concentration. Each testing session took around 20 minutes from start to finish: the main task took around 13 minutes and the remainder of the time was taken up with participants' reading information and asking questions. Observers were tested in small groups and were asked not to communicate with each other during the test.

For this main test each participant was randomly assigned to one of three groups to view the test material. Each group received the test material in a different order to counter order effects. Group 1 received the DVDs in the order of classical, jazz, folk, group 2 saw jazz, folk, classical, and group 3 was shown folk, classical, jazz. The material was started at different points in the DVD for each piece. Each group watched their first piece from start to finish, their second piece was started at clip 17 and watched to the end, then watched from the start to clip 16. The third piece was shown from clip 25 to the end, then from clip 1 to 24. Each group was given the pieces of music in a different order, but also they observed the material for each piece from different points in the sequence.

Initially, observers were presented with a pack containing information and answer sheets needed to complete the test. In order to ensure that all observers received the same information, they were asked to read through a written Information for Participants sheet. This sheet detailed the requirements of the task and gave them information on the opportunity to withdraw and treatment of their responses; after reading this they were then asked if they had any questions. Observers were asked to read through and sign a consent form if they wished to continue with the task. All proposed observers took part in the test.

Observers were asked to complete all scales based on their first impressions, and as if the clips were a recording of a public recital. The example clips were then played. After this they were again asked if they had any questions.

Observers were then presented with the test DVD and completed the corresponding answer sheet in the same way as the examples. Space was available at the end of the response booklet for qualitative comments.

At the end of the experiment, observers were again given the opportunity to ask questions, and they were debriefed, where the research questions, aims and objectives were fully revealed. When asked, not one observer was aware of the presence of a mastertrack.

2.3 Results

Statistical analysis was carried out on the dubbed data alone, omitting performers' own interpretations, as the mastertrack provided a constant musical soundtrack and any differences in perception of the performers' technical proficiency and musicality must have been due to visual information from the performer. When asked at the end of the procedure, observers reported that they were unaware of the presentation of identical musical material. It is likely that this is due to the large number of stimuli, which included recordings of the performers' own interpretations.

The dubbed data were analysed by means of two 3 (piece) x 4 (performer) x 4 (dress) x 2 (gender of observer) x 3 (order of presentation) mixed measures ANOVA for technical proficiency (TP) and musicality (MU), and by two 3 (piece) x 4 (performer) x 3 (dress) x 2 (gender of observer) x 3 (order of presentation) mixed measures ANOVA for appropriateness of dress (AD) and attractiveness of performer (AP). Significant differences in ratings were investigated using Tukey HSD post-hoc tests calculated from t scores. No significant effect was found for either gender of observer or presentation group on any of the rating scales, therefore results are amalgamated from these groups.

Technical Proficiency

A 3 (piece) x 4 (performer) x 4 (dress) x 2 (gender of observer) x 3 (order of presentation) mixed measures ANOVA was carried out on observers' ratings of technical proficiency. This analysis revealed that audience perceptions of technical proficiency were significantly affected by the piece that was performed ($F(2, 48) = 9.36$, $p = <0.001$). Tukey HSD post-hoc tests were calculated from t scores, and determined that this difference was between the classical and folk pieces, $t(29) = 4.05$, $p = \leq 0.01$, and between jazz and folk pieces ($t(29) = 4.59$, $p = \leq 0.01$). The technical proficiency of performers was perceived as significantly greater when playing the folk piece (mean =

4.79, s.d. = 0.51) than when playing the classical (mean = 4.40, s.d. = 0.70) or jazz (mean = 4.36, s.d. = 0.68) pieces.

A significant effect of performer was also found on ratings of technical proficiency (F(3, 72) = 3.31, p = 0.03). Tukey HSD post-hoc tests found that there were significant differences between rating of Laura and Lisa (t(29) = 3.53, p = ≤0.01) and between Lisa and Bella (t(29) = 2.77, p = ≤0.05). Inspection of mean scores found that Lisa (mean = 4.62, s.d. = 0.57) was rated as significantly more technically proficient than Laura (mean = 4.43, s.d. = 0.58) or Bella (mean = 4.47, s.d. = 0.61).

Audience perceptions of technical proficiency were also significantly affected by dress (F(3, 72) = 3.82, p = 0.01). Tukey HSD post-hoc tests determined that this difference arose between performers in concert dress and those in jeans (t(29) 3.54, p = ≤0.01) and in the concert dress and nightclubbing dress (t(29) = 3.75, p = ≤0.01). Performers in the concert dress (mean = 4.61, s.d. = 0.56) were perceived as having significantly greater technical proficiency than when wearing jeans (mean = 4.48, s.d. = 0.59) or the nightclubbing dress (mean = 4.43, s.d. = 0.61).

Musicality

A 3 (piece) x 4 (performer) x 4 (dress) x 2 (gender of observer) x 3 (order of presentation) mixed measures ANOVA was carried out on observers' ratings of musicality. This analysis revealed a significant effect of performer (F(3, 72) = 9.37, p = <0.001). Tukey HSD tests found significant differences in ratings between Elizabeth and Laura (t(29) = 3.94, p = ≤0.01), Elizabeth and Bella (t(29) = 5.42, p = ≤0.01), Laura and Lisa (t(29) = 3.63, p = ≤0.01) and Lisa and Bella (t(29) = 4.25, p = ≤0.01). Inspection of mean scores showed that Elizabeth (mean = 4.55, s.d. = 0.59) and Lisa (mean = 4.55, s.d. = 0.59) were perceived to be significantly more musical in their playing than Laura (mean = 4.31, s.d. = 0.59) or Bella (mean = 4.27, s.d. = 0.67).

A significant effect of dress was found on observers' ratings of musicality (F(3, 72) = 7.09, p = <0.001). Tukey HSD post-hoc tests revealed significant differences in ratings when performers wore the nightclubbing dress compared with the concert dress (t(29) = 3.90, p = ≤0.01) and the nightclubbing dress compared with the point light condition

$(t(29) = 4.05, p = \leq 0.01)$. Performers were perceived as significantly less musical in the nightclubbing dress (mean = 4.27, s.d. = 0.60) than in the concert dress (mean = 4.47, s.d. = 0.61) or the point light condition (mean = 4.53, s.d. = 0.64).

An interaction of performer x dress was found on participants' ratings of musicality $(F(9, 216) = 3.11, p = 0.002)$ and this is shown in Figure 2.3. Tukey HSD tests revealed that Bella was rated significantly differently in jeans than in the point light condition $(t(29) = 3.30, p = \leq 0.05)$ and in the nightclubbing dress than the point light condition $(t(29) = 2.95, p = \leq 0.05)$. Bella was perceived as significantly less musical wearing jeans (mean = 4.08, s.d. = 0.83) or the nightclubbing dress (mean = 4.20, s.d. = 0.77) than in the point light condition (mean = 4.53, s.d. = 0.67).
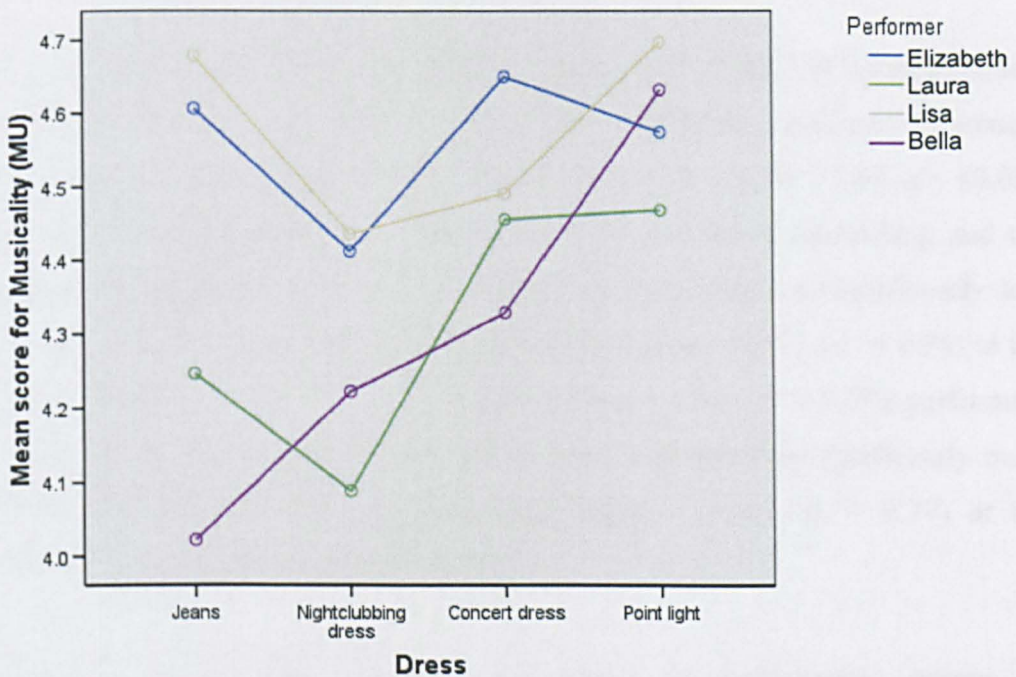
Figure 2.3 Results of the 3 (piece) x 4 (performer) x 4 (dress) x 2 (gender) x 3 (group) mixed measures ANOVA showing an interaction between performer and dress on ratings of musicality.

Appropriateness of dress

A 3 (piece) x 4 (performer) x 3 (dress) x 2 (gender of observer) x 3 (order of presentation) mixed measures ANOVA was carried out on participants' ratings of appropriateness of dress. Performer was revealed to have a significant effect on perceptions of appropriateness of dress ($F(3, 72) = 18.22$, $p = <0.001$). Tukey HSD post-hoc tests determined that there were significant differences between Elizabeth and Lisa ($t(29) = 4.82$, $p = \leq0.01$), Elizabeth and Bella ($t(29) = 4.32$, $p = \leq0.01$), Laura and Lisa ($t(29) = 4.01$, $p = \leq0.01$) and Laura and Bella, ($t(29) = 4.23$, $p = \leq0.01$). Means scores showed that Elizabeth (mean = 3.68, s.d. = 0.65) and Laura (mean = 3.69, s.d. = 0.69) were perceived as significantly more appropriately dressed than Lisa (mean = 3.32, mean = 0.67) and Bella (mean = 3.36, s.d. = 0.68).

A significant effect of dress was also found on participants' ratings of appropriateness of dress ($F(2, 48) = 29.59$, $p = <0.001$). Tukey HSD tests found significant differences between performers wearing jeans and the nightclubbing dress ($t(29) = 2.80$, $p = \leq0.05$), jeans and the concert dress ($t(29) = 4.80$, $p = \leq0.01$) and the nightclubbing and the concert dress ($t(29) = 6.21$, $p = \leq0.01$). Performers were rated as significantly less appropriately dressed wearing the nightclubbing dress (mean = 2.90, s.d. = 0.96) to the concert dress (mean = 4.33, s.d. = 0.93) or jeans (mean = 3.30, s.d. = 0.77); performers wearing the concert dress (mean = 4.33, s.d. = 0.93) were rated as significantly more appropriately dressed than when wearing jeans (mean = 3.30, s.d. = 0.77) or the nightclubbing dress (mean = 2.90, s.d. = 0.96).

An interaction of performer x dress was found on participants' ratings of appropriateness of dress ($F(6, 144) = 12.23$, $p = <0.001$) and this is shown in Figure 2.4. Tukey HSD post-hoc tests were carried out and determined that in jeans there were significant differences in perceptions of appropriateness of dress between Elizabeth and Lisa ($t(29) = 5.02$, $p = \leq0.01$), Elizabeth and Bella ($t(29) = 5.07$, $p = \leq0.01$), Laura and Lisa ($t(29) = 4.49$, $p = \leq0.01$) and Laura and Bella ($t(29) = 4.74$, $p = \leq0.01$). In jeans Lisa (mean = 2.76, s.d. = 1.01) and Bella (mean = 2.93, s.d. = 0.96) were perceived as significantly less appropriately dressed than Elizabeth (mean = 3.72, s.d. = 0.10) and Laura (mean = 3.00, s.d. = 0.96). In the nightclubbing dress there were significant differences in perceptions of appropriateness of dress between Laura and Lisa ($t(29) =$

4.10, p = ≤0.01) and Lisa and Bella (t(29) = 3.40, p = ≤0.05). In the nightclubbing dress Lisa (mean = 2.76, s.d. = 1.01) was perceived as significantly less appropriately dressed than Laura (mean = 3.00, s.d. = 0.96) and Bella (mean = 2.93, s.d. = 0.96).
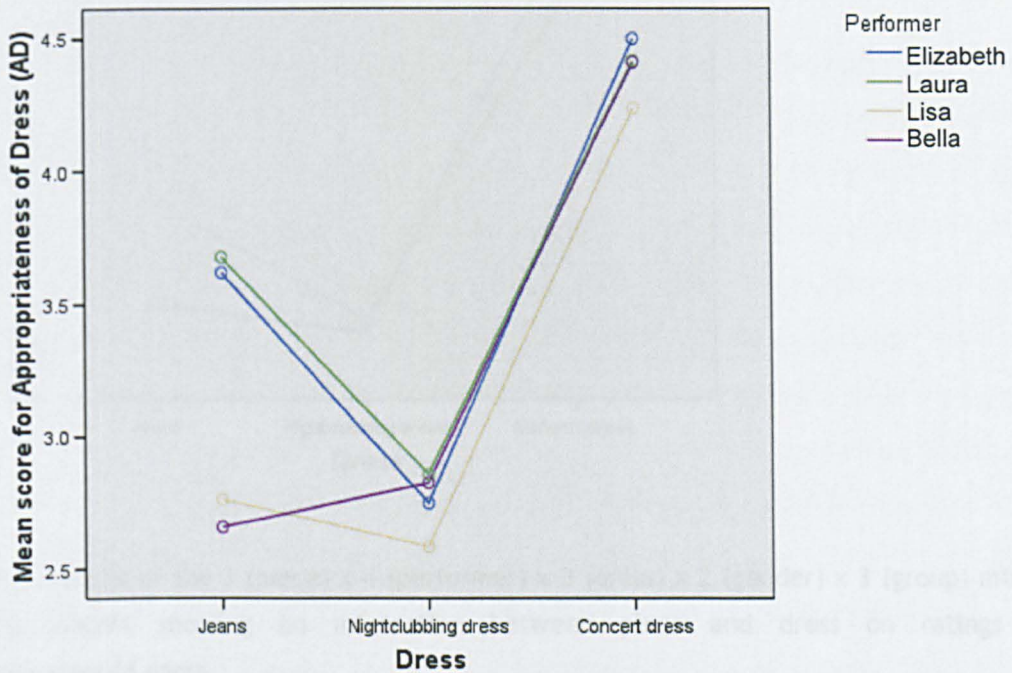
Figure 2.4 Results of the 3 (piece) x 4 (performer) x 3 (dress) x 2 (gender) x 3 (group) mixed measures ANOVA showing an interaction between performer and dress on ratings of appropriateness of dress.

An interaction of piece x dress was found on participants' ratings of appropriateness of dress (F(4, 96) = 3.32, p = 0.01) and this is shown in Figure 2.5. Tukey HSD post-hoc tests were carried out and determined that performers wearing jeans were rated significantly differently for appropriateness of dress in the classical and jazz (t(29) = 3.06, p = ≤0.05) and classical and folk pieces (t(29) = 5.25, p = ≤0.01) In jeans performers playing the classical piece (mean = 2.90, s.d. = 0.78) were perceived as less appropriately dressed than when performing the jazz (mean = 3.43, s.d. = 0.10) or folk (mean = 3.57, s.d. = 0.92) pieces. Significant differences in ratings of appropriateness of dress were also found between classical and folk pieces when performers wore the concert dress (t(29) = 2.82, p = ≤0.05). When wearing the concert dress performers were perceived as more appropriately dressed playing the classical piece (mean = 4.68, s.d. = 0.92) than the folk piece (mean = 4.17, s.d. = 1.07).
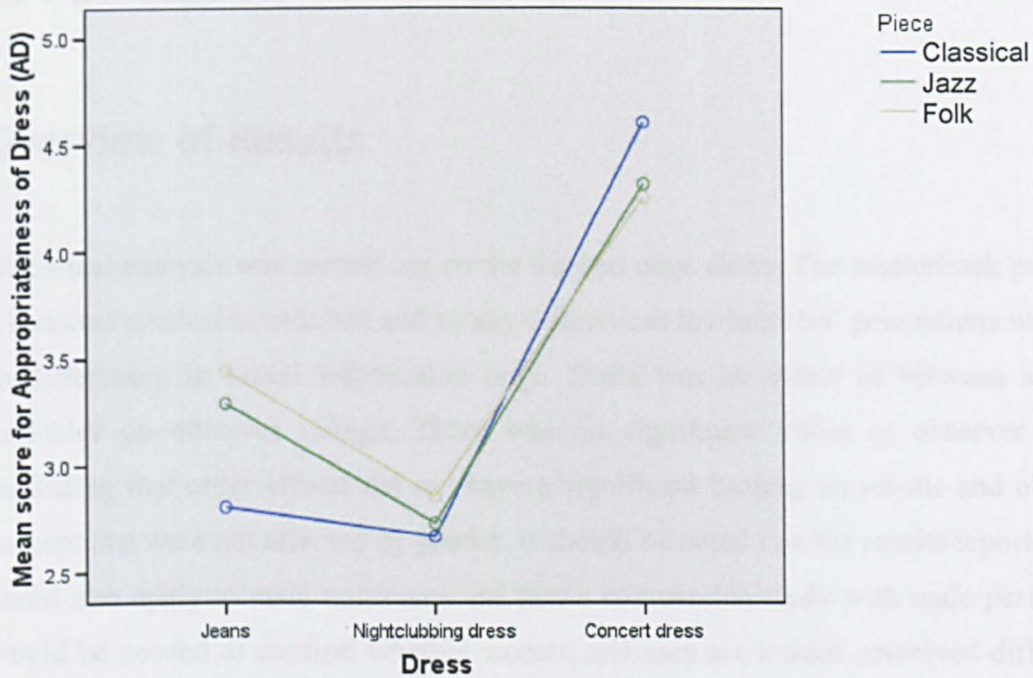
Figure 2.5 Results of the 3 (piece) x 4 (performer) x 3 (dress) x 2 (gender) x 3 (group) mixed measures ANOVA showing an interaction between piece and dress on ratings of appropriateness of dress.

Attractiveness of Performer

A 3 (piece) x 4 (performer) x 3 (dress) x 2 (gender of observer) x 3 (order of presentation) mixed measures ANOVA was carried out on participants' ratings of attractiveness of performer. A significant effect of dress was revealed (F(2, 48) = 5.38, p = 0.01) and Tukey HSD post-hoc tests revealed a significant difference between ratings of the concert dress and nightclubbing dress (t(29) = 3.52, p = ≤0.01). Performers were perceived as significantly less attractive in the nightclubbing dress (mean = 3.52, s.d. = 0.80) than in the concert dress (mean = 3.81, s.d. = 0.71).

2.4 Discussion

Overview of Results

Statistical analysis was carried out on the dubbed clips alone. The mastertrack provided a constant musical soundtrack and so any differences in observers' perceptions were due to differences in visual information only. There was no effect of between subjects variables on observer ratings. There was no significant effect of observer group, indicating that order effects did not have a significant bearing on results and observer perceptions were not affected by gender. It should be noted that the results reported here could also apply to male musicians and that a comparable study with male performers would be needed to confirm whether women and men are indeed perceived differently from each other. In addition, the short clips that participants watched provided them with a different musical experience to that of attending a concert, for example. Such attention to concert dress as is reported in this study may be an artefact of the short performances that were viewed. In order to determine the extent to which attention to dress persists after longer exposure within real performance contexts, further research is required.

General Discussion

Dress

Performers were rated as significantly less appropriately dressed in the nightclubbing dress than in jeans or the concert dress indicating that observers had a very strong idea of what constituted appropriate dress. It is possible that the nightclubbing dress was perceived as signifying a lack of engagement with the performance situation, which in Western classical music demands formal attire, and as a result performers' abilities may have been overlooked or underestimated. This was indicated by the significantly lower ratings of technical proficiency and musicality for performers in the nightclubbing dress compared with their scores when wearing concert dress. A further explanation for these lower musical scores relates to the mind/body split, described by Citron (1993). This suggests that historically women have been marginalised because of an association with

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the body. As such performers' creative skills were overshadowed by a focus on their bodies: it is plausible that the nightclubbing dress drew attention to the body with its short skirt and strapless top, and enforced the idea of women's bodies being synonymous with their identities and therefore that these performers were less capable of creative skill. One observer commented: 'I didn't like the short dress, it was very off-putting.' suggesting that attention directed at the body by dress was a distraction from the performers' musical skills. In making judgements of performers in the nightclubbing dress observers found it impossible to rate their musical abilities without the dress impacting on their judgements.

In the nightclubbing dress performers were rated as significantly less technically and musically proficient than when wearing the concert dress and significantly less musical than when in point light. There are a number of possible explanations for this result. Firstly, this finding may pertain to restriction of movement (Bartky, 1990) as the tightly fitted top and short skirt of the nightclubbing dress prevented all but the smallest movements from the waist. Alternatively, lower ratings of technical proficiency and musicality in the nightclubbing dress may be related to the performers' mental state of discomfort in this style of dress. Performers may have been uncomfortable with the nightclubbing dress either because of its revealing nature or because they were unused to performing in this style of dress and their body movements could have conveyed this to observers and resulted in lower ratings. Although a quantitative measure of comfort was not taken from performers for this study, the hypothesis is backed up by informal comments by the four violinists. In a session to try on the clothes before filming, Lisa would not come out of the changing rooms in the nightclubbing dress as she felt 'exposed'. Performers in this dress may have been rated as less able as they could not express themselves fully through their bodies. Body movement has been shown to be an important indicator of artistic intention from performer to audience (Davidson, 1993), and the combination of performer discomfort, minimised expressive body movement, and inappropriate body focussed dress may have resulted in performers' musical talents being devalued when wearing the nightclubbing dress.

The reverse effect was observed with performers wearing the concert dress as in this case performers were perceived to be significantly more appropriately dressed than when wearing jeans or the nightclubbing dress. Wearing the concert dress signifies understanding and acceptance of the formality and cultural practice of the performance

situation, and this was reflected in their high appropriateness of dress scores. As research has shown, appropriately dressed individuals are perceived as more competent (Douglas and Soloman, 1983), and wearers of the concert dress were given higher musical and technical ability scores. It should also be noted that observers may have exhibited a preference for prototype: as the concert dress is the most commonly observed dress in the Western classical performance situation it may have become the prototype of performance dress of this genre and therefore was rated as the most appropriate. In terms of the mind/body split, the concert dress had the reverse effect to the nightclubbing dress: the concert dress masked the body with a long skirt, long sleeves and a high neck, and allowed the observers' focus to remain on performers' musical and technical skills. This was supported by the significantly higher ratings of technical proficiency for performers in the concert dress than the nightclubbing dress or jeans, and significantly higher ratings of musicality in the concert dress and point light condition compared with the nightclubbing dress.

This effect was summed up by one observer: 'Posh music should equal posh dress, and too much leg [on show] is bad, because it isn't posh.' It appears that observers had preconceived notions of the status of the Western classical performance situation and the dress that most accurately reflected this. As Flugel (1940) noted, partial nakedness in women is culturally disrespectful and in revealing so much of the body in the nightclubbing dress, performers failed to match the high status that the observers assigned to classical music.

Performers were rated significantly higher for musicality when they were in the point light condition than in the nightclubbing dress. In fact, performers in the point light condition received the highest mean score for musicality. Initially this appeared to be a surprising result as previous research has made clear the importance of visual information in providing a complete picture of performer intention and ability (Leppert, 1993; Cook, 1998). However, this result suggests that by viewing only body movement and shape of movement in the point light condition, observers received a clearer picture of performer intentions that were otherwise distorted by culturally significant artefacts in the other conditions of this study. Clothes are said to add layers of cultural significance to an individual (Entwhistle, 2000) and if over time and through experience observers build up a perception of what excellent performers look and sound like, gross changes to these expectations, as in the case of the nightclubbing dress or the folk piece

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played in a concert dress, may mask signs of excellence that they are used to taking from body movement. The casual dress performers were required to wear for the point light condition may have affected them psychologically: the comfort and security afforded by the tracksuit bottoms and t shirt may have enhanced their communicative body movement and led to higher ratings in this condition.

The low ratings of the nightclubbing dress on scales of technical proficiency and musicality and the high ratings of the point light condition on musicality may be due to an effect of split attention on working memory. Participants of this study used working memory in making judgements of the video clips that were shown to them. Working memory can be described as consisting of "immediate perceptions and related activated long-term memories, as well as contextual information that is semi-activated but not in consciousness and information that has just been in consciousness" (Snyder, 2000; p. 49). Only a few elements of information can be processed in working memory at any one time and increasing cognitive load by attempting to process too many elements simultaneously can overburden working memory and affect its function (Kalyuga *et al.* 1999). Cognitive load on working memory is increased when a split attention effect is observed: this occurs when individuals must divide their attention between, and mentally integrate two disparate sources of information before the sources can be rendered intelligible (Chandler & Sweller, 1999), for example processing both text and diagrams. The result is a decrease in the available resources for processing information in working memory (Kalyuga *et al.* 1999). It is suggested that working memory has partially independent processors for handling auditory and visual material and that information presented across two channels would ease cognitive load (Mousavi *et al.*, 1995). However, research by Mayer *et al.* (2001) found that a lack of coherence between auditory and visual information increased cognitive load and participants that were presented with incongruent elements of information achieved a lower task performance score. In the current investigation it is plausible that the nightclubbing dress was incongruent with the music heard by participants and therefore split attention increased cognitive load and overburdened participants' working memory. This may have distracted participants from the music itself and resulted in lower ratings of technical proficiency and musicality when performers wore the nightclubbing dress. By contrast, there was not the same cultural incongruence between the point light condition and the music heard by participants: this may have eased the burden on working

memory and allowed participants' focus to remain on the music, resulting in higher ratings for musicality.

Dress also affected perceptions of appropriate dress dependent upon which piece was played. Jeans were rated as significantly more appropriate in the jazz or folk pieces than in the classical piece. The concert dress received highest overall ratings for appropriateness of dress and performers in the concert dress were seen as significantly more appropriately dressed in the classical piece than in the folk piece. Music performance is a social interaction governed by cultural practices (Davidson, 1997), one of which is appropriate dress. Different styles of music have different cultural values, and so it is not surprising that one style of dress would embody the values of a particular musical genre, and this is corroborated by observer 7: 'The jeans and top looked more appropriate than the long dress [for the folk piece].' It was argued in the Introduction (Chapter 1) that classical music is perceived as a mental and serious art in comparison to more popular styles of music, which are seen as less formal and encourage physical engagement with the music. It is therefore logical that for classical music, which adopts a more formal and serious approach to listening, the dress that was found most appropriate was the concert dress, which embodies these values with its plain style and masking effect on the body. Conversely, for folk and jazz that encourage engagement through movement of the body, it is unsurprising that casual attire was rated more highly in these genres.

There were practical reasons for these judgements on appropriateness of dress by genre as one observer noted 'Jeans are ok for folky music, and stilettos are clearly not appropriate for folky dancing.' In addition to a style of dress embodying the values associated with a style of music, dress needed to allow the correct degree of physical movement for a performer to convey their artistic intentions. If a performer of folk music is hindered in their movement by long skirts and high heels, she is unable to accurately display her musical skills.

Concert dress was perceived as the most appropriate dress overall, regardless of genre. This may be related to the fact that all observers were classically trained musicians and they may have exhibited a preference for prototype in the concert dress, as was suggested above.

Performer

The particular performer had a significant effect on technical proficiency, musicality and appropriateness of dress, confirming findings from previous research that physical appearance has an impact on perceptions of an individual's abilities (Sigelman et al., 1986). However, there was no significant difference in perceptions of performer attractiveness, which suggests that this was adequately controlled. Lisa was perceived as significantly more technically proficient and musical than Laura and Bella, but she was perceived significantly less appropriately dressed than Elizabeth and Laura. Perhaps the dress conditions of this study suited Lisa less well, but as all performers were selected for their physical similarity this seems unlikely. It is possible that this result presents further evidence of the mind/body split. Lisa received high ratings of technical proficiency and musicality and is perceived as musically, and therefore creatively very good: observers saw her as having more dominant mental than physical attributes (Citron, 1993), and as a result rated her physical attributes lower. Klein (1997) states that women can now embrace a traditionally feminine look without encouraging the negative stereotypes with which it was previously associated, effectively breaking the mind body dualism by refusing to accept that image has a bearing on intellectual or musical capacities. From perceptions of Lisa this does not appear to be the case; in fact the reverse is apparent. Not only were observers not rating both physical and musical elements correspondingly, but stereotypes of musicality and creativity were associated here with less positive judgements of physical appearance. This effect was concentrated in the investigation into the performer and dress interaction on ratings of appropriateness of dress. In the nightclubbing dress Lisa was rated as less appropriately dressed than Laura and Bella; here a dress that brought attention to her body lowered opinion of her. To investigate this, the video footage was analysed and comparisons between performers were made. It was clear at this point that Lisa had a very distinctive movement style: she was curled round her instrument and her movements were very intense. In comparison to Elizabeth and Laura, her movements were angular and aggressive, and the stark contrast between this style of movement and the body focussed nightclubbing dress may have led to low perceptions of her appropriateness of dress. Performers that excel musically may find their physical nature devalued, and audiences may find a body focussed image sits uncomfortably with what they perceive as a performer with mentally dominant skills.

Further evidence of the continuation of a mind/body dualism comes from Laura's profile of results. Laura was perceived as significantly less technically proficient than Lisa and less musical than Elizabeth and Lisa. However, she was rated as more appropriately dressed than Lisa in the nightclubbing dress and more appropriately dressed than Elizabeth and Lisa when wearing jeans. In Laura's case, it appears that she was perceived as physically rather than mentally dominant, and was rated accordingly. From observation of the video footage, it appears that Laura makes a number of small movements that are easily visible in the nightclubbing dress. These small movements could also be seen as complimenting the feminine and body-focussed style of the nightclubbing dress and leading to the perception of Laura as having more dominant physical than creative attributes.

Bella also produced an interesting profile of results. She was rated significantly lower than Lisa for technical proficiency, lower than Elizabeth and Lisa for musicality and lower than Elizabeth and Laura for appropriateness of dress. All performers wore the same clothes and were chosen for their similarity of appearance, so again videotape observations were turned to for explanations. In the same way that Lisa's decisive body movements may have made her seem to appear more musically able, so Bella's body movement seemed to lower observers' appraisal of her. Her stance was rigid and there was little expression either through movement or facial expression when playing. Lisa's uneven profile on visual and aural scales suggests that a higher rating of Bella on appropriateness of dress would be expected to counter the low aural achievement. However, Bella's rigidity in playing seemed to make her clothes appear uncomfortable and this was reflected in the low score of appropriateness of dress. It appears that perceptions of Bella were negative as observers were without full aural *and* visual information (Leppert, 1993).

Piece

When playing the folk piece performers were rated significantly higher for technical proficiency than when playing either the classical or the jazz piece. All three pieces were of equal pulse and duration, but the folk piece had a minim beat and constant quaver movement (Figure 2.1c). This may have led observers to perceive the folk piece as more technically demanding and perceive performers as more technically proficient when they mastered it. As the audio track was unchanging, performers' mastered the

folk piece in each performance, which may have resulted in the significantly higher ratings of technical proficiency for performers of this piece. It appears then, that repertoire affects perceptions of technical proficiency and that mastery of more complex sounding music may lead to a perception of higher technical proficiency than mastery of slower, simpler sounding pieces. Performers should carefully consider their combination of dress and repertoire and the effect this may elicit of perceptions of their performance.

2.5 Conclusions

This investigation has a number of findings that further understanding of how visual information in performance can affect audience perceptions. Existing research by Elliot (1995) and Davidson and Edgar (2003) suggested that changes in the visual appearance of performers would affect perceptions of performance quality. This effect was confirmed by the investigation reported here as significant differences in ratings of performance quality were revealed between performers, styles of dress and the pieces performed. Wapnick *et al.* (1997; 1998; 2000) found that appropriately dressed performers were rated significantly higher for performance quality than soloists that were perceived as less appropriately dressed. The current investigation confirmed this effect, as dress had a significant effect on perceptions of technical proficiency and musicality. However, this investigation improved Wapnick's method by exploring observers' perceptions of specific styles of dress. Observers had a very strong sense of what constitutes appropriate dress for classical performance as they perceived the restrictive, body-focussed nightclubbing dress to be a significantly less appropriate style of dress for performance than the formal, more traditional concert dress. This suggests that a more formal and less body-focussed style of dress is considered the most suitable for classical performance. When performers played in the nightclubbing dress they were perceived as significantly less technically and musically able than when wearing the concert dress. These findings provide evidence that body-focussed or inappropriate dress can lower perceptions of women's musical skills. Also, it is apparent that soloists' preference for dress can affect how they appear to an audience. Performers that are unhappy with their concert dress can (unintentionally or otherwise) communicate this to their audience through their expressive body movements and this can negatively affect perceptions of their performance.

The concert dress of performers can be used by the audience to ascertain the values and status of classical music. The comment of one observer that "posh music should equal posh dress" suggests that audience members have preconceptions of classical music as a formal, high art form and expect that soloists will mirror these values with their dress. The ability of concert dress to reflect values of a performance tradition is reinforced by the finding that appropriateness of a style of dress was dependent upon the genre of music being performed. In this investigation, informal dress was rated as more fitting for folk and jazz music than for classical music, which made the association between informal dress and an informal performance tradition.

Soloists were perceived differently by observers, despite the fact that the performers were selected for their similarity of appearance and were dressed in identical clothing. The sound produced and the image projected were the same for each performer, which suggests that dress and body movement style may interact to affect the efficacy of a soloist's communication of their musical approach.

The method employed for this initial empirical investigation obtained observers' ratings of performance quality on a number of different performance conditions. This method allowed the effects of a number of independent variables to be measured and established to what extent the effects of concert dress and appearance existed and how they affected perceptions of soloists' aural and visual performances. A limiting factor of this method was the high degree of control exerted over the independent variables. This meant that the performances seen by observers were representations of the classical performances that take place in concert halls and may have excluded factors from investigation that could have been insightful. It should be recognised that performers' body movement style and consequently perceptions of their performance quality, may have been affected by the requirement that they mime to a pre-recorded soundtrack for half of their performances. Performers reported that in the jazz piece they found it the most difficult to synchronise their playing with the recording; however, the jazz piece was not rated as significantly lower for technical proficiency and musicality than the classical or folk pieces, suggesting that performers' difficulties were not apparent to observers.

The findings of this investigation provide further direction for research into the effects of female soloists' concert dress and appearance. Investigation into the body movement style of individual performers and their movements in different styles of dress may help

to explain observers' differing perceptions of performers. Investigating the factors that affect performers' choice of concert dress may reveal why certain styles of dress are considered more appropriate than others for classical performance and if performers and observers have the same criteria when making judgements of appropriateness of dress. Investigating performers' choice of concert dress may help to determine what female performers hope to portray to their audience through their dress and appearance.

3. The Interaction of Concert Dress and Body Movement Style on Perceptions of Female Classical Soloists.

3.1 Introduction

3.1.1 Overview

As the results reported in the initial investigation (Chapter 2) showed, visual information in music performance plays a vital role in the formulation of observers' perceptions of a musician. At the end of that investigation, body movement style was presented as a possible cause of low ratings of aspects of two musicians' performances and it is this feature of performance that is explored below. Visual information provides an accurate representation of performer intentions (Davidson, 1993) and combines with aural information to add to the overall concept of the 'performance' (Davidson, 2001). Body movement in music performance occurs within a large amount of contextual information, such as dress, hair style and performance space (Davidson, 1995). Past research into expressive body movement has focussed on its production and reception while its interaction with other parts of the visual code has remained relatively unexplored; therefore the study reported below investigates the effect of body movement style in conjunction with concert dress and appearance on perceptions of solo classical performers.

Body movements in performance are biomechanically dependent, in that they are only made by parts of the body that are not engaged in creating sound. Body movements also are expressive in nature (Davidson and Correia, 2002) and have the function of emphasising both structural features of the music and the expressive intentions of the performer (Davidson, 1993; 1995). Body movement is therefore a method by which a musician can communicate with their audience in an ongoing manner as the performance evolves.

3.1.2 Production of Expressive Body Movement

Davidson has suggested (2002) that every performer has a fulcrum from which their expressive body movements are generated. She found that there was no exact correspondence between a specific gesture and a structural point in the music, as different movements were found when musicians repeated performances. However, in every repeat performance even though the gesture used was not consistent, movements always appeared in the same places. A performer has a vocabulary of culturally learnt gestures that are adapted from those used by their teacher, their peers and other performers (Davidson *in press* in Davidson and Correia, 2002). From this vocabulary performers can draw movements relevant to their specific performance intentions. This then aids technical, musical and social communication from performance to audience.

Previous research into the production of expressive body movements has aimed to understand movements as fulfilling categories of functions. This approach implies that the default position of the body is at rest and that movements are made to serve one of a number of functions. Although this functional view of body movement is generally accepted in the literature, authors differ on what these functions are. Ekman and Friesen (1969) analysed body movements that accompanied conversational interaction and suggested a number of categories that covered the functions of the movements that they observed, namely Emblems, Illustrators and Regulators. Emblems are described as movements specific to a culture that translate into a word or phrase, for example a shrug. Hand gestures that followed the rhythm or flow of speech are labelled as Illustrators and were shown to mark structural points in the conversation and give emphasis to ideational units. Finally, movements categorised as Regulators are those that guide the participation of members of a conversation such as an arm movement not returned to a rest position to indicate that an individual retains their turn in speaking.

Over a number of investigations Jane Davidson has adapted and refined Ekman and Friesen's (1969) categories and applied them to the bodies of musicians in performance (cf. 1993, 1994, 1995, 2001, 2002). In Davidson's (2005) investigation of a jazz singer and pianist she retained Ekman and Friesen's categories of Regulators and Illustrators and added categories of Adaptors and Display gestures. In this context Regulators are movements used for co-ordination between performers such as a nod of the head to bring players in together. Illustrators literally illustrate the text of the song, for example

the singer spread her arms as she sang the words "spread your wings". Adaptors categorise self-comforting gestures used instinctively by the performer to put them at ease, for example allowing the arm to hang comfortably by the side. Those movements categorised as Display gestures are used to draw the audience's attention towards the performer.

Other authors have understood the movements of performers as fulfilling different functions to those named by Davidson (2005). Martin Clayton (2005) explored movements made by performers from the Indian Raga tradition and although his categorisation system shares features with Davidson's, it is also distinct. Clayton (2005) categorised movements made by performers into one of five functions, namely sound producers, Markers, Illustrators, Emblems and Manipulators. Sound producing movements are not expressive in nature, but refer to the movements necessary to create sound in performance. Markers mark points in the musical process or structure, for example beating a pulse with the foot. Illustrators are a category shared by Clayton and Davidson, although in Clayton's case Illustrators do not merely illustrate the text of a song, but are tied to the musical content and follow the melodic flow. Emblems are another category that has been used in other investigations and again refer to gestures with a specific verbal translation. Lastly, Manipulators are movements that adjust a performer's physical environment such as modifying the position of a performer's dress.

Although authors differ on the nomenclature of expressive body movements they agree that movements can be grouped together based on the different ways in which performers use gestures to communicate with their audience. Performers were shown above to have a range of movement types in their vocabulary on which they can draw to best serve their expressive needs: a case study of the popular singer, Annie Lennox, (Davidson, 2001) found that Lennox employed a variety of emblems, illustrators and display gestures to communicate with the audience.

