

Contemporary Audience Rituals at Classical Concerts

by

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Abstract

Contemporary cultural consumers are now much more likely to listen to recorded classical music in a private setting than attend a concert. One effect of this has been the aging of the audience at classical concerts. Many experts assume that most of this concert audience will simply die out in the next 10-15 years. This might suggest the demise of the classical concert – but there is still considerable interest in this musical style among the younger population. Thus, the problem seems not to be the music, but rather the form in which it is conveyed.

Since the second half of the 19th century little or nothing has changed in the dramaturgical process, the design of the concert hall and (particularly for this thesis) the rigorous ritualization of the concert itself. The question for concert promoters is how to change the concert format to attract a younger audience. This study focuses primarily on changes in ritualization, applying Randal Collins' (2005) Ritual Framework, which considers: community feeling, group assembly, barriers to outsiders, bodily co-presence, and mutual focus of attention or shared mood.

From my position, with my many years of professional experience in the organization of classical concerts, concert's strict ritualization appears 'fusty and old-fashioned' to younger concert goers and literally discourages them from attending. This proposition was examined through Action Learning (AL). An Action Learning Group (ALG), representing the desired target group of a younger classical audience, identified rituals they felt detracted from the current classical concert experience, developed interventions (changes to concert ritualization) that were subsequently implemented at real concerts and audience responses gauged (audience survey). Based on the knowledge gained, a new concert format was developed, tailored primarily to a subset of this younger concert audience (the family with young children) and again responses to it sought through audience feedback.

This study demonstrates that fulfilling today's concert visitors' individual expectations is essential to achieving satisfaction with classical concerts. The shared experience with friends or acquaintances proved to be of overriding importance, moving individual expectations of the event' staging to the background. The study also shows that the sense of community in the audience can be increased if the focus of attention can be reinforced – even if not necessarily only on the music.

In addition, the study demonstrates that changes in ritualization, which reduce barriers to outsiders, have a positive impact on the audience in times of ubiquitous concern about equality and discrimination. Finally, the study also highlights that it is not enough to merely change the ritualization of a classical concert to significantly improve its attractiveness to a younger audience.

Rather there seems to be an interweaving of various influencing factors, whereby the effects of the individual modifications cumulate, so that the sum of the individual changes results in more than those of the individual parts.

The study also, however, unexpectedly demonstrated that a considerable proportion of older concert goers are only moderately satisfied with the current concert formats and the associated audience ritualization, seeing it as being outdated. This finding also suggests that further work is needed on the nature of classical concerts audience rituals to address these concerns.

From a sociological perspective, the study therefore demonstrates that it is appropriate and necessary to change the ritualization of classical concerts – for both younger concert potential concert goers, but also a sizeable proportion of current audience members. The study shows that the development of such changes should be geared not least to social change. Since various aspects of this change affect different age groups differently, the findings of this study suggest that it is more effective not to try to change a single form of ritualization for the entire audience, but to adapt the changes to individual target groups.

From a systemic perspective, the findings of this study also show that the current concert format, mainly because of the protectionist effect against the open market of the state subsidies, does not seem to be able to adapt itself and maintain a ‘flowing equilibrium’ anymore, which is regarded as a basic condition for the survival of the system.

This also shows that it is not sufficient to concentrate solely on the needs of the individual concert visitor (i.e. on the micro level) in these considerations and efforts. This is partly because, at more aggregate social level, the specific local cultural behaviour, which goes far beyond the momentarily shared moment of a classical concert, also significantly influences the overall impression of the event. Based on this finding, this study shows for the first time that Collins’ theory needs to be extended to a further sociological level to capture the full complexity of the social aspects of ritualization in classical concerts.

Whether or not the future of classical concert can be secured through such changes, however, ultimately depends on the open-mindedness, willingness to take risks and creativity of resourceful concert organizers, whose central concern must be to modernize the mid-19th century ritualization and format of the classical concert and anchor it in the 21st century.



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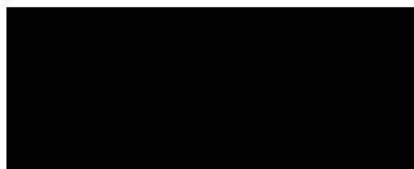
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Introduction

Starting point

The development of the classical concert from the perspective of music history

Most audience members do not realize that the experience of attending a classical concert remains comparable to that of 150 years ago (Dahlhaus, 1967). Even though instrumental playing techniques and the skill of orchestral musicians has improved and instruments themselves have been refined, the sound of a chamber ensemble or symphony orchestra has changed only slightly (Radewski & Abrašev, 2012). Given the capability of providing music, through notation and score, clear and reproducible indications as to melody, volume, tempo, instrumentation or character of a composition, Beethoven's symphonies sound almost the same today as they did in Beethoven's time (Lauermann, 2010). Not only has the selection music pieces, or the ways of performing them hardly changed, but the format of concerts and the strongly ritualized behaviour of the audience still demonstrates many parallels between earlier periods and our time (Müller, 2014).

From a music-historical and sociological perspective, the middle of the 19th century is of significant importance for the format of classical concerts: till that time (and as shown in Figure 1), a classical concert was, above all, a social event, usually taking four to five hours, during which people talked, ate, drank or even temporarily left the room for a walk. Music played a secondary role and was mostly the background to other social activity (Salmen, 1988). However, driven by the more educated middle class of the 19th century, the Bildungsbürgertum (the educated bourgeoisie), these events lost their social character and shifted the importance and focus of the event to the music itself: music became the central concern of those presentations, and the audience was expected to sit down and to be quiet (Salmen, 1988). Whilst in concerts before the 19th century, there was a colourful variety of single movements taken from different compositions, this changed in favour of performing complete works, e.g. a symphony or a piano concerto with all its movements. Applauding between the movements was prohibited for both audience and artists, as clapping would disturb concentration and the full impact of a composition. As a consequence of this increased concentration and the limited attention-span of the audience, the duration of a concert was reduced to about two hours (Michaels, 2008).



Figure 1: «Établissement des spectacles et de concerts dans le Bazar Bonne-Nouvelle in Paris»
Woodcut by Édouard Renard. 1847. from: L'illustrations, Vol VIII, 1847, S. 296 (Salmen, 1988, p. 31)

During the industrial revolution, gaslight, among other things, was introduced in the auditoriums. This lighting made it possible to dim the hall during the performance, seeking to dampen audience interaction, with the result that communication between audience members and between artists and audience - such as a full-throated interjection or spontaneous applause during a scene - was limited. Therefore, during the performance, the audience became a grey mass with no function whatsoever *during* a performance and should not be noticed (Fischer-Lichte, 2004). Social encounters, which were once the centre of such an event, now became a minor matter and were possible only engaged in before, or after, a concert or in the short intermission.

Technology's impact on daily life

Alongside such social development in particular spheres, the industrial revolution also provoked changes that are still evident today and which continue to turn the world economy upside down with

radical speed (Polanetzki, 2008). Polanetzki argues that four megatrends can be identified: urbanization; the fact that the dynamics and the centre of the globalized world economy are shifting noticeably towards the booming newly-industrialized countries; the increasing aging of the world population; global networking; and technological change, which has also changed the meaning of knowledge (Weingart, Carrier & Krohn, 2015). In addition to economic consequences, the latter also has a cultural and social impact: with less physical input of work and the use of more machines, we achieve greater outputs, we generate quality improvements and we are able to produce new products (Sigg, 2009). Sigg further observes that perfected products, fulfilling consumers' objective quality requirements to a substantial extent, are becoming increasingly similar. Therefore, the dominant decision criterion is either price or the emotional aspects put forward to set the product apart from others - rather than any intrinsic product differences.

But it is the Internet in particular that has revolutionized information technology and hence communication behaviour with its technical possibilities: on the one hand, it enables companies to address their customers in an efficient and personalized way and to satisfy the individual wishes of consumers (Kar, 2011). On the other hand, the Internet is dominated by multimedia forms of communication (for example combining video and sound), which can be applied easily, cheaply, and quickly. As a result, global networking has grown rapidly and social platforms have gained influence with explosive speed (Rolke & Höhn, 2008).

Additionally, as people visit interactive museums, play video and computer games or attend multisensory, highly stimulating events, they are moving further and further away from enjoying fixed, static experiences (Bernstein, 2007). This development has fundamental consequences for consumer behaviour in general and specifically for the way they consume (previously static) cultural events.

Changes in culture and consumer behaviour

Polanetzki (2008) and others (Göschel, 2011; Trommsdorff, 2004) observed that the industrial revolution also led to a change in people's recreational activities: at the beginning of industrialization, human beings used their time off work for the regeneration of the body from their often hard physical work. As such hard physical work was replaced, or at least facilitated and assisted by machines and computers, in turn, the main purpose of free time is no longer physical regeneration of the body (Trommsdorff, 2004).

People in the final decades of the 20th century used their leisure time increasingly for sports (developing and maintaining their bodies, rather than regenerating them), culture and even for further education (Stebbins, 2009). Due to increases in prosperity, satisfying daily needs was no longer a primary necessity; this also affected consumption and recreational activities (Göschel, 2011). Leisure time, therefore, was not used mainly to recover from work, but rather to experience something special.

The increasing focus on an emotionalized character of adventure not only gained importance in recreational activities, but gradually also in consumption (Pedeliento, 2018). As the market for leisure-time offerings became more competitive and the process of everyday-purchasing eased, the importance of experiencing particularly special leisure-time events increased massively – events with a character of ‘uniqueness and authenticity’ to add to an ‘emotionalization’ of the participant became ever more the norm (Chetochine, 2011).

Consequently, event-consumption is seen as contributing increasingly to an improved quality of life. The crucial motivation is no longer material needs, but the psychological wish to be beguiled by extraordinary experiences, an arena where music, as a medium of transporting emotions, may play a central role (Opaschowski, 2000).

Technology developments affect how music is consumed

Hintze (2011) notes that technological progress has led to a digital revolution: music becomes ubiquitous. With advancements such as the ‘Walkman’, the CD, MP3/MP4 formats and players, or mobile phones, consumers are able to meet their individual musical needs whenever and wherever they wish (Hintze, 2011). He particularly mentions the rapid success of the CD, which in Germany, during the years 1983 to 1987, led to an immense increase in music sales with compact disc sales rising from 0,9 mil to 22,8 mil per year. The reason, for him, lies in the comparatively slight distortion of sound and the ability to copy a CD to other digital media as often as wished without any loss of quality (Hintze, 2011). The success of digital media is also certainly due to technical progress in improved reproduction, which generates sound quality almost equal to the original (Glogner-Pilz & Föhl, 2011).