However, it is not the type of movement alone that determines expressive communication with the audience: magnitude of gesture plays an important role, and intensity of sound was found to be related to the size of gesture (Davidson, 1994). As expressive intention increases, so does the size of movement. Large gestures such as rocking of the torso are an exaggerated public display of emotive expression, while

smaller movements such as closing the eyes turn attention to the performer's inner thoughts and intentions. Vines *et al.* (2004) discovered that when pitch height, note density and dynamic level were low, removing visual information reduced observers' feelings of tension in listening to the piece. It is possible that expressive body movement and musical features of a piece are linked in affecting observers' perceptions of a musical work and an audience may rely on visual signals from the soloist to communicate the character of the music. Therefore, visual information may be key to the communication of affect in music and in situations where there is reduced aural stimulus, such as low dynamic level, body movement may compensate for this to communicate intensity of expression. However, if there is a reduction in both aural and visual stimulus, observers receive a lack of expressive information, which may affect how a performance is perceived.

Not all moments in a performance are equally expressive and although observers have reported some constant movements, expressive body movements are most likely to occur at moments of structural significance (Davidson, 1991). However, it is unclear whether body movement occurs as a reaction to the perception of an event in the music or as a means of clarifying a musical intention (Clarke and Davidson, 1998). Also, as the constant movements observed in Davidson's (1991) study showed, movement does not determine structure, and musical structure does not proscribe specific movements. Clarke and Davidson (1998) stated:

> "There is an issue of causality: we neither want to assert that body movement determines the interpretation of structure, nor that a performer's conception of musical structure determines body movement." Clarke and Davidson, 1998: 88.

Their point of view is suggestive of a co-determination between the mind and the body of a performer, where neither one dominates the direction of musical expression. This is a theoretical move away from the mind body dualism discussed in the opening chapter of this thesis, which showed a traditional dominance of the mind in musical performance since the 18th century. Clarke and Davidson's position also supports Frith's (1996) view that the body is able to produce a representation of the score on another level: both Frith (1996) and Clarke and Davidson (1998) recognise that a form of musical structure resides within the score which determines expression, but they also believe in the ability of the performer's body to create an additional level of meaning in its own right.

There is evidence that the performance situation can feed back into a musician's performance and affect the use of expressive body movement. Delalande (1990) conducted an investigation into the expressive body movements of the pianist Glen Gould, who moved from giving public recitals to working exclusively in the recording studio. She found that Gould's movements changed from fluid but unpredictable gestures to fixed repetitive movements after years of working in a studio. The presence of an audience or lack of it clearly had an effect on Gould's movements, which indicated that audience perception of gesture is an important part of communication through the body in performance.

3.1.3 Perception of Expressive Body Movement

Davidson's (1993) investigation found audiences perceived fine grained expression in body movement. Four violinists performed in three performance states, deadpan, projected and exaggerated, and their interpretations were recorded in point light condition, the technique used in the initial investigation (Chapter 2) in which spots of light on the main joints display only body movement. Their performances were presented to three groups of observers in sound only, vision only and combined sound and vision states. A second experiment used the same method but focussed on the movements of one pianist. From the visual condition alone observers were able to accurately distinguish between the three manners of performance and in one case it was only the vision mode that led to correct observer distinctions. In some cases vision may be more important than sound in perceiving the performer's expressive intentions.

Performer body movements were argued above to be culturally learned, which allows performers and audiences of the same culture to communicate. Audiences within the same cultural system as the performer learn to interpret gestures and a shared understanding allows the audience to comprehend the performer's intentions (Davidson and Correia, 2002). Non-musicians were found to rely almost entirely on visual information to determine the performer's intentions (Davidson, 1995). Therefore, visual information enhances audience understanding of the performance, and without it it is likely that some of the performer's intention may be lost.

Expressive body movement is influenced by a large number of cultural factors and the focus of this study is to investigate the interaction of dress and appearance with body

movement and its effects on perceptions of performance quality. The distinctive movement style of two performers from the previous study was a suggested cause of their low ratings on aspects of their performance and the investigation reported below explores this idea in greater depth.

3.1.4 Research Approach

The findings from the initial investigation (Chapter 2) and the research outlined above suggest that in the initial study, concert dress may have affected body movement style, and that individual body movement style may have affected participants' perceptions of performers. The investigation reported below aims to determine whether there is a perceivable difference in body movement style between performers of the initial study; whether differences in body movement style exist between a performer in different styles of dress, and if so what the differences are in terms of expressive movements produced by performers.

A mixed method approach was taken in the design of this study to allow the investigation of different but complimentary research questions (Robson, 2002). In order to investigate the same performers and performances reported in the initial investigation (Chapter 2), the same video footage was used in this study. A quantitative measure of appropriateness of body movement style was taken from participants on a 6 point Likert scale (where 1 was low and 6 was high), which allowed an overview of participants' perceptions of differences in performers' body movement style. The same format of rating scale was used in this investigation as in the initial study to allow comparisons of ratings across the studies. Asking participants to rate *appropriateness* of movement style ensured that a measure of effective rather than preferred movement style was obtained.

Significant results from the quantitative measure were followed up with observational analysis of the relevant performers. Davidson and Correia (2002) suggested that performers communicate by means of a movement vocabulary of culturally learned gestures and so observational analysis of frequency and type of movement was carried out for the performers under investigation. Davidson (1994) has suggested that size of gesture is linked to intensity of expression, so comparisons of performers' largest movements in different conditions were used to complete the observational analysis.

3.2 Method

The research reported here aims to investigate results of the initial study reported in Chapter 2 via a follow-up study. Differences in perceptions of performers were due to variations in their visual appearance, and this study aims to determine whether a performer's expressive body movements are mediated by their concert dress.

Design

This investigation used several different methods to collect data on the expressive body movements of violinists performing the classical style piece seen in the dubbed condition of the initial investigation. The first method obtained quantitative information on participants' perceptions of the appropriateness of each performer's body movement style; secondly, significant differences in these perceptions were investigated by gathering data from the violinists' dubbed performances on the frequency, type and size of gestures they used.

Perceptions of Body Movement Style

Perceptions of violinists' expressive body movements were investigated using a 4 (performer) x 4 (dress) x 2 (gender of observer) x 3 (order of presentation) mixed measures design. There were two within subjects variables: performer with four levels (Elizabeth, Laura, Lisa and Bella) and dress with four levels (jeans, nightclubbing dress, concert dress and point light condition). There were two between subjects groups: gender of observer with two levels (male and female), and order of test material presentation with three levels (1, 2 and 3).

The dependent variable was the rating on a 6 point Likert scale for appropriateness of body movement that observers gave to each combination of performer and dress. On this scale 1 represented 'not appropriate' and 6 represented 'very appropriate'.

Participants

Thirty musicians took part in the study and were recruited from the students and staff of the University of Sheffield, peripatetic instrumental teachers and professional musicians local to the Sheffield area. Participants ranged in age from 17 to 66 years of age (mean = 27.9 years, s.d. = 10.97). The group comprised 15 women and 15 men.

Materials

The same test material described in the previous study was edited and reused. Only the classical piece was used in this study because it best exemplified the genre that is the primary focus of this thesis, namely that of Western classical music.

The footage taken from the initial study showed four female violinists that were recorded playing a classical style piece in jeans, a nightclubbing dress, a concert dress, and in point-light condition. The conditions were recorded twice and a pre-recorded mastertrack was dubbed over one of each version. As before, original and dubbed clips were ordered using an orthogonal design.

Procedure

Testing took place in the lecture room of the Department of Music at the University of Sheffield. This was a familiar room for participants with a capacity of around 30 that was set up for audio-visual presentation. Observers were tested individually or in small groups; when small group testing took place, observers were asked not to communicate with each other during the test.

Pilot tests carried out for the previous investigation had already ensured that there was sufficient time between clips to complete all the scales, that observers were able to maintain concentration through 32 clips, and that the instructions and requirements were clear. Each testing session took around 20 minutes from start to finish, with the main task taking around 13 minutes.

Order effects were minimised by randomly assigning the observers to one of three groups; each group received the material in a different order. The material was started at different points in the DVD for each group. The first group saw the material from start to finish; the second group was started at clip 17 and watched to the end, then watched from the start to clip 16. The third group was shown from clip 25 to the end, then from clip 1 to 24. Each group consisted of an equal number of participants.

Initially, observers were presented with a pack containing information and answer sheets needed to complete the test. In order to ensure that all observers received the same information, they were asked to read through a written Information for Participants sheet. This sheet detailed the requirements of the task and gave them information on the opportunity to withdraw and treatment of their responses; after reading this they were given the opportunity to ask questions. Observers were asked to read and sign a consent form if they wished to continue with the task. All proposed observers took part in the test.

The example clips were played from a DVD player and projected onto a large screen. For each clip observers were asked to rate the performers in terms of appropriateness of their body movement style on a 6 point Likert scale, where 1 represented 'not appropriate' and 6 represented 'very appropriate'. Following this observers were again given the opportunity to ask questions.

Observers were presented with the material of the test DVD and were asked to use the answer booklet to rate each clip in terms of appropriateness of performer body movement style (Appendix 3) on the same format of Likert scale that was used in the examples. Space was provided at the end of the answer booklet for qualitative comments.

At the end of the experiment, observers were again given the opportunity to ask questions, and were debriefed, where the research questions, aims and objectives were fully revealed. Again not one observer was aware of the presence of a mastertrack.

Analysis of Body Movement Style

In addition to the quantitative data obtained from participants' ratings, the clips were analysed for the frequency, type and size of gestures used by the performers in their dubbed performances.

It was discussed above that there is no one accepted coding system for recording expressive body movements; therefore, a grounded approach was taken based on the data and bearing in mind Davidson (2005) and Clayton's (2005) previous investigations. Both Davidson and Clayton used physical descriptions of performers' movements and categorised them according to their perceived function. In the current analysis, each dubbed clip was observed a number of times at a reduced speed to identify the points in the score at which performers made expressive movements. For each clip combining performer and dress a score was annotated with the relevant movement, its duration and a description. Each performer made a number of expressive movement types and a list of movement types, or movement vocabulary was compiled for each performer. A table of the frequency of each movement type observed was also compiled. To determine the function of these expressive movements, the author and a second researcher re-viewed the video footage separately. Each researcher coded the function of the movements independently and these functions were confirmed after comparison of their findings revealed that they concurred.

Movement size was also compared to investigate significant results revealed in the quantitative analysis. For performances of interest, i.e. where the quantitative analysis revealed a significant difference in observer perception, the performer's largest movement of each performance was identified. Performers made a large number of expressive gestures: the greatest frequency of these per performance indicates the greatest degree to which a performer moved, and gives an impression of each performer's style of movement. The position of each performer immediately before they began to play was taken as the 'at rest' position and a still picture was taken from the video footage. The footage was played a frame at a time; at the point of their largest deviation from the 'at rest' position, another still picture was taken. Using Adobe Photoshop the two pictures were made translucent and laid on top of each other; the picture was rendered, which allowed the extent of movement to be compared between performances and performers.

3.3 Results

Appropriateness of Body Movement Style

The dubbed data were analysed by means of a 4 (performer) x 4 (dress) x 2 (gender of observer) mixed measures ANOVA for the rating scale of appropriateness of body movement style. This analysis revealed a significant effect of performer $(F(3, 72) = 12.155, p = <0.001)$. Tukey HSD post-hoc tests were calculated from t scores and determined that this difference was between ratings of Elizabeth and Bella $(t(29) = 3.633, p = \leq0.001)$, Laura and Bella $(t(29) = 5.34, p = \leq0.001)$ and Lisa and Bella $(t(29) = 5.16, p = \leq0.001)$. Bella (mean = 3.39, s.d. = 0.81) was perceived as having a significantly less appropriate body movement style than Elizabeth (mean = 3.88, s.d. = 0.67), Laura (mean = 3.98, s.d. = 0.69), and Lisa (mean = 4.07, s.d. = 0.63).

A significant interaction of performer and dress was found on appropriateness of body movement style $(F(9, 216) = 3.93, p = <0.001)$. Tukey HSD post-hoc tests calculated from t scores found that Lisa was rated significantly differently in the jeans to the nightclubbing condition $(t(29) = 3.90, p = \leq0.001)$. Inspection of mean scores found Lisa was rated as having a significantly more appropriate body movement style in jeans (mean = 4.40, s.d. = 0.89) than in the nightclubbing dress (mean = 3.77, s.d. = 0.82). Tukey post-hoc tests also revealed that Laura was perceived significantly differently for body movement style in jeans than in the point light condition $(t(29) = 4.60, p = \leq0.001)$ and in the nightclubbing dress to the point light condition $(t(29) = 3.79, p = \leq0.001)$. In the point light condition (mean = 3.33, s.d. = 1.16) Laura was rated as having a significantly less appropriate body movement style than when wearing jeans (mean = 4.27, s.d. = 0.74) or the nightclubbing dress (mean = 4.20, s.d. = 1.06).

Comparing all performers for each style of dress, Tukey post-hoc tests determined that in jeans, Bella was rated significantly differently for body movement style to Elizabeth $(t(29) = 4.17, p = \leq0.001)$, Laura $(t(29) = 5.66, p = \leq0.001)$ and Lisa $(t(29) = 4.30, p = \leq0.001)$. In the jeans condition Bella (mean = 3.23, s.d. = 1.08) was rated as having a significantly less appropriate body movement style than Elizabeth (mean = 4.00, s.d. = 0.98), Laura (mean = 4.27, s.d. = 0.74) and Lisa (mean = 4.44, s.d. = 0.89).

Observations of Expressive Body Movement

Observations of expressive body movements were used to investigate the significant results from the quantitative analysis. As the focus of this investigation was on expressive gestures only, those movements by performers that were perceived as solely for the production of sound were discounted from this analysis. Movements were observed from the dubbed test material shown to participants (Table 3.1). These movements were then coded by the author and the second researcher according to their function. A number of movement types were observed in the violinists' performances: a small bob down from the knee was categorised as a 'knee bend'; an exaggerated lift of the bow and shoulders in addition to a lean forwards was characterised as a 'lean in' as it is the movement often used by string players at they make an entry; a small raise and drop of the shoulders was labelled 'finish off' as it is a movement often used to bring a piece to a close. A shift in performers' weight from the right to the left was named 'right to left sway'; a turn in the violinist's upper body to their right or left was named as a 'rotation'. This was differentiated from a 'wiggle', where a quick side to side movement of the upper body and head was observed. A 'forward lean' or 'back lean' represented a bend from the performer's waist in either direction; 'scroll down' and 'chin down' were smaller versions of the 'forward lean', in which only the scroll or chin were involved.

The frequency of movements and the number of movement types made by performers were complied and individual movement types were then categorised according to their perceived function (Table 3.1). No two performers' expressive body movements were exactly the same for any of the performances, which suggests that each performer had an individual movement style. However, there were similarities between performers' movement vocabularies. All but one of the movement types, 'lean in', was made by more than one performer: 'finish off' and 'right to left sway' were made by all performers and 'front lean' and 'back lean' were made by three out of four performers.

The movements 'knee bend', 'lean in' and 'finish off' were categorised as Markers because they were used by the performers to mark the pulse and other points in the musical structure. The 'right to left sway', 'rotation' and 'wiggle' were characterised as Tracers as they followed the melodic flow of the music. 'Forward lean', 'back lean', 'scroll down' and 'chin down' were categorised as Intensifiers as performers used these

gestures to increase intensity in the music. The categories of movement functions were a combination of those adapted from previous research and that devised by the author based on observations. Davidson's (2005) categories of Regulators, Illustrators and Adaptors were not appropriate for the style of performance observed in this investigation. Display gestures were not observed in the footage of performances used in this investigation. The video clips began as the performers started to play and ended as the music finished; therefore, Adaptors were not observed as the performers were involved in playing for the duration of the footage. Performers played alone and so there were no regulatory gestures used to co-ordinate their playing with other performers and the purely instrumental nature of the piece meant that there was no text to be illustrated with gesture.

Similarly, movements that Clayton (2005) would categorise as Emblems were not observed in these performances as there were no other performers for the violinists to communicate with. However, the category Tracers used in this investigation contains movements that were analogous to the musical flow of the piece and therefore are developed from Clayton's (2005) Illustrators; the label Tracers was chosen over Illustrators as it more accurately described the perceived function of these movements. Clayton's (2005) title Markers was used in this investigation to represent movement types that were used to mark points in the musical structure. The category of Intensifiers was devised independently by the author to represent movement types used by performers to intensify expression in performance.

Each clip shown to observers was 17 seconds in length and although this prevented viewer fatigue, the frequency of performers' movements per clip is low. As a result it is not possible to carry out statistical analysis on these data although they will be used below to illustrate performer's style of movement. Opacities of performers' largest movements were made, but as with the movement frequencies, statistical analysis of differences in size between these movements is not appropriate. These figures are used as an indicator of each performer's movement style only, therefore each performer is considered separately below. The quantitative analysis only revealed significant differences in perceptions of body movement style for Laura, Lisa and Bella and so Elizabeth's body movement style is not analysed in detail below.

Table 3.1 Observed frequencies of performers' expressive movements.

| | Markers | | | Tracers | | | Intensifiers | | | | |
	Knee bend	Lean in	Finish off	R L sway	Rotation	Wiggle	Forward lean	Back lean	Scroll down	Chin down	Total
Elizabeth Jeans			1	2	2	1		1	1		8
Elizabeth Nightclubbing			1	4	1	2					8
Elizabeth Concert			1	5	1	2	1				1
Elizabeth Point light			1	4	1						6
Laura Jeans			1	1			4	4			10
Laura Nightclubbing	7			1			1	5			14
Laura Concert	2			1			6	3			12
Laura Point light			1	1			3	1			6
Lisa Jeans	1	1	1	3	2	2	2				12
Lisa Nightclubbing			1	2	1			1		1	6
Lisa Concert			1	2	1	1	1	1		1	8
Lisa Point light			1	4		1	3				9
Bella Jeans			1	2				2			5
Bella Nightclubbing			1	3							4
Bella Concert				2				1			3
Bella Point light			1	2							3
											124

Bella

In the current investigation participants observed performers playing the Classical style piece and perceived Bella to have significantly less appropriate body movement style than Elizabeth, Laura and Lisa. The frequency, type and size of movements were investigated to determine in what way Bella's body movement style differed from that of the other performers. Observed frequencies of expressive movements (Table 3.1) showed that across the four performances each violinist gave in the dubbed condition, Bella made fewer expressive movements than the other performers: Bella made 15 expressive movements compared with Elizabeth who made 23, Laura who made 42, and Lisa who made 35. This is shown in Figure 3.1. Table 3.1 also shows that Bella used fewer types of movement than the other performers; Bella used 3 different types of movement compared with Elizabeth who used 7, Laura who used 5, and Lisa who used

9 (Figure 3.1). Bella's vocabulary of expressive movements was more limited than that of the other three performers.
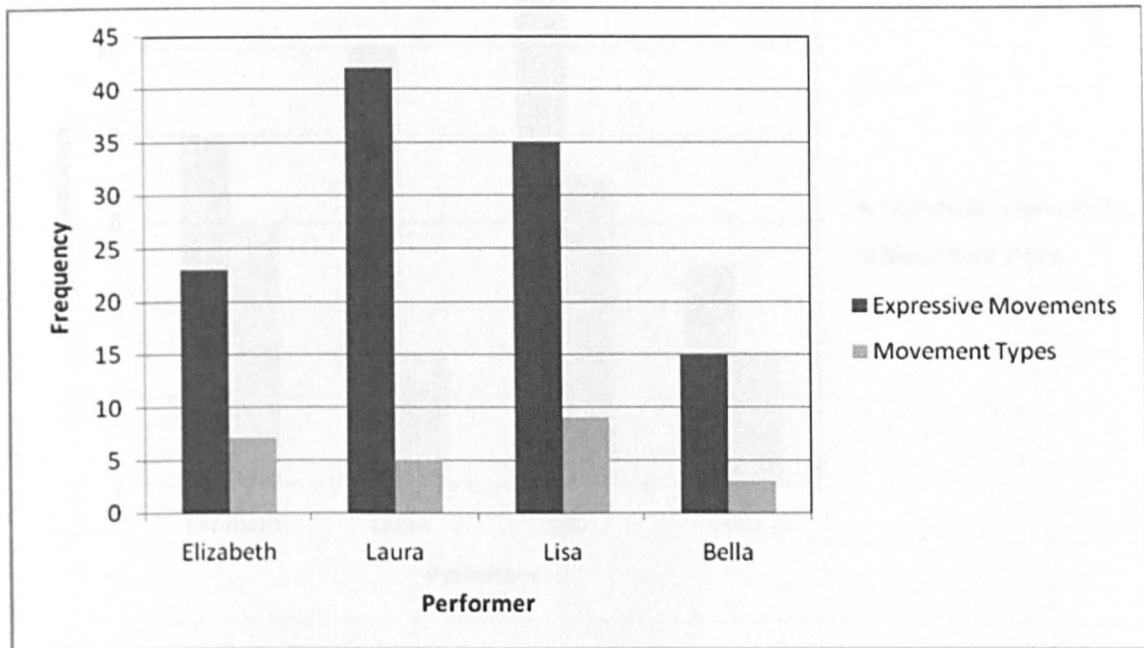
Figure 3.1 Frequency of expressive movements and movement types made by performers.

In the current investigation it appeared that differences in the perception of Bella's body movement style compared with that of the other performers was particularly apparent in performances when violinists' were wearing jeans. This was highlighted in the interaction of performer and dress, which showed that when wearing jeans Bella was rated as having a significantly less appropriate body movement style than Elizabeth, Laura and Lisa. In order to identify differences between performers' body movement styles when wearing jeans, the frequency, type and size of performers' expressive body movements were investigated. The observed frequency of movements in the jeans condition alone is much less for Bella than for the other three performers: Bella made 5 expressive movements compared with Elizabeth who made 8, Laura who made 10, and Lisa who made 12 (Figure 3.2). Looking at the number of movement types each performer used when wearing jeans, again Bella used fewer expressive movement types than the other performers. When wearing jeans Bella used 3 different types of movement compared with Elizabeth who used 6, Laura who used 3 and Lisa who used 7. This is shown in Figure 3.2.
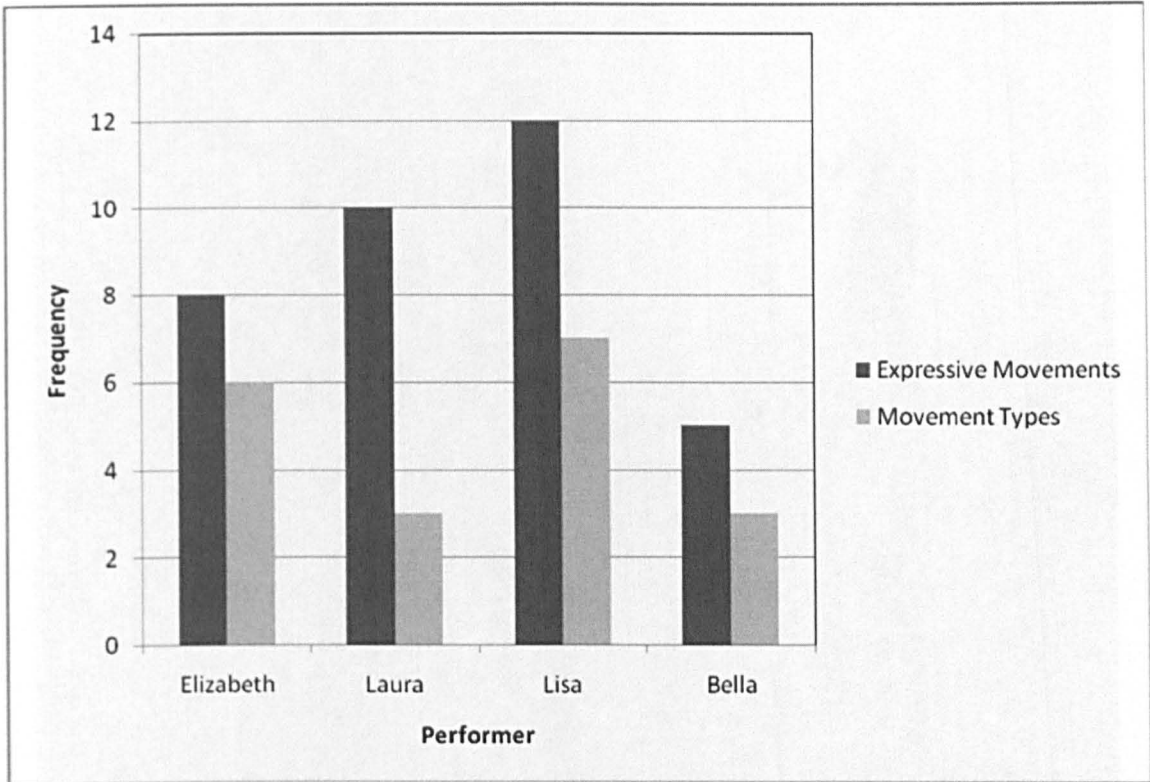
Figure 3.2 Frequency of expressive movements and movement types made by performers when wearing jeans.

Opacities of each performer's largest movements were made for performances in the jeans condition, a style of dress where Bella was perceived by observers to have a significantly less appropriate body movement style (Figure 3.3). These images suggest that Bella's expressive movements were more restricted and smaller in size than those of the other performers.

Figure 3.3. Opacities of each performer's largest movement in the jeans condition. Clockwise from top left: Elizabeth, Lisa, Bella, and Laura.

Lisa

In the current investigation observers perceived that Lisa's body movement style was significantly less appropriate when she was wearing the nightclubbing dress compared with jeans. In order to investigate this result, the frequency, type and size of Lisa's expressive movements were compared in her performances when wearing the nightclubbing dress and when wearing jeans. Observed frequencies of movements (Table 3.1) showed that Lisa made fewer movements when wearing the nightclubbing dress compared with when wearing jeans. She made 6 expressive movements in the nightclubbing dress and 12 movements when wearing jeans. This is shown in Figure 3.4. Lisa also used fewer expressive movement types when wearing the nightclubbing dress compared with jeans. Lisa used 5 different movement types when wearing the nightclubbing dress compared with 7 movement types in jeans (Figure 3.4). Lisa used fewer types of expressive movement and therefore had a more limited movement vocabulary in the nightclubbing dress compared to jeans.
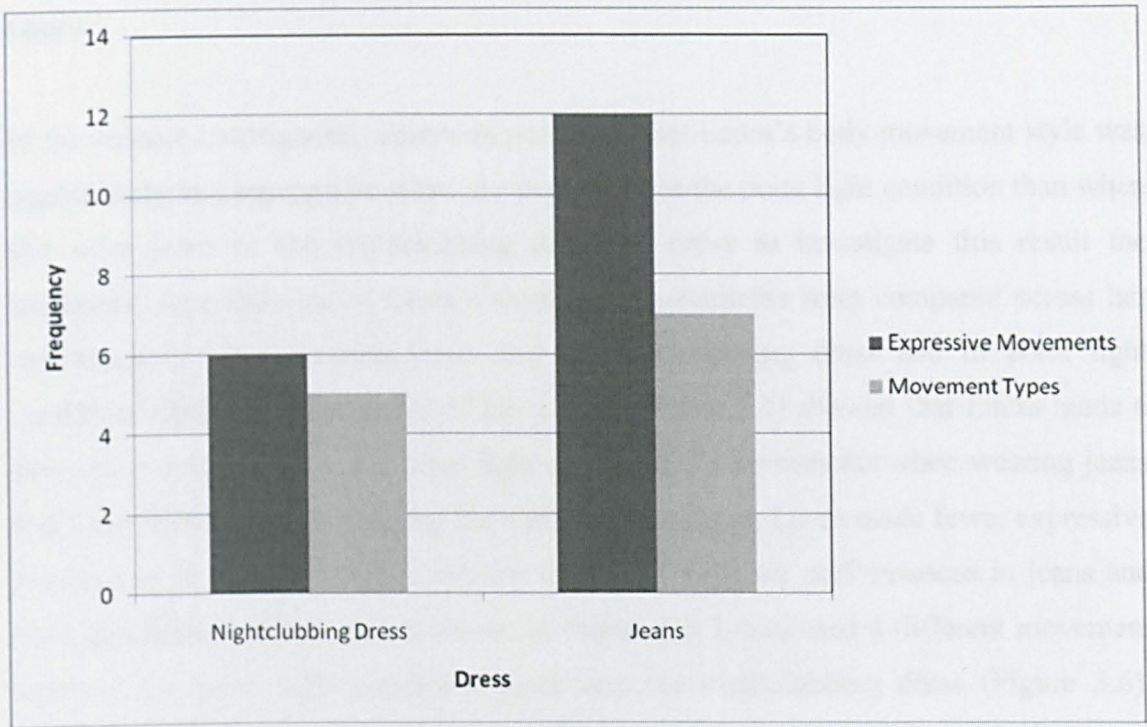
Figure 3.4 Frequency of expressive movements and movement types made by Lisa when wearing nightclubbing dress and jeans.

Opacities of Lisa's largest movements when wearing jeans and when wearing the nightclubbing dress suggest that Lisa's expressive movements were smaller in size, and therefore more restricted, when she performed in the nightclubbing dress compared with jeans (Figure 3.5). In addition to quantitative measures of Lisa's body movement, general observation of her performances revealed intensity in her movements. These definite gestures were suggestive of seriousness in her approach to performance.
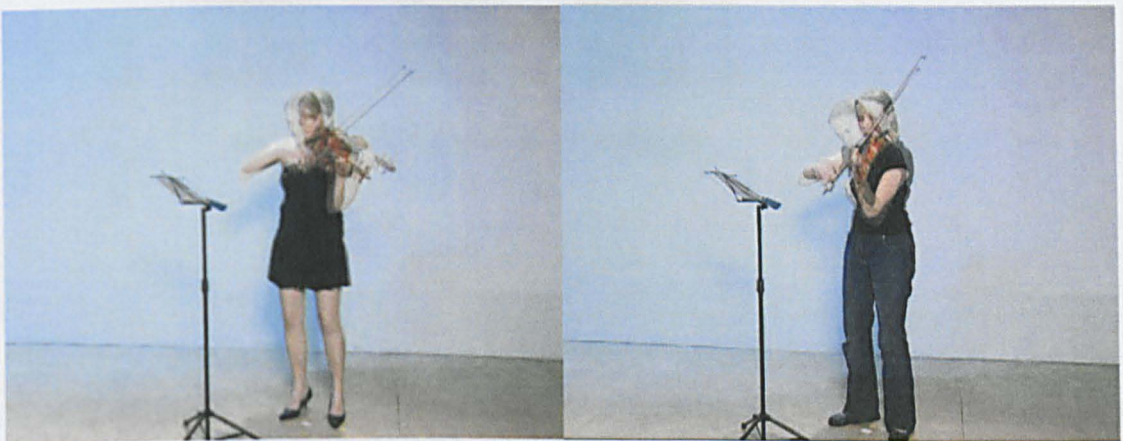
Figure 3.5 Opacities of Lisa's largest movements in the nightclubbing and jeans conditions.

In the current investigation, observers perceived that Laura's body movement style was significantly less appropriate when she performed in the point light condition than when she wore jeans or the nightclubbing dress. In order to investigate this result the frequency, type and size of Laura's expressive movements were compared across her performances when wearing jeans and the nightclubbing dress and in point light condition. Observed frequencies of movements (Table 3.1) showed that Laura made 6 expressive movements in the point light condition, 10 movements when wearing jeans and 14 movements when wearing the nightclubbing dress; Laura made fewer expressive movements in the point light condition compared with her performances in jeans and the nightclubbing dress. This is shown in Figure 3.6. Laura used 4 different movement types in the point light condition, jeans and the nightclubbing dress (Figure 3.6); Laura's movement vocabulary was as extensive in point light condition as in jeans and the nightclubbing dress.
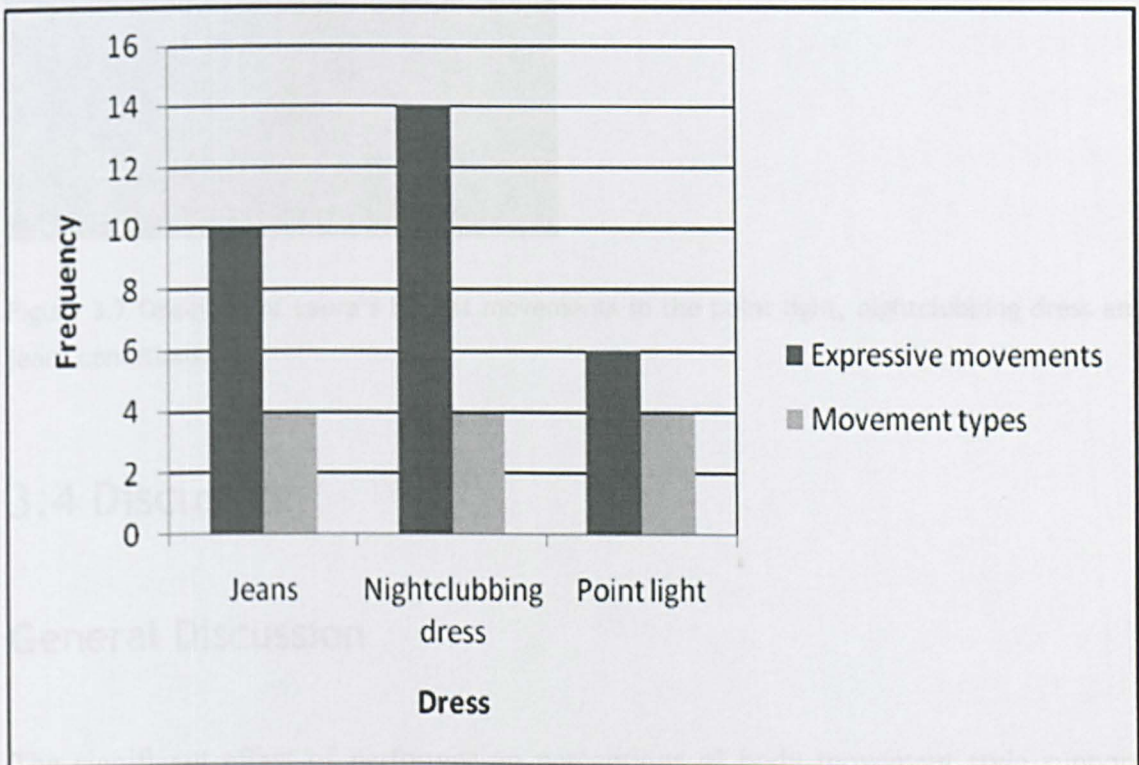
Figure 3.6 Frequency of expressive movements and movement types made by Laura when wearing jeans, the nightclubbing dress and in the point light condition.

Opacities of Laura's largest movements in the point light condition, when wearing jeans and when wearing the nightclubbing dress show that Laura's expressive movements were smaller in size when she performed in the point light condition compared with the nightclubbing dress and jeans (Figure 3.7).

Figure 3.7 Opacities of Laura's largest movements in the point light, nightclubbing dress and jeans conditions.

3.4 Discussion

General Discussion

The significant effect of performer on perceptions of body movement style supports previous research which has suggested that performers have an individual style of movement and a vocabulary of culturally-learned gestures that they can draw upon to suit their expressive needs (Davidson and Correia, 2002). Observers perceived that each performer moved in a different manner, and rated this style of movement as more or less appropriate, depending on their ability to communicate through movement. The

observed frequencies of movements and the spatial range of movement confirmed that each performer had an individual style of movement that varied in the frequency, type and magnitude of gestures that were used. There were also great similarities between performers' movement vocabularies, as the majority of movement types that a performer made were made by at least one other performer. This suggests that gestures are culturally learned as performers within a tradition, here Western classical music, adopted similar visual signs to communicate with their audience. The communication chain requires accurate interpretation as well as accurate production in order to be fully understood, and so by using gestures common to Western classical music, performers are ensuring that their intentions have the best chance of being rightly understood.

Body movement style was perceived as less appropriate when a performer's movement vocabulary was more limited: smaller movements, the use of fewer movement types and a lower frequency of movements led to performers' movement styles being rated as less appropriate. Visual information in performance was shown in the Introduction (Chapter 1) and the initial investigation (Chapter 2) to be a vital method of communication between performer and audience (Leppert, 1993; Frith, 1996), so if the effectiveness of this medium is diminished by a reduced movement vocabulary or smaller movements, then a performer's expressive intentions are more difficult to interpret. Therefore, it is unsurprising that in these cases body movement style was perceived as less appropriate.

Performer and Dress

Performers' body movement styles were perceived by observers as significantly different. This is not unexpected as body movement has been shown to be a highly effective method of communicating performer intention (Davidson, 1993; 1995). It is clear even on initial inspection of the video footage of the four performers that they move in very different ways. Significant effects of performer and dress were found for Laura, Lisa and Bella and so their body movement styles are discussed in more detail below.

Bella

Bella was rated significantly lower for appropriateness of body movement style than Elizabeth, Laura and Lisa and the interaction of performer and dress revealed that this effect was especially apparent when wearing jeans. In addition, the observational analysis revealed that Bella used a reduced movement vocabulary compared with other performers wearing jeans. It is likely that Bella's minimally expressive movements and rigid stance gave an overall effect of a stilted movement style, which may have become a barrier between her and her audience. Movements are necessary to produce an expressive performance (Davidson, 1995) and it is likely that her movement style failed to communicate her musical intentions and as a result observers perceived her body movement style as less appropriate.

The jeans condition drew attention to performers' bodies and although it covered the body, unlike the nightclubbing dress, the jeans and t-shirt were fitted and accentuated body shape. As Bella's body movement style was perceived to be the least appropriate over all dress conditions, it would appear that again her movement style came between her and the audience and observers were unable to decode her expressive intentions from her gestures. Arguably, the jeans condition drew observers' attention to her form, which may have widened the gap in ratings between her and the other performers.

These results may also explain perceptions of Bella from the initial investigation. In the initial investigation (Chapter 2) Bella was perceived by observers as being less technically proficient than Lisa and less musical than Elizabeth and Lisa. If Bella has a less appropriate body movement style than other performers then she may be less able to communicate her musical intentions and would appear less technically proficient and musical than performers with a more effective movement style. In the initial study Bella was perceived as significantly less musical when wearing jeans and the nightclubbing dress, than when performing in the point light condition. On first inspection this appears a surprising result as the full complement of aural and visual information was not available to observers in the point light condition. However, if particular styles of dress accentuate this performer's body shape, which hinders effective communication, then the point light condition effectively removes the distraction from the aural information caused by dress. Split-attention effect was highlighted in the initial investigation (Chapter 2) as a possible explanation for higher ratings of point light performances over

performances where dress was incongruous with the style of music. If the image of Bella in jeans or the nightclubbing dress highlighted an inappropriate body movement style, then it may have overloaded observers' working memories and distracted them from the aural information being presented to them and resulted in lower ratings of musicality.

It is possible that style of body movement may affect perceptions of the appropriateness of a performer's concert dress. This may explain why Bella was rated as significantly lower than Elizabeth and Laura for appropriateness of dress in Experiment 1. Styles of dress have fixed connotational meaning (Barnard, 2002) irrespective of their wearer and so it seems unlikely that the same dress can alter in appropriateness between performers; instead, another feature of a performer's appearance may impact on perceptions of their appropriateness of dress. Small (1998) believes that the various aural and visual sensory stimuli present in performance are bound by audience members into a single unified experience. For this to be the case the component parts of visual information, for example dress and body movement, would also have to be perceived as one event by observers. Therefore, observers may not perceive separately body movement style and appropriateness of dress. In this investigation Bella was perceived as having a less appropriate body movement style than the other performers: this may have impacted on her overall appearance and led to the negative perceptions of her appropriateness of dress in Experiment 1.

Lisa

Lisa was perceived by observers as having a significantly more appropriate body movement style when wearing jeans than when wearing the nightclubbing dress. Looking at the observational analysis of Lisa's movements it is clear that she used a more extensive movement vocabulary when wearing jeans compared to the nightclubbing dress, and that those movements were larger in size. Lisa's fluid and decisive movements in jeans, communicate effectively her musical intentions through her body. Observers could see clearly her attitude and intention towards her performances as her movements had an intensity suggestive of seriousness. It is likely that this resulted in perceptions of her movement style in jeans as more appropriate.