The launch of MP3 and MP4 formats in 1995 again revolutionized the handling of digital media. Now it was possible to compress a piece of music or a video file to a twelfth of its original size and, without too much effort, save it on a data carrier and upload it easily to the Internet (Hintze, 2011).

Subsequently, platforms like YouTube or Facebook experienced an enormous increase in popularity. These platforms are used mainly by younger consumer groups, which clearly shows the different media behaviour of particular demographics: 78% of the surveyed 15-29-year-olds and only 26% of the 45- 59-year-olds consume music through new media (Internet, MP3/4-Player) while the percentage falls to only 10% in the over 60-year-old age group (Reuband, 2002).

This development had momentous effects on music content and the economy of the music industry: modern smartphones make it possible to take audio- and video-recordings of live concerts in high quality and to publish them on social media, reaching a large audience (Cayari, 2011). Such private recordings, as well as the illegal exchange-platforms, robbed the music market of considerable business. As a result, sales dropped worldwide from 40 to 32 billion dollars between 1996 and 2003 (Hintze, 2011).

Consumption of Culture

The technological development described above and the changes in everyday consumer behaviour also affect the consumption of art: loyalty to just one cultural institution, or one art form, has clearly decreased (Keuchel, 2005). This diversification of behaviour can be seen clearly in the so-called “cultural flaneur/flaneuse”, the paradigm of today’s user of culture has hence changed: inconstant in his/her cultural needs and jumping from one category to the other, he/she is just as interested in attending a theatre piece as in going to a rock-concert or visiting an exhibition (Keuchel, 2005). This behaviour is noticeable in all social classes, and those with higher education, surprisingly, no longer tend only towards ‘high culture’, but also make enthusiastic use of so-called ‘popular culture’ (Peterson, 1992). Today’s culture consumer is primarily in search of self-realization; in this search, creative or even cultural experiences take on a spiritual function (Radbourne et al., 2013).

Furthermore, sales of concert series subscriptions have tended to drop in recent years, while the sale of single tickets has increased, indicating that consumers do not want to commit on a long-term basis, but rather prefer to decide spontaneously – leading to great uncertainty in artistic institutions because they increasingly lose both their regular customers and reliable attendance-levels (Keuchel, 2005). Changes in the general behaviour of cultural consumption, as noted above, have led increasingly to the promotion of a performance as having the character of a ‘special event’, so that even ‘classical’ concerts now contain not only fixed and static experiences, but have rather sought to offer multisensory and highly stimulating events (Bernstein, 2007).

Economic development of classical concerts in German-speaking Europe

As Glogner-Pilz and Föhl argue, it is astonishing from an economic standpoint that it can generally be asserted that the ratio of classical music performances in German-speaking Europe is inverse to their attendance levels (Glogner-Pilz & Föhl, 2011). Whereas many organizers of regular series of classical concerts talk of decreasing audiences, the overall number of concert events has increased in the last 30 years, so that smaller and smaller audiences have a choice between more and more concerts (Glogner-Pilz & Föhl, 2011). What is remarkable is that the general interest in classical music is still unbroken. 'Swiss Statistics' found that the majority of the Swiss population is open to classical music and listens to it, sometimes in private (Swiss Statistics, 2008). Tröndle, however, states that the success story of the classical concert breaks down completely after the 1980s (2011), despite continuing engagement with the repertoire. Or, to put it in the words of the American conductor John Axelrod: 'Beethoven's never been a problem – it's the way Beethoven is presented' (Kolb, 2005).

The combination of changing demographics in relation to media usage and to concert attendance results in the relatively high average age of classical concert audiences. The Swiss Federal Office for Statistics (Swiss Statistics, 2008) found that the average age of audiences attending classical concerts is over 60. In Tröndle's view (2010), the average age of classical audiences in neighbouring Germany is now rising three times faster than the average age of the population. This means that classical audiences will, in all likelihood, decrease by 36% in the next 30 years, if the younger generations cannot be motivated to attend classical concerts, rather than (or in addition to) listening via personal media.

As declining concert audience and its high average age is seen to be less attributable to the music itself than to the way it is staged (Kolb, 2005) the question of how the concert presentation of classical music *could* potentially be changed to attract a broader and younger audience is raised. A response requires first consideration of the factors that influence the overall communication of the nature of concerts and the literature lists numerous possibilities. These factors include the design of the musical programme, for example: the enthusiasm for a certain work (Thompson, 2006), the choice of performers, the duration of the concert, the architecture of the concert hall (including the hierarchical seating arrangements and the ability to separate audience members) (Kronenburg, 2012), the sound quality (Dobson, 2008), the artistic skills of a soloist, the ritualization, the seating, the temperature in the hall, the enthusiasm of the audience, the interaction with the artists (Pitts et al., 2013), the familiarity of the performed works (Melenhorst & Liem, 2015), the accessibility of the concert hall, the availability of parking spaces, the lighting in the concert hall, the movements of the

musicians, the clothing of the audience, the clothing of the musicians (Minor et al., 2004) and even the political climate in which an artist performs – all are seen as having an impact on the perception of the music (Clarke, 2005).

In this context, the spectacle is also often mentioned as an aspect of the liveness, but little research has been done in the field of classical concerts (Price, 2017). The aspect of the spectacle of a classical concert compared to a pop or rock concert and their light, laser and pyro shows can certainly be described as rather ‘modest’, or perhaps less obvious; nevertheless, a live performance of an orchestra in formal dress radiates its own sense of spectacle (Walsh, 2001). In such multisensory shows, a sensory overload of the audience can often be detected, which can be associated with a correspondingly strong ritualization as a means to mitigate this (Addo, 2009). However, it was also found that the main reason given by culturally interested people for not attending classical concerts was their intimidation by the strict concert etiquette, rather than unfamiliarity with the music or high ticket prices (Winzenried, 2004).

To gain new insights in this field, this study focuses on the following influencing factors.

The function and meaning of behaviour rituals during (cultural) performances

Analysing the ways in which audience members – a kind of temporary community – meet each other from a sociological perspective, identifies the ritual of interaction as the central instrument with which individuals interact in direct physical proximity to each other (Ulrich, 2009).

However, the position propounded in ritual research is clear: only thanks to such rituals of interaction is it possible to bring together a community that has no other coherence, and no other purpose, than to experience the peaks of ritual emotion itself (Collins, 2014). Grounded in Durkheim (1965) and Goffman (1967/2005), Randal Collins (2004) describes interaction rituals as a set of symbolic representations riding on emotional energy and as a mechanism for mutually focussing emotion and attention, producing a momentarily shared reality, which generates solidarity and symbols of group membership.

Collins’ close reading of Goffman and Durkheim resulted in a collection of essays that concludes that institutions are ultimately dependent on the bodily components of interaction rituals (Barbalet, 2006). As such, rituals are not only central to the cohesiveness of temporary communities – such as concert audiences – but also that institutions, such as orchestras and other cultural providers, rely on rituals to enable them to function. Rituals are therefore a critical lens through which to examine

the issues of classical music concert audiences and explore the issues at play. To do so firstly requires an understanding of rituals.

Rituals of interaction, according to the framework developed by Collins (2005) depend on four conditions:

1. a co-presence of persons
2. a demarcation that determines who belongs to the group and who does not
3. a general focus on attentiveness and
4. a shared spirit or shared emotional experience.

According to Collins (2004), the outcome of an interaction ritual is a 'collective effervescence', which produces inter alia stronger group solidarity. Furthermore, Collins (2004) suggests that participants have a stronger identification with high culture if the crowd has been enthusiastic in response to the performance and that the effect of ritual intensity is stronger than simply the effect of being recognized by other people. Hence, interaction rituals at classical concerts (as inherently social occasions) must be seen as being central social.

Investigating the rituals that can still be observed in classical concerts today, one sees that most were formed by the Bildungsbürgertum (in the 19th century) and remain more or less the same (Salmen, 1988). These rituals continue fulfilling not only the purpose of bringing temporary societies together, but also of excluding unwanted groups or social classes. After the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the gentry and the high noblesse especially enjoyed public concerts and made them into a representation of prestige and high social rank (Salmen, 1988).

The mixing of social classes at classical concerts is still influenced by these rituals: whilst those with a higher education and with sophisticated cultural preferences also use popular culture to a greater degree (Peterson, 1992), the almost unchanged rituals of interaction at classical concerts may still be a barrier to entrance to high-cultural events for those who are less-educated, or less familiar. So the movement is very one-sided – with classical concerts still effectively being exclusionary (Salmen, 1988).

Summary

Given the elements outlined above it is evident that:

1. The form of classical concerts changed greatly in the middle of the 19th century when classical music was declared a form of art (Salmen, 1988).
2. The Bildungsbürgertum shaped the classical concert into a platform for bestowing social prestige and excluding lower classes through rituals of interaction (Salmen, 1988).
3. Influenced primarily by technological progress and increasing prosperity, recreational activities changed – leisure time was no longer used chiefly for regeneration of the body after tiring physical work, but rather for entertainment and adventure (Polanetzki, 2008).
4. While technological progress changed the ways people consume culture generally, it also specifically and permanently changed the way they consume music. Access to classical music became much easier (Hintze, 2011) and ready access elsewhere has been accompanied by declining attendance at classical concerts, which have lost importance since 1980 (Tröndle, 2011).
5. Classical event audiences are becoming increasingly older and, in years to come, that percentage will increase disproportionately. As a result, a 36% decline in the size of audiences due to age is expected (Hamann, 2005).
6. The classical concert in today's form is not socially relevant for young people (Tröndle, 2011).
7. In Switzerland, the majority of all age groups is open to classical music and also consume it privately (Swiss Statistics, 2008).

Stagnating or declining attendance can be largely attributed to the ways the arts are described, packaged, priced and offered to the public – these have not kept pace with changes in people's lifestyle and preferences (Bernstein, 2007). Further, this can be attributed to outdated concert ritualization and not to the music itself (Tröndle, 2011). Therefore, the question is not how to change the attitude of the audience to classical music itself, but rather, how to adapt the frame of a classical concert, specifically, its ritualization, so that (especially) the younger consumers of culture will no longer feel excluded.

New framing of classical concerts covers a range of different components, of course, such as programming, conductor and soloist selection, spatial layout of the concert hall, starting time and

duration of a concert, and other factors, such as acoustics, environmental elements, location, accessibility and ticket prices, which may influence potential attendees. However, all these cannot be addressed in a single piece of research. This research considers classical music concert ritualization as its central concern and starting point.

Research Questions

Given the issues summarized above, this study investigates the following questions:

- a) What, if any, interaction rituals can be identified at contemporary classical concerts, using Collins' (2004) framework?
- b) How do any identified current interaction rituals support/hinder group solidarity at classical concerts and other common cultural actions or events?
- c) How can ritual ingredients, including the concert space, be adapted to a new, younger audience and to achieve greater levels of collective effervescence?

Objectives

The following objectives were developed to address the research questions:

1. To examine whether the framework of interaction rituals provided by Collins can be employed effectively in a contemporary classical concert setting.
2. To investigate the audience's perceived experience of ritual ingredients (group assembly, bodily co-presence, barriers to outsiders, mutual focus of attention, shared mood), including stereotypical formalities.
3. To examine the extent of sense of community as a ritual outcome, particularly with respect to audience members' ages.
4. To compare experiences of ritual outcomes from the classical concert with the concert audience's experience of other common cultural actions or events that have ritual ingredients.
5. To determine if modifying ritual ingredients for selected classical concerts can increase expressed levels of overall group solidarity, especially with respect to the concert goers' ages.

Research Methodology Outline

The study design to realize the objectives presented and answer the research questions is summarized as follows.

As Artistic and Managing Director of the Zürich Chamber Orchestra (an internationally active and renowned chamber orchestra in the field of classical music), I have not only the opportunity, but also the resources and the decision-making authority required to investigate the objectives and the research questions, not only in theory but in real life, namely via subscription concerts in the Tonhalle in Zurich.

Given my professional position, the problem of the ageing of the audience, which is the subject of this study, has long been obvious to me. I therefore had already launched several marketing-based attempts to attract a younger audience before this study was carried out. But I soon realized that changing the marketing strategy alone would not bring any lasting improvement, unless the actual 'package' (the form of the classic concert) is changed accordingly. I was always convinced that the 'product' (classical music) is liked by younger people and therefore does not need to be changed.

To bring the younger target audience into contact with classical music, one of my attempts was to arrange concerts at 'hip' venues (like B.Bars, clubs, cinemas, museums, universities, etc.) where they are already regular visitors. My hope was that this would create an enthusiasm for classical music and that this audience would transfer to 'ordinary', regular concerts. To appeal to other audiences, I also invited various popular, so-called crossover, artists – who have an attraction far beyond the boundaries of the classical audience – as guest soloists, for instance David Garrett, who has a large crossover music fan community, the Italian tenor and songwriter Andrea Bocelli, who reaches a million people with his music and his history as a blind musician, or the Swiss rock band 'Gotthard'.

Even though these experiments were largely successful, I realised that even though such artists succeed in attracting a younger and wider audience, they will not succeed in attracting this audience on a regular and long-term basis to 'ordinary' regular concerts, since such events (without such a 'magnet') do not seem attractive enough for this audience segment to attend them on a regular basis. For this reason, I concluded that a detailed study is necessary to learn more about the expectations, needs and motivation of the intended younger target audience and in particular in relation to how the nature of the 'ordinary' regular concerts might be changed to make it more appealing. This further cemented the decision to examine concert ritualization.

However, it must also be noted that I am 'biased', as a result of having held my professional position for many years. I have pre-existing perceptions and ideas based on my intensive examination of the peculiarities of classical concerts, especially those of Zurich audiences. I have, therefore, already formed my own opinion as to where the cause of the problem described lies and how it could be countered. From a research standpoint, it is essential to make this transparent and to take it into account when choosing research methods. The methods also need to give scope for others to offer potential changes to achieve desired goals – helping ensure that my bias is moderated and ensuring that the changes developed that seek to attract a younger audience also give them voice in creating an experience that is appropriate to them.

Accordingly, this study is designed as a field study. Adopting Luhmann's (2012) view of the sociological system, a basic premise of this study is to leave as much as possible to the system, i.e. it is for the audience to decide how best to renew interaction rituals and it is not up to me, the leader of the study, because my professional work as a concert organizer of many years' standing has influenced me to a particular perspective that may not accord with those that this research seeks to address. In this sense, systemic thinking here means that the 'whole system' is taken into account and meaning is sought in the complexity of the interrelation between people or groups of people, and not simply imposed from outside (Packham & Sriskandarajah, 2005).

According to Flood, it is through such systemic thinking that we know of the unknowable. It is with Action Research that we learn and may act meaningfully within the unknowable (Flood, 2010). In Flood's sense, action research is not regarded as a methodology. It is much more an experimental inquiry approach, which includes many methods and combines investigation with action as a means of stimulating and supporting change, as a way of assessing the impact of that change (Burns, 2007). Consequently, an action research (AR) approach (Robson, 2011), often utilized in qualitative social research, is employed here. This should permit, as far as possible, the decision-making power to be maintained by participants within the system.

An action learning group (ALG) has been selected from the variety of AR-approaches. Not as normally construed, however, with primary focus on increasing the learning capacity of an organization's employees while dealing with a real-world problem (Bryman & Bell, 2011), but rather to guide the development of new approaches to a sociological process bound to a 'group', with all that this implies in terms of coproduction. Accordingly, an ALG, whose members meet the demographic parameters of a potential new target-audience, is commissioned to work out and propose changes to existing interaction rituals, later to be implemented at real classical concerts.

The idea behind to the use of an ALG for this study is not so much to make a general statement about the behaviour of the classical music audience, but rather to gain insights into how the audience perceives the ritualization at a concert. Therefore, it is more about understanding rather than drawing conclusions (Krueger & Casey, 2015). It must be noted that the information available through the work of the ALG, as well as the audience surveys that were generated as part of this research, do not meet the requirements for classical statistical significance. As similar studies have shown (O'Sullivan, 2009), it is therefore not possible to generalize to the Swiss population as a whole, (which is not the aim of the study anyway).

Irrespective of the modifications to the concert space and rituals developed by the ALG, however, it is the concert audience itself, over time and through repeated exposure, that will formalize any changes to accepted interaction rituals. The audience present at a concert for which any such changes have been implemented is asked to evaluate the modifications via a paper-based survey. Evaluating qualitative data to promote a deeper understanding (Mayring, 2002) is essential in this study. Such data is generated using open-ended questions as well as scaled responses. Scaled responses are easier to complete, should decrease time demands on the audience and hopefully generate a higher audience response rate (Denscombe, 2010).

As the leader of this study, I am not actively involved in the change process, namely determining which and how an interaction ritual should be changed but am responsible for professionally implementing the changes chosen by the ALG, for observing and recording the work of the ALG and, finally, for analysing the findings.

Literature Review

The following Literature Review focuses on three principal areas considered to be the basis for the study. This is the formal development of the classical concert including the development of the audience, the development of consumer behaviour in general and specifically against the background of technological development, ritualization in general and in conjunction with the classical concert.

Music historical considerations

Formal development of music in the 19th and 20th centuries

At the end of the 18th century because of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution, the culture of the middle class began emerging to the foreground, displacing the dominance of the aristocracy and increasingly dissolving the civil privileges of the upper class. The further development of public concert-going to today's form was only possible due to these social changes (Forsyth, 1992). The emancipation of the middle class made it possible to perform music not only in churches and aristocratic palaces, but also in middle class venues (Tröndle, 2009). This process continued into the middle of the 19th century. Public concerts developed clear and definable rituals which even today are the foundation of concert life (Dahlhaus, 1967) and that demonstrate, among others, the following characteristics:

- the stage was placed directly in front of the audience (Salmen, 1988),
- the music was, contrary to earlier performance practice, the centre of attention (Blume, 1989),
- contemplative listening with no talking and regimentation of applause including clapping taboo between movements of a complete work (Tröndle, 2009),
- the demand for appropriate behaviour and concentration on aesthetic enjoyment (Blume, 1989)
- festive clothing (Blume, 1994),
- the desire of audience members to belong to a certain defined social group and to be identified as belonging to a higher social class (Tröndle, 2009),
- the introduction of ticket prices, by which the public service of 'music-making', and music itself, could be assigned to the category of 'merchandise' (Blume, 1989),
- a clear demarcation from other social classes achieved through high ticket prices and because of many people's lack of education in classical music (Tröndle, 2009).

The rise of a consumer society brought with it new social and cultural evaluation systems that changed the response to music itself: among these are the division of music into 'serious music' and 'popular music'. These different types (or spheres, in Adorno's terms) of music became components of specific lifestyles, into which they are bound into a unique cultural context formed by certain specific consumer patterns (Adorno & Ashton, 1989). According to Adorno, this cultural context, as especially a social problem, is reflected by the material inherent in music and its formal laws. In other words, music becomes a resource with which one learns to understand society (Cook, 2001). And even more one which affects the consciousness of society and is a means of social management and control (Price, 2017).

Dividing music into the categories 'serious' and 'popular' appears to have played an essential role in the development of concert formats: up until the first half of the 19th century, concerts were required to be primarily entertaining, and even composers such as Beethoven or Schubert satisfied the need for lighter and more approachable music (Dahlhaus, 1967). Due to the emancipation of the middle class and the resulting desire of the aristocracy to set itself apart, established concert repertoire acquired the reputation of being 'demanding' (Dahlhaus, 1967) and popular music was made into an autonomous opposite pole to serious music (Blume, 1994).

Here the question is why the upper social classes started to turn away from popular music in the first place. In this context, it was found that there is an important link between a social class or group and musical characteristics. Therefore, as the characteristics of classical music seem to fit to this upper class of society, it might be suggested that these musical characteristics embody and even animate the social reality of a certain class of society in a special way (Clayton et al., 2012).

Because serious concert promoters increasingly excluded popular music from their programmes, and because the demand for it nevertheless increased due to a growing interest in music in the general populace, a new popular concert format established itself, in large part through the music of Johann Strauss II (Dahlhaus, 1967). Perhaps one of the most influential aspects distinguishing the popular concert format from the classical concert is the following: the traditional classical concert has been specifically targeted at the intellectual interests of the higher social classes. An emotional orientation, which was associated with deeper layers of society, was deliberately excluded, since this very social layer was no longer desired. Thus, it is hardly surprising that all aspects of the performance of today's pop or rock concerts (e.g., from the lighting design to the artists' clothing) should appeal to the emotions of the audience. And the audience is not asked to sit still and motionlessly, but takes an active, almost equal role (Kolb, 2000).

In contrast to previous classical concert life, the development of this new popular format was founded on economic interests and included salon music, dance music and, in the 20th century, also jazz, blues, pop and rock. For this reason, it was important to attract a young and varied audience with plenty of money to spend, and also to adapt the informal development of the concert format to changing times (Heinrichs, 2015).