By contrast, when wearing the nightclubbing dress Lisa's movements were smaller and less effective at communicating with the audience. Here, her musical intentions were less visible to observers, which may have resulted in lower perceptions of the appropriateness of her body movement style in the nightclubbing dress. The reduction in Lisa's movements in this style of dress may be attributed to the discomfort she felt. In the initial investigation (Chapter 2) it was reported that she refused to show other performers how she looked in the nightclubbing dress as she felt 'exposed'; it is likely that her reduction in movement was intentional as it ensured that she exposed as little of her body as possible. Additionally, she may have used smaller and fewer gestures in order to attract less attention to herself as she performed in the nightclubbing dress. However, less expressive body movements by Lisa in the nightclubbing dress may have revealed less of her musical intentions than more expansive gestures would have done and perhaps resulted in her body movement style being perceived as less appropriate. Lisa's smaller and fewer gestures may explain the result from Experiment 1, where Lisa was rated significantly lower than Laura and Bella in the nightclubbing dress for appropriateness of dress. Here, Lisa may have communicated her discomfort with her dress to the audience through reduced movement, which would have been especially apparent in contrast to her expansive movements when wearing jeans. Her awkwardness in the nightclubbing dress may have highlighted the incongruity between her dress and the music and resulted in lower perceptions of appropriateness of dress.

Laura

Laura was perceived by observers to have a significantly less appropriate style of body movement in the point light condition compared with performances in the jeans and the nightclubbing dress. Looking at the observational data, Laura made fewer expressive movements in the point light condition compared with her performances when wearing jeans and the nightclubbing dress. Additionally her expressive movements were more restricted in the point light condition compared with her performances when wearing jeans or the nightclubbing dress. This supports findings reported above for Lisa and Bella, where an increase in frequency and size of expressive movements was associated with higher ratings of appropriateness of body movement style.

It was unexpected that Laura should be perceived as having a more appropriate body movement style when wearing the nightclubbing dress than when in the point light

condition. Increased attention to women's bodies through body-focussed dress such as the nightclubbing dress is thought to objectify women and negate their creative skills; indeed evidence was provided in support of this in the initial investigation. However, although increased attention is drawn to the body through the nightclubbing dress, it is possible that the increased attention aids rather than hinders audience-performer communication in certain circumstances. The fact that the appropriateness of her body movement style was rated as significantly lower in the point light condition than in jeans or the nightclubbing dress, suggests that dress aids perception of Laura's body movement and her musical intentions. If Laura's expressive body movements are not immediately obvious it may take a body focussed style of dress to draw attention to them. This would also explain the higher ratings of appropriateness of body movement style when wearing jeans, as this style of dress was thought to draw attention to Bella's physical shape. As dress was not visible in the point light condition, Laura may not have communicated as effectively in this situation and some of her expressive intentions may have been lost.

This theory would also help to explain some of the results from the initial study. Laura was perceived as significantly more appropriately dressed when wearing the nightclubbing dress than Lisa, and significantly more appropriately dressed when wearing jeans than Lisa and Bella. It was suggested above that visual elements of a performance may be amalgamated into a single perception of the event by observers, which would explain how Laura was perceived as having a more appropriate body movement style and being more appropriately dressed when wearing jeans and the nightclubbing dress.

3.5 Conclusions

The findings from this study support Davidson and Correia's (2002) assertion that performers have an individual movement vocabulary that they draw upon in performance to communicate visually with their audience. On the whole, more extensive movement vocabularies were related to observers' perceptions of a more appropriate body movement style. However, this study provides evidence that suggests that the size of expressive movements is a more important factor in visual communication in performance than the frequency or type of gesture.

Observers' perceptions of appropriateness of body movement style may impact upon their perceptions of appropriateness of dress. Certain styles of concert dress may draw attention to or highlight a performer's body shape and movement style. Depending upon their individual movement style this may help or hinder the communication of their musical intentions to an audience. This conclusion is supported by Cook's (1998b) theoretical argument that all visual elements of a performance are perceived as a single event. Body-focussed dress does not necessarily objectify female performers and diminish their creative skill, contrary to evidence from the initial investigation (Chapter 2). For performers making fewer and smaller expressive movements, body-focussed dress may concentrate observers' attention on the visual aspects of performance and aid communication of musical ideals.

In the initial investigation (Chapter 2), a performer's physical and mental comfort in their concert dress was revealed as an important factor in how well she communicated with her audience. Performers may have differing feelings about the same style of dress and it appears that in order for them to use their expressive body movements to their greatest advantage in performance, they must be both physically and mentally content with their concert dress.

This method for this investigation used the footage from the initial investigation to obtain a quantitative measure of observers' perception of the appropriateness of performers' body movement style. Significant differences between ratings of performers were followed up with observational analysis of their body movement style. This method allowed detailed comparisons of performers' body movement styles across the four dress conditions and provided explanations for observer perceptions from the initial investigation (Chapter 2). A limitation of this method relates to the fact that observers' responses to performers' expressive gestures were made whilst performers mimed to a pre-recorded soundtrack. Observers may have witnessed the performers' own expressive gestures coupled with the musical interpretation of the violinist who performed the pre-recorded soundtrack. This may have affected observers' ratings of the appropriateness of performers' body movement style. However, observers reported being unaware that soloists mimed to half of the performances that they witnessed and so it seems unlikely that this affected observers' perceptions.

4. An Investigation into Factors Affecting Performers' Choice of Concert Dress.

4.1 Introduction

Findings from the initial investigation into the effect of concert dress and appearance on perceptions of female soloists (Chapter 2) and the study of the interaction between dress and body movement style (Chapter 3) have suggested that individual differences in performers' expressive body movement, and therefore observers' perceptions of their performances, were as a direct result of performers' preferences for style of concert dress. Although previous studies reported in this thesis have suggested that performers' behaviour is affected by specific styles of dress, they have not dealt in detail with the factors that govern their choices of concert dress; this is the focus of the current investigation.

In order to investigate factors affecting individual performers' choice of concert dress, a qualitative approach was taken. Where quantitative research operates at the macro level, for example constructing broad models of behaviour relationships, qualitative research works at the micro level exploring the content of an individual's beliefs and responses (Smith et al., 1997). In the case of this research, quantitative findings from the initial investigation (Chapter 2) revealed that perceptions of performers were significantly different based on their appearance, and the investigation into the interaction of dress and body movement style (Chapter 3) suggested that this may be as a result of the individual preferences of performers for style of concert dress. By employing a qualitative method here, it is possible to reveal the detailed consideration given to concert dress by a number of performers.

Data collection using interviews was considered the most appropriate method as this technique provided detailed personal accounts from a number of performers. The interviews provided the opportunity to follow up on interesting responses and investigate participants' underlying motives that would have been impossible with other methods (Robson, 2002). In addition, the semi-structured nature of these interviews

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meant that the order of questions could be modified to follow the most appropriate course of enquiry.

This study took a grounded theory approach, in that it aimed to propose a theoretical model that was derived from, or 'grounded' in the data that were collected (Smith, 1999). Procedurally, this meant that the data were analysed between interviews and participants continued to be recruited until the themes that emerged through analysis of the transcripts were saturated; that is until the rate of new themes diminished and new data failed to add anything novel to the existing data set (Robson, 2002). Morse (2000; p.4) found that "if the data are on target, contain less dross and are rich and experiential, then fewer participants will be required to reach saturation" and in the current investigation, the accounts of only 6 performers were obtained before saturation occurred.

In order to analyse the interview data a phenomenological approach was taken. This approach attempts to access an individual's natural inclination for self-reflection and allow participants to tell their own story in their own words about the subject under investigation (Smith et al., 1997). The aim of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) is to explore the participant's view of the world and adopt an insider's perspective as far as is possible (Conrad, 1987). This approach is phenomenological in its concern with determining an individual's account of reality rather than using the data to define an objective reality (Smith, 1999). IPA acknowledges the presence and experiences of the researcher in undertaking the analysis but recognises that the researcher's interpretative engagement is necessary in order to make sense of the personal accounts under examination. In the case of this investigation, the author's experience as a performing flautist and resulting experience of traditional classical performance situations should be taken into account. IPA is a particularly suitable method for researching the body and its reception; IPA recognises the gap between an object and an individual's perception of that object and this method of analysis can clarify that gap (Smith et al., 1997). In the current investigation there may be a gap between a performer's perception of her body in concert dress and its reception that IPA may help to elucidate.

A number of steps were taken to ensure the validity of this investigation. So as to avoid an invalid description of participants' points of view, interviews were audio taped and fully transcribed. Where parts of the recording were unclear, participants were contacted and asked to clarify their position. This reduced potential researcher bias by ensuring that participants were accurately represented. Informal peer debriefing was used to discuss emerging themes in the data. This again guarded against researcher bias as justification was needed for attributing themes to a participant's opinions. Negative case analysis (Robson, 2002) was used to confirm the theories attributed to participants' perspectives. For each theory of participant behaviour that appeared to emerge from the data, examples to the contrary were sought to disprove the theory. This ensured that all participant perspectives were represented and led to more elaborate theories of behaviour. To prevent meaning from being imposed upon the data and to allow themes to emerge freely, an audit trail was made; raw data including tapes of interviews and transcripts, and coding and data analysis details were kept in order to track the route to the interpretations made.

4.2 Method

This study used six internationally performing soloists as case studies to investigate the considerations and expectations of female instrumentalists in selecting concert dress. The study built on findings from previous work and investigated the relationship between concert dress and body movement in more depth. The data were gathered by means of individual semi-structured interviews and analysed using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA).

Participants

Participants were professional solo female instrumentalists, whose primary occupation was performance of works from the Western art music canon. All potential participants were aged between 21 and 27, which was within age limits for participants set at the beginning of this project. Forty-three female musicians were identified as suitable participants for this study and were approached via their agents. As no financial incentive or publicity could be offered in exchange for participation, and due to busy performance schedules, the majority of musicians approached were unwilling to

participate. Six instrumentalists took part in the interview study; they ranged in age from 25 to 29 (mean = 27.17 years, s.d. = 1.47). Participants had 44 CD recordings between them and extensive tour schedules with dates in the 2008/2009 season planned across North and South America, the UK and Europe, China, Japan and South Korea. Three participants were of North American origin, and the remaining three participants were British, although nationality of performer was not controlled in this investigation.

Development of the Interview Schedule

This study aimed to investigate factors that determined female instrumentalists' choice of dress and aimed to uncover what, if anything, artists were hoping to project with their choice of dress. In order to do this, an interview schedule was devised to cover a broad range of topics (Appendix 5). Questions appearing at the beginning of the schedule were designed to ease the participants into the interview and were factual, such as "What would you wear for a typical live recital?" These questions gave a useful insight into the practicalities of dressing for musical performance and requirements of particular instruments. Subsequent questions such as "How does your concert dress affect how you feel on stage?" gave participants the opportunity to discuss the psychological as well as the physical effects of dress on performance. Final questions such as "In what ways do you think your concert dress affects your body movement during a performance?" explored research questions raised in the previous study of the relationship between concert dress and body movement. At the end of the interview participants were given the opportunity to make additional comments and revisit areas of discussion.

Procedure

The data were collected via individual semi-structured interviews with each participant, who was encouraged to speak freely on the topics raised. Each interview was approximately 30 minutes in length; conversations took place over the telephone and were recorded using a Sanyo Talk Book VAS with telephone recording adaptor. Although participants were previously unknown to the author, interviewees were keen to discuss the topics raised and the tone was informal and the atmosphere relaxed. Interviews were later transcribed and analysed by the author (Appendix 5).

All six transcripts were analysed by means of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) using Atlas TI visual qualitative analysis software, version 5.2.0. IPA aims to understand the participant's views of the research topic and relies on "the researcher's own conceptions...to make sense of that other personal world through a process of interpretative activity" (Smith *et. al.* 1999). Each participant's transcript was studied and the main points and significant phrases were noted; from these points, more general themes emerged. A list of themes was then drawn up for that participant. Each transcript was analysed in the same way, and subsequently a master list of themes was produced, where each theme was common to several or all of the interviews; themes were arranged hierarchically based on their perceived significance by the author and frequency of occurrence across the transcripts. The master list provided the basis for interpretation of the participants' feelings and views.

4.3 Results and Discussion

The data collected from participants is discussed below in relation to emerging themes. There were a number of factors that performers took into consideration when selecting their concert dress and these are discussed in sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.2 below. After performers had selected their concert dress, there were a number of ways that this affected their self-perception of themselves as performers and this is discussed in section 4.3.3.

4.3.1 Practicalities

Travel

Factors outside the immediate context of the performance situation can affect a performer's choice of concert dress. For performers that give a series of concerts in a number of locations, the length and nature of the tour have an impact on their choice of dress.

"My tours tend to get really long so there are times when I'm not back home for about 6 weeks and sometimes we've got 5 or 6 shows in that city, you know like New York Philharmonic, state opera, LA all do 5 shows per week and that's ok, 5 different dresses I take one for every show that means also 5-7 pairs of concert shoes, that's not even the regular shoes I wear, that's a lot of extra baggage... it takes a lot of pre-planning!" Jo

The length of professional soloists' tours can mean that they must decide on their concert dress before embarking on the tour and that the dress for each performance is carefully considered and decided upon in advance. This may mean that performers are confident in their dress as on any given occasion it has been given careful thought, but on the other hand travel restricts performers' choice whilst on tour. Practicalities of travel may be connected to social expectations of dress in performance as Jo's testimony implies that it is expected that female performers wear different dress on consecutive performing occasions. This idea will be discussed in more detail below. In addition to affecting the amount of choice between outfits a performer has for any given performance, travelling may also affect the style of concert dress that a performer selects.

"I also need something that's light to travel with and doesn't take a lot of ironing. So I can't wear a billowy taffeta skirt or something with many, many wispy layers that's just going to take forever to get steamed out." Natalie

The condition of clothes can be affected by travel and performers took this into consideration when selecting dress to take with them. As Natalie shows, impractical dress that would require too great a degree of labour to ensure it is presentable, is passed over in favour of dress that is more robust during transport. In this case, the demands of travelling take precedence over clothes' aesthetic values to some degree.

Other practicalities of concert dress that performers consider are more directly related to their concerns during performance.

Requirements of the Instrument

One of the main concerns of performers when choosing their concert dress appeared to be negotiating the physical requirements of their instruments. Natalie, a violinist, reported "I don't have any straps you know that slip or make my violin slip on my shoulder", and this was reinforced by Rosie, a harpist: "I probably wouldn't wear sleeves if I could avoid it." As different instruments require varying levels of action

from body parts, each instrumentalist will make specific demands of their concert dress in order that it doesn't impede their performance physically. However, identifying the most suitable concert dress for a performer may not be instantaneous as Natalie showed.

"I kept noticing myself having to adjust the violin and not feeling quite as free to move because it would slip a little easier and that was the point at which I thought maybe I should just try strapless as long as I know that it's going to stay on." Natalie

It is likely that there is a process of trial and error for performers in deciding on the most appropriate concert dress to suit their instrumental needs. For example, Chloe, a cellist reported "I'm experimenting with shoes 'cause that's something I can control as a cellist". Although Chloe is aiming to find the most appropriate shoes in which to perform, she also discussed her choice of shoes in a different context.

"I wear red shoes 'cause I like to have colour and actually I'm looking for more colourful stuff at the moment 'cause I think for a lot of performers it gets pretty boring just wearing black" Chloe

Here, Chloe is introducing an element of personal taste into her dress and demonstrating that although the ability to play her instrument is of ultimate importance when selecting her dress, there are also less practical dimensions to her choice of dress. The role of extra-musical factors involved in concert dress selection is discussed in more detail below.

A performer's concert dress must interact with the requirements of the instrument in order to ensure that a performer is not physically restricted while playing. While discussing her needs in concert dress, Rosie commented "I couldn't wear very tight skirts because I play the harp and I have to have room to move". It appears that not only must concert dress allow a performer to have a secure hold of their instrument, but it must also allow them freedom to move.

Physical Freedom

All of the performers interviewed reported the need for their dress to allow them freedom of movement.

"I've had some dresses before that like fall straight, they're in a stiffer fabric and don't give you that much lee way. I like to move around a bit, I'm very physical, I do move around". Jo

Jo found that her ability to move freely in performance was affected not only by the style of her dress as she mentioned above, but also by its fabric. The implication of her saying that she *had* some dresses that were restrictive is that they were worn in the past and that she has learnt to wear clothing that is better suited to the purpose of performing. This importance Jo placed on flexibility and fit of dress is supported by Chloe.

"[It's] kind of like a sports person would choose clothes that would really fit them well. It's a very physical thing a concert, so for me the physicality... ultimately you don't want to be physically restricted, it's very important." Chloe

Chloe sees her concert dress in this context as a tool for the job of performing. She places great value on being physically free in performance and perceives her concert dress as a method of achieving this freedom. Where Chloe implies that her concert dress is chosen to allow her freedom of movement, Elanor is explicit.

"I might choose a dress based on how I normally move, but I don't think I'd change my body movement to fit the dress. So if I need to move my legs, I wouldn't have a particularly tight fitting skirt or whatever." Elanor, Classical Saxophonist

It is clear that in Elanor's opinion the practicalities of performance and the ability to move are of greater importance that any aesthetic value the dress may hold. However, Jessica, a violinist, sees the aesthetic effect of her concert dress as an important factor in her performance.

"I know (only from video) that I tend to plant feet wide apart at times, occasionally do knee-bends, and sometimes walk around a bit. I can't see this being attractive for me in a bias-cut dress. In fact, it's a bit odd even in an A-line, but I can't help it." Jessica

Jessica used her concert dress to work in tandem with her body movement to project a controlled image of herself in performance. In this instance Jessica's concert dress moderated her large movements, which she considered unattractive, and made them more palatable for consumption. The movements Jessica described above were not used for sound production, and it appears that performers also selected dress based on the degree of physical freedom it afforded them for expressive body movement.

"I think of my motion on stage [and how that] affects how people are hearing the music. I want to indicate the shape of the music, I want to show up where there are duets and trios within the orchestra, you know the chamber music aspect of the performance. I know that if I'm bound in a skirt I can't move my knees in then I'm not going to be able to move around and interact with the other musicians in the same way, like I won't be able to shift my weight, I won't be able to walk freely on stage." Natalie

For Jessica, expressive body movement is an important method of communicating musical ideas and concert dress can facilitate or hinder this process. It is important for performers' concert dress to give them the degree of physical freedom they require but in order for them to feel confident in making body movements they must feel that their dress is secure.

"I've had everything from the conductor stepping on the train of my dress to buttons dropping off and you know [I look for] comfort and the fact that it stays on and I can move in it really." Jo

Security

A number of performers cited instances where there had been problems with their concert dress in performance.

"My first time in Sydney, in Australia at the opera house, I had on this completely brand new Valentino gorgeous, gorgeous sky blue dress but it had buttons all down the side. I'm very impatient with things like that so I asked for all the buttons to be changed to snap buttons [press-studs]. The thing is I never took it for a test run, and I play in it and then I think, yeah it's fine but I hadn't tried bowing in it, and I went on and I took my first bow and the side of the dress just completely unsnapped, the entire row of buttons and I only had a very short introduction, it was Tchaikovsky or something... and I was trying to stop the conductor, but the entire cello section to my left were trying not to smile, not to laugh at me but I had the violin in one hand and I was desperately trying to do as many of the button with my right hand oh! It was a nightmare! But unless something goes drastically wrong like that, I don't think you notice what you're wearing once you get on stage." Jo

Selecting secure concert dress is vital for performers to be able to play at their best. Major problems such as those described above cannot fail to have an impact on performance as it is impossible to be mentally and physically prepared to play with such an impediment. It is clear that it is undesirable for performers to be so focussed on their concert dress during a performance and several performers reported aiming to forget about their dress on stage.

"I don't want to be aware of it at all. That's my wish that I completely forget about it, so I don't think about it. The moment I'm aware of something visual or something that's bothering me then my concentration is taken away." Chloe

In feeling that their dress is secure, performers can focus on the musical aspect of the event without the physical shortcomings of their dress distracting them. It was mentioned above that each instrument and therefore each performer has different requirements of their dress to meet the physical needs of performing on their instrument.

> "I typically wear something that enables me ...not [to] have to worry about the clothing shifting or falling down, so spaghetti straps are out of the question unless they are firmly in place like in a harness." Natalie

Each instrumentalist was well aware of what style of clothing allowed them the greatest confidence in the security of their dress and selected their concert dress accordingly. However, performers appeared to learn from experience rather than being blessed with good judgement from the beginning of their careers.

> "I began wearing cross-back only, in 2002 after I wore a slightly off the shoulder dress which somehow got lower and lower (into near danger zone, I believe) but there was nothing I could do except go on. Naturally, I lost a bit of concentration. Somehow we all made it to the end, but I had learned my lesson." Jessica

> "But anyway that's why I don't wear snap buttons anymore." Jo

As a result of these negative experiences, performers would now select different concert dress from their earlier choices. It is through these experiences that performers are able to develop their own style of dress that balances their instrumental and physical needs with other demands such as the effects of travel.

The need for performers to have both physical freedom and security in their concert dress has an effect of their body movement in performance. If performers' dress is physically restrictive then they are unable to move adequately enough for satisfactory note production or for expression. If performers are worried about the ability of their dress to stay in place in performance then they are less focussed on the music, so less communicative with their bodies, but it is also likely that they will move less in order to prevent the dress from slipping.

However, the performers did not select their concert dress based on practical factors alone. Much of what determined their choice of dress was linked to classical performance as a social event and the part that dress played in that framework.

4.3.2 Concert Dress as Social Communication

Participation in Musical Performance

It emerged that performers perceived concert dress as one of a number of social factors that were present within the classical performance context. Jo commented "I think that by the time you step on stage, from the time your foot steps on stage, it's already a part of the whole performance." She sees dress as an integral part of the performance situation and dress is not merely a factor when she is playing, but the whole time she is visible on stage. Performers did not think of concert dress solely as a passive element of performance as Elanor showed:

> "When you put it [your concert dress] on, you feel like you're putting your costume on, it is something you don't wear every day and it's something that's not biddable for wearing every day. It does make you feel like it's a special occasion; I think it just makes a sense of occasion." Elanor

In this instance concert dress is actively shaping the performance situation and constructing its meaning. The style of dress that this performer chooses, signals to the audience that she values this environment enough to wear dress that is different from every day dress. This is in part supported by Jo, who said "I love the glamour of it. It makes it a beautiful evening for everyone." Jo concurs with Elanor in that she is aiming to create a sense of occasion with her dress, but this statement also suggests that the experience of classical music through performance is not solely for the expression of musical meaning, but also the enjoyment of the participants in this musical exchange. Through the use of the words *glamour* and *beautiful* she suggest that there is a value to classical performance that is purely entertainment.

Through their concert dress performers believed that they could make a connection with their audience.

> "I want people to feel like I'm a normal person you know, I don't want to put myself up on a pedestal, I don't want to be a fashion model, or dress like someone unobtainable, I very much connect with my audiences so I have different criteria from my concert gowns than some other people might." Natalie

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Natalie believes that by dressing in a manner with which her audience would be familiar, she is making herself and her music more accessible to them. This could also be seen as reflective of the relationship she believes she has with her audience; if she feels that she has a rapport with her audience then she may be able to maintain this through her dress. Natalie's attitude to dress appears to be one of a number of ways that she tries to maintain a connection with her audience as her website has a blog that she regularly updates and a section for drawings that young audience members have handed to her in person after her concerts.

Performers believed that this connection with the audience could be established through making a particular effort with their concert dress.

> "When I am giving a performance I feel that there is a respect due the audience. It would be a disappointing thing for them, I believe, were I to walk out in some drab number."
> Jessica

By demonstrating that an effort had been made with her appearance, Jessica showed the audience that they were an important part of the concert situation. Jessica intimates to the audience that she has considered them in her choice of dress and shows them respect by implying that they are worth making an effort for with her dress.

Appropriateness of Dress

The classical tradition operates within a set of cultural rules and performers interviewed for this study believed that it was important to dress in line with these expectations.

> "I play in a very classical context and I think it's important to dress accordingly. I always wear something below the knee and usually something all the way to the floor. If it's a recital then it'll be something simpler." Elanor

It is clear that the perceived requirements of classical performance have a real impact on the concert dress that Elanor selects to wear. The dress she describes is formal and rather demure in nature and she believes that this dress reflects the performance context. Natalie echoes these sentiments and aims to dress in a formal manner to match the social context.

> "[My concert dress should be] appropriate for the level of formality and I like showing the respect for the music that that level of formality requires, and also the respect for the audience and respect for the tradition that is passed down from generation to generation." Natalie

The classical genre as a whole values formality, which is evidenced by the ritualised and restrained behaviour of participants in performance; by dressing in a formal manner Natalie aims to match the formality of the classical genre. This engagement with the situation shows how she values and respects this performance tradition. Through the social meaning attached to her dress she reinforces her engagement with the performance situation, but she also defines it.

In order to keep classical audiences engaged, performers must continue to dress in a way that they believe the audience will find appropriate. This is certainly a concern of Rosie: "I suppose at the moment classical audiences are generally old so because of that you need to be a little bit careful of how you dress". However, demographics of classical audiences such as age will influence what is thought of as appropriate concert dress and this may be specific to this section of the population.

> "It's very hard these days to find something in a store that's formal enough for a concert because it's really not in our culture anymore." Natalie

Natalie has difficulty in finding appropriate dress that is formal enough for performance. She suggests that the traditional values of classical performance in conjunction with an ageing audience may determine what is considered appropriate dress; in addition, Natalie suggests the appropriateness of concert dress is determined without reference to fashions in wider society.

However, not every classical performance situation is identical and decisions of concert dress can revolve around the specific performance environment as Chloe has experienced.

> "I've played in clubs and art galleries and in those situations I wore jeans and cowboy boots, you know and that felt good, but obviously when you're playing in a concert hall there's a sense of formality to it." Chloe

This description of concert dress is the polar opposite of that described earlier by Elanor and demonstrates clearly that venue and the makeup of the audience can have a significant effect on the social expectations of classical performance. In turn this determines what is considered to be appropriate concert dress and affects concert dress choice.

Performers have expressed a desire to be unaware of their concert dress during performance by wearing appropriate dress for the occasion. In addition to allowing them greater focus on musical aspects of their performance performers also hope that appropriate dress will blend into the social schema of musical performance to such an extent that audience members are unaware of it. Natalie stated "I try to apply that concept of not distracting the audience with the clothes that I wear", and it is clear that inappropriate dress would be seen as interference with the performance, when she perceives the focus should be on the music itself. Chloe is in agreement with this.

> "The most important thing for me about the performing experience for them as far as they see it is the music, me and the cello and the communication there and it's not about me prancing on a bit like a peacock and saying "everybody look at me and I'm not interested how it sounds"... I wouldn't want to sell myself off as a dolly that just plays the cello." Chloe

However, in addition to wanting the focus of her performances rest on her music rather than her appearance, Chloe seems to be trying to make a statement about the kind of musician that she wishes to be perceived as. The implication is that she wishes to be taken seriously on her musical merits and that her appearance is of secondary concern to her, or that her appearance could detract from perceptions of her musical merits.

Although performers were keen to distance themselves from a focus on their visual self in performance, three of the performers identified a wish to make their appearance personal to them. Among them was Jo: "I try to find that whole balance to make it appropriate but also to put a little bit of my own twist on it." It is likely that although performers do not wish to be distinguished visually because they are inappropriately dressed, by creating a unique image they will be remembered by the audience, who may return to future concerts. It is also likely that in so structured an environment as the classical performance situation, a personal slant of concert dress may give performers a sense of ownership over a social situation, including an interpretation of the musical

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work, which is so closely replicated in each performance irrespective of the musician and the occasion.

4.3.3 Dress and the Self

Both Jo and Natalie mentioned their concert dress affecting their attitude to performance.

> "It might sound a little silly but I think there are days when you're not...you're not feeling so great, you've had a bad day, you've had a fight with someone and you put on something nice and it makes you feel a bit better and it's the same thing when you go on stage" Jo

As Jo puts on her concert dress it gets her in the right frame of mind for performing; carrying out the rituals associated with classical performance incrementally prepares the soloist for performance. By the same token, happiness with concert dress can be affected by performers' feelings of themselves on a particular occasion.

> "There have been times that I haven't been comfortable in what I was wearing just because that day I was feeling finicky or something." Natalie

Natalie's dress will have been planned before travelling; it will have been checked to ensure that it allowed expressive movement and that it was appropriate for the occasion. As Natalie has stated that she wears the same concert dress for an entire tour it appears, in this case, that fluctuation in mood was the only cause of differing feelings for the same dress between performances. There appears to be a reciprocal relationship between performers' state of mind for performing and their feelings towards their concert dress. Although it seems that performers' moods may affect their feelings towards their bodies, the concert dress may be the catalyst they need to put them in the optimum frame of mind for performing.

Embracing Femininity

The term 'femininity' can be defined as qualities and behaviours judged by a culture to be ideally associated with or especially appropriate to women. In Western society an emphasis on physical appearance is seen as a feminine trait and traditionally, dress that emphasised physical signs of women's gender, such as breasts or a narrow waist with larger hips, was considered to be feminine. However, the degree to which these traits are expected to be displayed through dress differs with factors such as age, race and socio-economic class and results in many different versions of femininity. The mind body dualism, described in detail in previous chapters, traditionally associated women's bodies with their identities and it has been suggested that in classical performance an emphasis on the body through dress and appearance may detract attention from female performers' creative skills (Citron, 1993). Despite this, several performers reported confidence in their bodies on stage and felt that emphasising their bodies could have a positive effect on performance. None of the performers interviewed touched upon the idea that as young female performers they felt that they should try to play down visual indications of this aspect of their identity.

> "I want them to enjoy the music and be able to relax into that experience, which is what I've worked very hard for, but at the same time I want people to really enjoy what they're looking at." Natalie

> "You know I am a girl and I love shopping, I love shoes, I love the whole thing, I love that part of being a girl and I have fun with it. I mean ultimately at the end of the day it's something that's beautiful and elegant and there's nothing wrong with being sexy on stage, as long as you do it with taste." Jo

Natalie is confident in her musical ability and confident that the audience will appreciate her talents; she shows no fear of embracing the physicality of musical performance or of recognising that a musician in performance can be a visual as well as an aural spectacle. Jo takes this view to the extreme and exalts stereotypically feminine pursuits such as shopping for concert dress. Not only does she not fear embracing her femininity, but for her it is an enjoyable part of the performance situation.

> "I feel comfortable with my figure and I'm in a place where most of the people who come to my concerts have got my CDs and know that I am a real musician, they know that I'm not surrounded by fluff that I do know how to play my violin." Jo

The Introduction (Chapter 1) showed that female concert dress today reflects formal dress up to the 1950s. As the dress of this time was shown to emphasise femininity, embracing this aspect of their characters may be another way that female soloists today show their engagement with the classical performance situation. Classical performance values temporal transcendence (Goehr, 1991) and by wearing dress from a past era performers can represent and reinforce this value visually.

4.4 Conclusions

All of the performers interviewed gave surprisingly consistent accounts of the factors affecting their concert dress choice. The practicalities of playing an instrument and consideration of the social demands of classical performance were of paramount importance to performers, while aesthetic matters were of secondary concern. However, each performer had individual requirements of their concert dress due to the differing demands of their instruments on their bodies. That they should have complete physical freedom to move both mechanically and expressively was also of great concern to performers. Dress that was either restrictive in nature or whose security couldn't be assured was passed over in favour of dress that allowed them to move freely. By focussing on practicalities when selecting concert dress, performers ensured that musical aspects of the performance were not overshadowed by decorative aspects of dress. This implies that aesthetic features of dress were considered superficial in comparison with the music itself. This idea is consistent with the dominance of the work concept in classical music as described by Goehr (1992). The musical work is the focal point of classical performance and, within this framework, occupies the position of highest status. Performers can reinforce this ideology with their choice of concert dress: selecting dress that meets the practical needs of performance allows both the performer's and the audience's attention to focus on the musical work.

Performers considered concert dress to be an important tool for social communication within the performance situation. In Jo's description of the effects of travel on her choice of concert dress, she implied that it was expected that she wear a different dress on consecutive performing occasions. This suggests that performers and audiences perceive performance as a 'one off' and this special event is reflected in concert dress that is not worn every day. This also allows a performer to communicate that they value

their audience; a dress that is rarely worn suggests that the performer is making a special effort for a particular audience and does not treat all audiences the same by appearing identically dressed on every occasion. There are other methods by which a performer can communicate with their audience: as all 6 performers described wearing formal dress for traditional classical performances, connotational meaning from their dress (Barnard, 2002), will have reinforced the formality of the situation. By adopting a formal style of dress performers also showed respect for their audience and for the performance tradition as a whole. In addition to reinforcing currently held ideas of classical performance, these soloists defined the terms of their performance. By selecting traditionally appropriate dress for a classical performance they encouraged the perception of themselves as traditional classical soloists with traditional classical values of performance. This was achieved in a number of ways. Traditional concert dress is more formal than contemporary formal dress and by adopting this style of dress performers showed that they engaged with and respected the classical performance setting and its associated formality. Formal dress also showed respect for the audience as performers believed that this style of dress indicated that they valued the audience sufficiently to make an effort with their appearance.

Performers reported a wish to disregard their concert dress whilst playing. This suggests that performers wish for both themselves and their audience to focus more on the music and less on their dress during performance. The ideology of musical autonomy attributes intrinsic value to musical works, which implies that they can be wholly understood without reference to socially constructed aspects of performance such as concert dress. By placing importance on the musical properties of the work rather than non-musical aspects of performance, performers reinforce views of autonomy. This can be seen from a purely practical point of view in that the job they are on stage to do is to give the best interpretation of a musical work they can, and they do not wish for their dress to impede their performance. Alternatively as dress has been shown to be an important visual cue to an individual's attitudes and intentions (Tseelon, 1995), dress could be seen as vital method of communicating throughout the performance. As these female performers aim to minimise the importance of their dress and, therefore their physical representation during performance, it could be seen as a way of highlighting the mental and traditionally masculine nature of the performance, which has been so highly prized in the past (Citron, 1993). However, a number of performers were keen to

engage with their femininity and confident that this would have no negative bearing on the reception of their performance.

This could be seen as an example of third wave feminism in action (Citron, 2004): performers may be able to embrace a traditionally feminine look without encouraging the negative stereotypes with which it was previously associated. This would effectively break the mind body dualism by refusing to accept and perpetuate the myth that their image has a bearing on their musical ability. However, it is impossible to control the views and understanding of audience members and Rosie implied above that the demographics of classical audiences meant that they were often conservatively minded. If observers retain negative stereotypes associated with a traditionally feminine look then performers adopting this look will continue to be perceived negatively. The performers who stated their connection with their femininity, Jo and Natalie, are both internationally renowned violinists who have had professional performing careers since childhood. At the start of their careers they were too young for their dress to reinforce a traditionally feminine adult image and so audiences were aware of their musical skills before they developed a particularly feminine style. It is possible that their feminine image is not accepted by audiences because it asserts a 'third wave' vision of femininity that is breaking down prejudices, but instead because audience members were aware of and valued these performers' musical talents before their adult style developed. However, it should be borne in mind that a classical audience is made up of a number of individuals with different views and experiences, and as such it may be unrealistic to generalise their behaviour. Perhaps as women achieve greater freedom of expression through their appearance in other, less conservative areas of society, it will become more generally accepted in classical performance for female soloists to select a style of appearance without being viewed negatively.

For this investigation, qualitative data were collected in the form of interviews with six solo instrumentalists. Analysis of data took a grounded theory approach and the emergent themes from the interviews were discussed above. This method provided detailed accounts from the six performers about the factors affecting their choice of concert dress and the effect of their concert dress upon their performance. As case studies of six performers were used for this investigation, it is not possible to generalise the factors affecting their experiences to all performing soloists. However, a larger sample of soloists was consulted in the following investigation into individual

differences in concert dress choice (Chapter 5). The findings from Chapter 5 were consistent with those reported in the investigation reported above, which enhances the validity of the interview accounts and increases the potential for generalisation of the themes reported in the current investigation.

5. An Investigation into Individual Differences in Concert Dress Choice.

5.1 Introduction

The research reported in this thesis thus far has identified a number of ways in which soloists are perceived differently from each other as a result of their physical appearance. In the initial investigation (Chapter 2) performers' musical abilities were perceived significantly differently depending on their style of concert dress. This suggests that there are forms of dress that observers believe to be appropriate for classical performance and by adopting dress that was considered appropriate for performance soloists could enhance perceptions of their musical abilities. However, individual differences between soloists' performance quality were perceived and as all performances heard by participants were aurally identical, differences in perceptions of performers must have been as a result of changes in visual information. The investigation into the interaction of dress and body movement style (Chapter 3) revealed that the performers from the initial investigation did have an individual style of expressive movement and their concert dress affected the degree and manner in which they communicated with their audience using their bodies. In one case, individual preference for concert dress was shown to affect a performer's degree of expressive movement: Lisa had expressed a dislike of the nightclubbing dress and when wearing it, her movements were less expansive, less frequent and less diverse compared with her movements when wearing jeans. Individual differences in performers' physical appearance seem likely to be responsible for the significantly different ratings of performance quality observed in the initial investigation (Chapter 2). In order to gain a greater understanding of how performers' dress and body movement interact and the factors involved in performers' choice of concert dress, the experiences of six professional female soloists were examined as case studies in the investigation into factors affecting performers' choice of concert dress (Chapter 4). The accounts given by these six performers were extremely consistent, with all performers stating that their sartorial decisions were affected by practical considerations such as the ability to move freely during performance and social considerations, such as the desire to conform to what they perceived as appropriate standards of dress. The soloists questioned in the

investigation into factors affecting performers' choice of concert dress (Chapter 4) also reported that their dress affected their approach to performance and was used by them to increase their confidence and make a statement to their audience about their musical ideals.

The investigation reported below required 55 female solo instrumentalists to complete an online questionnaire regarding their choice of concert dress and its effects on performance. This study aimed to discover if the consistent accounts of factors affecting performers' choice of concert dress reported in the interview study (Chapter 4) are observable among a larger sample of the population of female classical soloists. However, the sample of soloists questioned in the current investigation differed slightly from that of the interview study. In the present investigation student soloists were questioned about their concert dress, compared with professional soloists in the investigation into factors affecting performers' choice of concert dress (Chapter 4). The fact that the two groups of participants differ in terms of performing experience and income may lead to differences between the results of the studies, although there are benefits to using these two samples of the population. Using both professional performers and students makes it possible to see the extent to which the experiences of professional soloists are shared by those at the beginning of their careers. This also has the potential to shed light on differences in the role of concert dress in performances by professionals and novices. Performers questioned in the case study investigation (Chapter 4) reported being extremely conscious of audience members' expectations of performer concert dress; therefore, the current investigation aims to determine to what extent performers' choices about their appearance are guided by the social expectations of the genre and the extent to which they are guided by individual tendencies. In order to achieve this, the investigation reported below explores the ways in which two groups of soloists with differing expressive behavioural tendencies approach their choice and usage of concert dress. Self-monitoring is used as a theoretical framework within which to discuss female solo instrumentalists' choice of dress and its effect on their performances. A discussion of the current state of knowledge regarding self-monitoring and its potential effect on classical soloists' behaviour appears below.