On the other hand, classical music, once supported by aristocratic patrons, often became partially financed by government subsidies in Europe (Haselbach, 2012). Consequently, many cultural institutions today still place emphasis on retaining repertoire that has stood the test of time, including the formal classical concert format (Haselbach, 2012).

The development of the audience and its behaviour

The contemporary technological possibilities of electronic entertainment are so advanced that modern consumers can listen to music on recording devices wherever and whenever they choose. The quality of the recording and/or its technical reproduction is/are practically identical to the quality of a live concert (Glogner-Pilz & Föhl, 2011). Contemporary consumers, however, continue to use their resources – for example, leaving their homes, traveling to concert halls, paying for a ticket, etc. – to attend a classical concert.

If one places a purely economic principle at the basis of such a purchase, based on the model of John Stuart Mill with his 'Homo economicus' (though it was Mill's critics who first used the phrase), then it might be assumed that the consumer, as a responsible economic participant, expects the use of his or her limited resources for a classical concert to be more 'profitable' for him/her than all other alternatives in his/her desire to maximize his/her 'profit' (Haselbach, 2012). Or in other words: The greater the positive difference between use and benefit, the more the experience surpasses expectations, the more fortunate (Haselbach, 2012). In terms of classical concert attendance, this approach seems not only impractical but also antiquated. However, if one asserts, as Sigg (2009) does, that everyday purchase decisions like a ticket to a classical concert are based on long-standing habits, then this suggests that issues or routine and (associated) emotional benefits, rather than economic aspects, take precedence in the decision.

This may mean that consumers of classical concerts are more likely to be motivated primarily by the expectation that a certain piece of music or its interpretation by a specific artist will correspond to their own individual pattern of enjoyment (action, relaxation, or contemplation) (Glogner-Pilz & Föhl,

2011). Alternatively, they might be motivated by purely social considerations, because attending a classical concert can also satisfy their desire to set themselves apart from, or demonstrate their belonging to, a certain group (Glogner-Pilz & Föhl, 2011). This may accord with the classical concert audience historic wish to identify itself as a social and political elite (Müller, 2014) and as belonging to a higher, more educated stratum than the lower-middle-class and servants (Müller, 2014).

In this way, Müller asserts that socio-political motivations are, in fact, more important than all others. The seemingly obvious assumption that the elite was primarily interested in the beauty of the music has proven itself to be false (Müller, 2014): as important as the aesthetic aims of concerts and opera audiences were, they receded in the face of individual social interests related to lifestyle. According to Müller (2014), although audiences discussed the performances of singers and virtuosi enthusiastically and debated the merits of compositions and stage productions, all that nevertheless faded in comparison to their desire to present themselves publicly as a privileged elite with good taste, good manners, and expensive seats at its disposal. This even reached the point where the gentlemen 'in all their glory' sat down facing the ladies, who had their backs to the concert podium – and it was noted that the audience could hardly hear the music because of the noise of its lively conversation (Salmen, 1988).

Whether one liked the music or not, whether one was interested in the clothing or comments of one's neighbour or not, in 19th century Europe, all of this was little more than amusing small talk. Concert attendance signified the 'community-building' of the concert elite and provided a framework for the expression of 'friend and foe' between aristocrats and the middle class (Müller, 2014).

And even today, the possibility to express one's personal opinion and views on the interpretation of a work, the performance of a soloist or the quality of an event seems to be a great incentive for the audience – especially if opinion stating is made social (Conner, 2013). Here the ability to make opinions available to a wider group is central and acts as a mechanism to both maintain expressions of social distinction and to cement what binds a specific group together.

In that respect, the success of the new middle-class behaviour in concert halls was characterized above all by one fundamental change: the requirement of absolute silence. This suddenly put a stop to the participatory communications in the hall, sociable small-talk, as well as loudly-expressed opinions and singing along with the performers – all of which were considered normal up to that time (Barthelmes & La Motte-Haber, 1999). The introduction of gas-lighting reinforced this development, because the auditorium was darkened during performances and practically all interaction in and with the audience was prevented (Fischer-Lichte, 2004).

According to Haselbach (2012), today one must still imitate successful people if one wants to be successful oneself; going to the opera or to concerts is the best way to give the appearance of being like the people who are at home in opera or classical music. Even today, this socio-political component appears to have changed very little. And we see that social contact per se is a critical component in today's rapidly changing leisure activities.

Accordingly, in a study (Mielonen, 2003), young concertgoers stated that the main reasons why they do not attend classical concerts are that they cannot identify with the traditional classical music setting (including its ritualization), that their expectations of the entertainment value of this leisure activity are not met, that the classical concert is not marketed in a sufficiently attractive manner and that they cannot meet their social expectations within the context of a traditional classical concert (Mielonen, 2003).

Not surprisingly, studies have shown that meeting friends and acquaintances is just as important as aesthetic enjoyment for regular audience members (Murdock, 2010), infrequent attenders (Dearn & Price, 2016) and young people (Dobson & Pitts, 2011). According to Keuchel (2005), the so-called 'cultural flaneurs' – as a prime example of today's cultural consumers – are characterized above all by sociability, entertainment being more important for them than what the cultural institution itself offers. However, with the increasing fusion of work time and leisure time, it is no longer clear whether the concert hall helps cultivate personal relationships or further professional networking (Roose & Stichele, 2010).

Once it is understood that the audience is not merely present at a musical event but forms an active part of that event and has requirements for sociability and entertainment, the question becomes whether, and in what way, an audience can influence the content and the course of a concert. Until about the middle of the 19th century, the audience determined which works were played through its reactions to the performance and made its stamp on music history this way (Müller, 2014). Throwing bouquets of flowers, bestowing laurel wreaths, rhythmic clapping and bravos are the powerful reaction to an often-subtle performance. Together with entrance applause and also indications of displeasure – such as boos, weak applause, restlessness or protest – they are the only means listeners have for venting the blocked frustration at their own passivity (Salmen, 1988).

The assumption (Burland & Pitts, 2014) that the audience still wants to play an active role and actively participate in the course of the concert seems to be appropriate. In this respect studies have shown that the audience appreciates direct exchange with the artists, and the experience of no barriers, or the engagement and stretching of the boundaries of their relationship with music, are indicated as positive experiences in corresponding surveys (Radbourne & Arthurs, 2007).

But with today's technological possibilities it might not be a bouquet of flowers that is thrown on stage, but enthusiastic Tweets or Facebook posts that are posted during or after a concert.

Through electronic means of communication, audiences are increasingly discovering other ways to comment on live music. Coughing and clapping are perhaps now only the beginning of the audience's expression of gratitude (or otherwise) (Burland & Pitts, 2016).

As contemporary research shows, the public still seeks to actively participate, or contribute to, the concert scene. But while past studies are based on such generalized behaviour (see in particular Small, 1998), more recent ethnographic studies of a classical concert hall provide a much more differentiated picture of audience behaviour. This more nuanced understanding is, however, still developing and there is still the need for more research that considers these 'micro-level' issues.

Independent of this need, and as listeners secure their own social status, legitimize their political interests and establish cultural rules through the programming of the institution, ticket sales – with which every single listener helps to finance a concert – are a powerful corrective for the decisions of a cultural institution (Müller, 2014). This, equally, has a fundamental effect on how the audience reacts to what is performed, because the music has become 'merchandise', i.e., its exchange value has taken the place of its functional value, through the introduction of the 'paying public' (Barthelmes & La Motte-Haber, 1999).

This does not, however, correspond to observations by many professional chamber and symphony orchestras or concert agencies, at least in Europe. The idea that art and classical music must obey the rules of the marketplace by giving the masses what they want, and are therefore not artistically free (Haselbach, 2012), is undermined by the situation where many institutions are supported by governmental subsidies, greatly reducing the influence of ticket sales on what is performed. Critics of wide-spread governmental subsidies in Switzerland, often citing over-stretched national budgets, argue that today's policy of automatic financial support for major cultural institutions robs the public of precisely this influence over what is performed and what they want to hear (Haselbach, 2012).

The existential risk that, by contrast, threatens private cultural organizations, forces them to pay attention to the wishes of their audience and offer them innovative entertainment. These worries are largely unknown to tax-supported cultural institutions because they receive national and regional subsidies that often are not tied – and cannot be tied – to specific performance goals. As gratifying as this may seem at first glance (especially for the employees), it is nevertheless problematic and perhaps even eventually dangerous. It frees organizations from the necessity of developing

themselves and orienting themselves to existing demand to stay in business. Governmental support allows them to ostensibly ignore the element of competition (Haselbach, 2012). At the same time, it also underscores the 'importance' of the organizations and what they provide to the cultural and social life of a region or state.

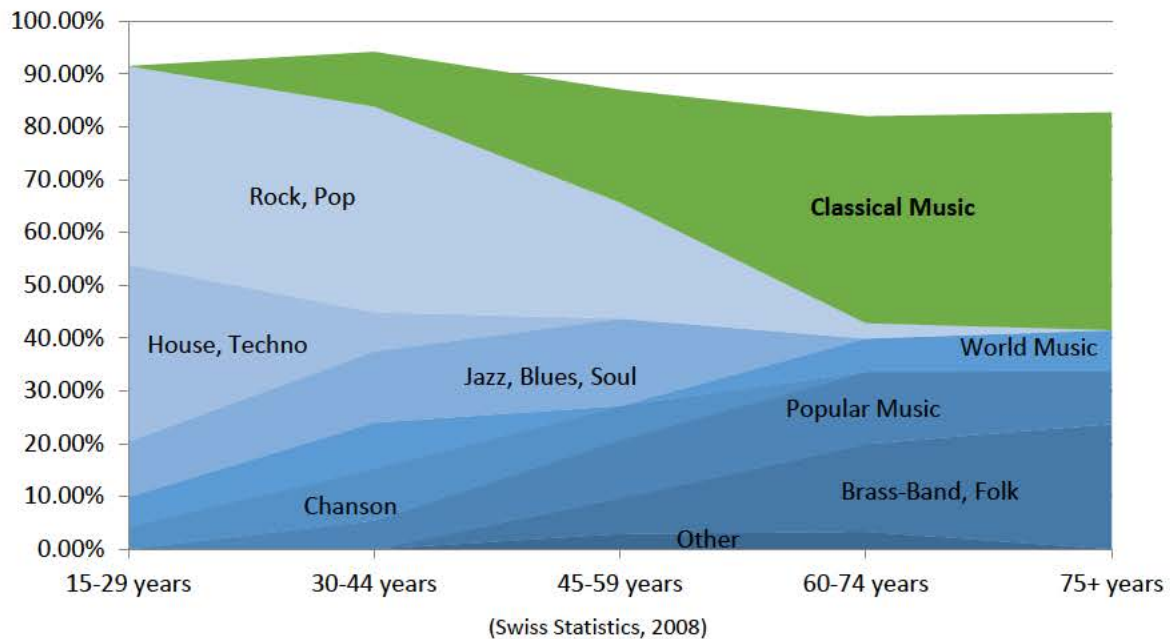
Equally, knowing that the classical concert was an important social platform in the 19th century, raises concerns about the contemporary social significance of concert attendance. According to a study in Germany from 2011, interest in live concerts grew by 7% between 2009 and 2011 (Gesellschaft für Konsumforschung, 2011) and the share of 'serious music' in this growth increased from 27% in 2009 to 30% in 2011. Unfortunately, this increase does not counteract the crises that may be said to beset the classical music concert. The results of the study can be attributed to increasing numbers of older people born in years with a high birth-rate, as well as to a generally longer life-expectancy, as statistics from the Lucerne Festival clearly show (Swiss Statistics, 2003). Together with such change in the socio-demographic structure of today's classical music audience, there is also the need to consider changes in consumer behaviour.