Appearance and attractiveness are not equally important to all (Smith and Mackie, 2000) and self-monitoring is a theoretical framework that addresses these individual differences. The concept of self-monitoring is built upon individual differences in

impression management, which involves constructing a positive social image (Gangestad and Snyder, 2000). The degree to which an individual manages impressions of themselves in this way is known as their level of self-monitoring and there are a number of characteristics associated with both high and low self-monitors. High self-monitors are individuals concerned with socially appropriate ways of fitting in with social demands, and place a high value on physical appearance. They are acutely aware of cues in a situation that indicate what expression of self-presentation is appropriate and are in turn aware of the self-presentation of others in social situations out of a concern for social appropriateness (Snyder, 1974). High self-monitors are particularly skilled at learning what is appropriate in a new situation and, through comparison with the self-presentation of their peers and a strong control on their emotions, high self-monitors are adept at creating specific impressions of themselves (Snyder, 1974). Through this greater social vigilance high self-monitors have been shown to receive better ratings of task performance and are more likely than low self-monitors to emerge as leaders (Day et al., 2002). Low self-monitors, by contrast pay more attention to desirable personality traits and inner qualities of individuals rather than more superficial characteristics such as appearance (Snyder, Berscheid and Glick, 1985). They are less concerned with their own self-appearance and their behaviour is more likely to be determined by their affective states than what they believe is appropriate for the situation (Snyder, 1974). Low self-monitoring individuals profess relatively great interest in behaving in ways that reflect, consistently and accurately, attributes of their self-conceptions (Snyder, 1974) and ultimately, low self-monitors' behaviour is likely to be more consistent from one situation to the next, no matter how incongruent this is with others' expectations (Gangestad and Snyder, 2000).

Although high self-monitors are more adept at adapting to the social demands of a situation than low self-monitors, it remains that some environments are more easy to adapt to than others. High self-monitors have a preference for clearly defined situations as these environments have clear social scripts associated with them, which makes it easier for high self-monitors to plan and enact the most appropriate social persona (Ickes et al., 2006). Douglas (1984) found that high self-monitors have a better understanding of social scripts, and so they can more accurately determine and present the most appropriate social character. Although the research reported above depicts high self-monitors as "social chameleons" for whom unstudied, effortless self-presentation comes naturally, it is perhaps more appropriate to think of them as impression managers

who use social scripts from clearly defined situations and cues from the self-presentation of others to give the most favourable impression of themselves.

Much research investigating self-monitoring behaviour has been carried out within the contexts of behavioural psychology and marketing. Self-monitoring has been used in psychology in order to understand individual differences in social behaviour, while marketing research has used self-monitoring as a framework to identify potential purchasing choices of individuals and the ways in which areas of a market can be targeted. Individuals' level of self-monitoring has never been explicitly investigated within the field of music, although much of the research into self-monitoring from other disciplines may relate to the experiences of soloists in classical performance situations.

Because high self-monitors closely observe social cues and use them as guides in presenting themselves, they may have an advantage in situations in which strong norms have developed and adherence to these norms is highly rewarded (Flynn and Ames, 2006). The Western classical music performance situation was shown in previous chapters to be associated with very clear socio-cultural rules. This suggests that high self-monitoring musicians may be at an advantage in the performance situation and, in conjunction with the fact that high self-monitors have been associated with higher task performance ratings and leadership qualities, high self-monitors may be more qualified as classical soloists resulting in a greater number of high self-monitors among the musical population than low self-monitors. Other performing artists, particularly actors, have been shown to have scored higher as self-monitors than non-actors (Snyder, 1974) and as musicians are also required to control their expressive behaviour to communicate with their audience it is likely that a high number of musicians are high self-monitors. Most performance situations, including classical music performance, are male dominant and therefore masculine stereotyped, and as a result women may be assumed to be poorer performers than men (Eagly and Karau, 2002). In situations such as this, self-monitoring behaviour may be more useful for those who are trying to overcome lowered expectations of their performance, as they can adapt their behaviour to that of the stereotype. The musical performance arena has traditionally been a male domain, with the prototype of a classical performer being male; if female performers are expected to perform less well than their male counterparts, high self-monitoring behaviour may help them to overcome these negative perceptions. Therefore, female performers in particular may be more likely to be high self-monitors.

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Clothing and accessories are part of an image that an individual will use to convey their attitudes and intentions (Tseelon, 1995) and there is evidence that clothing decisions can impact on how an individual is perceived (Lapitsky and Smith, 1981). Self-monitoring has an effect on individuals' choices of dress as high self-monitors are more likely to use elements of their self-presentation such as dress and accessories to try to impress others (Peluchette et al., 2006). High self-monitors are particularly concerned with their outer appearance and have a higher fashion awareness than low self-monitors (Snyder, 1989). In the concert situation, high self-monitoring musicians may be more aware of the impact that their concert dress could have on the reception of their music and may be more adept at creating a specific and appropriate image. Indeed there is evidence that high self-monitors select items for their appearance according to the strategic value they believe the items to have in controlling the image that they wish to portray to others (Davis and Lennon, 1985). In doing this, high self-monitors tailor their image to present themselves in a way that best meets their interests (Snyder & Copeland, 1989). For high self-monitors the importance of appearance is greatest when among strangers (Tseelon, 1992) and so high self-monitoring soloists, who regularly face audiences the majority of which are unknown to them, may give their concert dress a great deal of attention in order to portray themselves in the best possible light.

Dressing to impress others also has a benefit for the wearer's state of mind: Peluchette et al. (2006) found that when people used clothes to try and impress others, they felt that they were creating a more positive impression of themselves. Another finding of this investigation in the workplace was that people who valued their work attire reported that it made them feel more competent. This is linked to Bandura's (1995) self-efficacy concept, which states that those with a high sense of self-efficacy are more likely to choose challenging tasks and recover from setbacks more quickly. It is already known that higher expectations correlate with higher achievement (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968) so for high self-monitors, who see the value of image and have interest in clothing, dressing for an occasion such as a musical performance may make them feel more competent but may also make them perform more effectively.

Research Approach

The research outlined above has demonstrated how individual differences can affect how individuals behave in social situations such as a musical performance, and that this may affect choices of concert dress for musicians and ultimately how their work is received. This study aims to use self-monitoring as a theoretical framework to investigate individuals' differing needs when selecting concert dress, as outlined in the investigation into factors affecting performers' choice of concert dress (Chapter 4).

A quantitative method was used to achieve this as short mainly factual answers were required from participants to describe their behaviour. More specifically a questionnaire was used to provide direct access to the study of individuals' attitudes, beliefs, values and motives (Robson, 2002). The questionnaire format was also beneficial in that it allowed large amounts of standardised data to be collected from participants and afforded participants total anonymity. The absence of a researcher as participants' completed the questionnaire may have encouraged greater frankness from participants in their responses (Robson, 2002). Reliability of design was achieved as all participants were presented with the same standardised and carefully worded questions. The sampling frame for the questionnaire was adequate, as it targeted students at a number of institutions across the UK. This increased confidence in the fact that the sample obtained was adequately random to allow generalisations from the findings.

Participants completed a questionnaire that assessed their level of self-monitoring and posed questions that were designed to determine participants' behaviour in choosing and performing in their concert dress. The presence of self-monitoring as a theoretical framework was important to focus the questioning of participants and allow analysis of the data to move beyond description into explanation (Robson, 2002). These questions aimed to discover if musicians displayed self-monitoring behaviour in manipulating their appearance and selecting concert dress for performance. Questions were designed to determine a number of factors regarding participants' perceptions of themselves in performance; these included how aware they were of what was considered appropriate dress for the occasion, if they were concerned with the dress of other people present and if it was important for them to impress others present. Questions also determined to what degree participants created a specific image for the performance situation in

relation to the social rules of the situation. By comparing responses from high and low self-monitors it was possible to determine the extent to which self-monitoring behaviour affected individual choice of concert dress, but also this identified social factors that were common to both behavioural types.

5.2 Method

This study aimed to use self-monitoring as a theoretical framework to investigate individual differences and motivations in musicians' choice of concert dress. An online questionnaire was distributed to participants and their responses were analysed according to the level of self-monitoring.

Participants

Participants were solo female instrumentalists, who primarily performed works from the Western art music canon. Participants were recruited from students at the University of Sheffield, Trinity College of Music and the Royal College of Music. Fifty-five participants took part in an online questionnaire; they ranged in age from 18 to 30 years (mean = 23.44 years, s.d. = 3.79).

Development of the Questionnaire

A questionnaire was designed to determine participants' level of self-monitoring and to gather information on their motivations in choosing concert dress (Appendix 6). The questionnaire was divided into three sections. Section A collected biographical data on the age of participants and the instruments they played.

Section B determined participants' levels of self-monitoring using Snyder and Gangestad's (1986) revised Self-Monitoring Scale. This scale demonstrates acceptable levels of internal consistency reliability (Day et al., 2002), as evidenced by the Chronbach's alpha coefficient. Chronbach's alpha measures reliability of psychometric scales and ranges in value from 0 to 1, with values of 0.70 required to confirm reliability (Nunnaly, 1978). Snyder and Gangestad's (1986) Self-Monitoring Scale has a

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reported alpha coefficient of 0.70 (Snyder and Gangestad, 1986; Peluchette et al., 2006). The Self-monitoring scale required participants to give true or false answers to 18 statements; the answer to each statement is keyed in the direction of high self-monitors and participants received one point for each answer that matched that of a high self-monitor. Scores of 11 or above coded an individual as a high self-monitor, as consistent with Peluchette et al. (2006).

Section C required participants to give both quantitative and qualitative responses to questions regarding their concert dress for the last solo recital they had given. Questions were designed to determine whether social behaviour traits commonly found in high self-monitors manifested themselves in high self-monitoring musicians in the performance situation, and if this had an impact on performers' choice of dress and ultimately their confidence. Sample questions include "To what extent were you aware of the audience's dress?" and "How aware were you of other people's perceptions of your dress?"

Procedure

The questionnaire was placed on a secure server online, and an email containing information for participants and a link to the web pages was sent to prospective participants. Participants could therefore complete and submit the questionnaire anonymously on line. Screen shots of the questionnaire are shown below in Figures 5.1 and 5.2.

Figure 5.1 Screen shot of Section B of the online questionnaire which was used to determine participants' level of self-monitoring.

Figure 5.2 Screen shot of Section C of the online questionnaire which was used to gather data on participants' choice of concert dress.

5.3 Results

Participants were categorised as high or low self-monitors from the score they obtained from completing Section B of the questionnaire. Individuals with a score of 11 out of 18 or above were categorised as high self-monitors and those with scores of below 11 were categorised as low self-monitors. Eighteen participants were categorised as high self-monitors, (score range = 11-14, mean = 11.83, s.d. = 0.99) and 37 participants were categorised as low self-monitors (score range = 4-10, mean = 8.24, s.d. = 1.40). Statistical analysis was carried out on the quantitative responses of the questionnaire and compared responses from high and low self-monitors in each case.

A variety of statistical tests were carried out for the quantitative responses of the questionnaire. An independent groups t test was carried out to compare the mean number of outfits participants considered for performance. Chi squared tests were carried out on each of the variables in Question 4 that may have affected participants' choice of dress. These tests were also used to investigate differences between high and low self-monitors regarding at whom their choice of dress was aimed (Question 12). For responses to Question 7 participants were asked to rate a number of statements on a scale from Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree. These data were converted into ratings on a 5 point scale with 1 representing Strongly Disagree and 5 representing Strongly Agree. The statements "I alter my concert dress depending on the performance situation", "I deliberately dressed so my dress would not be a salient factor in the performance" and "It is important for me to create a good impression with my dress" were all subjected to independent t tests. The statement "I was happy with my concert dress" was correlated with the statement "I was aware of my concert dress as I was performing" and "I was aware of other people's perceptions of my dress".

From these analyses the only result to reach a level of statistical significance was the independent groups t test that compared high and low self-monitors' ratings of the statement "I deliberately dressed so my dress would not be a salient factor in the performance" ($t(53) = 2.160$, $p = 0.04$). Inspection of mean scores revealed that high self-monitors (mean = 3.44, s.d. = 0.71) were more likely to dress so that dress was not a salient factor in their performances than low self-monitors (mean = 2.89, s.d. = 0.97). This is shown in Figure 5.3.
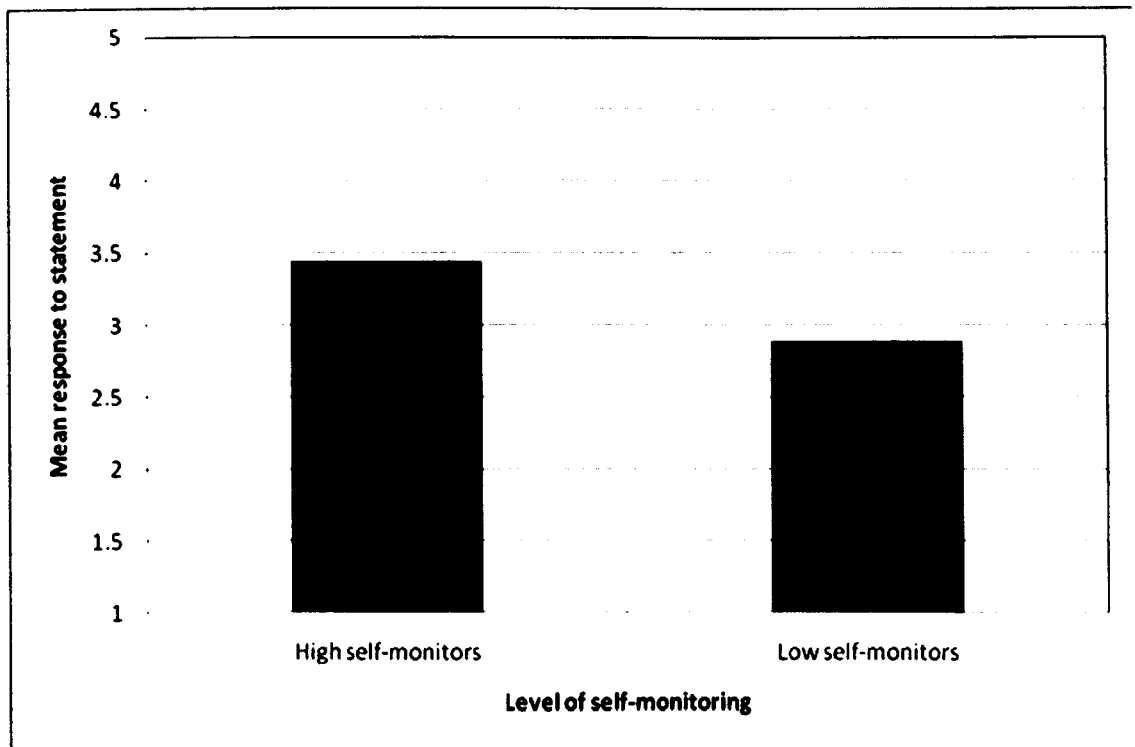
Figure 5.3 Mean responses by high and low self-monitors to the statement "I deliberately dressed so my dress would not be a salient factor in the performance". 1 = strongly disagree; 5 = strongly agree.

After examining the raw scores of participants from the Self-monitoring scale, it was apparent that the median score was 9 (Figure 5.4) and as such it was deemed appropriate to recalibrate the threshold of a high self-monitor at 9. This allowed the examination of self-monitoring behaviour within this sample of the population. After the recalibration 37 participants were categorised at high self-monitors (score range = 9-14, mean = 10.54, s.d. = 1.48) and 18 participants were categorised as low self-monitors (score range = 4-8, mean = 7.11, s.d. = 1.13). The quantitative analyses were carried out on participants' responses with the recalibrated level of self-monitoring. Again, the only result to reach significance was the independent t test that compared high and low self-monitors' ratings of the statement "I deliberately dressed so my dress would not be a salient factor in the performance" (t(53) = 2.39, p = 0.02). Inspection of mean scores revealed that high self-monitors (mean = 3.26, s.d. = 0.80) were more likely to dress so that dress was not a salient factor in their performances than low self-monitors (mean = 2.65, s.d. = 1.06). This is shown in Figure 5.5.
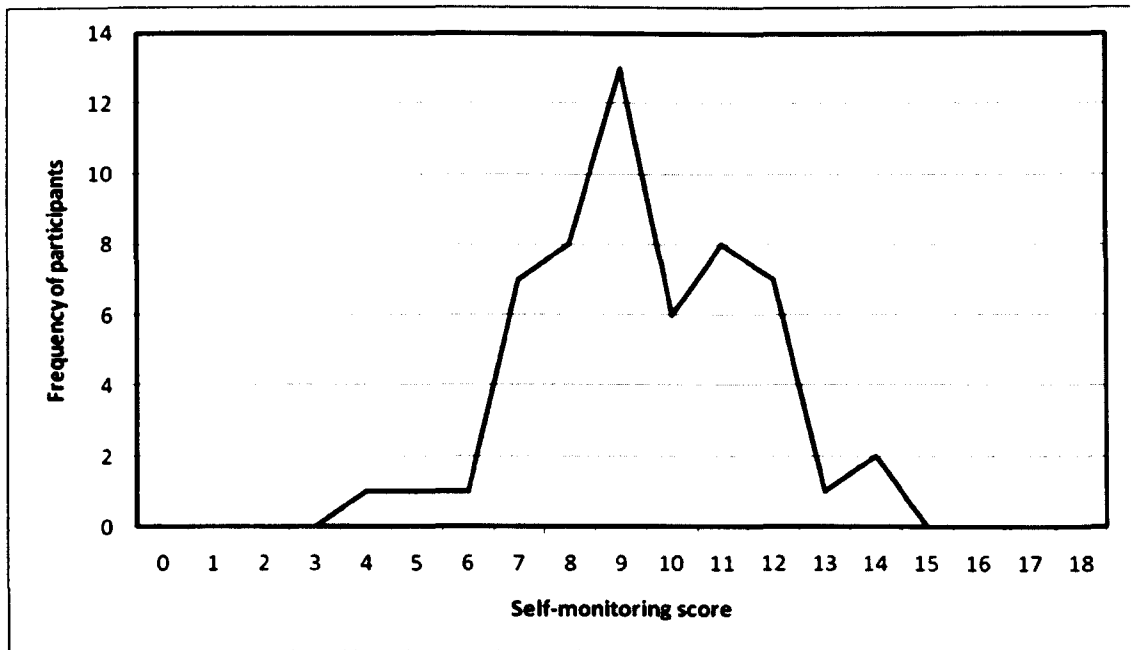
Figure 5.4 The distribution of participants' self-monitoring scores
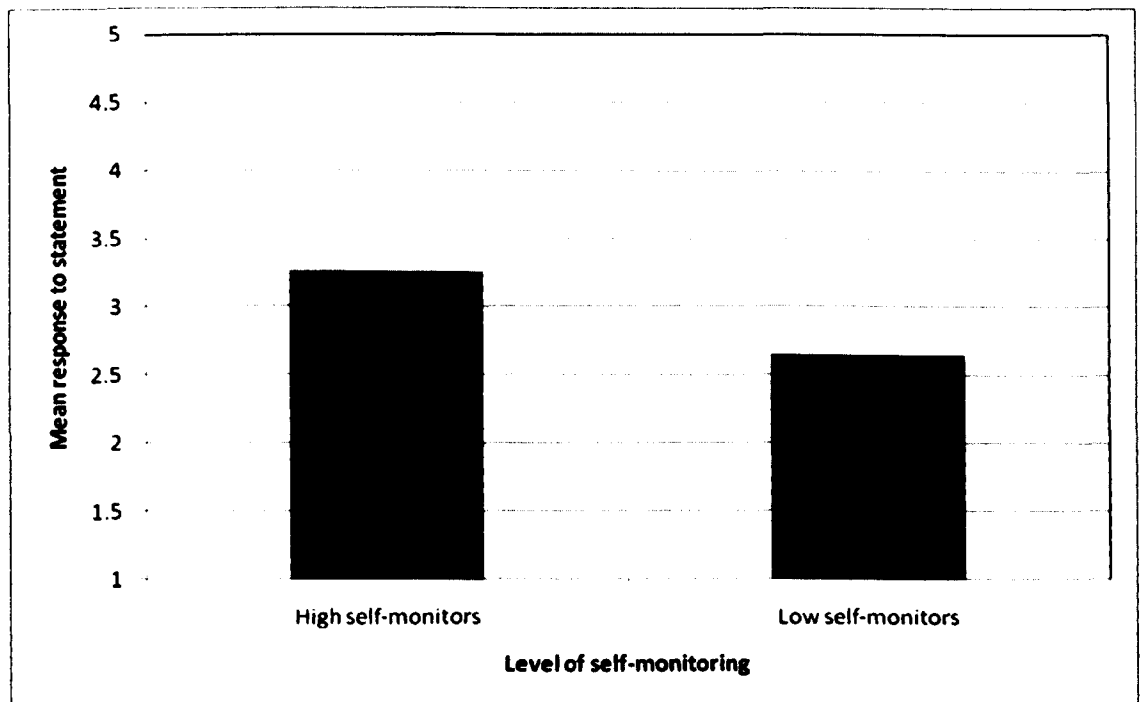
Figure 5.5 Mean responses by high and low self-monitors determined by median score to the statement "I deliberately dressed so my dress would not be a salient factor in the performance". 1 = strongly disagree; 5 = strongly agree.

As there was only one significant difference between high and low self-monitors, descriptive statistics of the quantitative survey responses were calculated in order to explore the data further.

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The mean number of outfits that a performer considered was 2.07, s.d. = 1.54. Table 5.1 shows the proportion of participants whose choice of dress was affected by the variables formality of occasion, audience dress, dress of other performers, opinions of friends and family and opinion of teacher.

Table 5.1 The proportion of participants whose choice of dress was affected by the variables formality of occasion, audience dress, dress of other performers, opinions of friends and family and opinion of teacher.

Variable	Yes		No	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Physical requirements of instrument	45	81.8	10	18.2
Formality of occasion	48	87.3	7	12.7
Audience Dress	5	9.1	50	90.9
Dress of other performer	19	34.5	36	65.5
Opinions of friends/family	18	32.7	37	67.3
Opinion of teacher	19	34.5	36	65.5

Participants were asked to rate a number of statements on a scale from Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree. These data were converted into ratings on a 5 point scale with 1 representing Strongly Disagree and 5 representing Strongly Agree. Mean scores and standard deviations for participants' level of agreement with these statements are shown in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2 Descriptive statistics for participants' responses to Section C Question 7 of the online questionnaire. 1 = strongly disagree; 5 = strongly agree.

Variable	Mean rating	Standard deviation
I alter my concert dress depending on the performance situation	4.42	0.63
I was happy with my concert dress	4.29	0.60
I was aware of my concert dress as I was performing	2.64	0.93
I was aware of other people's perceptions of my dress	3.31	0.97
I deliberately dressed so my dress would not be a salient factor in the performance	3.07	0.92
It is important for me to create a good impression with my dress	4.31	0.63

Participants were asked if they selected their concert dress for themselves and as a result of the audience and the occasion. Their responses are shown in Table 5.3. These descriptive statistics are discussed in greater detail below in conjunction with the qualitative responses given by participants.

Table 5.3 The proportion of participants whose choice of dress was aimed at themselves, their audience and the occasion.

Variable	Yes		No	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
I dress for myself	54	98.2	1	1.8
I dress for the audience	40	72.2	15	27.8
I dress for the occasion	46	83.6	9	16.4

5.4 Discussion

5.4.1 General Discussion

The literature presented in the opening section of this chapter suggested that there would be a large proportion of high self-monitors among musicians. Other performing artists that need to control their expressive behaviour in performance, such as actors were shown to exhibit a higher proportion of high self-monitors than non-actors. High self-monitors were shown to thrive in situations with strong cultural rules (Flynn and Ames, 2006) such as the classical music performance situation. In addition, previous research suggested that female soloists would be more likely to be high self-monitors as for women in traditionally masculine environments, such as classical music performance, high self-monitoring behaviour was found to give them an advantage over low self-monitoring individuals (Eagly and Karau, 2002). However, the majority of female soloists were not high self-monitors from the sample of musicians surveyed for this study: only 18 out of 55 participants, just under one third, were classed as high self-monitors in accordance with Snyder and Gangestad's (1986) Self-monitoring Scale.

In the performance situation the musical work has traditionally been given greater status than the performer (Cook, 1998a); this view has led to the performer being perceived as a passive vessel of communication for the work's intrinsic musical meaning rather than an individual responsible for the creation of musical meaning in their own right. The autonomy of the musical work, as described by Goehr (1992) means that it is unacceptable for a soloist to draw attention away from the work and towards themselves with a distinctive physical appearance. In classical performance, soloists may need to subjugate the socially expressive aspect of their nature to present the music to their audience in keeping with traditional values of classical music. Alternatively, musicians may be distinct from other performing artists and may have a tendency towards low self-monitoring behaviour.

Research into musicians' personalities may shed some light onto why the majority of soloists surveyed in this study were classed as low self-monitors. Musicians have been shown to display a tendency for introversion (Kemp, 1997) but their introversion is different from that found in the general population as, although musicians are likely to display greater levels of detachment and self-sufficiency traits, they are less likely to exhibit traits of seriousness and shyness. This suggests that music attracts self-sufficient and "socially aloof" types (Kemp, 1997) and that the solitary practice conditions that dominate a soloist's time may accentuate this. Although Kemp does not link this behaviour to low self-monitoring specifically, these traits are similar to the behaviour that Snyder (1974) attributes to low self-monitors, namely that of reflecting accurately attributes of an individual's self-conception. This is supported by Storr (1976) who attributed a "schizoid" personality type to classical musicians as they find their identity in the mastery and autonomy of music and communicate on their own terms. Kemp's (1997) discussion of the personality type of musicians may also explain the low numbers of high self-monitors among the female sample of this study. Research from the 1960s found that creative types show more characteristics of the opposite sex than average when compared with the general population (Mackinnon, 1962). A later study by Kemp (1982) found that gender differences that emerged in the general population were significantly eroded in musicians and female conservatoire students were identified as both masculine and feminine, i.e. androgynous (Kemp, 1985). Research examined in the introduction to this study suggested that female soloists would be more likely to be high self-monitors as for women in traditionally male situations, such as classical music performance, high self-monitoring was shown to put them at an

advantage. However, in general group tasks it was found that men and low self-monitoring women did not alter their behaviour as much as high self-monitoring women (Eagly and Karau, 2002). Therefore, if musical women are identified as androgynous (Kemp, 1985) and are more likely to exhibit characteristically masculine traits, then they are less likely to monitor their expressive behaviour, like the male participants in the study by Eagly and Karan (2002). This may explain the low numbers of high self-monitoring women in this study.

Further surprising results came with the analysis of the quantitative data from the questionnaire. A comparison of responses of high and low self-monitors found that their responses were significantly different on only one item. The literature on self-monitoring strongly suggested that high and low self-monitors had very different characteristics and values, which would suggest that they would behave very differently. The lack of difference between high and low self-monitors on most items in this study shows that self-monitoring did not influence what affected these musicians' choice of dress for performance, or how they felt about their concert dress. It is possible that the strict cultural rules of classical performance give performers less scope for expressing themselves with their dress than might be afforded by other social situations. Through enculturation, participants were likely to be aware of what is the most appropriate concert dress for classical performance and dress according to that, rather than their expressive tendencies. This is supported by the low mean number of outfits that participants considered for the performance that they reported upon (mean = 2.07, s.d. = 1.54). As participants were aware of what was required of them in terms of their concert dress, this may have narrowed their choice of dress and meant they could select appropriate clothing more easily.

The one area where responses from high and low self-monitoring performers did differ was in their response to the statement "I deliberately dressed so my dress would not be a salient factor in the performance". High self-monitors were more likely than low self-monitors to dress so that their concert dress would not be a salient factor in their performance, which was expected following the literature on self monitoring behaviours. Classical music performance has traditionally valued mental capacities over more physical ones (Citron, 1993) and by reducing the visual impact of dress in performance high self-monitors allowed the focus of the performance to remain on the creative and therefore mental aspects of the music and therefore complied with the

values of the performance situation. By reducing their visual impact high self-monitors also repressed the image of the female body in performance, which was shown in the initial investigation (Chapter 2) to have a negative effect on perceptions of performers' abilities.

Although there appear to be minimal differences in factors affecting choice of concert dress between high and low self-monitors, these data give an interesting insight into factors affecting soloists' choice of dress and the effect it can have on their performance in general.

5.4.2 Factors Affecting Soloists' Choice of Dress

Physicality of dress

There were a number of physical and environmental factors that determined performers' choice of concert dress and they are addressed individually below. The vast majority of performers (81.8%) stated that the physical requirements of their instrument affected their choice of concert dress. Participants selected concert dress that didn't impede their movement and obstruct their ability to physically play their instrument (Table 5.4). "Sleeves had not got to get in the way and I had to have room to breathe without being constricted" (P2). Different instruments place unique physical demands on performers and this was shown to affect participants' choice of concert dress: different areas of the body were considered by performers according to instrument type. A bassoonist such as participant 2, quoted above, needed dress that didn't restrict breathing or prevent her fingers from moving accurately, while participant 8, a cellist, chose dress that allowed her the best posture: "I deliberately wore trousers because they are much easier to play the cello in. I also chose low heels for the same reason." (P8).

Table 5.4 Examples of the theme Physical freedom.

Physical freedom
I was comfortable wearing the outfit and was able to move more freely while performing. P36
The top had to be non-restrictive to arm movements and expanding lungs. P47
[My dress] allowed for good breathing and arm flexibility. P4
I need to be able to move my arms freely and breathe. P16
The skirt couldn't be too tight. Nor could the top because of breathing. I had to be able to walk and stand in heels. P38
I was very comfortable although I know not to wear high heels as I feel like I can't breathe properly. P41
Sleeves had not got to get in the way and I had to have room to breathe without being constricted. P2
I deliberately wore trousers because they are much easier to play the cello in. I also chose low heels for the same reason. P8

In taking the requirements of their instrument into consideration participants ensured that their concert dress was comfortable, and this was a crucial factor: "I chose the outfit I wore because I've played in it before so I knew it was comfortable" (P49). When asked to respond to the statement "I was aware of my concert dress as I was performing" participants' mean rating on a 5 point scale was 2.64, equating to a position between 'Disagree' and 'Neither agree nor disagree':

> "It was important for me to feel comfortable but only in as much as I didn't feel aware of it [my dress] bothering me or being a distraction." P12

As participants selected dress that afforded them comfort and allowed them to be relatively unaware of their dress as they performed, their focus could rest on the music and performance itself without being distracted by shortcomings of their chosen dress. Further examples of this are shown in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5 Examples of the effect of physical comfort on soloists' performance.

The effect of physical comfort on performance
It made it so that I could concentrate on the other important aspects of the evening - conducting, playing and talking to the audience. P2
I never wear without comfort (arms free), although if it is not comfortable 100% it could affect in my concentration (once I played without bra, for sleeveless reasons, and although it was fine, I didn't felt comfortable 100% and I "thought" to much about what I was wearing). P5
It was important for me to feel comfortable but only in as much as I didn't feel aware of it [my dress] bothering me or being a distraction. P12
I felt good about myself, I felt happy so I felt I could go for it and let myself go completely in the music. P6
If comfortable, the dress can allow more confidence as you have to worry about it less. P55

It was important for performers to remain at a comfortable temperature while playing and a number of players chose dress specifically for this purpose (Table 5.6).

Table 5.6 Examples of performers' concert dress choice affected by warmth.

Warmth
I chose the top because I knew it would be cold in the concert hall. P3
Weather on the day - fairly warm. Wanted clothes to be cool as I get very warm. P40
I bore in mind that it was a church and potentially cold, hence two tops. P47
[My concert dress] was cool on [my] arms which helped as nerves and hot flush hit. P43

From Table 5.6 it is clear that there are individual differences between performers as to whether they use their dress to try to regulate their body temperature in performance. The physical act of performing can cause performers to over-heat and dress was chosen by a number of performers to counter this effect, "[My concert dress] was cool on my arms which helped as nerves and hot flush hit" (P43). On the other hand classical concerts often take place in churches or other institutional buildings. As well as accommodating practical issues of space when dealing with large numbers of musicians, these buildings reinforce the high art status of classical music and through their dress performers can confirm these values. "Although I was hot in my cardigan I didn't want to take it off and expose my shoulders" (P47). This example shows that the

social requirements of classical music performance can sometimes override the physical comfort of performers.

Social requirements of dress

Formality of the concert situation was a major factor in choice of dress as 87.3% of participants reported that this had an effect on their choice of dress. As one participant reported "I wanted to look more formal so I chose a skirt" (P18). However, different performing situations require different levels of formality, and although some performances require a higher level of reserve, as in participant 46's experience ("I chose a cardigan to cover my shoulders. I disregarded other dresses because they were bright in colour and not formal enough"), for others it would be inappropriate to be dressed too formally: "[My dress] looked the most appropriate, it was formal enough without being too formal for a daytime recital" (P35). Further examples of formality of the performance situation affecting performers' choice of concert dress are shown in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7 Examples of performers' choice of concert dress affected by formality of performance situation.

Formality
[My dress] was smart enough to give a good impression P12
The information I received about the level of formality expected at the venue [affected my choice of dress]. P33
I wanted to look more formal so I chose a skirt. P18
[I chose my concert dress because it was the] easiest to play in and reached the level of formality. P20
[My concert dress was] smart and formal, looked nice yet was still comfortable to play in. P48

Participants' responses revealed that their concert dress was unique for the occasion and Table 5.8 gives a number of examples of this.

Table 5.8 Examples of soloists' performance specific dress.

This dress did differ quite a lot from everyday dress that I wore at the time P8
I never wear dresses, so my concert dress is always far smarter than my usual clothes. P5
[My concert dress is] more formal, less baggy and more girly [than my everyday dress]. P10
[I] normally wear jeans, apart from work clothes, so [my concert dress is] smarter and more formal. P14
[My concert dress is] much more dressy and feminine [than my every day dress]. P20
[My concert dress is] smarter, simpler and less fashionable [than my every day dress]. P54

Participants' dress was generally smarter for performance as shown by participant 48: "[My dress was] much much smarter. I would never normally wear a long formal skirt." Formal dress is a standard feature for classical performers, and by conforming to this style of dress performers show engagement with the concert situation. Participants also reported that their concert dress was more conservative than their everyday dress, "[My concert dress differed] vastly! I wear quite bright colours, alternative kind of clothing. Everything [about my concert dress] including my jewellery was conventional!" (P42). In this case participant 42 has put aside her alternative taste in clothes in order to fit in with the conservative tradition of classical performance. Participants also reported that their concert dress was more feminine in style than they would normally wear. "I like to wear vintage, charity shop clothes that are a bit different or I just wear jeans and a top. When I dress for concerts my clothes are generally more feminine" (P49). This finding was initially surprising as it was suggested above that female performers may attempt to look less feminine in concert in an attempt to avoid negative associations with their bodies affecting perceptions of their abilities. However, classical concert dress is of a similar style to formal dress of fifty years ago (as shown in Chapter 1) and at this time a feminine style of dress was common for formal occasions (Figure 1.9a and 1.9b). It is possible that by adopting a traditionally feminine style of dress in concert, performers today are emulating dress of the past and in fact reinforcing their engagement with the classical performance situation. Participants' dress was also more conservative as well as more feminine than their everyday dress, which again is a style more similar to past rather than present formal attire.

Appropriateness of dress was given a great deal of consideration by participants. When asked "How much consideration did you give to the appropriateness of your concert dress?" 60% of respondents reported giving it 'full' or 'fair' consideration. Participant 9 said "It's very embarrassing when you arrive at a concert feeling very much over- or under-dressed." so appropriateness of dress is clearly an important consideration for performers before a recital. Further examples of this theme are shown in Table 5.9.

Table 5.9 Examples of performers' choice of concert dress as affected by appropriateness of dress.

Appropriateness of dress
It was smart enough to give a good impression. P12
The first outfit was too formal for the occasion. P19
The information I received about the level of formality expected when I reached the venue [affected my choice of dress]. P33
It was formal enough without being too formal for a daytime recital. P35
I chose to wear a cardigan to cover my shoulders. I disregarded other dresses because they were bright in colour and not formal enough. P46
To dress appropriately is very important in the performance. P5

Although 30% of participants did not report giving the appropriateness of their concert dress a great deal of consideration, this does not necessarily mean that they believe it to be unimportant. A number of performers reported having a formula for appropriate concert dress, and as they were practiced soloists, they were able to select dress without much consideration, and to be confident in its appropriateness: "It doesn't take that long to decide nowadays because I'm used to thinking about it lots in the past. Can make a decision pretty quickly now." (P31). The notion that performers do not need to dedicate large amounts of time to selecting their dress due to past experience is confirmed by participant 2: "I tend to settle on sets of clothes that I know will work in all ways rather than having to go through lots [of sets of clothes] for each concert hence I did not need to try on and discard them for this concert." Participant 7 reports wearing "usual concert attire", which suggests that there is a standard of dress that is acceptable across classical music performance. Further examples are shown in Table 5.10.

Table 5.10 Examples of performers' use of a formula to select appropriate concert dress.

Formula for selecting concert dress
I tend to settle on sets of clothes that I know will work in all ways rather than having to go through lots for each concert - hence I did not need to try and discard them for this concert. P2
I've worn it before and I know it works so on this occasion. P25
It doesn't take that long to decide nowadays because I'm used to thinking about it lots in the past. Can make a decision pretty quickly. P31
I know what's practical and comfortable; I just considered which outfit was both of these things and looked good. I knew it was inappropriate and unpractical to wear a skirt and a revealing top for example, so didn't consider it an option. P36
I have played in enough similar situations to know it's appropriate. P41
I've done and been to a few concerts so didn't have to think about it much. P47

Presence of others

On the whole participants did not use the dress of other people present at their performances as points of reference to guide their own choice of dress. 90.9% reported that audience dress did not affect their own choice of dress and this is supported by the 72.7% of participants that were reportedly unaware of the dress of the audience in the performance that they recalled for the questionnaire. 65.5% said that they were not influenced by the dress of other performers, 67.3% and 65.5% of participants were not influenced in their choice of dress by their friends or teachers respectively. Although it is evident that other individuals present at participants' recitals did not specifically affect soloists' choice of dress, soloists were keen to present a good impression of themselves (mean = 4.31, s.d.= 0.633) and the majority of performers reported dressing for the audience and the occasion (72.2% and 83.6% respectively). These findings may be explained by the theory of a formula of concert dress posited above: as participants were aware through past experience what constituted appropriate concert dress they did not need to make reference to others' dress to be sure that their own was appropriate.

5.4.3 Concert Dress as Social Communication

Participants used their concert dress as a form of social communication with their audience and hoped to portray non-musical characteristics with their appearance (Table 5.11).

Table 5.11 Examples of performers' use of concert dress to convey non-musical characteristics to their audience.

Non-musical characteristics
[I hoped to show] that I am professional in my approach to concerts and performing and that I value the concert as an occasion in which to present music to other people. P2
Smart, non arrogant, professional P4
[I hoped to show] that I cared about the music and understood the situation/environment. P16
[I hoped to show that] I took my music seriously and had worked hard on it. P20
[I hoped to show] that I know how to dress appropriately for the occasion, that I take performing seriously and am not seeking attention with what I wear, but how I play. P36
[I hoped to show] that I am confident and in control, authoritative, comfortable, vibrant and energetic. P41
[I hoped to show] that I was not taking the occasion too seriously and was quite relaxed but had also made some effort for the purpose of performing. P53

A concern of many participants was that the focus of their performance should be the music itself and that attention should not be concentrated on their appearance, "[I want people to] listen to the music and be moved by that rather than what I'm wearing" (P25). In addition participants wanted to give the impression that the music was the most important concern to them: "[I wanted people to know] that I didn't put too much importance on it [dress] and that I was focussed on the performance." (P37). This fits with classical music's traditional valuing of the mind over the body and in doing this participants hoped to portray to their audience that they were professional in their approach to performance. "[I hoped to show with my dress] that I was professional, committed and took every performance event seriously." (P21). In turn, by presenting a "professional demeanour" performers showed respect for the concert situation: "[I hope my dress showed] that I value the concert as an occasion in which to present music to other people" (P2). By making an effort with their dress, which is evident in its

difference from everyday dress and in trying to fit in with the social norms of classical performance, the soloists made themselves the prototype of a classical performer.

Participants' ability to present themselves as the prototype of a classical performer also had an effect on their confidence (Table 5.12).

Table 5.12 Examples of the effect of performers' choice of concert dress on their confidence.