Technological advances, above all, resulted in altered listening habits and therefore also in socio-demographical changes in the classical concert audience. The new technical media supply customers, primarily in their private spheres, with vocal, instrumental, and dance music, whereas previously, music performed almost exclusively in public venues shaped both the collective and the individual reception of music (Müller, 2014). The growing variety of new listening-devices and music styles make specific cultural knowledge less and less necessary, and so classical music events have become more accessible to fans of popular music. Attending classical concerts is no longer the sole privilege of the bourgeoisie. Today's more mixed and, in many cases, less wealthy, audience is increasingly taking the performance, the programme-choices, and their personal music preferences into its own hands (Müller, 2014).

It is fundamentally difficult to make general statements about the socio-demographic structure of the classical music audience, since statistical surveys have shown that the interest of different groups according to profession, age, and education varies widely from place to place (Salmen, 1988). As the surveys (most germane to this study) concentrate on the concert audience in Switzerland – and above all in Zurich – they consequently provide the basis for evaluations here. According to a survey conducted by the Federal Bureau of Statistics in 2008 (Swiss Statistics, 2009), concert-going is the favourite leisure activity in Switzerland. At least 67% of the population attend a concert at least once a year, across the entire spectrum of music styles.

If this figure is broken down into age groups and music styles, it becomes clear that the popularity of classical music increases as people get older, and in age groups older than 60, is even the preferred style of music (Swiss Statistics, 2009). See Figure 2 below for details.

Figure 2: Preferred music styles (first priority), by age, in % in Switzerland



The assumption that interest in specific types of music is a generational question can be answered with the results of a 10-year study that clearly demonstrates that the percentages of the population attending concerts do not remain constant within the individual age groups (Tröndle, 2009). Interest in classical music is therefore not a consistently age-related phenomenon, (re-)activated in older years. On the contrary: older people today also show increasing interest in rock, pop, and jazz-music styles, which they may have also enjoyed in their youth, whereas attendance percentages for classical music have sunk in all age groups, with the exception of those 65 years and over (Tröndle, 2009). Numerous studies have shown that the supposed old-age dependency is overlaid to a considerable extent by generation effects. As a result, an individual's taste in music does not change that much in the course of a lifetime (Holbrook & Schindler, 1989).

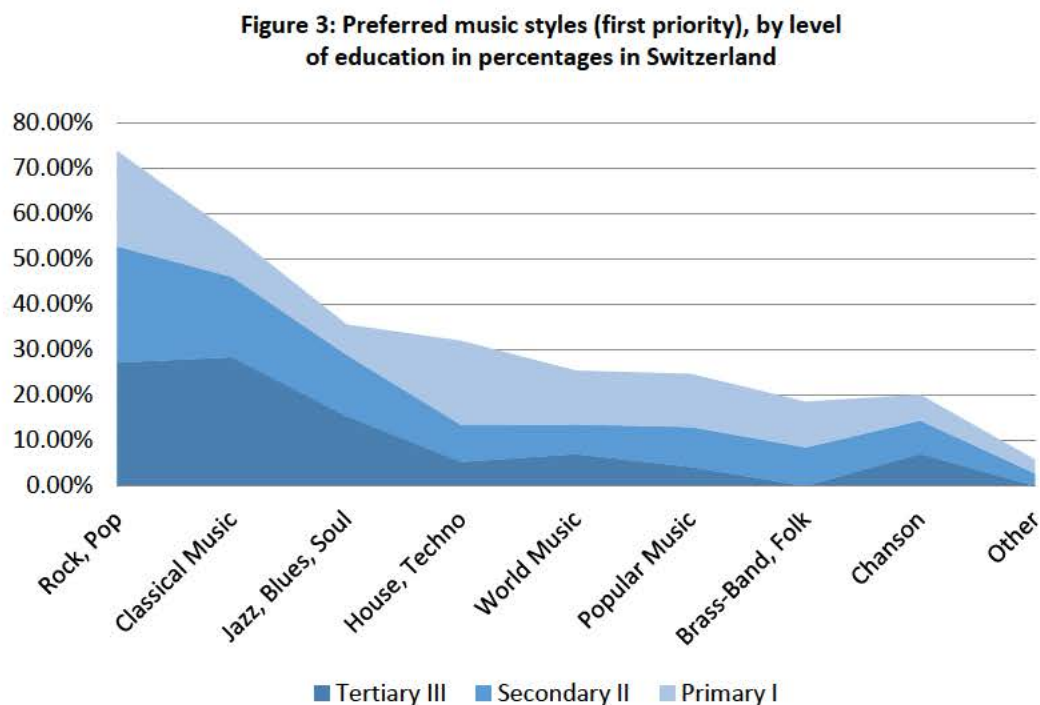
According to Kolb (2002), the decline in classical music concert attendance, which is based on this generational effect, can be attributed to four factors: "changes in 'practical considerations' such as supply and accessibility of events, cost; availability of leisure time and dissemination of information

on events; changes in people's knowledge of classical music through exposure to arts education; changes in taste; and socio-demographic changes" (Kolb, 2001).

It appears that exposure to music at a young age has considerable influence on musical choices in later years (Mende, 2006): people who were exposed to classical music as children will, in all probability, return to it later in life. Therefore it can be concluded that many of today's older generation came into more intensive contact with classical music as children than is the case with young people currently (Mende, 2006).

Socialization with music is thus mainly influenced by the respective social environment: in the first decade of life (primary socialization), this is principally carried out by parents and siblings. In the second decade of life, socialization is replaced by a reorientation through school, peers or the media. And also in the further course of life, the handling and function of music changes continuously (Hemming, 2016). It can therefore be said that musical taste is determined not only by a person's age but also by his or her social status (Weber, 2004).

When one analyses musical preferences according to educational level, one sees that a preference for classical music increases with a higher level of attainment.

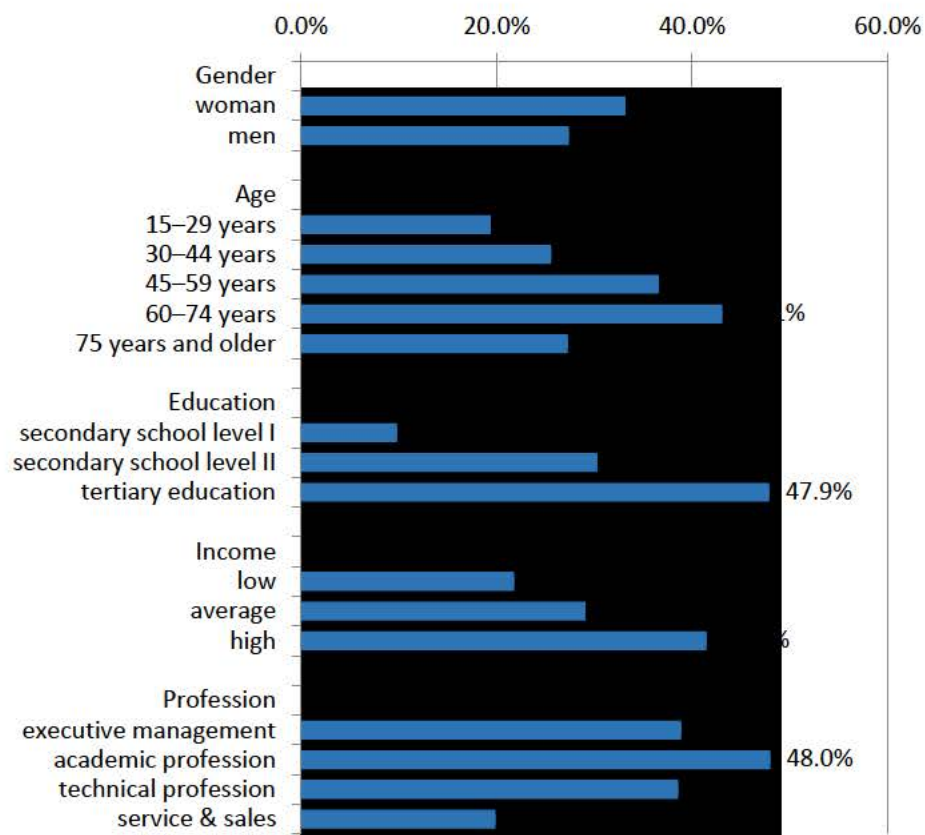


(Swiss Statistics, 2009, p. 39)

Figure 3 clearly shows that the percentage of classic enthusiasts increases with higher levels of education. This may not necessarily be the result of higher education per se, but instead may be connected to the quality of school music instruction. Studies, e.g. the study of the German TV-channel ARD 'Who is listening to classical music?' (Mende, 2006), show that less than 25% of those who avoid classical music had positive experiences with school music instruction, in contrast to 60% of the classical enthusiasts. These widely-differing encounters with classical music in schools provide the key to the acceptance or rejection of this style of music (Mende, 2006). Whereas in the past, one of the main aims of music lessons in public schools was to introduce children to classical music in particular, so that they would eventually be familiar with the great composers and be able to read notes and sing a song, today the focus is much more on providing a broad approach to different genres and traditions of music (Clarke et al., 2012). The collapse of the fundamental role of music education in the public schools as a civilizing force (Pitts, 2000) that is observable in many places, makes it difficult to attract new listeners among a younger, more ethnically diverse urban population (Bernstein, 2007).