Confidence
It helps my confidence if I feel that I look 'good' or at least 'smart' as I feel that I am giving the right messages to my players and the audience. P2
I felt confident because I was looking smarter than I usually did, and I think doing this helps to increase your confidence. P8 For me, going out there and knowing that you look good gives you more confidence to go and play. P9
I felt confident because I felt I was looking attractive and appropriately dressed. P16
I felt I looked good and that gave me a boost. I felt I looked the part of a soloist, sort of like a head start. P35
I like the outfit I chose so my confidence when walking on stage was high. P49

Eighty per cent of participants reported their dress as having a positive effect on their confidence and this is summarised by participant 21:

> "It greatly heightened my performance. It helped create the persona I am on stage and I
> felt that I could achieve anything in it. I could hear and feel people's reactions to what I
> was wearing and that accordingly made me feel more confident and in control, which
> enabled a more relaxed performance" P21.

Only 3 participants reported that their concert dress had no effect on their confidence and not one participant reported that it lowered their confidence. This may be linked to the fact that in response to the statement "I was happy with my concert dress" the mean rating was 4.29 (s.d. = 0.599), which corresponds to a position between Agree and Strongly Agree. Through an awareness of appropriate dress due to the rigid rules of concert performance participants may have been content with the appropriateness of their dress and therefore happy with their overall appearance; this in turn may have increased their confidence and led to a more relaxed and assured performance.

Although the participants of this study demonstrated a confidence in the appropriateness of their dress, they were well aware of the serious consequences of being inappropriately dressed (Table 5.13).

Table 5.13 Examples of performers' perceived consequences of inappropriate concert dress.

Performers' perceived consequences of inappropriate concert dress
Not being invited to play again, giving out a detrimental image of yourself to future audiences. P4
[Inappropriate dress] would create a bad impression of you as a performer, affecting your playing of course, and result in you not being called to perform again. P5
The audience and fellow musicians' perception of your performance could be altered. P13
Severe embarrassment P9
[Inappropriate dress may cause a] negative attitude of the public towards my performance. P30
The attention of the audience may be misdirected, when what really matters is the music. The response of the audience may be negative and their opinion of you even before the performance may be negative. P36

Participants perceived embarrassment to be a major consequence of inappropriate concert dress "[I would experience] a feeling of embarrassment, making it harder to perform or feel comfortable in front of the audience" (P33). Another participant put simply "Humiliation" (P43). The fact that participants would be ashamed of wearing non-standard concert dress shows that they were keen to fit in with the social norms of classical performance, and by extension show their value of this tradition. This is supported by the findings reported above that participants gave great consideration to the appropriateness of their concert dress and aimed to create a good impression with their dress. Participants also believed that inappropriate concert dress would have a negative effect on physical aspects of their performance. "[Inappropriate dress could lead to] the impairment of necessary physical movement if restrictive clothing was worn, or over-awareness of it therefore not focussing attention on the music." (P47). In turn inappropriate dress was perceived as creating a negative image and inviting disapproval from the audience:

"I think would look on you as being less professional, and therefore may judge your performances in the same way. I think they want to believe that the music and the performance is important to you and so they want to see that reflected in the care you put into your dress." P8

Participants believed that inappropriate dress could have consequences as serious as being overlooked for future employment. "[Inappropriate dress] would create a bad impression of you as a performer, affecting your playing of course, and result in you not being called to perform again" (P5).

Participants were aware that they could use their concert dress as a means of communicating their non-musical ideals to their audience and that appropriate concert dress could improve their confidence and therefore the quality of their performance. On the other hand, participants were well aware of the repercussions of inappropriate dress on perceptions of their performances and ultimately on their careers.

5.5 Conclusions

The literature on self-monitoring examined at the start of this chapter showed that individuals' methods of self-presentation differ and high and low self-monitors were shown to exhibit specific behavioural patterns (cf. Snyder, 1974); however, in the current investigation these differences in behaviour were largely not observed. At different times participants exhibited behaviour that was either typically high self-monitoring or typically low self-monitoring. For example, the concern of participants with non-presentational matters such as warmth and physical comfort in their dress is in line with low self-monitoring behaviour. However, a characteristic such as an acute awareness of the social demands of the performance situation and of participants' self-presentation is consistent with high self-monitoring behaviour. Participants were shown not to use the audience and other people known to them at the performance as a point of reference for their choice of dress, which is low self-monitoring behaviour, but participants did report targeting those individuals when they reflected on who they dressed for in performance, which is high self-monitoring behaviour. The behavioural patterns of performers in this investigation also differed from those of previous research in which dress has been studied using a self-monitoring scale. In previous work high self-monitors exhibited clearly defined behaviours such as the greater fashion awareness and valuing of appearance observed by Snyder (1989); however in the classical performance context of this investigation, behaviours of high and low self-monitors were on the whole indistinct.

The combination of high and low self-monitoring traits and the unified behaviour of performers that were observed in this investigation may be a manifestation of the values of classical performance. Autonomy of musical works is valued in classical performance (Goehr, 1992) and as such the intrinsic meaning of music is given greater status than the performer. Therefore, in performance it is expected that a soloist subjugate their individuality for the sake of presenting the musical work clearly. Additionally, classical performance exists within a ritualised environment and compliance with its conventions may affect perceptions of performers, which was revealed in the initial investigation (Chapter 2). As such, it is in a soloist's interests to be aware of and conform to expectations of their appearance in performance. Complying with expectations of appearance is not merely a matter of aesthetics or impression management for soloists in the way that it may be for individuals in other contexts; rather it is a signal to the audience that a soloist subscribes to the value system of classical performance. Therefore, all performers wishing to be considered seriously in the performance situation may adopt behaviours that reinforce the values of the performance situation regardless of their individual level of self-monitoring.

The method for this investigation involved the collection of data using an online questionnaire to establish performers' level of self-monitoring and determine participants' behaviour in choosing and performing in their concert dress. Responses were compared from high and low self-monitors in order to assess the extent to which self-monitoring behaviour affected individual choice of concert dress and to identify social factors that were common to both behavioural types. A limitation of this methodology is that it only assesses differences in participants' behaviour as a result of their level of self-monitoring and does not account for differences that may exist between participants as a result of other factors such as personality type. However, in order to keep the study focussed it was necessary to limit the number of factors under investigation and as choice of dress is a form of expressive behaviour it was logical to investigate the effect of self-monitoring on performers' choice of concert dress. In addition, the accounts given by performers of their choice of concert dress in both Chapters 4 and 5 were so consistent that it is likely that factors affecting performers' choice of dress would remain constant regardless of individual differences.

6. Findings and Conclusions

This chapter reviews the empirical work detailed in the previous four chapters. Initially, the findings from each investigation are summarised without reference to existing literature in order to provide an overview by which more detailed discussion can be framed. Following this the findings are examined to determine how the research questions set out in the Introduction (Chapter 1) have been addressed.

6.1 Summary of Findings

A review of the role of the instrumental soloist in performance (Chapter 1) showed that historically, the classical music tradition placed great emphasis on musical works created by the composer and communicated to an audience through a performer. This view of creativity and musical meaning saw the performer as a vessel for communicating the intentions of a composer, rather than actively creating musical meaning in his or her own right. However, more recently the performer has been recognised as a social agent, who has a bearing on how music is created and received. The sight of a soloist's body in performance allows audience members to locate the performer and their music within culture and society. For the performer, their body is a site of expression and through their concert dress they can show engagement with the values of classical music performance. Citron (2004) voiced concern that female performers today dress in an increasingly body-focussed style, which may encourage the traditional association of women with the body rather than the mind and lead to their musical abilities being devalued. However, deconstruction of images of female soloists found differences between their presentation in promotional material compared with performance. It appeared that in consuming images of female performers through the mass media, we receive a distorted impression of how they appear in performance.

The first study, reported in Chapter 2, aimed to investigate a number of these issues. Engagement with social factors of performance is a way for soloists to confirm their musical ideals and communicate them to their audience (Davidson, 1997; Small, 1998); additionally, as appropriateness of dress was shown in non-musical contexts to affect observers' perceptions of task performance (Lapitsky and Smith, 1981) and competence

(Douglas and Soloman, 1983) the effect of concert dress on audience perceptions of performance quality was investigated. The formal performance etiquette associated with classical music may lead to fixed ideas regarding the appropriateness of concert dress and the autonomous character of classical music (Goehr, 1992) may dictate that classical soloists' concert dress should blend in with the social schema rather than highlight their individuality. Therefore, the initial investigation (Chapter 2) aimed to establish the degree to which changes in formality of concert dress affected audience perceptions of female soloists' musical skills. Citron (2004) suggested that beauty culture is rife in classical music and that a focus on women's bodies may lead to their musical skills being devalued. However, an investigation into the portrayal of female soloists in the Introduction (Chapter 1) revealed that there was a bias towards body-focussed images of soloists in the mass media that was not present in performance. To clarify this issue, the initial empirical study (Chapter 2) investigated whether body-focussed concert dress was accepted as appropriate dress by classical audiences and identified its effect on perceptions of soloists' musical skills.

The initial investigation (Chapter 2) adopted a controlled experimental design with three independent variables, piece, performer and style of dress. Observers were asked to rate aspects of performance quality on six point Likert scales. Analyses of observers' ratings revealed that participants had a very strong sense of what constituted appropriate concert dress as the concert dress was perceived as significantly more appropriate than the nightclubbing dress or jeans. When soloists performed in appropriate dress, that is the concert dress, they were perceived as significantly more musical and technically proficient. Conversely, when soloists performed in inappropriate dress, that is the nightclubbing dress, they were perceived as significantly less musical and technically proficient. Performers were rated more highly for musicality in the point light condition than when wearing the nightclubbing dress and which suggests that socially incongruent dress distracted observers' attention from the music itself and lead to lower ratings of musicality. Observers' perception of appropriate dress was dependent upon the genre of music being performed: jeans were perceived as significantly more appropriate in jazz and folk than in classical performances and greater informality of the performance tradition may lead to less formal concert dress. Differences existed between observers' perceptions of individual soloists even though performers were selected for their similarity of appearance and the musical soundtrack was identical in each instance. Lisa was rated higher than other performers for technical proficiency, but significantly lower

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for appropriateness of dress. This provides evidence of the continuation of the mind body split, where positive perceptions of creative skill are associated with negative appraisal of physical characteristics. Laura was rated as significantly less technically and musically proficient than other performers, yet more appropriately dressed. This suggests that observers perceived Laura as being physically instead of musically dominant and rated her accordingly. Bella was perceived by observers as lower in technical and musical ability and lower in appropriateness of dress than other performers. In order to investigate this phenomenon the video footage was consulted, which revealed that the performers appeared to have distinct movement styles across the four dress conditions.

The initial investigation reported in Chapter 2 found that observers perceived individual differences between performers', both in terms of their musical skills and their visual characteristics. Aural information and aspects of visual information such as dress and physical appearance, were controlled and therefore only a performer's expressive body movement was totally individual. Frith (1996) stated that the body in performance is an expressive site, where musical meaning can be created. This is supported by the pianist, Susan Tomes (2004), who believes that audience members use visual information in addition to aural information in order to make a judgement of performance quality. Performers' body movement styles may perceptibly distinguish them in the audience's mind and therefore the second investigation (Chapter 3) used the test material from the initial investigation to assess participants' perceptions of performers' body movement style and shed light on the findings from the initial investigation in Chapter 2.

Participants in the investigation into the interaction of dress and body movement style (Chapter 3) were asked to rate the appropriateness of performers' body movement style and this was followed up with observations of performers' frequency, type and size of body movements. Findings from this research supported previous research by Davidson and Correia (2002). They found that performers have an individual movement style and movement vocabulary of culturally learned gestures that they draw on to meet their expressive needs. In the investigation into the interaction of dress and body movement style (Chapter 3), body movement style was perceived as less appropriate across all performers when the movement vocabulary was more limited, that is when movements were smaller and less frequent. An effect of performer on observers' perceptions of appropriateness of body movement style showed that performers did move in

significantly different ways. Bella was rated as having a significantly less appropriate body movement style than all other performers when wearing jeans, which suggests that this style of dress drew attention to her ineffective expressive body movements and as a result, accounted for low perceptions of her technical and musical ability in Chapter 2. Size of expressive movement may be more important in communicating expressivity than the size of the movement vocabulary. Evidence for this was provided by ratings of Laura, who was perceived as having a significantly more appropriate body movement style when wearing the nightclubbing dress compared with the point light condition. Laura made the same number of movement types in both conditions, but her expressive movements were larger when wearing the nightclubbing dress. In cases where expressive body movement is unclear, it appears that body focussed dress draws attention to expressive movements. Mental discomfort with concert dress may be communicated to the audience via reduced expressive movement. Lisa was perceived as having a significantly less appropriate body movement style in the nightclubbing dress compared with jeans, and in the nightclubbing dress her movement vocabulary and the size of her movements were restricted. Lisa's restricted movements in the nightclubbing dress appear to be responsible for her low appropriateness of dress score in this condition in the previous investigation. This suggests that expressive body movement is one among a number of visual factors in performance that are combined and perceived as a single experience by audience members, which in turn affects their perceptions of a performance.

In the Introduction (Chapter 1), Citron's (2004) suggestion that beauty culture dominated classical performance was contradicted by visual evidence of soloists' dress during performance. Citron's position implied that the aesthetics of dress and appearance were of greater importance to female soloists than practicalities, although an analysis of images of soloists' concert dress showed that they adopted a more conservative and practical style. Performers may use the social significance of aspects of their dress to communicate with their audience (Barnard, 2002). In this thesis, the initial investigation (Chapter 2) and the investigation into the interaction of dress and body movement style (Chapter 3) strongly suggested that performers' preference for concert dress style and their individual movement style affected their communication with the audience and in turn how their performance was received.

In the investigation into factors affecting performers' choice of concert dress (Chapter 4) six female solo instrumentalists were interviewed regarding factors affecting their choice of concert dress, how their concert dress interacted with their expressive body movements, and the image they intended to portray in performance. All performers interviewed gave very consistent accounts and identified practical needs that they addressed with their choice of concert dress. These included being limited in the choice of dress style by the nature of touring for long periods of time, their physical needs relating to the specific demands of performing on their instrument, a need for freedom to move expressively whilst performing and a desire for their choice of dress to remain secure during performance. Performers also reported social requirements that they made of their dress. Performers chose dress that facilitated communication between them and their audience by using dress to create the social occasion, making a connecting with the audience through shared values made explicit by their dress, and showing respect for the audience and the performance tradition with appropriate concert dress. Performers wanted their dress to be of the appropriate level of formality for the occasion and the social dictate of the genre, as this can be seen to reinforce traditional values of classical music as a formal and high art pursuit (Goehr, 1992). Appropriate dress was also used by performers to ensure that the focus of the event rested on their musical performance and not on their visual appearance. Performers did not wish to promote a focus on their bodies, but rather on their musical talents. Performers also reported that appropriate dress differed depending upon the venue and performance situation. Performers' choice of concert dress affected their self-perception as they reported that their dress allowed them to create a mindset that readied them for performance. Performers felt confident in embracing their femininity through their choice of concert dress. They saw this as an enjoyable part of the performance and it may be another method by which performers can engage with the performance situation: classical concert dress reflects formal dress up to the 1950s when women's dress accentuated femininity. By embracing a feminine style of dress, which is less common in today's society, performers reinforce their engagement with this element of the classical performance tradition.

The findings reported in the initial investigation (Chapter 2) and the investigation into the interaction of dress and body movement style (Chapter 3) revealed that performers were perceived significantly differently from each other depending upon their dress and body movement style. The investigation into factors affecting performers' choice of dress (Chapter 4) revealed that performers were extremely consistent in their choice of

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concert dress and the ways in which they used their dress to communicate with their audience. In addition, performers were extremely aware of the social expectations of the classical music genre on their appearance.

In the investigation into individual differences in concert dress choice (Chapter 5) student performers were questioned using an online questionnaire to discover whether the consistent accounts of performers' revealed in the interview study (Chapter 4) are observable on a greater scale, and if performers' choice of dress is guided individual tendencies. Self-monitoring was used as a theoretical framework in which to discuss female solo instrumentalists' choice of dress and its effect on their performances. Although the literature suggested a high proportion of high self-monitors among musicians, the reverse of this was found and the majority of musicians surveyed were low self-monitors. Traits in personality that are common to musicians may lead them to tend towards low self-monitoring behaviour. Alternatively, due to the strict social and cultural rules associated with classical music performance musicians may need to subjugate their socially expressive side in order to communicate the music to their audience appropriately. On the whole high and low self-monitors did not behave significantly differently in their choices of dress or in the social references that they sought to reinforce their choices. Inspection of the data revealed that performers presented consistent accounts of behaviour when selecting their concert dress and exhibited both high and low self-monitoring traits. Participants cited a number of factors that affect their choice of dress including practical needs, which they were able to address with their concert dress. These practicalities included their physical needs relating to the specific demands of performing on their instrument, a need for freedom to move expressively whilst performing and a wish to be physically unaware of their concert dress during performance. Performers took into account a number of social considerations when choosing their dress. Performers reported selecting dress that was suitably formal and appropriate for the performance situation. Appropriate dress was perceived by participants as an important element in performance and participants were clear of the negative consequences they believed would result from inappropriate dress. These included being physically restricted in performance, disapproval from the audience and other performers and not being hired for future work. A number of participants reported having a formula for their concert dress that they had developed through experience, which allowed them to be secure in the knowledge that their dress was appropriate, but did not require a great deal of consideration for each performance.

Performers reported using their concert dress to convey non-musical characteristics such as professionalism and respect for the audience and although the audience's dress was not used specifically as a point of reference when choosing dress, performers reported that they dressed for the audience. Finally performers reported that their confidence was increased by appropriate concert dress and this positively affected their mind set for performance.

6.2 Findings in Relation to Research Questions

Following a review of the existing literature in the Introduction (Chapter 1), this thesis investigated four main areas. Firstly, it was necessary to consider the extent to which the visual appearance of female soloists in performance affected perceptions of their performances. Specifically this raised the following questions: does the concert dress of female classical performers have an effect on perceptions of their musical skills? Are there individual differences between performers in how they approach their concert dress and how they appear visually in performance? Are performers' concert dress and expressive body movement linked in their effect on audience perceptions of performers?

The second area for investigation examined to what extent the social rules associated with classical music mediated the effect of visual appearance of soloists on perceptions of their performance. This raised the questions of whether social factors involved in classical performance determine the perceived appropriate dress for soloists and what is the result of appropriate dress on perceptions of solo female instrumentalists?

The third area for investigation that arose from the literature was the way in which concert dress was used by performers as a method of communication with their audience, which raised the following questions: can the sight of a soloist's body in performance convey values of classical music and can performers convey non-musical characteristics to their audience through their visual appearance?

Finally, the research reported in this thesis aimed to investigate the approach female soloists took to portraying their bodies in performance and the effect this had on perceptions of their performance. Specifically, the research aimed to discover if female

performers today adopt a deliberately body focussed image and whether there is there evidence of the mind body dualism in existence for female soloists today.

The following section looks at each of the research questions in turn and details how each question arose from the current state of knowledge. The specific studies from the thesis that were used to investigate each research question are listed and this is followed by a discussion of the relevant findings from this thesis and the ways that findings have advanced knowledge in this area.

6.2.1 Does the concert dress of female classical performers affect perceptions of their musical skills?

The sight of a soloist in performance is clearly valued in classical music as specialist halls are constructed with seating arrangements to facilitate the audience's view of the performer. Concert ritual makes the soloist the centre of attention in a number of ways, including giving them specific applause and requiring them to enter the stage separately and after orchestral musicians. Citron (2004) suggested that performers today adopt a more body-focussed approach to their concert dress; this may result in performers being objectified and having their musical skills devalued, whereas performers wearing traditional concert dress reinforce the values of classical music with their appearance and appear more able. It is therefore important to determine whether the concert dress of female classical soloists affects perceptions of their musical skills. This issue was addressed through the initial investigation reported in Chapter 2. In this study significant differences in participants' responses to violinists' performances were affected by visual stimuli only, as the same audio track was edited over the musicians' performances in the four styles of dress. The investigation into individual differences in concert dress choice (Chapter 5) revealed participants' experiences of their concert dress and the ways in which they believed they were judged as a result.

In the initial investigation, a significant effect of dress was found on musically trained observers' perceptions of performers' technical proficiency and musicality. This revealed that performers were perceived as significantly more technically proficient wearing the concert dress than when wearing either jeans or the nightclubbing dress. Also performers were perceived as significantly less musical when wearing the

nightclubbing dress than when wearing the concert dress or in point light condition. These results suggest that the concert dress of female classical soloists does affect perceptions of their musical skills and consequently the reception of their work. This finding is reinforced by the fact that perceptions of measures of performance quality, technical proficiency and musicality were affected by the style of concert dress of the performer.

This finding is substantiated further by the beliefs of performers who participated in the study into individual differences in concert dress choice (Chapter 5). Here, performers reported a belief that their concert dress could affect perceptions of them as musicians, and P8 volunteered "I think they would look on you as being less professional, and therefore may judge your performances in the same way". This example demonstrates that performers are aware that their concert dress can affect perceptions of their musical skills and that they expect to be judged in part depending upon their dress.

These findings provide evidence that audience judgements of performers' abilities are affected by the concert dress of the performer. In addition, the qualitative findings reported above indicate that performers are aware and even expect that judgements will be made of their musical abilities dependent upon their visual appearance. These findings support the perspective represented in Citron's (2004) recognition of body–focussed dress among musicians that body-focussed concert dress leads to negative audience perceptions of a musician's skills. Performers wearing body-focussed dress are therefore more likely to have their musical skills received less favourably than performers in non body-focussed dress. Additionally, these results support findings from sartorial research. Appropriately dressed individuals were shown to enjoy enhanced perceptions of their task performance (Lapitsky and Smith, 1981) and competence (Douglas and Soloman, 1983). In the initial investigation (Chapter 2), performers wearing the most appropriate style of dress, the concert dress, were perceived as more skilful by observers than when wearing less appropriate dress. Lambert (1972) found that smartly dressed individuals were more likely to have positive interactions with others and in the research reported here performers wearing the more formal concert dress received more favourable reactions to their performances.

6.2.2 Are there individual differences between performers in how they approach their concert dress and how they appear visually in performance?

The unique experiences of a soloist shape her views and approach to her work, which can be represented to her audience through her choice of concert dress. In the Introduction (Chapter 1) female performers were shown to have a more flexible dress code than male performers although performance tradition was shown to exhibit strong cultural rules in a tradition dating back over a hundred years. Each soloist has different life experiences and beliefs but operates within the confines of a performance tradition and so this research investigates if there are individual differences between performers in how they approach their concert dress and how they appear visually in performance. In order to address this issue, data were gathered on performers' choice of concert dress from the investigation into factors affecting performers' choice of concert dress (Chapter 4) and the investigation into individual differences in concert dress choice (Chapter 5). These data established how performers chose to present themselves through their concert dress in performance. Data were also collected on perceptions of individual performers in the initial study reported in Chapter 2 and perceptions and observations of those same performers' expressive body movements were recorded in the investigation into the interaction between dress and body movement style (Chapter 3).

There was a high level of consistency between performers as to the factors that determined their choice of concert dress. Performers interviewed in Chapter 4 gave congruent accounts both in terms of the factors that affected their choice of dress and the resulting effect of these factors on their performance. A number of practical considerations were cited by performers as affecting their choice of dress, namely the restrictions of travelling, the physical requirements of their instrument, the physical freedom needed to perform at their best and a confidence in the security of their concert dress to remain in place during performance. Performers also reported their potential use of their concert dress as a medium for social communication. Performers used their dress to create a sense of occasion in performance and to make a visual link with the music that was being performed. Performers were keen to choose clothing that was

deemed appropriate for the occasion as they believed this to show respect for the audience and tradition of classical performance. However, they also cited the specific performance occasion as determining the formality of their dress. Performers expressed a wish to disregard their concert dress during a performance, which would allow them to focus exclusively on the performance of the music, which was named as a priority for performers. Performers also reported wanting the audience's focus to remain on the music rather than becoming distracted by their attire, which implied that they wished to be judged on their musical merits rather than their appearance alone.

The consistency in approach of concert dress choice exhibited by the six interview participants is reinforced by the reports of factors affecting the choice of concert dress among participants of the investigation into individual differences in concert dress choice (Chapter 5). These participants not only gave accounts consistent with each other, but also consistent with those testimonies given by the interview participants. Participants of the investigation into individual differences in concert dress choice named a number of factors affecting their choice of dress, namely the physical requirements of their instrument, the need for physical freedom and an appropriate level of formality of dress. Participants again reported using their concert dress as a method of communicating with their audience and hoped that by choosing appropriate dress for the situation this would blend into the background and allow the focus of the performance to rest on the music itself.

Participants' level of self-monitoring did not significantly affect their choice of concert dress or their reliance on social cues from other individuals to guide their choice of dress. Instead participants based their choices of dress on their physical ability to perform in the style of dress coupled with its social qualities of appropriateness and ability to communicate with the audience. Musicians that took part in the investigation into self-monitoring displayed behaviour consistent with other participants and irrespective of their individual level of self-monitoring. The lack of statistical significance between high and low self-monitors' responses confirms that factors affecting their choice of dress were common to the majority of participants and on inspection, those choices were associated with both high and low self-monitoring behaviour. For example, the concern of performers to choose dress that was physically unrestrictive and met the physical requirements of their instruments could be considered a low self-monitoring trait as low self-monitors are said to be less concerned with their

own self-appearance and their behaviour is more likely to be determined by their affective states (Snyder, 1974). By contrast, the way that performers aimed to demonstrate personal characteristics to their audience through their choice of dress could be seen as a high self-monitoring trait as high self-monitors are particularly skilled at learning what is appropriate in a new situation and are adept at creating specific impressions of themselves (Snyder, 1974).

The strong consistency in behaviour regarding concert dress selection exhibited by performers in both the investigation into factors affecting performers' choice of concert dress (Chapter 4) and the investigation into individual differences in concert dress choice (Chapter 5) suggests that the social requirements of the performance situation determined the expressive behaviour of performers in terms of their concert dress rather than their individual style. This is an entirely new finding as although it was highlighted in the Introduction (Chapter 1) that classical performance comes with a rigid set of performance rules including a formal dress code, there is no previous research to show that performers take into consideration the same factors when deciding on their concert dress. Also, there is no previous research to suggest that performers would behave in such a unified manner. It seems likely that the strict cultural rules surrounding classical music performance gave performers less scope for expressing themselves with their dress than might be afforded by other social situations. It appears that through enculturation, participants were aware of what is the most appropriate concert dress for classical performance and dress accordingly, rather than responding to their expressive tendencies. This contradicts Gangestad and Snyder's (2000) work on self-monitoring, which found that individuals' appearance and social behaviour was controlled by their self-monitoring tendencies rather than the demands of social situations. The fact that performers reported that their concert dress differed from their everyday dress strongly suggests that musicians need to subjugate the socially expressive aspect of their natures to present the music in the most acceptable format for their audience.

Although the approach performers take to their concert dress appears to be governed by the same factors, performers do appear to be visually distinct from one another. In the initial investigation (Chapter 2) and the investigation into the interaction of dress and body movement style (Chapter 3), performers were perceived significantly differently from each other on measures of technical proficiency, musicality, appropriateness of dress, attractiveness of performer and appropriateness of body movement style despite

the fact that dress and physical appearance were controlled. The investigation into performers' expressive body movements found that observers' ratings of appropriateness of body movement style were significantly affected by performer, namely that Bella was rated as having a significantly less appropriate body movement style than Elizabeth, Laura and Lisa. This result indicates that Bella moved in a sufficiently individual manner for her movement style to be perceived as significantly different from other performers.

Observational analyses of performers' expressive body movements revealed that each performer had an individual vocabulary of expressive gestures that they drew on to differing degrees in their performances. In the cases of Laura, Lisa and Bella, when their movement vocabularies were more limited in type, frequency and size of movements, performers' body movement styles were perceived as less appropriate. However, there were similarities between performers' expressive movement vocabularies as the majority of movement types that a performer made were made by at least one other performer. The fact that observers perceived performers as distinct in their body movement style and the fact that each performer was shown to have an individual profile of expressive gestures supports findings by Davidson and Correia (2002) that musicians have an individual movement vocabulary. However, Davidson and Correia (2002) also found that performers' gestures were culturally learnt, which is supported by the finding here that there existed similarities between the types of gestures used by performers. The fact that there were similarities between performers' gestures suggests that through performers' experience and enculturation in classical performance they observed and adopted a number of gestures appropriate to the performance tradition.

The research reported in the investigation into the interaction of dress and body movement style (Chapter 3) is the first to investigate performers' movement vocabularies in detail. This thorough approach to performers' movements revealed that changes in the frequency, type and size of gesture affected observers' perceptions of body movement style. This finding supports Davidson's (1994) suggestion that intensity of expression was associated with increased magnitude of gesture as when performers used more expansive gestures, their body movement styles were considered more appropriate. However, there has been no previous research into the effect of frequency or type of gesture on observer perceptions of performance. Research reported in the

investigation into the interaction of dress and body movement style (Chapter 3) revealed that performers' body movement style was perceived as significantly more appropriate when gestures were more frequent and used a variety of movement types. This strongly suggests that there are differences between individual performers in the visual appearance of their expressive body movements that are perceptible by their audience and that affect evaluations of performers.

6.2.3 Are performers' concert dress and expressive body movement linked in their effect on audience perceptions of performers?

Frith (1996) argued that the body plays an important role in performance and creates additional interpretations of the score on a physical level through expressive body movement. The body in performance can be seen as a concrete link to the culture and society in which music is created, as the style of concert dress worn by a soloist also has links to both the performer's body and to the performance tradition of the classical music. Therefore, it is necessary to determine whether performers' concert dress and expressive body movement are linked in their effect on audience perceptions of performance. In order to address this question, data were gathered on observers' perceptions of soloists' performance quality in the initial study reported in Chapter 2, and on observers' perceptions of the soloists' body movement styles, reported in Chapter 3. The data from the investigation into the interaction of dress and body movement style (Chapter 3) were used to provide greater insight into the possible causes of observers' perceptions of performance quality reported in the initial investigation (Chapter 2).

Bella was rated as significantly lower for appropriateness of body movement style than Elizabeth, Laura and Lisa and an interaction of performer and dress revealed that this effect was especially apparent when wearing jeans. The jeans drew attention to Bella's figure and highlighted her style of movement. Observational analyses revealed that Bella used a more limited movement vocabulary than other performers in this dress condition, which suggests that the jeans directed attention towards her body and made her limited movements more salient. This is likely to have increased participants' focus

on her body movement style and, as this was found to be significantly less appropriate than that of the other performers, impacted on perceptions of her overall performance. This could explain why Bella was rated as significantly less technically proficient than Lisa and significantly less musical than Elizabeth and Lisa for musicality. Concert dress can highlight expressive body movement, which in turn can have an effect on how successful a performer is at communicating with their audience.

Laura was perceived by observers to have a significantly more appropriate body movement style when wearing the nightclubbing dress compared with her performances in the point light condition. She made more movements when wearing the nightclubbing dress than in the point light condition, and these movements were larger in size, which may in itself have accounted for the difference in perception of her body movement style. However, when performing in the nightclubbing dress Laura made a number of knee bend movements that were not visible in the point light condition; the nature of the nightclubbing dress may have increased their prominence. The hem of the nightclubbing dress finished several inches above Laura's knees, which suggests a twofold impact on perceptions of her body movements: firstly her knee bends were more clearly visible to observers as they were not covered by clothing, and secondly the body focussed nature of this dress with its short skirt drew attention to the performer's legs. It is likely that body focussed dress increased the prominence of expressive movements, where they would otherwise have been hidden by clothing.

In addition to the ability of concert dress to highlight or mask body movement style, there is evidence that performers' preference for concert dress affected their state of mind in approaching the performance, which had a subsequent effect on their body movement style. In the initial investigation (Chapter 2), Lisa was perceived by observers to be significantly less appropriately dressed than Laura and Bella when wearing the nightclubbing dress. Lisa had stated her discomfort in this style of dress at a session to try on the clothes and refused to show the other performers how she appeared in the dress as she felt 'exposed'. Lisa's body movement style was perceived as significantly less appropriate when wearing the nightclubbing dress compared with when wearing jeans and an observational analysis revealed that her movement vocabulary and size of movements were more restricted when wearing the nightclubbing dress compared with jeans. It appears that her dislike of the nightclubbing dress resulted in perceptibly more restricted expressive movements and may have

resulted in her low ratings of appropriateness of dress in the initial investigation (Chapter 2).

There is evidence then that concert dress and expressive body movement interact. In the cases of Laura and Bella their existing styles of body movement were highlighted in different styles of dress, which significantly impacted on perceptions of their movement style. Wapnick *et al.* (1997, 1998, 2000) found that performers rated as more appropriately dress and with more appropriate stage behaviour were rated higher for overall performance quality but this work failed to address specific features of concert dress or to look in detail at performers' movements. The research reported in the investigation into the interaction of dress and body movement style (Chapter 3) is novel in its suggestion that the physical properties of concert dress affect how body movement style is perceived and that this impacts upon perceptions of performance quality.

The findings in the investigation into the interaction of dress and body movement style (Chapter 3) strongly suggest that a performer's preference for style of dress can affect perceptions of her expressive body movement. Rather than drawing attention to or masking existing movements, preference for dress can affect the frequency, type and size of movements being made. Perception of movement style in relation to concert dress occurs within the context of the performance situation and as such this can explain differences in ratings of performance quality from the initial investigation. Cook (1998b) stated that visual image and musical sound circulate indivisibly and are consumed together; this statement assumes that all elements of the sight of the body in performance are already perceived as one entity. If this is the case, it would explain how concert dress and movement style are linked for observers and how changes in dress and movement are perceptually related to sound, and therefore impact upon perceptions of performance quality. The research detailed here comes from the first investigation in which concert dress and expressive body movement were explicitly investigated together and as such these findings have not been observed before.

6.2.4 Do social factors involved in classical performance determine the perceived appropriate dress for soloists?

Small (1997) claimed that it is unrealistic to think that music exists in a social vacuum This is a point of view shared by Davidson (1997), who proposed a model which placed musical performance within a framework of socio-cultural factors. One aspect of this, which is of interest for the current research project is whether the social factors involved in classical performance determine perceived appropriate dress for soloists. In order to address this issue, data were gathered on observers' perceptions of appropriateness of dress in the initial study reported in Chapter 2 and on performers' perceptions of what factors of performance determined appropriate dress, which was elucidated from the investigation into factors affecting performers' choice of concert dress (Chapter 4) and the investigation into individual differences in concert dress choice (Chapter 5). In the initial investigation, observers rated appropriateness of dress of four styles of dress over three pieces, which provided evidence of appropriate dress by genre of music and the formality of dress expected for each style of music. Interview data and qualitative comments from the online questionnaire provided insight into specifically classical soloists' perceptions of the determinants of appropriate concert dress.

The initial investigation determined that observers' perception of appropriate dress was dependent upon the piece that was performed and as the test pieces represented three different genres, classical, jazz and folk, appropriate dress differed with the genre of music. Performers wearing jeans were perceived as significantly more appropriately dressed when playing the jazz and folk pieces, than when performing the classical piece. Frith (1996) described pop music as a physical art form, enjoyed by moving to the music and representing modernity in contrast with classical music, which he described as a serious, mental activity which prized tradition and formality. As folk and jazz have more informal performance traditions and more popular roots than classical music, it appears that for socially informal performance traditions less formal dress is seen as more appropriate than formal attire. This is supported by the finding that when performing in the concert dress ratings of appropriateness of dress were significantly higher for the classical than the folk piece. In this case the formal concert dress was perceived as more appropriate for the formal concert tradition of classical music rather than the informal folk genre.

In the initial study (Chapter 2), observers exhibited a strong sense of what constituted appropriate dress for performance as they rated the concert dress significantly more appropriate than the nightclubbing dress or jeans across all pieces combined. The context of the performance situation may have influenced observers' perceptions of appropriate dress as each clip focussed on a solo violinist from a fixed camera position, similar to the view of an audience member in a classical concert. In addition, observers were asked to rate the appropriateness of dress for each clip 'on first impressions as if the violinists were playing a public recital' (Appendix 2). As public recitals are more commonly found within the classical tradition, the set up of the performance situation that observers saw was most similar to that of classical concert. This may have determined the high level of appropriateness of dress awarded by observers to the concert dress across all three genres of music, despite the high levels of appropriateness given to jeans when pieces were compared separately.

From the interview study, it was obvious that performers were clear about what style of concert dress was expected from them as classical performers. Elanor stated: "I play in a very classical context and I think it's important to dress accordingly. I always wear something below the knee and usually something all the way to the floor." Elanor describes suitable dress for a classical performance as formal and demure, covering the body with its length. This also suggests though that the formality of the dress that is expected is a reflection of the formality dictated by the tradition as a whole. If this is the case, it would also explain why the nightclubbing dress from the initial investigation received such poor ratings of appropriateness: as was detailed above, the performance context of the initial investigation was traditionally classical and as the nightclubbing dress was incongruent with the formality dictated by the classical performance situation, it may have led to the nightclubbing dress being perceived as inappropriate.

Comparisons of formality of dress across two generations of women in the Introduction (Chapter 1) suggested that both everyday and formal dress up to the 1950s was more formal than everyday or formal dress today. Rosie from the interview investigation states that "I suppose at the moment classical audiences are generally old so because of that you need to be a little bit careful of how you dress", which suggests that an older audience, who in general adopted a more formal style of dressing in their youth transfer their expectations of formality onto performers today. In Rosie's case, she believes that

demographic factors of the audience determine their expectations of dress and therefore what is considered appropriate.

Both the investigation into factors affecting performers' choice of concert dress (Chapter 4) and the investigation into individual differences in concert dress choice (Chapter 5) revealed that not all classical performances are identical in their social structure and associated level of formality. Chloe, interviewed in Chapter 4 said: "I've played in clubs and art galleries and in those situations I wore jeans and cowboy boots, you know and that felt good, but obviously when you're playing in a concert hall there's a sense of formality to it." This demonstrates that although there is an accepted level of formality for traditional classical concerts, other factors such as venue and the function of performing music, for example to give a recital or accompany an exhibition, affect the level of formality required by performers in their dress. For less formal environments such as night clubs and art galleries, Chloe found a reduced need for formal dress.

Even within traditional classical performances, where the music itself remains the focus of the event, appropriate dress can differ. In the investigation into individual differences in concert dress choice 87.3% of participants reported formality of the occasion as affecting their choice of concert dress. Participants' accounts were of different classical events and as such what they reportedly wore differed in formality. For example, P18 reported "I wanted to look more formal so I chose a skirt", which was in contrast to P35 who chose dress based on the fact that "it was formal enough without being too formal for a daytime recital". Although both performers were asked to respond based on 'the last solo recital you gave' (Figure 6.2) P18's concern was to increase formality, while P35 was careful not to appear too formal, which suggests their performing occasions differed in formality.

In summary, appropriate dress appears to be determined by the genre of music being performed and for classical music dress is expected to be more formal than for genres such as folk and jazz. Frith (1996) stated that classical performance was a serious art form, which prized tradition and formality. Findings from the research carried out for this thesis revealed that perceived appropriate dress for classical performance reflects those values as the expectation is that concert dress will be formal. Past research has addressed the effects of appropriate dress on perceptions on individuals' characteristics

such as intelligence (Kwon and Farber, 1992), task performance (Lapitsky and Smith, 1981) and competence (Douglas and Soloman, 1983). However, this is the first time that evidence has been presented for the social context of a situation affecting perceptions of appropriateness of dress. The fact that within classical performance the age of the audience, the venue and function of the performance can effect perceptions of appropriate dress has extended knowledge in this area.

6.2.5 What is the result of appropriate dress on perceptions of solo female instrumentalists?

Section 6.2.4 investigated the extent to which social factors in performance are involved in determining perceptions of appropriate concert dress. However, in order to gain a complete picture of the effect of appropriate dress on classical performance it is important to discover the result of soloists' wearing of appropriate dress on perceptions their performance. In order to address this question data were gathered on observers' perceptions of violinists' performance quality in different dress conditions from the initial study reported in Chapter 2, and on performers' perceptions of the importance of appropriate concert dress and the impact they believed it had on the reception of their performances from data supplied by participants in the Chapters 4 and 5.