The following chart (see Figure 4) describes the socio-demographic structure of classical music audiences in Switzerland: the percentage of female listeners (33%) is somewhat higher than that of male listeners (27%). The percentage of attendees tends to increase with age, reaching its highest level with the age group 60-74. The percentage declines sharply with ages over 75 (presumably due to reduced mobility). Persons with higher education – those with diplomas in technical professions, medicine, law, education, as well as those with master's and doctoral degrees – are most strongly represented (48%), compared to lower educational levels. Professionally, academics represent 48% of attendees, followed by 38.9% in executive management positions and almost tied with the 39.6% technical professionals. Not surprisingly, 41.5% are in the high-income bracket.

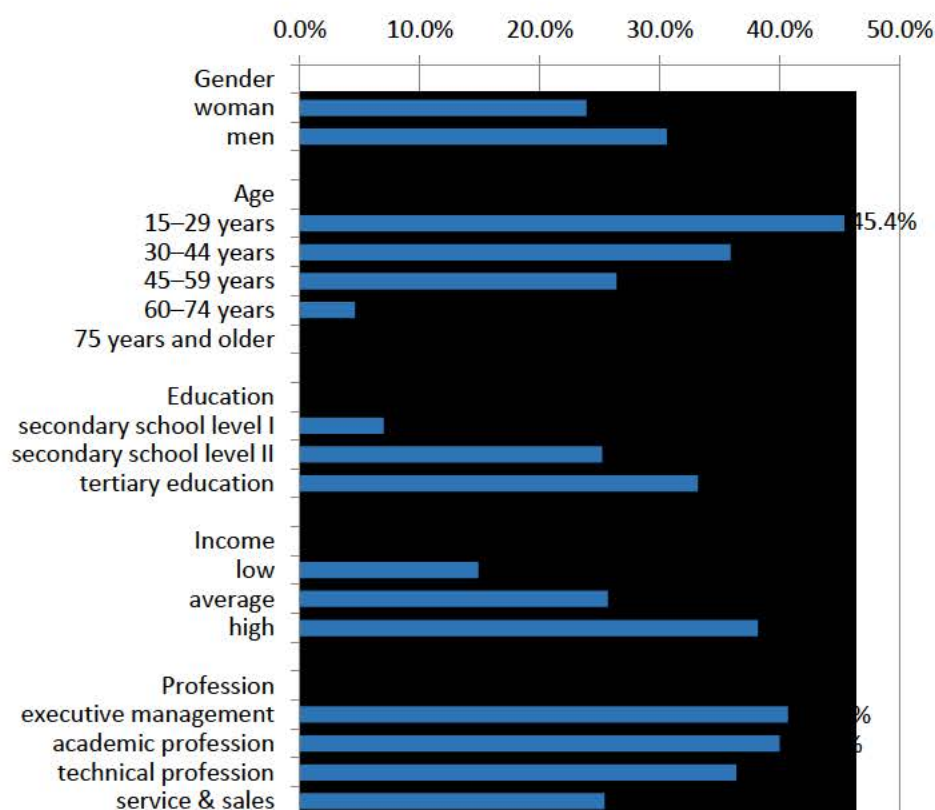
Figure 4: Swiss audience structure at classical concerts



(Swiss Statistics, 2009, p. 39)

The socio-demographic structure of rock and pop audiences (see Figure 5) corresponds to that of the classical audience in terms of educational level and income. However, more men (31%) than women (24%) attend rock and pop concerts, the largest age group is 15-29 years (45%) and persons in high-level professions make up a narrow majority (41%).

Figure 5: Swiss audience structure at rock, pop-concerts



(Swiss Statistics, 2009, p. 39)

When one compares the socio-demographics of contemporary audiences to those of the 19th-century bourgeoisie, one notices correspondences, particularly in terms of the education categories, income, and professional standing (Müller, 2014). One plausible reason the socio-demographic structure of audiences has changed so little is because the family environment, above all, is what fundamentally shapes preferences in music. Children exposed to classical music in their formative years will probably maintain an interest in classical music in later years. The 'Cultural Barometer 50+' (Keuchel & Wiesand, 2008), which established that a growing segment of the 50+ age group has a stronger connection to music of the 1970s rather than classical music, confirms this. This reinforces the assumption that musical experiences in early years strongly affect music preferences later in life (Bekmeier-Feuerhahn, 2010).

To gain a better understanding of audience behaviour, the initial question asked was: why do (older) listeners decide to go to classical concerts? Equally, the obverse might be posed: why do (younger) culture-consumers decide not to attend a classical concert?

The group of rare or non-visitors to classical concerts make up most of the population. Nevertheless, their motivation for not attending a classical concert has been little researched to date. On the basis of the results now available (Tröndle, 2019), however, it is apparent that the previously assumed obstacles of not having enough money for an (expensive) ticket, or not having enough time to attend a cultural event, could not be confirmed. Instead, the obstacles are more complex.

There are, of course, those who stay away from classical music because they do not like it and no one among their family and friends listens to this form of music (Mende, 2006). Essentially, and unsurprisingly, taste in music has a major influence on the visit (or, respectively, non-visit). For example, a preference for metal, punk, hip-hop or rock has a negative correlation with the attendance behaviour in terms of a classical concert (Tröndle, 2019).

A different taste in music is also the most common reason given for a lack of (emotional) attraction to classical music – a condition that has little to do with age or education, but often characterizes the so-called ‘Young Rebels’, or ‘Homebodies and Recluses’, who rarely develop an emotional connection to this form of music (Mende, 2006). Event-oriented types are also much less open to classical music because they see it as a part of a traditional life style from which they clearly wish to distance themselves (Mende, 2006).

And finally, many of those questioned say they know too little about classical music or they are unsure about concert hall rules of behaviour (Mende, 2006). Concerts are inherently social occasions comprising a whole ritual of behavioural codes, propriety and rules of decorum (Roose & Stichele, 2010; Small, 1998). The history of public music making shows that making music in the past was simply for the sake of the music and, potentially, its emotional effects. Music served the purpose of edification, first in private spaces, later in church services or in homage to the emperor (Schenk, 2013). In the course of these performances, codes of conduct and rituals that stand less for music than for belonging to a group or sharing an interpretation of the world gradually developed (Tröndle, 2009).

A lack of familiarity with these codes of conduct and the additional fear of being unable to conform appropriately to these norms on the part of classical non-attenders – for example, younger people with less education and less income – clearly show that the line of demarcation between the bourgeoisie, who claimed classical concerts as their own social platform, and the lower classes still exists. But this place of bourgeois self-identification has increasingly disintegrated, so that classical concerts today have become unattractive, not because the music is unattractive, but because the social context in which it is performed has changed (Tröndle, 2011).

All these circumstances have an extremely negative effect on the image of classical concerts, so that when younger people hear 'classical', they sadly think 'dead' (Bernstein, 2007).

Consumer behaviour

Given that potentially negative point of departure, it is particularly important to disentangle consumer behaviour issues further. When examining changes in cultural and consumer behaviour it should be mentioned here that this study focuses primarily, but not exclusively, on literature from the German-speaking world. This is because consumer and cultural behaviour (as well as listening habits (Dean et al., 2014) can differ significantly from region to region. In an early long-term study in an English and an American town, Barker and Schoggen (1973), among others, found that a person's personal environment has a significant influence on his or her consumer and cultural behaviour, resulting in different behaviours (Barker & Schoggen, 1973). A similar conclusion was reached by Radbourne, Johanson and Glow, who between 2006 and 2011 evaluated the quality of the live experience as assessed by audiences from five different orchestras in Australia (as cited in Burland & Pitts, 2014). A similar observation about the different perception of emotions in music has also been made in other studies (Sloboda, 1991).

In addition, O'Sullivan (2009), who studied community consumption in the context of the performing arts audience experience (within the audience of a British symphony orchestra), concluded that the communal or social aspect of audience experiences, themselves influenced by cultural behaviour patterns, are more influential and complex than previously thought.

Therefore, the decision to base this study primarily on literature from the German-speaking countries rests on cultural and social considerations, as the view is taken that the bases and contextual knowledge used in literature from Switzerland, Germany and Austria better reflect the sociological or cultural behaviour of the people living there than literature drawn from the UK, the USA, Asia or indeed other more culturally diverse locations. Where no literature is evident from the German-speaking countries, other sources are used, though with caution, to develop the material that follows.

Changes in consumer behaviour

Since the end of World War II, there has been a steady change in consumer behaviour (Polanetzki, 2008). During the war years, many populations made every effort to meet basic needs as well as possible. It did not matter which food or clothing was consumed; it was more important to have enough to survive. In the post-war years, consumer behaviour changed as prosperity increased and basic needs could be met easily. Due to the growing variety of products, the product or brand came more to the fore (Polanetzki, 2008). To initially stand out from the competition as a producer in the constantly growing consumer goods market, for instance, the focus was primarily on product characteristics, and as related products gradually became increasingly similar, differentiation between products based on these characteristics was soon no longer possible (Bruhn, 1997).

The notions above are largely based on the assumption of homo economicus – and this perspective dominated for a long time, particularly in economics. Based on this model, consumer behaviour was primarily seen as the result of controlled, rational information processing (Sigg, 2009). However, after the limits of *product* competition had been reached and products could no longer be distinguished significantly from each other in terms of quality, price and service (they had essentially become commoditized), companies sought new sales arguments to distance themselves from the competition and found them in the experience, value and the emotionality of products (Polanetzki, 2008).

Hence, whilst originally attributes such as durability, technical perfection or the usability of the products offered were emphasized, now emotional attributes such as independence or *joie de vivre* were increasingly associated with products. When consumers now buy goods such as cars, furniture, clothing or perfume, they are no longer guided by functionality – this is essentially taken for granted; rather, the consumer wants to acquire, for instance, ‘personality traits’, feel ‘ambience’, experience ‘happiness’ and, above all, be his or her own artist (Göschel, 2011). As markets become saturated and product substitutability ubiquitous, companies have increasingly tried to infuse their products with uniqueness (Polanetzki, 2008). Thus, it is suggested to consumers that they were buying not only a good or a service, but rather an ‘experience’ (Samson & Voyer, 2012).

Given this, a consumer decision could no longer be made on a rational, economic basis, as product characteristics became so similar there offers little utility. Consequently, the idea of the homo economicus-approach had to be revised (Kahneman, 2013). Instead it was replaced by a more encompassing understanding of human decision-making behaviour incorporating not only rational benefit considerations but also those that are emotional (Sigg, 2009).