The initial investigation (Chapter 2) found that performers were perceived as significantly less appropriately dressed when wearing the nightclubbing dress compared with when they were wearing the concert dress or jeans. When wearing what was considered inappropriate dress, that is the nightclubbing dress, performers were perceived as significantly less technically proficient than when they performed in the concert dress or the point light condition and less musical than when they performed in the concert dress. By contrast, when performers played in the concert dress they were perceived as significantly more appropriately dressed than when they performed in the nightclubbing dress or jeans. When performers played in what was considered appropriate dress, i.e. the concert dress, they were perceived by observers to be more technically proficient than when they performed in jeans or the nightclubbing dress and more musical than when they performed in the nightclubbing dress. These results suggest that performing in what is considered by observers to be appropriate concert dress improves perceptions of musical and technical skills, while inappropriate dress

lowers perceptions of these abilities. Appropriate dress was shown above to enhance perceptions of task performance (Lapitsky and Smith, 1981) and competence (Douglas and Soloman, 1983), and findings from the initial investigation that observers' perceptions of musicality and technical proficiency were enhanced when performers played in appropriate dress support this. These results also confirm Wapnick *et al.*'s (1997, 1998, 2000) findings that appropriate concert dress enhances perceptions of performance quality.

It is likely that socially incongruent dress, for example informal or body focussed dress in the conservative classical performance setting is not congruent with observers' visual expectations of skilled musicians, and subconsciously they believe them to be less skilled than when wearing what they consider to be appropriate dress. This confirms Entwhistle's (2000) position that dress is said to add layers of cultural significance to the body. By adopting what is generally considered as appropriate dress, performers show their engagement with the situation and demonstrate their shared musical values with the audience. This finding is reinforced by data reported in the interview investigation, as Natalie stated "I want people to feel like I'm a normal person you know, I don't want to put myself up on a pedestal... I very much connect with my audiences". In wearing what the audience expects, Natalie can meet their expectations of a classical soloist and make a social connection with them through an affirmation of classical values.

The fact that ratings of performance quality were lower when performers wore concert dress that was perceived by observers to be inappropriate suggests that socially incongruent dress can also lower perceptions of musicians' abilities by creating a split attention effect and visually distracting them from the music being performed. Observers use working memory in making judgements of musicians in performance, and it is plausible that dress that is perceived as socially incongruent with the music heard by participants creates a spilt attention effect, increasing cognitive load and overburdened participants' working memory. This may distract audience members from the music itself and result in lower perceptions of performance quality. By contrast, socially congruent dress may ease the burden on working memory and allow an audience's focus to remain on the music, resulting in higher perceptions of performance quality. There has been no previous research in music performance into the effect on performance quality of socially congruent dress, although this finding does support research into split attention effects from education research (cf. Kalyuga *et al.* 1999;

Mayer *et al.*, 2001). In education research a split attention effect was observed on participants who were faced with integrating two disparate sources of information in order to make them intelligible, such as text and diagrams on a work sheet (Chandler & Sweller, 1999). This effect is supported by the finding in the initial investigation (Chapter 2) that observers of performers wearing socially incongruent dress were distracted from the musical content and as a result rated performance quality lower.

The performers questioned in the investigation into individual differences in concert dress choice (Chapter 5) identified appropriate concert dress as an important aspect of performance and 60% reported giving the appropriateness of their concert dress full or fair consideration. Elanor from the interview study reported using her concert dress to create and define the performance occasion, "When you put it [your concert dress] on, you feel like you're putting your costume on, it is something you don't wear every day and it's something that's not biddable for wearing every day. It does make you feel like it's a special occasion; I think it just makes a sense of occasion". Elanor used her concert dress to demonstrate to the audience that she values the social occasion enough to wear dress that is not suitable for everyday wear, and implies that her concert dress is more special. Jessica believed that through wearing dress that was different from everyday dress it showed respect for the audience: "When I am giving a performance I feel that there is a respect due the audience. It would be a disappointing thing for them, I believe, were I to walk out in some drab number." The audience may feel valued as performers indicated with their dress that the occasion was worth the effort of selecting dress that was reserved for special occasions. This suggests that in demonstrating to the audience that they value the performance occasion and respect the audience enough to make an effort with their dress, the audience will perceive performers as more engaged with the performance situation and be pre-disposed to think well of them as musicians.

Although performers in the investigation into individual differences in concert dress choice (Chapter 5) believed appropriate dress to be an important element of performance, a number of participants described having a formula to their concert dress: "It doesn't take that long to decide nowadays because I'm used to thinking about it lots in the past. Can make a decision pretty quickly now." P31. Through experience of the performance situation soloists were able to select dress without much consideration, but were confident in its appropriateness. This is important for performers as their concert dress is then able to blend into the social schema, "I try to apply that concept of not

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distracting the audience with the clothes that I wear" P4. Performers aimed for their concert dress to be so appropriate for the occasion that it became invisible and the focus of the performance could then rest on the music. This prevented dress from interfering with the performance by being inappropriate and leading to negative judgements of performers based on their visual rather than musical characteristics.

The findings from the investigation into factors affecting performers' choice of dress (Chapter 4) and individual differences in concert dress choice (Chapter 5) revealed that performers aim to show respect for their audience through appropriate dress, and they can achieve this by using a formula for dress. Flugel (1940) reports women showing respect with their dress by covering their hair and shoulders although there is no empirical evidence to confirm that this intention is communicated effectively to observers. No previous research has been carried out into the ways in which performers aim to communicate with their audience through their concert dress and these findings provide insight into a previously undocumented channel of communication in musical performance.

Appropriate concert dress was cited by Jo from the investigation into factors affecting performers' choice of concert dress (Chapter 4) as positively affecting her mindset for performance. "There are days when you're not...you're not feeling so great... and you put on something nice and it makes you feel a bit better and it's the same thing when you go on stage." Jo's concert dress got her into the right frame of mind for performing, which was a perspective shared by participants of the investigation into individual differences in concert dress choice. 92.7% of these participants reported that their concert dress had a positive impact of their confidence going into a performance and the mean position was being 'very happy' with their concert dress. This suggests that if participants were happy with their choice of concert dress and convinced of its appropriateness, they were free from the worry of audience disapproval regarding their appearance and approached the performance with more confidence. This confidence may have been detected by the audience and interpreted as a positive characteristic of the performance. This hypothesis is supported in Education research as Brookhart and DeVoge (1999) found that high levels of self-efficacy were positively associated with achievement and in assessment situations, students performed better when their confidence levels were high. Indeed, there is evidence from the initial investigation that concurs with this position. Lisa was vocally displeased when wearing the nightclubbing

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dress as she felt 'exposed' and the investigation into expressive body movement revealed that her movements were reduced in this style of dress and consequently she was perceived as less appropriately dressed and having a less appropriate body movement style in this dress. It appears that performers use their concert dress to put them in the right frame of mind for performing and contentment with their concert dress can increase their confidence. This more relaxed attitude may be picked up by audience members and affect their perceptions of the performance. Performers have provided evidence that wearing appropriate dress affects their approach to performance and increases their confidence. This is a novel finding in music performance research and extends knowledge on the ways in which performers prepare for performance.

There is evidence that performers believed there to be serious practical consequences of their appearing inappropriately dressed for performance. Performers represented in the investigation into individual differences in concert dress choice believed that concert dress that was not fit for purpose could impede their movement: "[Inappropriate dress could lead to] the impairment of necessary physical movement" P21. This could lead to a drop in performance quality perceivable by the audience. Additionally, inappropriate attire can lead soloists to focus on their dress during a performance rather than on the music itself: "[Inappropriate dress could lead to] over-awareness of it [concert dress] therefore not focussing attention on the music." This again, could distract performers from the task of playing their instrument and lower performance quality. Performers believed that inappropriate dress could affect the impression an audience formed of them. Performer 5 explained "[Inappropriate dress] would create a bad impression of you as a performer, affecting your playing of course, and result in you not being called to perform again." Performers were clear about the serious consequences they believed appropriate concert dress could have on their reputation and job prospects. These findings support those of Wapnick *et al.* (1997, 1998, 2000) and those from the initial investigation (Chapter 2) which found that performers wearing inappropriate dress were rated lower for performance quality than performers wearing appropriate dress. This suggests that performers from the investigation into individual differences in concert dress choice (Chapter 5) were right in their opinions that there are negative consequences to appearing inappropriately dressed.

6.2.6 Can the sight of a soloist's body in performance convey values of classical music?

In Cook's (1998b) deconstruction of images on record sleeves and in those carried out on pictures of female performers in the Introduction (Chapter 1), it was suggested that the bodies of performers were used to signal the values of classical music. In order to determine whether this phenomenon is limited to carefully constructed promotional images, it is necessary to investigate whether the sight of a soloist's body in performance can convey values of classical music. To investigate this, data were gathered on observers' perceptions of style of appropriate dress from the initial study; performers' perceived requirements of the social conventions for classical performance dress were gained through the investigation into factors affecting performers' choice of concert dress (Chapter 4) and the investigation into individual differences in concert dress choice (Chapter 5).

The formality and ritualised behaviour exhibited by both classical audiences and performers is reflected in the opinions of concert dress reported by musicians throughout this thesis. Frith's (1996) perspective that classical music values formality more than popular styles of music is supported by the finding that 87.3% of performers questioned in the investigation into individual differences in concert dress choice said that their choice of dress was affected by the formality of the occasion. In the initial study observers rated the concert dress as being significantly more appropriate when performers played the classical style piece than when they played the folk style piece. Therefore the concert dress, which was chosen as this study's most formal style of dress due to its long full skirt, long sleeves and high neck line, was perceived as significantly more appropriate for classical performance than folk performance. This suggests that observers perceive formal attire to be appropriate dress for classical performance and this style of dress reflects the formal behaviour exhibited by participants in the performance procedure in their actions leading up to and during the performance itself. This position is reinforced by audience perceptions from the initial study, which showed that the concert dress was perceived as the most appropriate style of dress over all performance conditions. Observers were asked to rate the appropriateness of dress for each clip 'on first impressions as if the violinists were playing a public recital' (Appendix 2) and as public recitals are more commonly found within the classical

tradition, the set up of the performance situation that observers saw was most similar to that of classical concert. The formal concert dress that observers' perceived as the most appropriate style of dress for a recital setting again reflects that formality of the behaviour of participants in the performance context.

There was evidence that the status of the music should be reflected in performers' dress, as one observer of the initial investigation remarked with regard to the classical piece: "Posh music should equal posh dress, and too much leg [on show] is bad, because it isn't posh." This observer confirms the status of classical music as high art and believes that the performers should reflect these values with corresponding dress. The traditional evening dress that female soloists wear in performance reflects the high art status of classical music, as formality exists as connotational meaning within evening dress (Saussure, 1974). This embodies the values of classical performance and presents them in visual form to the audience. The remark by an observer of the initial investigation (Chapter 2) also demonstrates that body-focussed or revealing attire is not embedded with the connotational symbol of formality, and is therefore not appropriate for classical performance.

Elanor, interviewed in Chapter 4, believed that her concert dress could reinforce the values of classical music: "I play in a very classical context and I think it's important to dress accordingly. I always wear something below the knee and usually something all the way to the floor. If it's a recital then it'll be something simpler." The dress described here by Elanor is formal and demure in nature, which can be seen to represent the tradition and formality present in the behaviour of classical performers and their audience and representative of the high art status of classical music.

Performers whose opinions were surveyed in the investigation into individual differences in concert dress choice (Chapter 5) reported that their concert dress was more conservative than their everyday dress, for example P48 stated: "[My dress was] much, much smarter. I would never normally wear a long formal skirt." In wearing concert dress that is smarter than their everyday dress, performers embody the conservative tradition of classical performance. The greater formality evident in performers' concert dress also reflects the formality and constancy of the ritual of classical performance that, like concert dress style, has remained unchanged over scores of years. Performers surveyed in the investigation into individual differences in concert

dress choice also reported that their concert dress was more feminine than their everyday dress: "I like to wear vintage, charity shop clothes that are a bit different or I just wear jeans and a top. When I dress for concerts my clothes are generally more feminine" P49. The formality of the performance situation and the dress associated with it is reminiscent of an era when women's dress reflected their femininity and appearing feminine was of greater importance. Female soloists' dress therefore reinforces the conservative values of this era that are still present in classical music today.

Previous research has shown that through dress an individual can communicate formality and their attitude to others (Tseelon, 1995) along with their ideas and beliefs (Rubenstein, 2001). The findings from the investigation into factors affecting performers' choice of concert dress (Chapter 4) and the investigation into individual differences in concert dress choice (Chapter 5) support this. They revealed that by wearing dress typically associated with classical performance soloists aim to show engagement with the performance situation and confirm that they subscribe classical music's values of formality, conservatism, temporal transcendence and high art.

6.2.7 Can performers convey non-musical characteristics to their audience through their visual appearance?

Cook's (1998b) deconstruction of images linked performers with the values of classical music, but Rubenstein (2001) believes that dress can also be used to portray an individual's own values and ideals. It is therefore important to understand if soloists can convey non-musical characteristics to their audience through their visual appearance. To determine this, data were gathered that revealed observers' reactions to performances by solo violinists in terms of their performance quality and body movement style from the initial investigation (Chapter 2) and the investigation into the interaction of dress and body movement style (Chapter 3). In addition, data from the investigation into factors affecting performers' choice of concert dress (Chapter 4) and the investigation into individual differences in concert dress choice (Chapter 5) were consulted.

In the initial investigation reported in Chapter 2, performers were perceived as significantly less appropriately dressed when performing in the nightclubbing dress compared with their performances in the concert dress. It was suggested that performers

in the nightclubbing dress were perceived as less engaged with the performance situation as they were performing in inappropriate dress. As classical performance dictates formal dress for its participants and partial nakedness in women's dress can be taken as a sign of disrespect (Flugel, 1940), performers wearing the informal and body focussed nightclubbing dress could have created a negative impression of themselves by failing to show the audience visually that they understand and accept the formality and cultural practices of classical music performance. Indeed, this negative impression of performers could have led to their musical abilities being overlooked as evidenced by the significantly lower rating of technical proficiency and musicality of performers when wearing the nightclubbing dress compared with their performances in the concert dress.

For the performers surveyed in the investigation into individual differences in concert dress choice (Chapter 5), the main repercussion of being inappropriately dressed that they noted was embarrassment. This indicated that performers were keen to fit in with the social requirements of performing and failing to do so or using their dress to mark them out from other performers was undesirable. This is supported by the fact that 60% of these participants reported giving the appropriateness of their concert dress full or fair consideration, which suggests that it was sufficiently important for performers to integrate visually with the environment for them to make an effort in this area. Performers interviewed in the investigation into factors affecting performers' choice of concert dress (Chapter 4) also believed that their dress could affect perceptions of their engagement with the performance situation and they chose concert dress that would make them appear engaged: "[My concert dress should be] appropriate for the level of formality and I like showing the respect for the music that that level of formality requires, and also the respect for the audience and respect for the tradition that is passed down from generation to generation." P4. In wearing dress that reflected the values of classical performance P4 showed respect for the performance tradition and the audience. She demonstrated that she had considered the appropriate dress for the occasion and made an effort to comply with this, which in turn showed respect for the audience by implying that they were worth making an effort for. Her eagerness to conform to these social requirements reinforces her engagement with the situation.

Performers' body shape whilst playing may also have an effect on how engaged with the performance situation they are perceived to be. Gestures that performers used to

express their musical intentions were shown in the investigation into the interaction of dress and body movement style (Chapter 3) to be culturally learned; there were great similarities between performers' movement vocabularies and the majority of movement types that a performer made were made by at least one other performer. By using gestures common to Western classical music, performers ensured that their intentions had the best chance of being rightly understood by a Western classical audience. The use of culturally appropriate gestures also showed performers' familiarity with the performance tradition and was a visual symbol of their experience, their engagement with the situation and their willingness to communicate with the audience in a common language.

There were other non-musical characteristics that performers aimed to convey to their audience other than their engagement with the performance context. Many performers also hoped to use their dress to make a statement about their musical integrity. As Chloe from the investigation into factors affecting performers' choice of concert dress (Chapter 4) stated: "The most important thing for me about the performing experience for them as far as they see it is the music, me and the cello and the communication there and it's not about me prancing on a bit like a peacock and saying 'everybody look at me' and I'm not interested how it sounds... I wouldn't want to sell myself off as a dolly that just plays the cello." By having a style of concert dress that was non-salient, this performer blended in with the concert environment and allowed the music, rather than her visual appearance to be the focus of the audience's attention. By deliberately choosing a non-salient visual style, Chloe asserted that she wished to be taken seriously as a musician and assessed on her musical merits rather than how she looked. This position is reinforced by a performer who took part in the online questionnaire, who stated "[I want people to] listen to the music and be moved by that rather than what I'm wearing". Again this participant wished to demonstrate that the music itself was the most important element of the performance, not her concert dress. By making their concert dress blend into the performance as a whole, performers showed that their focus was on the music and that they weren't trying to distract the audience away from their playing with an elaborate costume. This also demonstrates performers' confidence in their playing as they directed audience attention away from their bodies and onto the music.

Performers who completed the online questionnaire cited a number of personal characteristics that they hoped that their choice of concert dress would convey to their audience. Qualities such as professionalism, musical authority, commitment were all quoted as desirable characteristics that could be displayed through concert dress. The great importance performers place on appropriateness of dress has been demonstrated above and it is through wearing concert dress that fits exactly the social requirements of the performing situation that soloists can turn themselves into the visual prototype of a classical performer. As performers adopt the accepted dress for performing they signal that they understand and accept the demands of a performer's role and use their dress to embody the characteristics required to fulfil this role.

Although performers did wish to convey personal characteristics consistent with professional performing musicians, a number of performers expressed a wish to define themselves as an individual and hoped to go further than merely portraying themselves as a generic soloist. In the investigation into factors affecting performers' choice of concert dress (Chapter 4), Natalie used her concert dress as a method of narrowing the gap between herself and the audience: "I want people to feel like I'm a normal person you know, I don't want to put myself up on a pedestal, I don't want to be a fashion model, or dress like someone unobtainable, I very much connect with my audiences." This performer believed that by dressing in a manner with which her audience would be familiar, she would make herself and her music more accessible to them. This could also be seen as reflective of the relationship she believed she had with her audience; if she felt that she had a rapport with her audience then she may have maintained this with her dress.

In the same study, Jo reported her need to express her individuality through her concert dress: "I try to find that whole balance to make it appropriate but also to put a little bit of my own twist on it." It is likely that although performers do not wish to be distinguished visually because they are inappropriately dressed, by creating a unique image they will be remembered by the audience, who may return to future concerts. It is also likely that in so structured an environment as the classical performance situation, a personal style of concert dress gives performers a sense of ownership over a social situation, including an interpretation of the musical work, which is so closely replicated in each performance irrespective of the musician and the occasion.

The testimonies of performers from the investigation into factors affecting performers' choice of concert dress (Chapter 4) and investigation into individual differences in concert dress choice (Chapter 5) revealed that performers aim to convey a number of messages about themselves to their audience through their appearance. These are namely their engagement with the performance situation, their respect for the audience, their respect for the audience, their personal characteristics, their individuality and their musical integrity. Evidence for the communication of these non-musical characteristics comes from the perspective of performers and what they wish to convey rather than what is perceived by an audience. Therefore, it cannot be guaranteed that these characteristics are rightly understood by an audience. However, performers will also have experience as audience members in classical performance and so it can be expected that they will have experience of what it is possible for audience members to pick up from performers. These results support Rubenstein's (2001) theory that dress can be used to portray an individual's own beliefs and ideals and they provide the first evidence in music performance research of what and how performers intend to communicate to their audience through their dress.

6.2.8 Do female performers today adopt a deliberately body focussed image?

The penultimate section of the Introduction (Chapter 1) discussed whether female soloists do indeed take a body-focussed approach to their concert dress as suggested by Citron (2004) or if the degree to which these performers reveal their bodies is distorted by their presentation in the media. Therefore, one of the aims of this thesis is to determine whether female soloists today do adopt a deliberately body-focussed image. In order to investigate this issue, data were gathered on factors that influenced performers' choice of concert dress and the image that they aimed to portray to their audience. These data were gathered from interviews with performers reported in Chapter 4 and from performers' responses to the online questionnaire reported in Chapter 5.

Analysis of both data gathered from interviews with performers and performers' responses to the online questionnaire revealed that not one of the performers took a deliberately body focussed approach to their concert dress. Both professional soloists

(Chapter 4) and student performers (Chapter 5) were questioned in these investigations, and it is evident that a body-focussed approach to concert dress was not adopted by either group. Accounts from performers questioned in both the investigation into factors affecting performers' choice of concert dress (Chapter 4) and investigation into individual differences in concert dress choice (Chapter 5) revealed a high degree of consistency in the responses of individuals, compounding the perspective that performers did not select body focussed concert dress for performance. Detailed questioning of performers as to the factors affecting their choice of concert dress revealed a number of influences. Performers reported that the demands of touring, the physical requirements of playing their instrument and a necessity for freedom of movement whilst performing all affected their choice of dress. Less practical measures such as the possibility of communicating their engagement with the social situation through their dress, visually setting the level of formality of the occasion and communicating non-musical aspects of their character to their audience all had a strong influence on their choice of concert dress. All of these factors ensure that performers are at their physical peak during performance and appear socially acceptable for the occasion. In fact, interviews with performers revealed that that they deliberately selected dress that was secure, would remain in place and would not reveal what they considered an inappropriate amount of their bodies. Natalie stated: "I typically wear something that enables me ...not [to] have to worry about the clothing shifting or falling down, so spaghetti straps are out of the question unless they a firmly in place like in a harness."

The consistency of performers' accounts of their choice of concert dress determined that they were more governed by the practicalities of their dress, its social appropriateness and its potential for social communication of their musical and personal characteristics than the decorative or aesthetic properties of their dress. This is reinforced by the perspectives of a number of performers who completed the online questionnaire and stated that their concert dress was more conservative and traditional than their everyday dress: "[My dress was] much much smarter. I would never normally wear a long formal skirt." P48; "Everything [about my concert dress] including my jewellery was conventional!" P42. These comments suggest that performers' concert dress is more formal and restrained than their everyday dress, which conflicts with Citron's (2004) concern that female musicians today are placing an increased importance on revealing their bodies in performance in order to gain attention or to entice an audience.

Performers that completed the online questionnaire did report that their dress was more feminine than their everyday dress: "When I dress for concerts my clothes are generally more feminine" P49. However, the detailed descriptions of concert dress given by performers showed that femininity did not necessarily equate to a focus on the body: "I always wear something below the knee and usually something all the way to the floor." Elanor; "Although I was hot in my cardigan I didn't want to take it off and expose my shoulders" P47. Although these descriptions of concert dress do suggest a degree of femininity, it is a demure femininity rather than an attempt to draw attention to the body. Elanor and P47, quoted above, make pains to cover up their bodies in an effort to appear socially appropriate rather than accentuate and reveal them; this is a far cry from the body focussed promotional images shown in Chapter 1.

Performers reported being only too aware of the consequences of adopting a body focussed style of dress as Jo from the interview study showed. "I don't want to cheapen what I have worked for by going the other way, I don't need to go down the whole sleazy, slutty route, and frankly I've worked too hard to go that way." Jo is actively avoiding a body focussed style of concert dress as she believes that this would erode her musical integrity. This dislike of body focussed attire in performance is reinforced by the discomfort that Lisa from the initial investigation felt on donning the nightclubbing dress.

Although performers avoided a body focussed style of dress, a number of performers did actively embrace their femininity. In the more detailed interview accounts presented in the investigation into factors affecting performers' choice of concert dress (Chapter 4), not one of the performers felt that it was necessary for them to tone down visual indications of their femininity. Natalie believed that the sight of the body in performance should be enjoyable to watch: "I want people to really enjoy what they're looking at." She believed that it wasn't demeaning for the body to be an aspect of interest for the audience but that it was an integral part of the performance. Jo was sufficiently confident in the ability of her audience to appreciate her musical skills that she felt able to embrace the physical aspect of performance and of her identity: "I feel comfortable with my figure and I'm in a place where most of the people who come to my concerts have got my CDs and know that I am a real musician, they know that I'm not surrounded by fluff that I do know how to play my violin." Jo had said before that she "love[s] the glamour" of classical performance and for her, embracing her

femininity can be seen as another way of engaging with the performance and the traditionally feminine dress with which it is associated. This behaviour can be interpreted as analogous with third wave feminist behaviour described in Chapter 1. This states that women can now embrace a traditionally feminine look without encouraging the negative stereotypes with which it was previously associated; women can assert that by creating a strong visual image of themselves in performance they are not sacrificing their musical abilities. Jo was able to embrace and utilise a traditionally feminine image to show her engagement with the performance situation, while maintaining the belief that this will not have a negative bearing on how her musical skills are valued.

The accounts given by performers in the investigation into factors affecting performers' choice of concert dress (Chapter 4) and investigation into individual differences in concert dress choice (Chapter 5) revealed that performers deliberately selected dress for performance on the premise that it did not draw attention to their body. In fact, the concert dress that performers selected was less body-focussed than their everyday dress, showing that performers made a particular effort in performance to avoid a body-focussed look. These findings contradict Citron's belief (2004) that female performers are selecting increasingly body-focussed concert dress. Instead, these findings support evidence from the Introduction (Chapter 1) that body-focussed images of female performers are only visible in the mass media. While promotional images of performers may portray a body-focussed image, in performance their dress is much more traditional and conservative.

6.2.9 Is there evidence of the mind body dualism in existence for female soloists today?

The mind/body dualism that traditionally associated women with the body and men with the mind construed creativity as a predominantly mental skill and therefore an area in which women were unable to rival men. A focus on women's bodies through dress was shown in the Introduction (Chapter 1) to reinforce the idea that women's bodies were synonymous with their identities. The last thirty years has seen greater equality and freedom for women and as such it is hoped that such perspectives are now confined to the past. However, the rise of beauty culture in classical music at least within the

media requires the investigation of whether there is evidence of the mind body dualism in existence for female soloists today. To establish whether this dualism remains an issue for female performers today, data were gathered in the initial investigation (Chapter2) and in the investigation into the interaction of dress and body movement style (Chapter 3) regarding perceptions of female soloists' musical skills in varying styles of dress. Performers' beliefs about the effect of different dress styles on perceptions of their performance were also gathered via the investigation into factors affecting performers' choice of concert dress (Chapter 4) and investigation into individual differences in concert dress choice (Chapter 5).

Observers' ratings of performers in varying styles of dress from the initial investigation revealed that body focussed concert dress led to negative perceptions of performers' abilities: when wearing the nightclubbing dress performers were rated significantly lower for technical proficiency and musicality than when wearing the concert dress. It is plausible that the nightclubbing dress drew attention to the body with its short skirt and strapless top, and enforced the idea of women's bodies being synonymous with their identities and therefore less capable of creative skill. This perspective is supported by the testimony of one observer from the same investigation, who commented: 'I didn't like the short dress, it was very off-putting'. This suggests that attention directed at the body by concert dress was a distraction from the performers' musical skills. In making judgements of performers in the nightclubbing dress observers found it impossible to rate soloists' musical abilities without dress impacting on their judgements. The concert dress however, had the reverse effect to the nightclubbing dress: the concert dress masked the body with a long skirt, long sleeves and a high neck, and allowed the observers' focus to remain on performers' musical and technical skills. This conclusion was reinforced by the significantly higher ratings of technical proficiency for performers in the concert dress than the nightclubbing dress or jeans, and significantly higher ratings of musicality in the concert dress and point light condition compared with the nightclubbing dress.

The initial investigation (Chapter 2) provided evidence that a performer may be perceived as either mentally or physically dominant, which resulted in one characteristic being rated lower. Lisa was perceived as significantly more technically proficient and musical than Laura and Bella, but she was perceived significantly less appropriately dressed than Elizabeth and Laura. Lisa received high ratings of technical proficiency

and musicality and was perceived as musically, and therefore creatively very good: observers saw her as having more dominant mental than physical attributes (Citron, 1993), and as a result rated her physical attributes lower on the appropriateness of dress scale. Not only were observers not rating both physical and musical elements correspondingly, but stereotypes of musicality and creativity were associated here with lower physical perceptions. This effect was concentrated on ratings of appropriateness of dress. In the nightclubbing dress Lisa was rated as less appropriately dressed than Laura and Bella; the body focussed nightclubbing dress may have been perceived by observers as incongruent with the dominance of Lisa's mental and creative skills and lowered opinion of her. This effect may have been exacerbated by hunched posture and definite masculine movements.

Performers interviewed about their choice of concert dress in the investigation into factors affecting performers' choice of concert dress (Chapter 4) considered that a focus brought onto the body by concert dress would have a detrimental effect on perceptions of their musical ability. Chloe stated: "I wouldn't want to sell myself off as a dolly that just plays the cello", which seems to suggest that she believes that too great a focus on femininity and the body would lead to a poor perception of her as a musician.

There appears to be strong evidence to suggest that the mind body dualism that Citron (1993) discusses continues to affect female soloists today. Evidence from the initial investigation (Chapter 2) revealed that lower ratings of performers' skills when wearing body-focussed concert dress and Lisa who was perceived as musically very good received lower ratings on physical aspects of her performance. In addition performers interviewed about their choice of dress (Chapter 4) believed that drawing attention to their bodies through their dress would lessen the value that audiences placed on their musical interpretation. However, the strength of this evidence lies in the assumption that female performers are choosing to wear body focussed concert dress. From the interviews reported in Chapter 4 and from the online questionnaire reported in Chapter 5 not one performer reported taking a deliberately body focussed approached to their concert dress. Performers were reported above as being aware of the negative connotations of too body focussed an attitude and from the initial investigation Lisa's dislike of the body focussed nightclubbing dress provides an explanation for her low ratings in that style of dress. Although there is the probability that a body-focussed style of dress impacting negatively on perceptions of a performer's musical ability, the

likelihood is that this is not an issue for soloists remaining well within the classical sphere. What seems to be more of an issue for these women is the appropriateness of their concert dress. Women are not necessarily choosing to avoid a body-focussed style of concert dress because they fear that a prominence of their body will eclipse their musical talents; instead they are aware that body focussed dress is considered inappropriate attire for performance and they avoid it in order to align with the values of classical music.

6.2.10 Categorisation of Findings

By examining the findings in relation to the research questions it became apparent that each finding can be seen as a factor that affects performers' choice of concert dress or audience perception of performance due to dress. These factors and their categorisation are investigated in greater detail in Chapter 7.

6.3 Evaluation of Methodologies

The research reported in this thesis investigated both performers' relationships with their concert dress and the effect of concert dress on audience perceptions of performance. A mixed-method approach was employed to investigate the research questions that were identified at the end of the Introduction (Chapter 1). This research approach allowed the investigation of the research questions from a number of different perspectives. Quantitative data gathered in the initial investigation (Chapter 2) and the investigation into the interaction of dress and body movement style (Chapter 3) were balanced with observational data from the investigation into dress and body movement style and qualitative data gathered in the investigation into factors affecting performers' choice of concert dress (Chapter 4) and the investigation into individual differences in concert dress choice (Chapter 5). Previous research into dress, both from within the field of music and from sartorial research in general, has mainly adopted fixed experimental designs. Therefore, the findings reported in this thesis are accessible to those working in other fields of study to music, and can be related to previous sartorial research. However, the investigation into factors affecting performers' choice of concert dress (Chapter 4) and the investigation into individual differences in concert dress choice (Chapter 5) have extended qualitative research on this topic. The novel attempt at

a multi-method approach has resulted in a holistic view of the role of female soloists' concert dress in classical performance. Further qualitative data from an audience perspective would have been insightful in identifying observers' motives behind their judgements of performers' concert dress. However, this was outside the scope of the current research project and provides an avenue for further research.

7. Frameworks for Concert Dress and General Conclusions

The research reported in this thesis has investigated concert dress from performer production and audience reception points of view. The Introduction (Chapter 1) identified four areas for research as follows: the extent to which the visual appearance of female soloists in performance affected perceptions of their performances; the extent to which social rules associated with classical music mediate the effect of visual appearance of soloists on perceptions of their performance; the way in which concert dress is used by performers as a method of communication with their audience; and the approach female soloists take in portraying their bodies in performance and the effect that this has on perceptions of their performance.

Within each of these areas a number of specific research questions were posed, namely whether the concert dress of female classical soloists affects perceptions of their musical skills, if there are individual differences between performers in how they approach their concert dress and how they appear visually in performance, and whether performers' concert dress and expressive body movement are linked in their effect on audience perceptions of performance. Further questions examined whether the social factors involved in classical performance determine perceived appropriate dress for soloists, the result of soloists wearing appropriate dress on perceptions their performance, whether the sight of a soloist's body in performance can convey values of classical music, if soloists can convey non-musical characteristics to their audience through their visual appearance, whether female soloists today adopt a deliberately body-focussed image and whether there is evidence of the mind body dualism in existence for female soloists today.

In Chapter 6 the findings from the empirical work of this thesis were drawn together in an attempt to provide answers to these research questions. Findings reported in the previous chapter revealed that there are a number of factors influencing both performers' choice of concert dress and audience perceptions of a performance due to dress.

The relationships between factors influencing performer choice of concert dress and audience perception of performance are varied and complex, and in this chapter I aim to model the core elements and their interactions for both processes. Although there is overlap between factors influencing an audience's perception of performance and a performer's choice of dress, there is a clear two fold process occurring. For clarity it is beneficial to consider these processes separately. Therefore, I propose two models: one outlining influences on performers' choice of concert dress and another showing the elements of concert dress that affect audience perceptions of performance. Following this, I look at the potential for applying these models to performance situations outside of the classical arena by considering the appropriateness of these models for other styles of music performance. I then consider the applicability of these frameworks to non-musical performance situations and reflect on the contribution that this research has made to the wider field of sartorial research. Finally I evaluate the methodologies employed in this thesis, consider future directions of research into concert dress and suggest areas that are in need of greater attention.

This thesis has investigated concert dress from performer production and audience reception points of view and as such the two processes involving concert dress in classical performance can be seen as cause and effect. The cause is factors affecting soloists' choice of dress, and the effect is how those choices determine audience perceptions of performance. Therefore, it is logical to address the cause initially and first model influences on performers' choice of concert dress.

7.1 The spheres of influence on performers' choice of concert dress

On inspection of the findings to the research questions detailed in Chapter 6 it became apparent that all factors relating to performers' choice of concert dress could be classified as being either practical, social or psychological influences. These factors are listed below in Table 7.1 with their associated category of influence.

Table 7.1 Table of factors influencing performer choice of concert dress and their associated category of influence.

Type of Influence	Factor
Practical	Practicalities of travel
	Physical requirements of instrument
	Physical freedom
	Security of dress
Social	Perceived appropriateness of dress
	Potential for dress to create a sense of occasion
	Respect for the audience and performance tradition
	Visual expectations of female performers
	Personal characteristics to be portrayed by dress
Psychological	Desire to disregard dress in performance
	Desire for audience to focus on the music
	Potential for dress to affect frame of mind

Figure 7.1 shows, at the highest level of conception, these categories and their relationships with each other. Here, the influences on performers' choice of concert dress are represented by three spheres of influence; the practical sphere represents the functional or utilitarian considerations of performing that determine choice of dress. The social sphere pertains to influences on performers' choice of concert dress that have origins in taking part in the activity of performance with others of a common interest and with commonly held beliefs. Lastly, the psychological sphere represents the influence on performers' choice of dress associated with their minds and its relation to their bodies, their environment or social context. However, the division between the social and the psychological lacks a clear boundary. In defining factors as social influences, it is not to say that they do not involve the psychological processes and vice versa. However, for the purposes of presenting a clear model, a distinction is made here. In Figure 7.1 each of the spheres is linked with the remaining two. These links represent the fact that none of the spheres act in isolation and each sphere interacts with the other two to determine a performer's final choice of concert dress. It should be noted that at this level the model has little specificity to concert dress but this is acquired at the next level of detail.
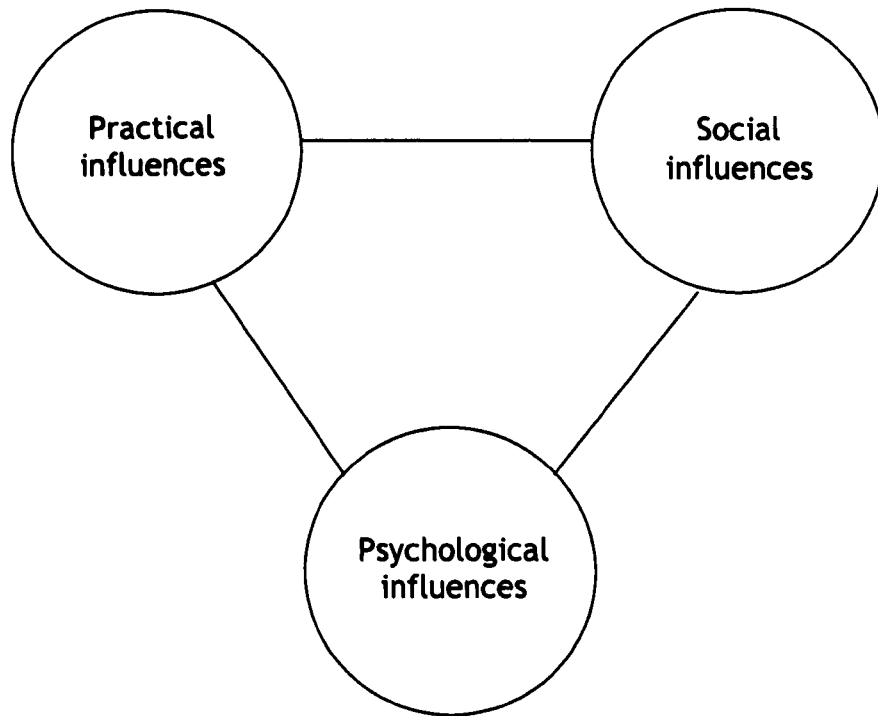
Figure 7.1. Model of the spheres of influence on performers' choice of concert dress.

Elaborating this model and revealing the next level of detail shows that each sphere contains a number of factors that are linked to each other (Figure 7.2). As not one of the factors appears in more than one sphere, the spheres are represented as being independent but connected entities, rather than overlapping circles. The pattern of relationships between factors at this level is complex and therefore this model does not imply that one factor affects every other factor, or even a factor in both other spheres. Rather it shows broadly that between each combination of spheres, links occur between factors.

In order to clarify the meaning of each of the factors it is necessary to define them before moving on to discuss the ways in which they interact. Beginning with the practical influences, the practicalities of travel refer to the limitations placed on professionally performing musicians when on national or international tour: as they are away from home for a considerable length of time they must plan their wardrobe of concert dress before embarking on the tour. This places restrictions on performers' choice of dress in terms of number of garments, weight of garments, and the ability of the garments to withstand the physical ramifications of travel. The factor 'physical

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requirements of instrument' refers to the physical demands placed on an instrumentalist by the movements needed to create sound on their instrument. Physical freedom, by contrast, relates to the degree of physical movement required by a performer in order for them to produce the level of expressive body movement that they desire. Performers also demand of their concert dress that it be secure in that it stands up to the physical demands of performance without becoming loose or falling down and distracting them from the task of performance.

Within the social sphere, the factor 'perceived appropriateness of dress' refers to the style of dress that the performers believe is expected for that specific performance occasion. The findings in Chapter 6 revealed that performers use their concert dress as a means of creating a sense of occasion and this factor refers to the way that performers define the performance situation in terms of formality and their status using their concert dress. Performers hoped to show respect for classical audiences and the tradition as a whole with their dress by wearing concert dress that they believed was acceptable to their audience. Performers were aware of visual expectations of female classical instrumentalists by various groups of the classical community, and the consequences of complying or differing from that expected visual; this also had a bearing on performers' choice of concert dress. The factor 'personal characteristics desired to be portrayed' refers to the social meaning implied in a style of dress and the personality traits that the performers believed to be associated with it; a performer's choice of concert dress was determined by the characteristics she wished to convey to her audience and the styles of dress she believed to imply these characteristics.