Consumer psychology investigates aspects of how the human mind functions in the buying process. Three different areas in particular play an important role (Samson & Voyer, 2012): Persuasion and attitude change, judgment and decision making (e.g. intuitive vs. reflective model), as well as buying and consumption behaviour (e.g. reflective vs. impulsive model).

In the field of decision making, a dual system model (Kahneman, 2013) can be used to distinguish between two types of decision processes: There are two similar approaches to such dual system, namely the intuitive vs. reflective model (Frederick, 2005; Kahneman, 2013), as well as the experiential vs. analytic model (Epstein, 1994; Slovic et al., 2013). These essentially binary approaches to understanding consumer decision making pervade the literature and are effectively summarized in the dual system model. According to that model, a purchase decision can either be made quickly, be experience-based and unconscious in its nature (Model S1), or be made slowly, reflectively and deliberately (Model S2) (St. Evans & Frankish, 2009). These dual systems hence effectively subsume notions of the cognitive and the emotional.

In contemporary purchasing behaviour research, emotions are considered decisive (O'Shaughnessy, 2003). Contrary to the image of the rationally decisive person, it is assumed today that 70% to 80% of all purchase decisions are emotionally justified or habitualized (Rüeger & Hannich, 2011). In that respect, emotional psychology has shown that positive emotions (such as happiness, enthusiasm or joy) usually lead a person to pursue a goal and make a (purchase) decision accordingly, while negative emotions (such as frustration, disappointment or fear) lead them to turn away from a problem and give up their goals (Bagozzi, 1999). The central tenet of contemporary decision research is that a person should not be regarded as a unified self - a purely rational, thinking homo economicus – but as a two-part self (Lewis, 2008), whose behaviour is not only influenced by but often dominated by emotions (Sigg, 2009).

This shift in understanding has meant that postmodern consumers also began to define themselves through the active consumption of goods and services (Featherstone, 2007). And while modernity is still about discovering the finality in one's life, the postmodern being is about the search for harmony (Cova & Svanfeldt, 1993). Thus, in the eyes of various sociologists (Carmagnola, 1991; Featherstone, 2005; Maffesoli, 1992) the aestheticization of everyday life and thus also the aestheticization of consumption based on this development is considered the strongest characteristic of postmodernism in European society.

Essentially it can be said that the aestheticization of postmodern everyday life seemed to develop based on two different movements, namely aesthetic hedonism (Maffesoli, 1992) and the trivialization of art (Featherstone, 1991). The latter is the result of a de-institutionalization and

de-academization of art, so that the presentation of art was no longer reserved for museums or art galleries alone. This was a signal that the boundaries between customer and everyday life were thus abolished, so that art was now anywhere and anything – it was now part of everyday life (Cova & Svanfeldt, 1993).

This development has led society not only from homo economicus to the era of homo aestheticus (Ferry, 1992), but a move from an industrial to a post-industrial economy and society can also be seen (Allen & Due Gay, 1994; Miles, 1993; Miles, 1985).

The emotionalization and aestheticization of products is part of a comprehensive change that is not limited to the goods and services market; life itself has become an experience project (Polanetzki, 2008). Thus, leisure research speaks of a shift from a passive consumer orientation in the 1960s and 1970s to an active experience orientation in the 1980s and 1990s, in which first the product, second the brand and third the experience gain in importance (Opaschowski, 1998). It has also been found that the joint exercise of a consumption ritual can be used positively: not only to actively connect consumers in small worlds, but also to influence the choice of brand when making a purchase decision (Gainer, 1995). Thus, (shared) experience has gained increasing importance within the purchasing process, which ultimately led to the development from a consumer to an experience society (Polanetzki, 2008).

Equally, purchasing decisions (now that self- or social identity has been increasingly defined through consumption) have increasingly focused on goods and services that are expected to transfer certain positive characteristics to the consumer's personal identification. These are increasingly branded articles. However, in the area of goods and merchandise, the brand takes on particular significance because it not only signals certain quality characteristics, but also conveys and acquires atmosphere, affiliations or skills, e. g. selection (Göschel, 2011). According to Göschel, brand awareness provides security, stability, solidity, familiarity, connoisseurship and makes these characteristics appear to be those of the consumer themselves.

The observation that brands take on a particular significance is also shared by other researchers (Elliott & Wattanasuwan, 1998), who conclude that the search for a consumer's self- or social identity is a central element in postmodern consumer society. Brand-conscious consumers, connected with their brand and wishing to avoid manipulation by the market of which they are always suspicious, cut themselves off from changes in competing product offers (Göschel, 2011).

This observation can also be made in the area of music consumption: A fan of classical music, or a pop or rock group, naturally hopes that a visit to a concert will be a unique moment, a transformative experience and a deep connection with the artists and other fans. Equally, such a fan often spends

a considerable amount of free time and money to be perceived as part of the group and thus to symbolise or embody part of its identity or image (Burland & Pitts, 2014).

The observation above, that jointly performed rituals influence *market* orientation or the choice of a brand, is also transferable to the non-profit sector (Gainer & Padanyi, 2005). In the case of the classical concert, an individual artist, conductor or orchestra represents the brand. Therefore, there is a complex nexus of relationships at play between the consumer and the provider where mutual transfer, coproduction and cocreation are central to consumption.

The significance and importance of products is increasing to the extent that modern consumers build up and perceive their 'being' and essence through the products they consume. This, just like the underlying purchase decision, cannot be considered as being the result of conscious deliberations. So, a consumer does not buy 'tools', rather they acquires personality traits, a process in modern societies that has been called the 'economy of being' (Göschel, 2011). And finally, it must also be noted that the growing demand for such experience leads to increases in the range of experiences on offer, creating a so-called experience market (Polanetzki, 2008).

A steadily increasing consumer demand for experiences prompts widely differing providers to offer an ever-increasing range of experiences; concomitantly, continuously increasing demand affects these providers. Over time, this has resulted both in shorter experience events and in ever shorter intervals between them. One example of this development is the permanent jumping or 'zapping' between individual television channels. This changes the observer's perceptual behaviour – the information presented is absorbed only fleetingly or fragmentarily, or with low involvement, i.e. with little internal participation (Levermann, 1998). A further consequence of the intensification of experience consumption is the overlapping of experience phases, which manifests itself, for example, when one arranges for a tennis match with a friend over the telephone while watching television and at the same time leafing through a sports catalogue to find out about the latest experience clothing (Polanetzki, 2008).

This development will end only with worldwide marketing of multifarious experience offers, which is currently almost the case in the media sectors television, magazines and, last but not least, social media (G. Schulze, 1997). Social media, but especially technological change (as a megatrend) and the Internet continue to offer new possibilities (such as mass customization, the possibility of price comparisons, online trading, etc.). These also contribute to fundamental changes in consumer behaviour that are discussed later in this chapter.

Changes in consumer and cultural behaviour are also significantly influenced by another factor: leisure activities: while at the beginning of the industrial revolution people mostly used their free time for regeneration from their predominantly heavy physical labour, in the last decades of the 20th century, they spent more of their leisure time on sports and entertainment or used it for further education. Now, leisure time is mainly devoted to further education or to experience something that leads to us no longer living to work, but working to live or experience something (Polanetzki, 2008). The reasons for the increasing thirst for experience in industrial society includes rising incomes, shorter working hours and reduced physical workload in many professions. This gives the individual more time, money and energy for leisure activities. In addition, the functionalization of work makes the feeling of success increasingly rare – which is why working people seek opportunities for success and self-realization in their leisure time (Trommsdorff, 2004).

Consumers, therefore, seek to generate personal happiness in their experiences, which makes the experience industry much more attractive today than ever before. However, consumers not only adhere to the channels sanctioned by the state, not least in the field of art and culture, but also look for experiences in completely different areas, which consequently see increasing professionalization: for instance, media, show business, holidays, body care, yoga, esotericism (Haselbach, 2012).

Changes in how culture is consumed

The discussion above demonstrates how goods and services have become increasingly similar and how significant marketing management – by means of which companies achieve an (emotional) differentiation between products – has become. In order to survive in this increasingly competitive marketing environment, art- and cultural-institutions began increasingly to draw public attention to art and culture through the use of 'event-marketing' (Bruhn, 1997).

Public-relations activity in art and culture often addresses current issues regarding (often contemporary) cultural manifestations to stimulate intellectual interest among consumers (Haselbach, 2012) Events, by contrast, are unique experiences involving specially chosen recipients serving as a platform for organizational communication (Bruhn, 1997). Fundamentally, events are experiences that engage participants' emotions in a positive way. The uniqueness of an event creates an aura of authenticity and contributes to a stronger emotional involvement on the part of the participants (Polanetzki, 2008).

Consumer expectations have changed: contemporary consumers are perhaps more price-conscious, more interested in satisfying individual wishes and more spontaneous in their decisions (Polanetzki, 2008). This altered behaviour and the habits of consumers influence the arts and culture. In turn, the way in which art and culture is consumed has also changed greatly, though not fundamentally. Empirical studies show that unexpectedly large numbers of highly educated people consume popular culture, as well as classical offerings. Researchers use the term 'omnivorousness' to describe this (Peterson, 1992). The demonstrated contemporary tendency to plurality and individualism (Beck 1986; Schulze 1997) and the rise of diverse lifestyles make a uniform and homogenous characterization of a modern audience impossible (Glogner-Pilz & Föhl, 2011).

It is now impossible to speak of 'the theatre-spectator' or 'the concert audience' to which can be attributed certain typical traits or behaviours. Instead, there are widely differing audiences with widely diverging interests, motivations, and cultural expectations. The diversification process can be best observed in the form termed 'cultural window-shopper': changeable and unpredictable in their cultural behaviour (Keuchel, 2005). Keuchel speaks of 'changeable genre preferences' going to the theatre is just as interesting as a rock concert or an art exhibition. Whereas earlier providers spoke to a single, 'classical' audience, now there are many target groups, whose widely differing expectations need to be satisfied (Keuchel, 2005).

Culture consumers also make decisions spontaneously as they do in everyday consumption; this is one reason why subscription-series are unpopular with those under 50 years of age (Bernstein, 2007). The growing reluctance to commit oneself to any particular institution or special offering is a long-observed phenomenon (Tröndle, 2009). Consequently, cultural institutions are worried about losing their regular customers, dependable attendance figures, and therefore their ability to plan.