Psychological factors influencing performers' choice of concert dress include the desire to disregard dress in performance; here performers wished to be both physically and mentally unaware of their concert dress in performance so that it did not distract them from their focus on the music itself. Similarly, the factor 'desire for the audience to focus on the music' refers to the wish of performers that their concert dress did not distract members of their audience and that the audience would focus on the music rather than their visual appearance. Finally, the 'potential for dress to affect performers' frame of mind' pertains to the disclosure from performers that their concert dress has the ability to affect their frame of mind in terms of feelings of preparedness before a performance and in terms of confidence.

The pattern of links between factors at this level is too complex to be represented diagrammatically as there are a number of single factor to single factor, single factor to group of factors and group of factors to group of factors relationships both within and between spheres. Therefore, it is more appropriate to present and discuss the links between factors below. The term 'link' is used generically to describe connections between factors. The nature of each link differs with each set of factors and as such it would be inappropriate to use another term such as 'interaction' or 'mediation' generically when discussing connections between factors as these terms imply a causality and influence which may not be present. However, on a more local level, such terms are used to clarify the nature of the link. Initially I will describe relationships within spheres. Following this I will examine all relationships between each pair of spheres.

Practical Influences

- Practicalities of travel
- Physical requirements of instrument
- Physical freedom
- Security of dress

Social Influences

- Perceived appropriateness of dress
- Potential for dress to create a sense of occasion
- Respect for audience and performance tradition
- Visual expectations of female performers
- Personal characteristics desired to be portrayed by dress

Psychological Influences

- Desire to disregard dress in performance
- Desire for audience to focus on the music
- Potential for dress to affect performer's frame of mind

Figure 7.2. Detailed model of the spheres of influence on performers' choice of concert dress

7.1.1 Interactions between factors of influence on performers' choice of concert dress

I begin my discussion of the links between factors influencing performers' choice of concert dress by looking at links between factors within spheres. I begin with practical influences and move clockwise around the spheres. In each sphere I address links between single factors, followed by single factors to group of factors and finally between group of factors to group of factors where this occurs. I will then repeat this process comparing links between spheres.

Within the Practical sphere

The first link to be examined is that of physical freedom and the physical requirements of the instrument. This recognises the two fold importance of movement in performance as performers cited the need to be physically unrestrained to create the movements necessary for sound production but also to create expressive movements. Performers recognised that their choice of concert dress had the potential to facilitate or hinder these movements. If performers are insufficiently mobile then both their ability to make sound producing movements and expressive body movements are affected. This extends the findings of Davidson and Correia (2002). In their work they state that performers are only able to create expressive body movements with parts of the body that are unengaged in sound production. However, the evidence presented here shows that in addition, performers must have physical freedom from their concert dress in order to make expressive gestures.

Each of the factors listed under the Practical sphere, namely practicalities of travel, physical requirements of instrument, physical freedom and security of dress are related to each other. Although performers gave no indication that they perceived any one factor to be more or less important than the others, I believe that these factors must all be negotiated in order for performers to select concert dress with which they are happy. The practicalities influencing performers' choice of concert dress appear to be prerequisite factors, in that these demands must be met to allow performers to meet the basic needs of performance. Performers must feel that their dress is sufficiently secure to allow them to move freely and to meet the physical demands of their instrument. In

addition they require concert dress that is still presentable after what may be a considerable period of travel. After these more basic needs have been met, performers may move on to consider their social and psychological requirements of their concert dress. The desire of individuals to meet the practicalities of performance with their dress is echoed in sports psychology literature, where there are numerous studies that investigate the ways in which athletes can gain a sporting advantage through their dress (cf. Peeling and Landers, 2007; Webster *et al.*, 2005; Duffield and Portus, 2007). In this respect sportspersons and classical soloists are the same as they both use their dress to put them at their physical peak for performance. This contradicts Goehr's (1992) work concept theory as performers select dress that gives them a physical advantage in performance and allows them to use their bodies to their best advantage to create musical meaning.

Within the Social sphere

Within the Social sphere of influence on performers' choice of concert dress, perceived appropriateness of dress mediates the potential for dress to create a sense of occasion. In the interview study Jo believed that the glamour of concert dress was able to create a sense of occasion. This perspective was supported by Elanor who reported that her concert dress was appropriate for the performance situation but not everyday wear and used her style of dress to indicate that the performance occasion was more important than a daily occurrence. Performers chose dress that was visually distinct from everyday dress and only appropriate for the performance situation. In doing so they created a sense of occasion for the performance. Johnson (2002) believes that society primarily perceives classical performance by its outward signs such as style of concert dress: by selecting dress that is perceived as appropriate for the concert situation performers confirm the generally held values of classical performance. The event of classical performance therefore remains distinct from other forms of performance by the visual signal of concert dress that performers choose specifically for the event.

Perceived appropriateness of dress influences the respect a performer shows for the audience and the classical performance tradition. This is supported by the testimony of Elanor in the Interview study, who believed that a formal and demure style of dress was the most appropriate choice for classical performance. Formality is valued in classical performance, as evidenced by the performance etiquette of the genre discussed earlier.

Natalie believed that by choosing a formal style of dress in which to perform, she showed a respect for the performance tradition and for the audience that subscribed to these values by their participation in the event. Social meaning attached to Natalie's formal concert attire would make her the embodiment of the values of classical performance. The social demographic of a classical audience also calls for this formality of dress. Images from the Introduction to this thesis revealed a greater formality of dress up to the 1950s and as classical audiences were believed by participants to be from this generation, performers show respect to their audience by choosing concert dress that they believe will match the audience's expectations. As Rosie remarked, classical audiences are generally older and "because of that you need to be a little bit careful of how you dress". Performers believed that a formal and demure style of concert dress was perceived as appropriate for performance and by selecting this style of dress they were able to show their respect for the expectations of the classical tradition and its participants. The link between appropriate dress and showing respect is supported by the social observation of Flugel (1940). He stated that appropriate dress can be used to show respect and cites the example of women covering their hair and shoulders in church. Performers stated that appropriate dress for concert performance was demure in style and covered their bodies. By adopting this dress they were able to show respect for the performance tradition and the audience. This shows that wearing appropriate dress that covers the body to show respect in musical performance is an extension of an existing social practice.

Performers' perceptions of visual expectations of female classical soloists are also linked to their perception of appropriate dress in determining their choice of concert dress. One observer from the initial investigation (Chapter 2) reported that "Posh music should equal posh dress, and too much leg [on show] is bad, because it isn't posh." and this perspective is supported by ratings from the same investigation as the concert dress was perceived as significantly more appropriate for performance than the nightclubbing dress or jeans. Performers were shown to meet these expectations of their visual appearance in performance as 87.3% of performers surveyed in Chapter 5 reported that formality of dress had an effect on their choice of dress, which suggested that they perceived this as a requirement. In addition, the performers surveyed in that study reported that their dress was more conservative and feminine than their everyday dress. These findings suggest a strong link between visual expectations of female performers and performers' perceptions of appropriate dress in determining their choice of concert

dress. However, it is not possible to identify causality and it is unclear whether formal dress is perceived as appropriate because it is the style of dress expected in performance, or whether it is expected because it is the most appropriate. Previous research suggests that it may be a combination of the two. Formal dress in classical performance reflects the genre's formal performance tradition and is an outward sign of the temporal transcendence that Goehr (1992) believes is valued in classical music. This suggests that formal dress is expected because it is appropriate. However, psychological research (cf. Halberstadt & Rhodes, 2000; Whitfield & Slatter, 1979) has shown that individuals exhibit a preference for prototype. As formal dress remained popular, it became the prototypical style of dress for classical soloists and remains appropriate because it is expected. This suggests that the values of classical music determine visual expectations of female performers and in turn determine appropriate dress, but formal dress may remain to be considered as appropriate because it has become the prototype of classical concert dress.

Within the Psychological sphere

Within the Psychological sphere of influence on performers' choice of concert dress, performers' desire to disregard their concert dress in performance mediates their desire for the audience to focus on the music. Cook (1998a) stated that for music to survive as a fine art it needed a concrete product and this took the form of the musical work. The focus of performance became the musical work (Goehr, 1992) and for an audience to concentrate on that is affected by the performer's ability to disregard their dress in performance. This can be seen as both a physical and mental concern. Chloe reported that her concentration was taken away from the music as soon as she became physically aware of her concert dress in performance; in addition if an audience is aware of an obvious physical issue regarding a performer's concert dress they are also likely to be distracted from the performance itself. Mentally performers wished for their own attention and that of their audience to be directed solely on the performance, as Natalie said, she employed the policy of trying not to distract the audience with her dress. If performers are able to physically and mentally disregard their dress in performance then they stand a greater chance of keeping the audience's focus on the musical work and away from the aesthetic and, according to the work concept, less important issue of the visual appearance of the performer. This concern relates to the split-attention effect on

working memory described above, where attempting to process too many elements simultaneously can overburden working memory and affect its function (Kalyuga *et al.* 1999). If performers are able to physically and mentally disregard their dress, then they are less likely to overload both their own and audience members' working memory and create a split-attention effect, which would distract them from the musical work.

Between the Practical and Social spheres

Having identified the nature of the relationships between factors within a sphere of influence on performers' choice of concert dress, I now discuss relationships between factors that occur across spheres. I address each pair of spheres in turn beginning with interactions between factors in the Practical and Social spheres.

A performer's desire for secure concert dress is linked with their idea of the visual expectations of female performers and the personal characteristics they desire to portray with their dress. The security of a performer's concert dress determines how well they meet visual expectations in performance, which in turns decides the personal characteristics that they portray to their audience. A detailed look at factors within the Practical sphere revealed that performers' choice of concert dress is influenced by how secure they perceive their dress to be. In the investigation into factors affecting performers' choice of concert dress (Chapter 4), Natalie reported wanting her dress to be "something that enables me ...not [to] have to worry about the clothing shifting or falling down". Due to the traditional classical hierarchy that subordinates performers to composers in terms of status, it is expected that performers will emphasise the musical work over any aesthetic considerations they may have. Indeed Cook (1998b) was reported above as suggesting that the most valued performers were those that were effectively heard but not seen. As a result, a performer's choice of concert dress that is secure is a visual sign to the audience that they value the musical work above their own appearance and that practical considerations of performing come above aesthetic considerations of their dress. In turn, the sight of obviously secure dress in performance may portray a number of personal characteristics to the audience, such as seriousness and professionalism. In Chapter 5, which addressed individual differences in concert dress choice, performers revealed that these were desirable qualities for an audience to believe that performers possess. However, performers' focus on musical over sartorial

concerns may be a reaction to a perceived continuation of the mind body split. An interest in dress and appearance today is a stereotypically feminine trait. Traditionally, as women were associated with the body, and men with the mind; creativity was construed as a mental activity and therefore was seen as male. It is possible that in appearing less decorative and more practical in performance with visibly secure dress, female performers make their bodies less salient to observers. By appearing less feminine and more masculine, performers may fit the prototype of a classical performer and thus render their interpretation as more credible. This perspective contradicts that of Third Wave feminists discussed by Citron (2004) in the Introduction (Chapter 1). Third Wave feminists believe that women no longer need to reject assumptions and structures that previously restricted them, as they are able to reclaim and reuse these structures to their advantage. However, traditionally women's fashion has prioritised decoration over practicality (Chapkiss, 1988) but female performers in this research were not shown to try and reclaim this style of dress and reuse it to their advantage. Rather they adapted their dress and opted for a more practical style. This suggests that in order to portray positive characteristics of themselves to their audience, female performers aim to meet visual expectations of their bodies in performance and opt for obviously secure dress.

The degree to which a performer's concert dress affords physical freedom and allows them to meet the physical requirements of their instrument mediates the performer's ability to show respect for the audience and the classical tradition. This link is similar to the previous relationship in that by selecting dress that allows the performer an adequate degree of physical movement, the performer sends a visual signal to their audience that they prioritise the music above their appearance. By choosing concert dress that puts them at their physical peak for performing, soloists show respect to their audience and the classical tradition that they are sufficiently valued for the performer to select specialist dress that will allow them to give their best performance. In addition, the greater freedom of movement that this style of dress gives enables the performer to communicate more effectively with the audience through expressive gesture. In the investigation into the interaction of dress and body movement style (Chapter 3), Lisa was rated as less communicative through body movement when restricted by the nightclubbing dress. Selecting dress that lets a performer communicate most effectively with their body shows respect for the audience and the musical tradition as it is a signal to the audience that the performer has made the effort to communicate the contents of the musical work with them. This communication of respect to an audience through a

performer's dress can be understood through Barnard's (2002) extraction of meaning from dress, which is based on Saussure's (1974) theory of human linguistic communication. An audience watching a performer in physically practical concert dress observes the physically unrestrictive properties of their dress, which they interpret as a denotational sign of practicality. One associated connotational meaning of this style of dress is respect for the performance tradition and the audience, as performers have visibly considered their ability to perform the music and the audience's enjoyment above decorative aspects of their own visual appearance.

Physical freedom through dress is linked to the visual expectations of female performers and personal characteristics desired to be portrayed by dress in terms of a performer's choice of concert dress. The physical freedom afforded by a performer's concert dress determines how well they meet visual expectations in performance, which in turns decides the personal characteristics that they portray to their audience. Performers were shown above to select concert dress that allowed them freedom of movement; this freedom allowed them to move fully enough for sound production but also to make expressive gestures. Performers are expected to make culturally specific gestures that a classical audience is able to interpret through their experience of the performance situation. Meeting these expectations of making culturally specific gestures allows a performer to communicate personal characteristics to their audience. Through a performer's use of expressive gestures they may be considered by an audience as a particularly expressive performer, which may have a positive impact on the overall perception of the performance. Additionally, a performer can convey professionalism to their audience by using the appropriate expressive 'tools' to do their job, that of communicating musical meaning to the audience. By selecting concert dress that allows greater freedom of expressive movement, a performer can meet the visual expectations of them in terms of expressive movement and enhance perceptions of their personal or professional qualities. This finding extends knowledge of work attire as Sharma and Kaur (2004) state that comfort is a highly important factor for women selecting work clothes. The findings of the research reported in this thesis extend this position by suggesting that women select comfortable dress not only because it is pleasing to wear, but also because it allows ease of movement which can positively affect perceptions of women's personal characteristics.

All the factors comprising the sphere of Practical influences interact with perceived appropriate dress. In part, these factors of practicalities of travel, physical requirements of instrument, physical freedom and security of dress determine appropriateness of dress. Other factors were shown in the investigation into factors affecting performers' choice of concert dress (Chapter 4) to influence perceptions of appropriate dress, such as the venue and the function of the performance. However, it was stated above that factors within the practical sphere of influence interact and provide a baseline of considerations for performers to meet in order to be able to play sufficiently well. Therefore, practicalities influence what is considered appropriate dress as classical music values the conveyance of musical material over aesthetic aspects of appearance, and appropriate dress becomes the clothes that allow performers to meet these musical demands. By choosing concert dress that meets practicalities of performance a performer is more likely to be considered appropriately dressed. This is a novel finding in sartorial research as in the past, research into the determinants of appropriate dress has solely considered the effect of formality on perceptions of appropriateness of dress (Lambert, 1972). However, the link between practicalities and appropriateness of dress is supported anecdotally. Appropriate dress in other fields is determined by the activities engaged in by the wearer. For example, professionals such as police officers wear uniforms that are designed to allow them to carry out their jobs effectively and safely.

Between the Practical and Psychological spheres

Between the Practical and Psychological spheres of influence on performers' choice of concert dress the factors of dress's ability to set the performer's frame of mind is determined by their physical freedom, the physical requirements of the instrument and security of dress. This relationship is based in a performer's confidence in having chosen what they perceive to be the correct dress for performance. In the study investigating individual differences in concert dress choice (Chapter 5) the majority of performers surveyed were happy with their choice of dress. In addition, 92.7% of those performers reported that their concert dress increased their confidence and Jo stated in her interview in Chapter 4 that "you put on something nice and it makes you feel a bit better". Performers were shown above to be influenced in their choice of concert dress by its perceived security and the degree to which it allows movement, and it is the influence of these factors that can determine performers' frame of mind when

approaching a performance. If these factors are addressed to the performer's satisfaction then they feel secure in their choice of dress, which can increase confidence and in turn positively affect their frame of mind in approaching the concert situation. This perspective is supported by the research referenced above that links an increase in confidence with increased task performance (Brookhart and DeVoge, 1999). Performers will therefore select concert dress based on its ability to meet the practical needs of performance and their success in this can positively affect their frame of mind when performing.

The factor of security of dress mediates a performer's wish to disregard their dress in performance and their wish for their audience to focus on the music in their influence on a performer's choice of concert dress. Performers expressed a wish to disregard their concert dress during a performance as Chloe stated in her interview: "I don't want to be aware of it at all. That's my wish that I completely forget about it". Performers also used their dress to focus the audience's attention on the music, as Natalie stated in her interview: "I try to apply that concept of not distracting the audience with the clothes that I wear". Selecting secure concert dress can facilitate these processes as performers that are confident that their dress will remain in place as they play, will not be expending mental energy on this as they perform or become distracted by their dress. By selecting secure concert dress performers also allow the audience focus to remain on the music as audience members do not become distracted by clothing that appears insecure. This effect is linked to the research discussed above on the split attention effect. If performers' dress is insecure, then both performers and the audience are placing a greater burden on their working memories as they divide their attention between the music being performed and the potential consequences of the insecure concert dress. This would therefore split attention, increase cognitive load and overburdened participants' working memory. The outcome of which would be the distraction of both performer and audience from the music being performed. In selecting dress that would visibly stand up to the physical demands of performance, both soloists and audience members can focus all of their attention of the music being performed.

Performers' requirement of physical freedom and the physical requirements of their instrument mediate their desire to disregard their concert dress in performance and their wish for the audience to focus on the music in their influence on concert dress selection. Performers' chose dress that allowed them to meet the physical requirements of their

instruments, as illustrated in the investigation into individual differences in concert dress choice (Chapter 5): "Sleeves had not got to get in the way and I had to have room to breathe without being constricted" P2. They also chose dress that gave them freedom to move in performance: "I was comfortable wearing the outfit and was able to move more freely while performing" P47. By selecting dress that allows adequate movement in all respects, the aim of keeping both the performer's and the audience's focus on the music is met; the performer's movements are not hindered by her dress and her focus can remain on playing. Also, the audience is not distracted by potential hazards to movements or reduced expressive movements and so remains focussed on the music. As in the previous link, where insecure dress was shown to create a split attention effect and distract performers and audience members from the music itself, so too may physically restrictive dress affect performers' and audience members' focus on the music. If a soloist's concert dress is obviously restrictive, this is likely put greater burden on the working memory of the soloist and audience members, resulting in a split attention effect that distracts their attention away from the music and towards the performer's dress.

Between the Social and Psychological spheres

Between the Social and Psychological spheres of influence on performers' choice of concert dress, the potential for dress to affect performers' frame of mind is mediated by the potential for dress to create a sense of occasion. Performers have remarked on the benefit of selecting concert dress that creates a sense of occasion: "When you put it [your concert dress] on, you feel like you're putting your costume on, it is something you don't wear every day" Elanor. It was shown at the beginning of the section detailing interactions between Practical and Psychological spheres that performers were influenced in their choice of dress by its perceived ability to affect their frame of mind, as soloists chose dress that put them in a desirable frame of mind for performing. It is likely that those features of a performer's concert dress that separate it from everyday wear create the sense of occasion that performers desire. This sense of occasion and the feeling that the performance is of greater importance than the rehearsal may alter the performer's frame of mind and prepare them mentally for performance. In choosing concert dress that creates a sense of occasion performers may take a step towards readying themselves mentally for performance. The benefit to performers of using preparation rituals is supported in sports psychology literature. Donohue et al. (2006)

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found that athletes adopting preparatory rituals before a race significantly increased their performance. This confirms the benefit reported by solo musicians of the ritual of dressing for performance but also extends knowledge in sports psychology, as this suggests that sports persons can benefit from ritualising dressing for a competition.

The potential for dress to affect a performer's frame of mind is mediated by perceived appropriateness of dress and visual expectations of female performers, in its influence of performers' choice of concert dress. It was reported above that when the practicalities of dress were met, performers' confidence increased as they felt able to perform at their best. When performers perceived their dress to be appropriate and believed that others would find it so, their confidence again increased. Performers were aware of the visual expectations of them in performance and in the investigation into individual differences in concert dress choice (Chapter 5) they showed that they were acutely aware of the level of formality, demureness and femininity that they should display through their dress. In other words performers were aware of what was considered appropriate dress for the occasion. By choosing dress that performers knew to be appropriate, they achieved the expectations they felt the audience placed upon them, which resulted in an increase in confidence. This is summed up by P21: "I could hear and feel people's reactions to what I was wearing and that accordingly made me feel more confident and in control, which enabled a more relaxed performance". Performers are influenced in their choice of dress by what they believe to be considered appropriate by their audience. This affords them confidence as they feel that are accepted in the environment in which they are operating, which positively affects their frame of mind in approaching the performance. This perspective is supported by research into adolescent behaviour. Newman and Newman (2001) found that style of dress is one among a number of factors that delineates group membership and provides a sense of group identity. By meeting audience expectations and their own perceptions of appropriate dress, performers confirm their identity as musicians through their dress.

Perceived appropriateness of dress determines performers' ability to disregard their dress in performance and for the audience to focus on the music itself. Performers' desire to be able to disregard their concert dress and their wish for audience to focus on the music can be achieved in part by their selecting appropriate concert dress. An individual's beliefs and attitudes are embodied in their dress (Rubenstein, 2001) and these characteristics are interpreted using a culturally specific 'code' that provides

connotational meaning to specific features of dress (Barnard, 2002). If features of a performer's dress suggest that their attitudes and beliefs are in total synchrony with those of the performance tradition, then the visual aspect of performance may become less salient and the performer's dress may be considered of secondary importance to the music. Through selecting appropriate dress, performers may blend into the social schema of the performance rendering the sight of them less salient. In this situation, the rigid framework of what is considered acceptable dress for classical performance aids the performer. In the investigation into individual differences in concert dress choice (Chapter 5), performers were found to behave consistently to one another regardless of individual differences such as level of self monitoring: "It doesn't take that long to decide nowadays because I'm used to thinking about it lots in the past. Can make a decision pretty quickly now." P31. The application of a formula to concert dress selection allows performers to operate within a framework of social rules that ensures that they are always confident in the appropriateness of their dress. This makes concert dress a less salient factor for soloists during performance as their confidence in the appropriateness of their dress means that they do not feel self-conscious because of their dress, which makes it ultimately easier to disregard. This extends research carried out into the role of nurses' uniforms in patient care. Pearson, Walsh, Baker and Fitzgerald (2001) reported that nurses' uniforms require nurses to give little thought to their professional dress and the fixed nature of the uniform keeps nurses' focus in their professional role. The research reported in this thesis shows that a fixed dress code not only allows individuals to focus on their own professional activities, but also allows those that interact with them to focus on the same.

The desire of performers to disregard their dress during a concert and for their audience to focus on the music determines the respect performers convey for the audience and the tradition through their choice of concert dress. The fact that performers actively try not to distract their audience with their choice of dress and aim to keep their own focus on the music shows a respect for the audience and the classical tradition. By deliberately selecting dress with this purpose performers show an awareness of the musical hierarchy that places them as subordinate to the musical work (Goehr, 1992); the fact that performers aim to keep the focus of the performance on the work and not on their appearance reinforces the values of this hierarchy.

7.1.2 Importance of factors influencing performers' choice of concert dress.

The previous section identified and discussed links between factors that influenced performers' choice of concert dress. However, this analysis did not discuss the extent to which factors differ in their importance in determining choice of dress.

It was suggested in the discussion of factors interacting within the Practical sphere of influence, that practical elements were fundamental influences on performers' choice of concert dress. The most basic requirement of concert dress is that it does not hinder the musical performance and allows a performer to create competently musical sound and expressive movement. Therefore, the most important factors to affect concert dress selection are those that actually allow the musical performance to take place. Although social and psychological concerns have been reported by numerous performers as being greatly influential in their choice of concert dress, practical influences are seen as dominant as ignoring these demands could prevent any music from being played.

On a more local level however, links between factors across spheres of influence are many and complex and it would prove fruitful to gain an understanding of which if any factors are dominant in influencing performers' choice of concert dress. One way to determine this is to look at the number of links each factor made with other factors both within and between spheres of influence on choice of concert dress. These frequencies are shown below in Table 7.2. This method of assessing the importance of factors does not account for individual differences between performers and it is possible that factors are of greater or lesser importance at an individual soloist level. However, the consistent accounts given by performers in this thesis of factors affecting choice of concert dress makes this seem unlikely. Looking at the frequency of links a factor makes shows how influential a factor is in interacting with other factors to influence a performer's choice of concert dress. In addition, this method of assessing the importance of factors shows the breadth of a factor's influence, as a greater number of interactions suggests a factor has a wider influence.

It is not possible to carry out statistical tests on the number of links made by each factor as the frequencies are too low. However, it is interesting to look at what the frequencies

suggest. Perceived appropriateness of dress has the highest frequency of links with other factors both within and between spheres and makes a total of 10 links. This factor of influence also makes a link with at least one factor in every sphere. The high frequency of links that perceived appropriateness of dress makes with other factors of influence is suggestive of the dual role it plays in determining concert dress selection: perceived appropriateness of dress is linked to factors that determine it, but also it determines other factors. For example the degree of security afforded to an outfit determines in part its appropriateness, as secure dress is valued in the classical tradition; but from another perspective perceived appropriateness of dress determines the degree to which a performer is able to blend into the social schema and disregard their dress in performance. This dual role of perceived appropriateness of dress may explain its high number of links with other factors and confirm its central importance in determining performers' choice of concert dress. The influential position of perceived appropriateness of dress is perhaps not surprising as Small (1998), Davidson (1997) and Frith (1996) all emphasise the role of social factors in performance. The central role of perceived appropriateness of dress in influencing choice of concert dress highlights the importance of human interactions in performance and not merely the social position of the musical work.

Table 7.2 Table of the frequency of links made by each factor of influence

Sphere	Factor	Within sphere links	Between sphere links	Total
Practical	Practicalities of travel	1	1	2
Practical	Physical requirements of instrument	2	7	9
Practical	Physical freedom	2	7	9
Practical	Security of dress	1	6	7
		6	21	27
Social	Perceived appropriateness of dress	3	7	10
Social	Potential for dress to create sense of occasion	1	1	2
Social	Respect for audience and the performance tradition	1	4	5
Social	Visual expectations of female performers	1	4	5
Social	Personal characteristics desired to be portrayed by dress	0	3	3
		6	12	25
Psychological	Desire to disregard dress in performance	1	5	6
Psychological	Desire for audience to focus on the music	1	5	6
Psychological	Potential for dress to affect performer's frame of mind	0	6	6
		2	16	18

The other two factors in Table 7.2 that stand out in terms of a high number of links with other factors were physical requirements of the instrument and physical freedom. These factors often acted as a pair with other factors. These two influences on concert dress

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selection were fundamental to a successful performance at the most basic level: dress that restricts movement restricts both sound production and expressivity of the performer through gesture. Dress that is chosen to facilitate these factors betters both sound production and expressive movement, which has been shown to increase positive perceptions of performers.

Assessing the number of links made between factors revealed that several factors stand out as being highly influential in determining performers' choice of concert dress. Perceived appropriateness of dress, the physical requirements of the instrument and physical freedom had the greatest influence on dress choice and came from the Social and Practical spheres of influence. This suggests that psychological or individual concerns were less influential in determining performers' choice of concert dress than social and practical factors. This is unsurprising as the work concept places the musical work, not the soloist, at the centre of performance and performers were shown to exhibit little individual difference in their concert dress choice in Chapters 4 and 5.

7.2 The spheres of influence on audience perceptions of performance due to concert dress

All factors relating to audience perception of performance due to concert dress can be classified as being practical, social or psychological influences. These factors are listed below in Table 7.3 with their associated category of influence. A number of these factors overlapped with those affecting performers' choice of concert dress, which were shown in the previous model. It is useful to see if it is possible to apply the same model to influences on audience perceptions of performance due to dress. This may allow comparisons between influences on performers' choice of dress and audience perceptions of performance due to that dress, or allow generalisation of the effects of specific factors in classical performance.

Table 7.3 Table of factors influencing audience perceptions of performance due to concert dress and their associated category of influence

Type of Influence	Factor
Practical	Degree to which dress meets physical requirements of instrument
	Degree to which dress allows physical freedom
	Security of dress
Social	Perceived appropriateness of dress
	Visual expectations of female performers
	Personal characteristics to be portrayed by dress
Psychological	Overall audience perception of performer inferred from dress
	Perceived expressivity inferred from interaction of performer's dress and body movement style

Figure 7.3 shows at the highest level of conception the categories of factors and their relationships with each other. Again, the influences on audience perceptions of performance due to concert dress are represented by three spheres of influence. The practical sphere represents the functional or utilitarian considerations of performing, the extent of which consideration the audience can infer from the performer's dress; the social sphere pertains to influences on audience perceptions of performance due to concert dress that have origins in taking part in the activity of performance with others of a common interest and with commonly held beliefs; the psychological sphere represents audience perceptions of performance due to concert dress associated with their minds and its relation to their bodies, their environment or social context. In Figure 7.3 each of the spheres is linked to the remaining two. These links represent the fact that none of the spheres act in isolation and each sphere interacts with the other two to determine audience perceptions of performance through concert dress.
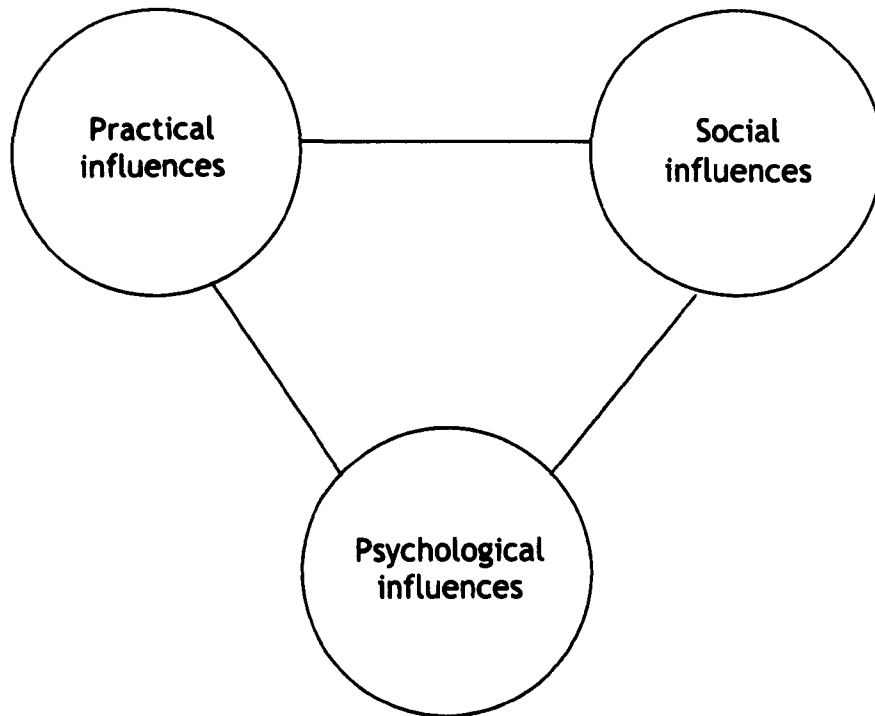
Figure 7.3 Model of the spheres of influence on audience perceptions of performance due to concert dress

Elaborating this model and revealing the next level of detail shows that each sphere contains a number of factors that interact with each other (Figure 7.4). As with the previous model, Spheres of influence on performers' choice of concert dress, this model is shows broadly that between each combination of spheres interactions occur between factors.
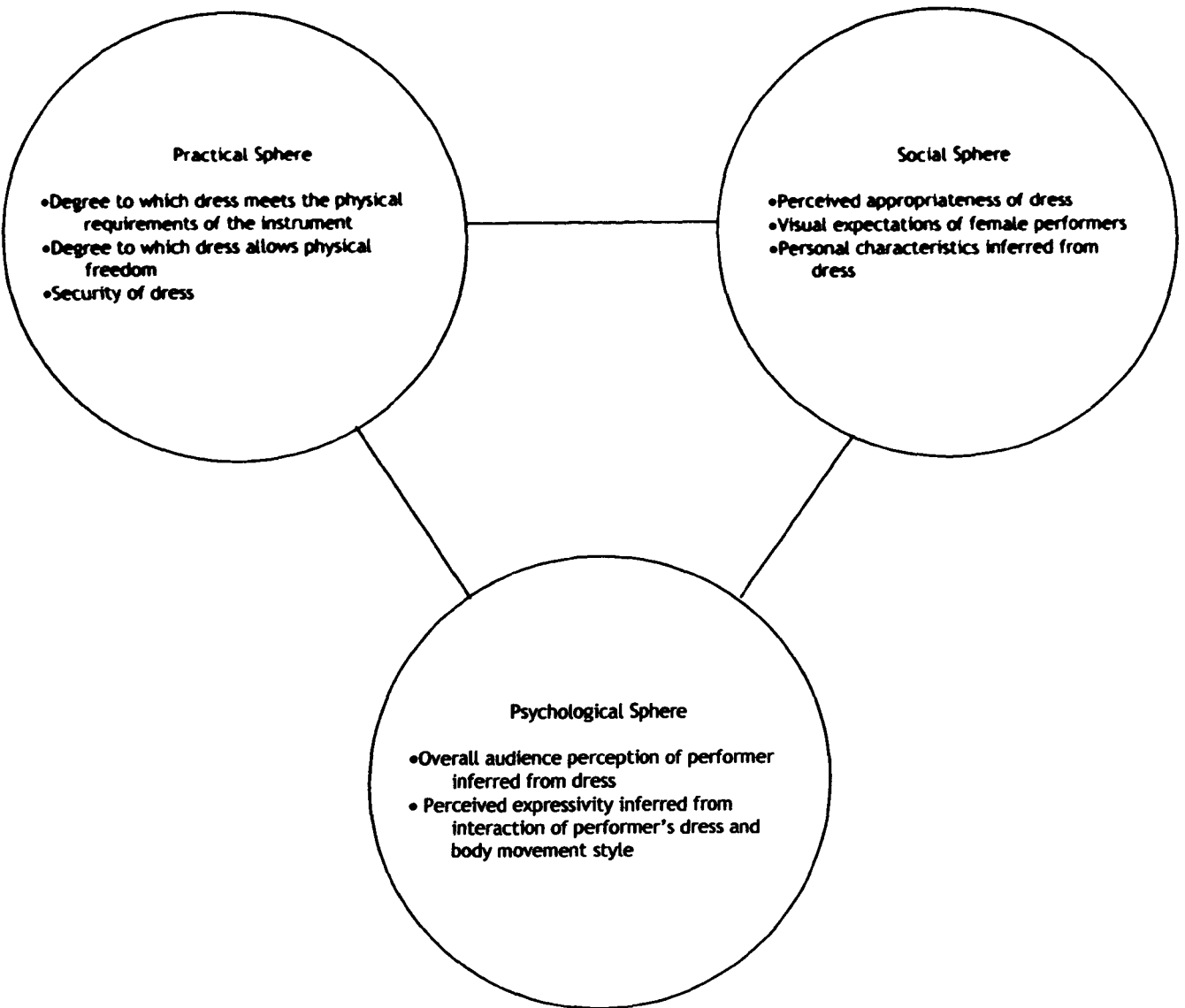
Figure 7.4 Detailed model of the spheres of influence on audience perceptions of performance due to concert dress

Practical Sphere

- Degree to which dress meets the physical requirements of the instrument
- Degree to which dress allows physical freedom
- Security of dress

Social Sphere

- Perceived appropriateness of dress
- Visual expectations of female performers
- Personal characteristics inferred from dress

Psychological Sphere

- Overall audience perception of performer inferred from dress
- Perceived expressivity inferred from interaction of performer's dress and body movement style

In order to clarify the meaning of each of the factors it is necessary to define them before moving on to discuss the ways in which they interact. Beginning with the Practical sphere, the degree to which dress meets the physical requirements of the instrument refers to the perceived restrictiveness of the performer's dress. The audience can see from the performer's choice of dress how much freedom the performer has to make the movements required for sound production on their instrument. The degree to which dress allows physical freedom refers to the amount of physical freedom a performer's dress allows them for expressive body movements. The audience can also perceive how secure a performer's concert dress is and to what degree it is likely to stay in place during performance.

Within the Social sphere perceived appropriateness of dress refers to the style of dress that members of the audience perceive as acceptable for classical performance. Through enculturation and experience of classical performance audience members have expectations of what female classical soloists should look like. This includes their concert dress and how a performer meets these visual expectations influences an audience's perception of the performance. Finally, dress embodies an individual's attitudes and beliefs (Rubenstein, 2001) and others interpret them using signs that form part of a visual code (Saussure, 1974); the signs from a performer's choice of dress may be interpreted by the audience and influence their perception of performance.

Within the Psychological sphere the factor of overall perception of performer inferred from dress refers to the holistic impression made on an audience as they perceive the different elements of a performer's dress as a whole. A performer's concert dress moves with the performer's body and this interaction of dress and body movement style influences the perceived expressivity of the performer by the audience.

As with the previous model, the pattern of interactions between factors at this level is too complex to be represented diagrammatically. Therefore, it is more appropriate to present and discuss the links between factors below. Initially I describe relationships within spheres. Following this I examine all relationships between each pair of spheres.

7.2.1 Interactions between factors of influence on audience perceptions of performance due to concert dress

I begin my discussion of the interaction of factors influencing audience perceptions of performance by looking at factor interaction within spheres. I begin with practical influences and move clockwise around the spheres. In each sphere I address relationships between single factors, followed by single factors to group of factors and finally between group of factors to group of factors where this occurs. I then repeat this process comparing relationships between spheres.

Within the Practical sphere

Within the Practical sphere the physical freedom of a performer's dress is linked to the degree to which their dress meets the physical demands of the instrument. As in the previous model of influences on performers' choice of concert dress, this link highlights the two fold importance of movement in influencing audience perceptions of a performance; that is movement for sound production and movement for expression. When the more restricted body movements of Lisa and Bella were observed by participants in the investigation into body movement style, observers perceived these performers as having less appropriate body movement styles. It is likely that if either type of physical movement is hampered by dress, as in the case of Lisa, or a lack of movement is highlighted by style of dress, as in the case of Bella then this will negatively affect an audience's perceptions of the performer. Bella was rated as less technically proficient and musical when her movement was restricted, and so concert dress that reduces a performer's body movement is likely to have an effect on audience perceptions of the performance as a whole. Davidson (2001) found that expressive body movement combined with aural information to give an overall concept of the performance. This suggests that if performers' movements are restricted by their dress, they will be unable to create adequate gestures for expressive purposes or sound production, which will have a negative effect on perceptions of their performance.

The degree to which a performer's dress allows physical freedom is mediated by the security of their dress in influencing audience perceptions of performance. If a performer feels insecure in their concert dress then this may result in their feeling less

physically free and making fewer expressive movements. This is supported by Rosie's testimony from her interview: "I typically wear something that enables me ...not [to] have to worry about the clothing shifting or falling down". Reduced movements may result in less favourable perceptions of a performance as the investigation into the interaction of dress and body movement style (Chapter 3) revealed. Lisa reported feeling 'exposed' when wearing the nightclubbing dress. Her body movement style in this dress was perceived by observers as significantly less appropriate than when wearing jeans and her gestures were reduced in size and frequency. This suggests that observers' perceptions of performers may be negatively affected if performers select insecure concert dress, which reduces their ability to move during performance. Bartky (1990) believes that women's dress by its nature is insecure as it doesn't allow women firm balance or ease of movement and this may lead to women having difficulty in projecting a serious image (Chapkiss, 1988). The findings of this research suggest that female soloists aim to gain physical freedom from their concert dress, despite trends in women's dress, by actively sourcing dress that remains secure.

Within the Social sphere

Audience perceptions of performance are influenced by how a performer meets the visual expectations of female performers; this determines their perceived appropriateness of dress, which in turn determines the personal characteristics inferred from their dress. There are a number of expectations placed on female performers regarding how they should dress and these were felt by performers surveyed for this thesis to relate to formality of dress, how they negotiated the practicalities of performance and the degree of their bodies on show. Performers believe that how well they meet these expectations determines how appropriately dressed an audience perceives them to be. In turn, this has an effect of the personal characteristics an audience infers from their dress. Performers surveyed in the investigation into individual differences in concert dress selection certainly believed that how appropriately dressed they appeared affected perceptions of their personal characteristics; as P8 stated: "[If you were inappropriately dressed] I think they [the audience] would look on you as being less professional, and therefore may judge your performances in the same way." Performers can reasonably be expected to understand audience behaviour as performers are also audience members at different times and are aware of the effect of an inappropriately dressed performer on their own perceptions.

This effect of appropriate dress on perceptions of performance is supported by the research of Kwon and Farber (1992), who found that observers reported more positive perceptions of professional qualities in individuals that they believed to be appropriately dressed. This strongly suggests that how appropriately dressed a performer is perceived to be affects perceptions of their performance overall. Audience perceptions of an artist's performance can also be affected by how appropriately dressed observers believe the performer to be in their promotional material. Visual expectations of female performers are generated in part through images used to promote sales of performers' albums and concert tickets. Examples that were given in the Introduction (Chapter 1) showed that performers may appear in more body focussed dress in these images than they do in performance. Body focussed dress has been shown to be considered inappropriate for classical performance and images that exhibit performers in body focussed dress may create negative preconceptions of how appropriately a performer dresses. Less favourable personal characteristics may be inferred from performers' dress in promotional images and an audience member may take these preconceptions with them to the concert situation. Performers' clothing in promotional material may have a negative impact on audience perceptions of their performance if it is not in line with dress that is considered appropriate for performance. This suggests that a performer's personal characteristics are assumed by the audience before they arrive at a concert and these preconceptions are likely to affect audience perceptions of the performance overall.

Within the Psychological sphere

Within the Psychological sphere, the overall audience perception of a performer inferred from their dress is influenced by the audience perception of expressivity based on the interaction of dress and body movement. Evidence for this comes from the investigation into the interaction of dress and body movement style (Chapter 3). Here, a performer's concert dress was shown to interact with their body movement style to affect audience perceptions of performance. As in the case of Bella, concert dress may draw attention to an individual's style of movement and highlight their shape and movement vocabulary. Depending upon how effective this style of movement is, concert dress can help or hinder positive perceptions of the performer. Perceptions of performers differed with the style of dress they wore and the interaction of dress and body movement style was suggested as the cause of these differences in perception. Bella was shown to have a

very limited movement vocabulary, which was drawn attention to by her shape when wearing jeans; it was hypothesised that this was the cause of her low ratings for technical proficiency and musicality in the initial investigation. This strongly suggests that dress interacts with body movement style to affect audience judgements of expressivity and this has a wider impact on the perception of the performer as a whole. Hamid (1968) found that personality traits were associated with characteristics inferred from appearance. This supports the above hypothesis as audience members will attribute a level of expressivity to performers based on the interaction of their concert dress and body movement and use this to make general judgements on the artist's performance.

Between the Practical and Social spheres

Between the Practical and Social spheres the degree to which performers' dress meets the physical requirements of the instrument, physical freedom and security mediate perceived appropriateness of dress to influence the audience's perceptions of performance. As it was stated in the previous model, practicalities of a performer's dress can in part determine the perception of appropriate dress. The values of classical performance mean that the musical work is given precedence over the performer and their appearance in terms of status. Therefore for the performer, the practicalities of meeting the physical requirements of their instrument with their dress, achieving physical freedom and security must be addressed in order for their dress to be perceived as appropriate. Addressing these practicalities is a visual sign to the audience that they are putting the music before concerns for their appearance. If a performer appears appropriately dressed then an audience is more likely to perceive them as engaged with the performing situation. Chapkiss (1988) believes that it is difficult for a woman to project a serious demeanour with her dress as women's dress often prioritises decoration over practicality. However, audience members' perceptions of performance are likely to be more positive if the soloist is appropriately dressed through ensuring that the practicalities of her concert dress have been met. This in turn can have an effect on audience perception of the performance on the whole.

Visual expectations of performers and performers' personal characteristics inferred from dress are linked with security of dress in their influence on audience perceptions of performance. The perceived security of a performer's concert dress determines how

well they meet visual expectations in performance, which in turns decides the personal characteristics inferred by the audience. Due to the values associated with classical performance described above, a performer's visual appearance is considered secondary to their interpretation of the music itself. In the same way that physically unrestrictive concert dress was a visual sign to the audience that they value the requirements of performing above their appearance, so too is a performer's choice of secure dress. Secure dress may also convey to an audience positive personal characteristics such as seriousness, as described by performers surveyed in the investigation into individual differences in concert dress choice: "[I hope my dress showed that] I am confident and in control, authoritative, comfortable, vibrant and energetic" P41. A performer's selection of secure concert dress confirms their engagement with the performance situation as this shows the audience that they do indeed value the music over their appearance. Secure dress can help a performer communicate to the audience these values associated with classical music; if the audience holds the same values as the performer, which is likely as they belong to the same tradition, then secure dress could positively affect perceptions of performance.

How well a performer's dress meets the physical requirements of their instrument and affords physical freedom is linked with visual expectations of female performers in influencing an audience's perceptions of the performance. Performers were shown above to select dress that meets the physical requirements of the instrument and that allowed them physical freedom, as this led to ease of movement for both sound production and expressive body movements. Through enculturation audience members will expect to see expressive body movements and a performer that is unhampered by restrictive dress; if a performer's concert dress does not allow this freedom of movement it may have a negative effect on audience perceptions of performance. This was indeed the case in the initial investigation (Chapter 2) and the investigation into the interaction of dress and body movement style (Chapter 3). Lisa was restricted by her dress when wearing the nightclubbing dress and was rated lower for appropriateness of body movement style than when wearing jeans; this result is thought to explain Lisa's low ratings of appropriateness of dress from the initial investigation. Davidson (1995) found that there was sufficient information available to observers in performers' body movement alone to allow them to interpret performer intentions. Expressive gestures can facilitate the audience's access to the performer's musical intentions and so clearer

gestures unrestricted by dress can lead to a more positive audience evaluation of the performance.

Between the Practical and Psychological spheres

A performer's choice of secure dress mediates the overall audience perception of the performer inferred from their dress in influencing audience perceptions of performance. Secure concert dress gives the audience a visual clue that the performer prioritises the act of performance over more aesthetic concerns of their appearance, which was evidenced above. Audiences were shown in the initial investigation to find non body-focussed dress the most appropriate for performance, which suggests that the security embedded in this style of dress improves audience perceptions of the performance. This extends Cook's (1998b) perspective from his deconstruction of images of performers on record sleeves. Cook stated that the appearance of a performer, including their dress could be used as a symbol of the values of classical music to target consumers of classical recordings. The findings of the link between secure dress and overall audience perceptions suggests that audiences use cues from performers' appearance not only to make judgements about the values of classical performers but also to make judgements about their performances.

Security of dress also mediates the perceived expressivity inferred from the interaction dress and body movement style in influencing audience reactions to performances. The degree of security a performer's dress affords them was shown above to affect them during performance as insecure concert dress distracted performers from the music. Additionally, performers' expressive body movement vocabulary was reduced when performers were not confident about the security of their dress. This led to less favourable audience perceptions of body movement style, which were linked to lower ratings of performance quality. This suggests that the security of a performers' dress can diminish the effectiveness of the expressive gestures that they make and therefore affect perceptions of their performance quality. By selecting insecure concert dress, performers may reduce their ability to communicate with their audience through the medium of gesture, thereby negatively affecting the audience's evaluation of the performance.

The overall audience perception of the performer inferred from the performer's dress is mediated by the degree to which a performer's dress meets the physical requirements of their instrument and allows them physical freedom. In the same way that security of dress was shown to affect the overall perception of a performer, so too may how well suited the performer appears to moving freely. By selecting dress that allows ease of movement, the performer signals to the audience that they are prioritising the performance over decorative aspects of their appearance. Goehr (1992) stated that one consequence of the work concept in classical music is that the human origins of performance are disguised. The evidence presented here suggests that audience members rate performances higher when performers lessen their human presence but increase their musical presence. Performers can achieve this by reducing the decorative aspect of their appearance and increasing audience focus on the music through clearer expressive gestures, facilitated by secure dress.

Finally, audience perceptions of performance may be influenced by the degree to which the physical requirements of the instrument and physical freedom mediate the perceived expressivity of the performer through the interaction of dress and expressive body movement. Features of a performer's dress determine the extent to which they are able to move, as one performer that was surveyed reported: "Sleeves had not got to get in the way" P2. The performer's dress determined their movement, which in turn affected perceptions of their movement style and potentially affected ratings of performance quality, as shown in the investigation into the interaction of dress and body movement style (Chapter 3). A greater degree of expressive body movement resulted in more positive perceptions of the movement style and of performance quality. It is likely that concert dress that allows a greater degree of movement may create a more favourable impression with an audience, as it allows that audience to perceive more clearly the performer's creative intentions. Wapnick *et al.* (1997; 1998; 2000) found that high observer ratings of stage behaviour and appropriateness of dress corresponded with high observer ratings of performance quality. The findings reported here extend those of Wapnick *et al.* as they suggest that specific visual features of dress, such as the degree to which the physical requirements of the instrument are met and the physical freedom it affords, determine audience perceptions of performance.

The overall audience perception of a performer is mediated by their perception of the appropriateness of the performer's dress and visual expectations of the performer. Through enculturation audience members develop expectations of how female performers should appear visually. These expectations in part determine perceptions of appropriate dress, as the visual prototype of a classical performer becomes the expectation. The research findings suggest that the factors of perceived appropriate dress and visual expectations of the performer combine and affect the audience's overall perceptions of the performer. This was certainly the case in the initial investigation (Chapter 2). The concert dress was rated as significantly more appropriate than the nightclubbing dress and observers' revealed that their expectations were of formal dress for classical performance: 'Posh music should equal posh dress, and too much leg [on show] is bad, because it isn't posh.' The result of this was that when performing in the concert dress performers were rated as significantly more technically proficient and musical than when wearing the nightclubbing dress. Therefore, how a performer's dress meets audience expectations of appropriateness of dress determines their overall perceptions of the performer and influences their perceptions of the performance as a whole. Cook (1998b) states that "visual image and musical sound circulate indivisibly and are consumed together" (Cook, 1998b: 115), which suggests that the overall impression of a performer is determined purely by what the performer produces aurally and visually. However, the findings reported above suggest that an audience's expectations of female performers and how they are met also determine audience perceptions of performance.

7.2.2 Importance of factors influencing audience perceptions of performance due to concert dress

The previous section identified and discussed links between factors that influenced audience perceptions of performance due to concert dress. However, this analysis has not revealed if all factors are of equal importance in determining choice of dress.

This section takes the same approach as the corresponding section from the previous model and attempts to gain an understanding of which if any factors are dominant in

influencing audience perceptions of performance. As with the previous model, this is determined by observing the frequency of links each factor makes with other factors both within and between spheres of influence. These frequencies are shown below in Table 7.4.

Table 7.4 Table of the frequency of links made by each factor of influence

Sphere	Factor	Within sphere links	Between sphere links	Total
Practical	Degree to which performer's dress meets the physical requirements of the instrument	1	4	5
Practical	Degree to which performer's dress allows physical freedom	2	4	6
Practical	Security of dress	1	5	6
		4	13	17
Social	Perceived appropriateness of dress	1	4	5
Social	Visual expectations of female performers	2	4	6
Social	Personal characteristics inferred from dress	2	1	3
		5	9	14
Psychological	Overall audience perception of performer inferred from dress	1	5	6
Psychological	Perceived expressivity based on interaction of dress and body movement style	1	3	4
		2	8	10

Looking at the frequency of interactions made on a whole-sphere basis, factors within the Practical sphere of influence create the highest total number of links. It was suggested in the discussion of the model showing the spheres of influence on performers' choice of concert dress that practical elements were fundamental influences on performers' choice of concert dress. The most basic requirement of concert dress is

that is does not hinder the musical performance and allows a performer to create competently musical sound and expressive movement. This may also be the basic requirement for audience members watching a performance as the most important aspects of concert dress to affect audience perceptions must be those that actually allow the musical performance to take place. Although social and psychological factors were shown have influenced audience perceptions of performance, practical influences can be seen as dominant: if these demands are not met music could be prevented from being played and the audience would have nothing to make a judgement upon.

Looking at links made by individual factors there is no one factor that stands out as making a greater number of links than any other and therefore being more influential on determining audience perceptions of performance. However, the Social factor 'personal characteristics inferred from dress' is conspicuous for making only three links with other factors. The data collected for this thesis came either from the performer's point of view or required quantitative responses from observers. Only brief qualitative opinions were gathered from observers at the end of the initial investigation and the investigation into the interaction of concert dress and body movement. As such it may be a lack of conclusive evidence that prevented the factor 'personal characteristics inferred from dress' from showing a higher number links with other factors rather than a lack of influence.

However, the lack of links made by the factor 'personal characteristics inferred from dress' may be due in part to the work concept applied to classical music (Goehr, 1992). The work concept places the musical work at the centre of any classical performance, with the performer playing a secondary role. If the audience also subscribes to the value of musical autonomy, it is likely that they are not seeking to infer personal characteristics from the performer; instead they are seeking instances of musical expression.

7.3 Potential for integration of the two models

At the highest level of conception, the model showing influences on performers' choice of concert dress, and the model showing influences on audience perceptions of performance due to concert dress are identical. Both models contain spheres of

influence on the behaviour and perceptions of participants within the performance situation that interact with each other. At the next level of detail, both models contain a number of factors that interact both within and between spheres; many of these factors affect both performer choice of dress and audience perception of performance and so appear in both models. However, despite their similarities each model describes the processes within a musical performance from a different point of view, that is either of influences causing performers to behave in a particular way when selecting concert dress, or in the effect of concert dress on audience perceptions of performance. There are also a number of factors which are specific to each model. For these reasons it is not appropriate to integrate the two models to provide a holistic view of the effects of female soloists' concert dress in classical performance.

7.4 General Conclusions

7.4.1 Advancement of the research area

The subject of women's dress is often seen as representing a superficial aspect of their being (Tseelon, 1995). It is perhaps because of the high art status of classical music and the view of musical works as transcendent objects that research into the effect of this practical and everyday phenomenon has been overlooked. The research reported in this thesis has provided insight into the role that concert dress plays in classical performance. This work is the first to look in detail at the effects of concert dress both from performer production and audience reception points of view. This work has succeeded in highlighting the importance of concert dress as a form of social communication and revealing the impact that clothing can have on performers themselves, and ultimately on perceptions of their work.

In the past, those items of research that have recognised the role of concert dress in performance have treated it as a confounding variable that was controlled in order to discover the full effects of other variables such as race and gender (Davidson and Edgar, 2003). Other studies have grouped it together with variables such as stage behaviour and attractiveness and considered its effects in conjunction with these other factors rather than as a variable in its own right (Wapnick et al., 1997; 1998; 2000). The research reported in this thesis looked specifically at concert dress and its impact on

classical performance and engaged with discovering the effects of different styles of dress on audience perceptions. Previous work was focussed exclusively on audience perceptions of visual elements in performance; the work reported here addressed the factors affecting performers' choice of dress that lead up to the sight of a musician in performance on which an audience makes judgements. The empirical work reported here addressed the differences in performers' dress and investigated the psychological effects of clothing that could affect non-musical elements of performance such as a performer's confidence and their ability to move freely.

Women's bodies have been described as being perceived in Western society as ornamental surfaces (Bartky, 1990) and as such women face specific challenges in terms of gender stereotypes related to their dress, their body image and the historical male dominance in public creative arts. For these reasons and because particular emphasis is placed upon women's physical appearance, female performers were the focus of this investigation. This research perspective deals specifically with these issues rather than masking their effect by combining the investigation with male performers.

7.4.2 Overarching themes

The findings of the empirical work reported in this thesis have led to a greater understanding of the role of concert dress in classical performance, the most significant finding being that concert dress was shown to affect audience perceptions of performance quality. These findings indicate that perceptions of performers inferred from dress are sufficiently powerful to affect judgements of musical criteria. The strict social etiquette of classical performance was shown to have a strong bearing upon what is considered appropriate attire for performance and the extent to which concert dress was socially marshalled demonstrates that performers' personal taste in dress is a secondary consideration to other factors of the performance. This has an impact on the perception of components within the performance situation, as a strict standard of acceptable dress for female performers creates a visual prototype; as this becomes adopted by more and more performers, concert dress becomes a less salient factor and the musical work takes prominence. However, the idea of a performer as a passive vessel in the communication of musical meaning is inaccurate. Concert dress was shown to be a structure that performers use to indicate their engagement with

performance and to facilitate their communicative abilities through expressive body movement. Performers use their dress to convey their beliefs about the status of classical music and its value system.

This research has highlighted the dominance in the media of female performers wearing body-focussed dress and has shown this to be unrepresentative of the style of dress selected by female performers. The performers who took part in this research detailed the many and varied challenges they face in selecting appropriate dress and the importance they placed on succeeding in this task. In reality it seems that young female performers are not 'selling-out' and achieving success by promoting a focus on their bodies during performance, rather they exhibited great concern for meeting the expectations of the tradition in which they wished to be accepted and in showing it the proper respect. However, performers can and do enjoy the social communicative aspects of concert dress and use it as an opportunity to define themselves.

7.4.3 Wider application of findings

The findings of this research may be applicable to other musical performance contexts. Clothing offers opportunities for communication with the audience. This research showed that performers' choice of concert dress and audience perceptions of performance due to concert dress were both influenced by practical, social and psychological factors. It is likely that all musical performance would be influenced by such concerns as performers must meet practical requirements in order for adequate sound production and expressive movement regardless of genre. All musical performances are social events and so have associated social demands and due to human nature all performers will experience psychological concerns. Although the same three spheres of influence may act on performers' choice of concert dress and audience perceptions of performance due to dress, it does not mean that the same factors within those spheres will take effect irrespective of musical genre. For example, in pop performance modernity is of greater value and the body plays a more explicit role than in classical performance (Frith, 1996). This suggests that how the practicalities of performance are met with dress may be less of a concern for pop performers and audience members, and instead decorative aspects of dress and the portrayal of non-musical characteristics may have a higher value.

Performance is not purely a musical concept and as such there are a number of performance opportunities outside the musical world in which the findings of this thesis are relevant. Giving a presentation, making a speech, attending an interview or making acquaintances at a social function all require that an individual presents an image of themselves to others. Although level of practicality of dress will differ with task and social requirements will differ with situation, those influences will remain and dress still holds the power to affect how we feel about our capabilities and how others receive us. Even outside of a musical context these factors interact to determine how we exhibit ourselves through dress and how we are perceived. There is evidence from work psychology that individuals believe that they can influence other's views and obtain work-related outcomes, such as advancement with their work attire (Peluchette *et al.*, 2006). The research reported in this thesis has extended findings from work psychology by proving that individuals can indeed influence observers' views with their dress.

The research reported in this thesis has shown the importance of dress to musical performance. It has confirmed that how individuals are perceived is due at least in part to their dress. Within musical performance and the classical genre in particular performers should consider their concert dress carefully and be aware of the impact it will have on perceptions of their performance by observers. Audience members and, in particular, competition and audition judges should consider carefully what it is that they are assessing: to make an overall assessment of a performance it may be desirable to take into account concert dress, but if musical judgements alone are required they should be aware that concert dress may influence their perceptions.

7.4.4 Opportunities for future work

The perceptions of audience members require further investigation to fully understand the effect of concert dress on observer perceptions of performance. In this thesis, quantitative data from audience members was collected; a more qualitative approach would elaborate on these findings and reveal not only how observers react to performers' concert dress but why they react as they do. A qualitative approach would show conclusively observers' perceptions, rather than relying on performers' knowledge and experience of audience behaviour to predict their reactions. In particular, this approach would discover whether observers infer non-musical characteristics from

performers' dress, what observers' expectations of female soloists are, why certain styles of dress are perceived as more appropriate than others and the degree to which practicalities of dress affect perceptions of performance.

Precisely what role the mass media plays in generating expectations of female performers is also worthy of continued investigation and this could be linked to the portrayal of women in other aspects of society and in other contexts. Research reported in this thesis suggests that the media portrays a body-focussed image of women that is not necessarily in keeping with their actual professional appearance. Further research could explore the effects of this phenomenon in greater detail and establish whether this distortion of women's appearance is confined solely to classical performance or whether it occurs in other sectors of society.

Research into the effects of and determinants upon male performers' concert dress is a vital next step. This would reveal whether the findings of this research are as a result of circumstances unique to female performers or are common to all musicians. Female performers have more choice in their concert dress than male performers and it is possible that male performers' self-expression through dress is more limited.

Finally, the repercussions of audience dress as yet remain unexplored. Research in this area would determine whether audience members make the same social and psychological considerations as performers when attending a classical concert to ensure that they are appropriately dressed. This would shed light on the roles of the audience and soloist in classical performance and reveal whether they make the same considerations about their dress due to the common link of performance tradition, or whether dress is used as a means to define their roles. The effect of audience dress should also be investigated to determine what effect if any audience dress has on performers' sense of occasion, choice of dress and state of mind in approaching performance.

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Appendix 1

The order of presentation of example and test material from the initial investigation (Chapter 2).

Example

Clip	Performer	Dress	Version
1	1	Concert	Own
2	4	Point-light	Own

Test

Clip	Performer	Dress	Version
1	2	Nightclubbing	Own
2	1	Jeans	Dubbed
3	3	Concert	Dubbed
4	3	Point-light	Own
5	4	Concert	Dubbed
6	4	Point-light	Own
7	1	Jeans	Own
8	2	Nightclubbing	Dubbed
20 second break			
9	4	Concert	Own
10	2	Point-light	Dubbed
11	4	Point-light	Dubbed
12	1	Nightclubbing	Own
13	3	Jeans	Dubbed
14	2	Jeans	Own
15	3	Concert	Own
16	1	Nightclubbing	Dubbed
20 second break			
17	1	Point-light	Own
18	4	Jeans	Own
19	1	Point-light	Dubbed
20	3	Point-light	Dubbed
21	2	Concert	Dubbed
22	3	Nightclubbing	Own
23	3	Jeans	Own
24	4	Jeans	Dubbed
20 second break			
25	2	Concert	Own
26	2	Jeans	Dubbed
27	1	Concert	Own
28	4	Nightclubbing	Own
29	3	Nightclubbing	Dubbed
30	4	Nightclubbing	Dubbed
31	2	Pont light	Own
32	1	Concert	Dubbed

Appendix 2

DVD Video of the test material used in the initial investigation (Chapter 2) and the investigation into the interaction of dress and body movement style (Chapter 3).

The Role of Concert Dress in
the Performances of Solo
Female Classical Instrumentalists

Noola K. Griffiths
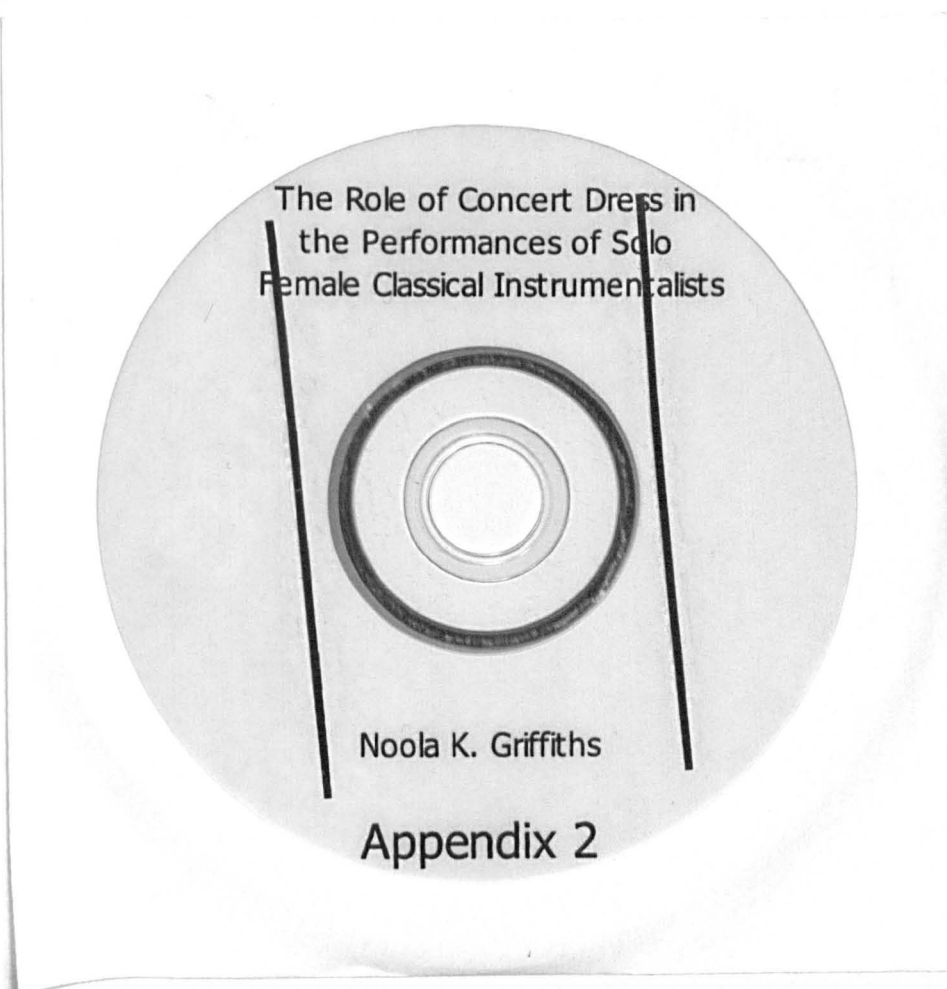
Appendix 2

Appendix 3

Answer sheet used by participants in the initial investigation (Chapter 2).

Visual Information in Performance- Answer Sheet

Please rate all clips on first impression as if the violinists were playing a public recital, and complete all scales given for each clip. There are 8 seconds between each clip in which to finish grading performers.

Clip 1

Technical Proficiency
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Musicality
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Appropriateness of Dress
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Attractiveness of Performer
Unattractive   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Attractive

Clip 2

Technical Proficiency
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Musicality
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Appropriateness of Dress
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Attractiveness of Performer
Unattractive   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Attractive

Clip 3

Technical Proficiency
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Musicality
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Appropriateness of Dress
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Attractiveness of Performer
Unattractive   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Attractive

Clip 4

Technical Proficiency
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Musicality
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Clip 5

Technical Proficiency
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Musicality
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Appropriateness of Dress
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Attractiveness of Performer
Unattractive   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Attractive

Clip 6

Technical Proficiency
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Musicality
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Clip 7

Technical Proficiency
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Musicality
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Appropriateness of Dress
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Attractiveness of Performer
Unattractive   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Attractive

Clip 8

Technical Proficiency

| Poor | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | Excellent |

Musicality

| Poor | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | Excellent |

Appropriateness of Dress

| Inappropriate | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | Very Appropriate |

Attractiveness of Performer

| Unattractive | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | Very Attractive |

20 SECOND BREAK

Clip 9

Technical Proficiency

| Poor | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | Excellent |

Musicality

| Poor | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | Excellent |

Appropriateness of Dress

| Inappropriate | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | Very Appropriate |

Attractiveness of Performer

| Unattractive | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | Very Attractive |

Clip 10

Technical Proficiency

| Poor | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | Excellent |

Musicality

| Poor | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | Excellent |

Clip 11

Technical Proficiency

| Poor | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | Excellent |

Musicality

| Poor | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | Excellent |

Clip 12

Technical Proficiency

Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Musicality

Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Appropriateness of Dress

Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Attractiveness of Performer

Unattractive   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Attractive

Clip 13

Technical Proficiency

Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Musicality

Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Appropriateness of Dress

Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Attractiveness of Performer

Unattractive   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Attractive

Clip 14

Technical Proficiency

Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Musicality

Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Appropriateness of Dress

Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Attractiveness of Performer

Unattractive   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Attractive

Clip15

Technical Proficiency

Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Musicality

Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Appropriateness of Dress

Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Attractiveness of Performer

Unattractive   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Attractive

Clip 16

Technical Proficiency
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Musicality
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Appropriateness of Dress
Inappropriate 1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Attractiveness of Performer
Unattractive 1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Attractive

20 SECOND BREAK

Clip 17

Technical Proficiency
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Musicality
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Clip 18

Technical Proficiency
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Musicality
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Appropriateness of Dress
Inappropriate 1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Attractiveness of Performer
Unattractive 1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Attractive

Clip 19

Technical Proficiency
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Musicality
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Clip 20

Technical Proficiency
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Musicality
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Clip 21

Technical Proficiency
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Musicality
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Appropriateness of Dress
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Attractiveness of Performer
Unattractive   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Attractive

Clip 22

Technical Proficiency
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Musicality
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Appropriateness of Dress
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Attractiveness of Performer
Unattractive   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Attractive

Clip 23

Technical Proficiency
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Musicality
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Appropriateness of Dress
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Attractiveness of Performer
Unattractive   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Attractive

Clip 24

Technical Proficiency
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Musicality
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Appropriateness of Dress
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Attractiveness of Performer
Unattractive   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Attractive

20 SECOND BREAK

Clip 25

Technical Proficiency
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Musicality
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Appropriateness of Dress
Inappropriate 1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Attractiveness of Performer
Unattractive 1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Attractive

Clip 26

Technical Proficiency
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Musicality
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Appropriateness of Dress
Inappropriate 1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Attractiveness of Performer
Unattractive 1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Attractive

Clip 27

Technical Proficiency
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Musicality
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Appropriateness of Dress
Inappropriate 1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Attractiveness of Performer
Unattractive 1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Attractive

Clip 28

Technical Proficiency
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Musicality
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Appropriateness of Dress
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Attractiveness of Performer
Unattractive   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Attractive

Clip 29

Technical Proficiency
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Musicality
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Appropriateness of Dress
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Attractiveness of Performer
Unattractive   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Attractive

Clip 30

Technical Proficiency
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Musicality
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Appropriateness of Dress
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Attractiveness of Performer
Unattractive   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Attractive

Clip 31

Technical Proficiency
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Musicality
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Clip 32

Technical Proficiency
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Musicality
Poor   1   2   3   4   5   6   Excellent

Appropriateness of Dress
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Attractiveness of Performer
Unattractive   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Attractive

Please use the space below to add any comments you may have. Thank you for taking the time to complete this experiment.

Appendix 4

Answer sheet used by participants in the investigation into the interaction of dress and body movement style (Chapter 3).

Visual Information in Performance- Answer Sheet

Please rate all clips on first impression as if the violinists were playing a public recital. There are 8 seconds between each clip in which to finish grading performers.

Clip 1

Appropriateness of Body Movement Style
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Clip 2

Appropriateness of Body Movement Style
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Clip 3

Appropriateness of Body Movement Style
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Clip 4

Appropriateness of Body Movement Style
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Clip 5

Appropriateness of Body Movement Style
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Clip 6

Appropriateness of Body Movement Style
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Clip 7

Appropriateness of Body Movement Style
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Clip 8

Appropriateness of Body Movement Style
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

20 SECOND BREAK

Clip 9

Appropriateness of Body Movement Style
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Clip 10

Appropriateness of Body Movement Style
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Clip 11

Appropriateness of Body Movement Style
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Clip 12

Appropriateness of Body Movement Style
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Clip 13

Appropriateness of Body Movement Style
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Clip 14

Appropriateness of Body Movement Style
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Clip15

Appropriateness of Body Movement Style
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Clip 16

Appropriateness of Body Movement Style
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

20 SECOND BREAK

Clip 17

Appropriateness of Body Movement Style
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Clip 18

Appropriateness of Body Movement Style
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Clip 19

Appropriateness of Body Movement Style
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Clip 20

Appropriateness of Body Movement Style
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Clip 21

Appropriateness of Body Movement Style
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Clip 22

Appropriateness of Body Movement Style
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Clip 23

Appropriateness of Body Movement Style
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Clip 24

Appropriateness of Body Movement Style
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

20 SECOND BREAK

Clip 25

Appropriateness of Body Movement Style
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Clip 26

Appropriateness of Body Movement Style
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Clip 27

Appropriateness of Body Movement Style
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Clip 28

Appropriateness of Body Movement Style
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Clip 29

Appropriateness of Body Movement Style
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Clip 30

Appropriateness of Body Movement Style
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Clip 31

Appropriateness of Body Movement Style
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate

Clip 32

Appropriateness of Body Movement Style
Inappropriate   1   2   3   4   5   6   Very Appropriate
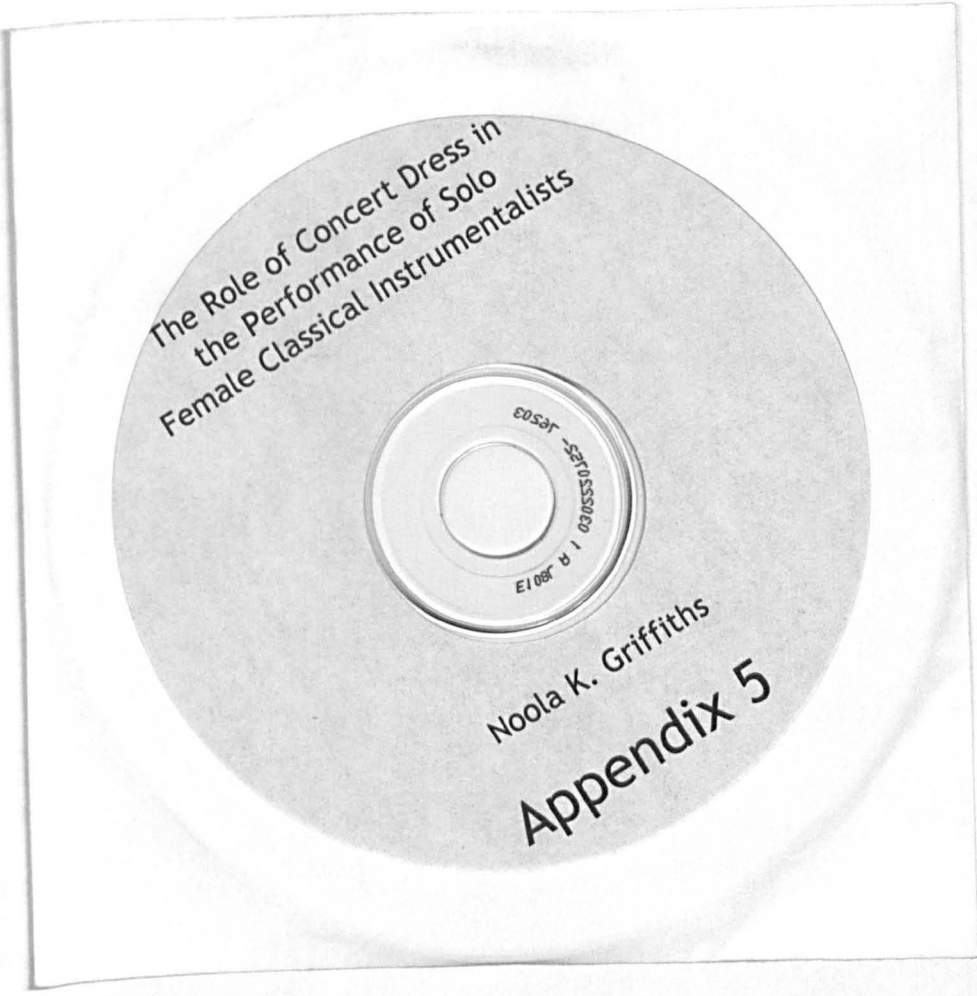
Please use the space below to add any comments you may have. Thank you for taking the time to complete this experiment.

Appendix 5

Interview schedule and CDRom of the interview transcripts for the investigation into factors affecting performers' choice of concert dress (Chapter 4).

1. What would you wear for a typical live recital?

2. How much control do you have over your concert dress?

3. How do you see your concert dress? As a costume, a reflection of your personality...?

4. What do you think your concert dress says about you as a person to your audience?

5. What do you think your dress says about your attitude to the music you're performing?

6. How aware are you of your concert dress as you're performing?

7. Do you think your concert dress affects how you feel when you're on stage?

8. In what ways do you think your concert dress affects your body movement during performance?

9. There's a trend at the moment especially among young female performers to wear quite fashionable clothes, do you have an opinion of that in relation to the more traditional dress of the orchestra?

10. Do you think that dress can have an effect on perceptions of women's abilities?

11. To what extent do you think a performer's dress determines the make up of their audience?

The Role of Concert Dress in
the Performance of Solo
Female Classical Instrumentalists

Noola K. Griffiths

Appendix 5

Appendix 6

A copy of the questions from the online questionnaire completed by participants for the investigation into individual differences in concert dress choice (Chapter 5).

Section A

Thank you for taking part in this study. Please fill in the questionnaire below; your name will only be used for administrative purposes and will not appear in any report of the findings.

Name: _____

Age: _____

Instrument: _____

Section B

Please answer ALL questions below.

	True	Mostly true	Rarely true	False
I find it hard to imitate the behaviour of other people.				
At parties and social gatherings, I do not attempt to do or say things that others will like.				
I can only argue for ideas which I already believe.				
I can make impromptu speeches even on topics about which I have almost no information.				
I guess I put on a show to impress or entertain others.				
I would probably make a good actor.				
In a group of people I am rarely the centre of attention.				

In different situations and with different people, I often act like very different persons.				
I am not particularly good at making other people like me.				
I'm not always the person I appear to be.				
I would not change my opinions (or the way I do things) in order to please someone or win their favour.				
I have considered being an entertainer.				
I have never been good at games like charades or improvisational acting.				
I have trouble changing my behaviour to suit different people and different situations.				
At a party I let others keep the jokes and stories going.				
I feel a bit awkward in public and do not show up quite as well as I should.				
I can look anyone in the eye and tell a lie with a straight face (if for a right end).				
I may deceive people by being friendly when I really dislike them.				

Section C

Please answer all of the following questions, bearing in mind the last **solo recital** you gave.

1. Please describe the occasion on which you last performed. *E.g. venue, level of formality, etc.*

_____

_____

_____

2. Please describe briefly the outfit you wore.

_____

_____

_____

3. How many outfits did you consider before settling on the one you wore?

_____

4. What affected your choice of dress? *Please tick all that apply.*

☐ Physical requirements of your instrument
☐ Formality of occasion
☐ Dress of audience
☐ Dress of other performers
☐ Opinions of peers/family
☐ Opinions of teachers
☐ Other (please state) _____

_____

_____

5. Why did you choose the specific clothes you did rather than others that you discarded? _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

6. How did your concert dress differ from your everyday dress?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

7. Please show you much you agree/disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
I alter my concert dress depending on the performance situation					
I was happy with my choice of concert dress					
I was aware of my concert dress as I was performing					
I was aware of other people's perceptions of my dress					
I deliberately dressed so my dress would not be a salient factor in the performance					
It is important for me to create a good impression with my dress					

8. To what extent were you aware of the audience's dress?

_____

_____

_____

9. How much consideration did you give the appropriateness of your concert dress?

_____

_____

_____

_____

10. What, if any do you imagine the consequences of being inappropriately dressed to be?

_____

_____

_____

_____

11. What effect, if any did your concert dress have on the following aspects of the performance?

Your physical comfort

_____

_____

_____

Your confidence

_____

_____

_____

12. Who were you dressing for? *Please tick all that apply.*

- ☐ Yourself
- ☐ The audience
- ☐ The occasion
- ☐ Other please state ————————————————————

————————————————————————————————————

13. What did you hope your dress said about you as a musician?

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————————————————————————————————————

————————————————————————————————————

14. How did your dress help you achieve this?

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Thank you for taking part in this questionnaire. Please use the space below to make any additional comments you may have. If you have any questions please email Noola Griffiths at N.Griffiths@sheffield.ac.uk.

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