However, despite fewer subscription tickets being sold, the sale of single tickets has risen. This shows that it is a question of changes in consumer behaviour and not of a dwindling interest in classical concerts per se (Keuchel, 2005). The drop in subscriptions could also be the result of a wider variety of cultural options and potentially diminishing leisure time (particularly for those in highly-educated segments of the professional population) (Tröndle, 2009). In addition, as might be expected, the concept of 'brand' has crept over from the world of goods and services into the world of classical concerts, with, for example, a growing concentration on famous artists as a result. Just as with goods and services, cultural consumers are willing to pay more for a conductor, soloist, or orchestra with a 'brand', which will hopefully guarantee the consumer an outstanding and/or entertaining experience (Göschel, 2011).

Many concert organizations and symphony orchestras in Europe are federally subsidized as a contribution to general education, which enables them to charge affordable ticket prices. Even if classical concerts cannot really be considered as uniform and concrete merchandise (Sigg, 2009), a well-considered price strategy is still of critical importance as consumers make the final decision as to where they spend their money – hence the cultural market is one controlled by price (Haselbach, 2012). Contemporary consumers of art and culture are also increasingly price-conscious; therefore concert organizations must develop innovative, long-term strategies for attracting ticket buyers (Opaschowski, 1998).

As has been previously noted, the educated bourgeoisie of the 19th century declared classical music to be an art form. Additionally, the leisure market and the event industry have continued to expand into the most diverse areas (from show business to yoga), so that today the enjoyment of classical music, as well as light music such as rock, pop or jazz, can also be found as a part of the activity of the leisure market (Haselbach, 2012). For this reason, the discussion about ‘art versus entertainment’ is not a matter of taste and adopting such an approach is artificial (Johnson, 2011). However, what becomes relevant in the considering the difference between art and entertainment is that ‘Entertainment is that which you receive without effort and art is something where you must make some kind of effort, and you get more than you had before’ (Bernstein, 2007).

There does not seem to be any economically viable way of distinguishing art from entertainment or high and low culture. The commercial demands of contemporary global media destabilize boundaries between high and low culture (Mangattu & Tessa, 2018). However, it can be stated that the economic mechanisms and subsidies in the (high culture) art market tend to distort market prices (Andersson & Andersson, 2006).

Part of the essence of art is that every art object (thus also a composition) is, above all, aesthetic. This aesthetic function undergoes changes according to changing norms in society about what is beautiful and what is not. When this norm changes (as it undoubtedly has since the middle of the 19th century), the function of the art work itself changes (Busch, 1987). It is clear that everything around us is increasingly seen from an aesthetic perspective (Cova & Svanfeldt, 1993) and the discussion about art has become omnipresent; to the extent that a discussion about art as a meaningful exchange between an art work and its viewer has also lost its importance (Haselbach, 2012).

Instead the aesthetic component of classical music – analogously in the areas of jazz, pop, and rock – speaks particularly to the emotions and moods of its listeners, and is therefore not simply a musical-cultural product, but can also provide greater life enrichment (Mende, 2006). Almost three-quarters

of classical fans listen to music to reinforce a particular mood. And they prefer familiar music of their favourite composers, just as fans of popular music do. 72% of classical fans also say that they listen almost exclusively to a limited repertoire of favourite pieces (Mende, 2006).

If one broadens the application of audience research to encompass other cultural areas, there are some interesting parallels to be exposed, especially in a cultural area that, at first glance, has little resemblance to the classical concert - the cinema. Compared to classical concert audiences, hardly any cultural audience has been researched as extensively as the cinema audience in recent years (Glogner-Pilz & Föhl, 2011). The economic development of the cinema exhibits similar characteristics to the classic concert, although developing a few years earlier. From the first screenings of the Lumière brothers in 1928, it took only a few years for a prosperous entertainment industry to emerge. This lasted until the 1960s, when cinematography was established in all Western countries. By the 1980s however, the number of cinema visitors (and, concomitantly, the number of cinemas) was reduced to a quarter in Germany (Prommer, 2016).

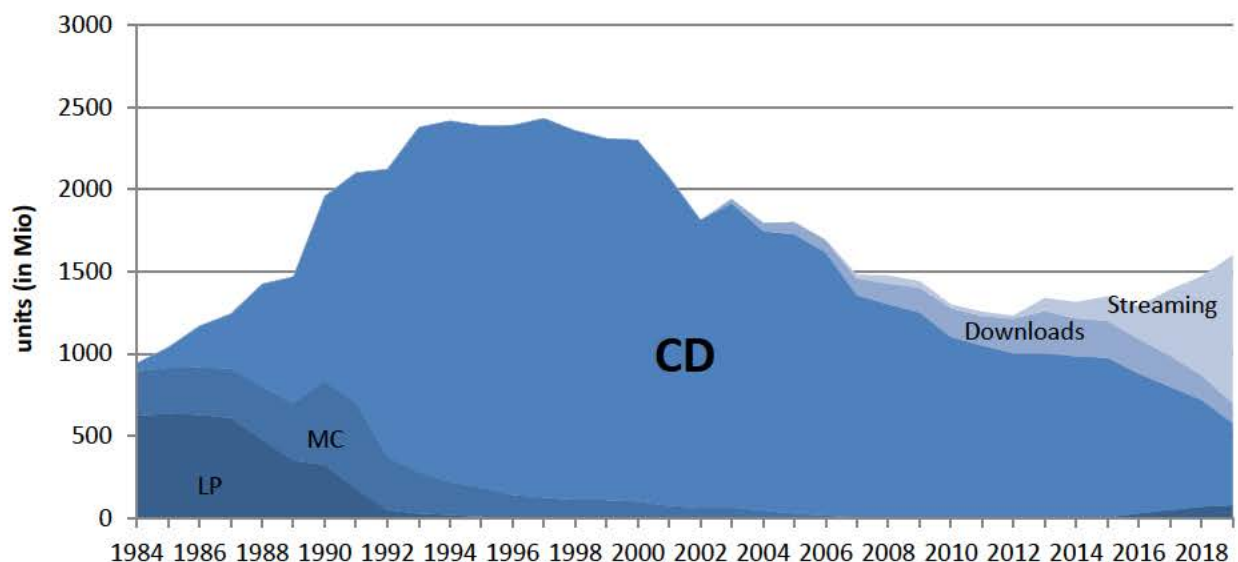
This trend, which seems to have stopped in the 1990s, was mainly due to the change in the leisure behaviour of society (Docherty et al., 1987). Comparable to the classical concertgoer, the majority of cinemagoers (86%) attend the cinema to be with friends and do something together. For only a few, such as cineastes, is the specific film the primary reason (Prommer, 2016). The recovery of the cinema in the 1990s is, therefore, also due (apart from the selection of films) to the efforts of cinema operators to create optimal conditions for this segment of society by creating entire cinema complexes with integrated restaurants and bars (Glogner-Pilz & Föhl, 2011). Whether and to what extent the classical concert could benefit from these findings is discussed later.

Impact of technological development on the music market

Although the development and popularity of analogue technologies such as records and music-cassettes were a historic milestone and greatly changed listening habits, those developments are not relevant to this study and are not discussed in detail as the way music is now consumed largely differs as a result of even more influential digital developments – which are discussed below and shown in Figure 6. The arrival of digital data carriers brought a fundamental and rapid change in the handling and availability of music, as well as revolutionizing all existing standards for measuring the quality of recorded music (MacDonald et al., 2017). This is examined in greater detail as it fundamentally changes consumer behaviour.

Digital recording began with the development of the compact disc (CD) in 1983 (Hintze, 2011). The arrival of CDs led to a rapid decline in the sales of vinyl records in Germany, falling from 112.5 million to 76.8 million. During the years 1983 to 1987, the annual sales of CDs rose from 0.9 million to 22.8 million (Hintze, 2011). The main reason for the enormous success of CDs lay in their advantages over analogue media: comparatively low sound-distortions, greater dynamic contrasts, and they could be copied onto other data carriers repeatedly with no loss of quality (Hintze, 2011). If one looks at the sources of income in the music industry using the following graph, one sees that the largest earnings in Germany, have been achieved through the sale of CDs (BM IFPI, 2015).

Figure 6: Sales performance of the German music industry 1984-2019

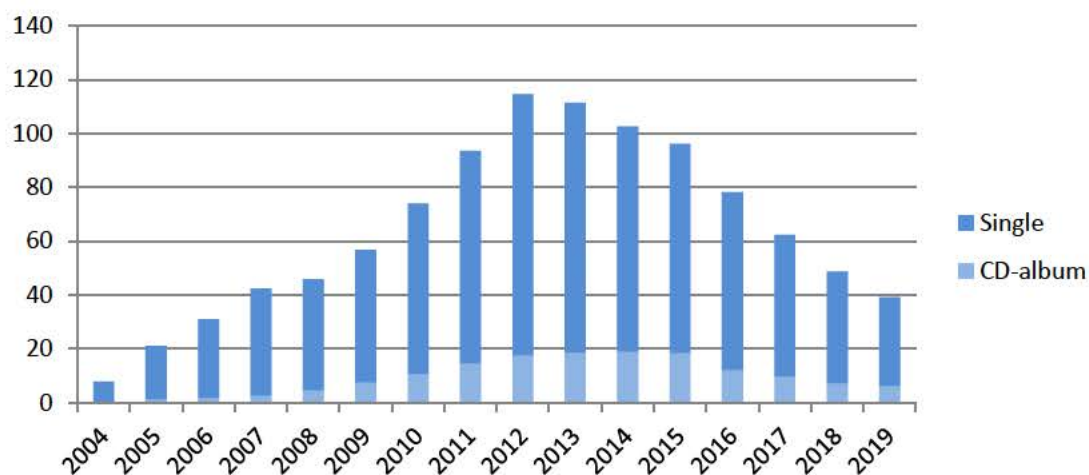


(Bundesamt Musikindustrie IFPI, 2015, p. 6)

The music industry experienced yet another revolution with the introduction of the MP3s and MP4s, compression methods for files, which were developed in 1995 by the Fraunhofer Institute (Hintze, 2011). These formats made it possible to compress music data for the first time – to a twelfth of its original size with no noticeable loss of quality (Hintze, 2011). The coding of multi-media data onto MP3s made it possible to securely store music or videos on digital data carriers with a minimum of effort (Hintze, 2011). These technological advances led to a digital revolution in the music market. The 'Walkman', the CD, the MP3/MP4-format and player or mobile phones, enabled consumers, for the first time, to meet their individual musical needs whenever and wherever they wish (Hintze, 2011).

Compressing music data made it possible not only to store music files for personal use on portable devices, but also to make them available to a broad public over the Internet, and above all over the furiously expanding social networks (e.g. Facebook), as well as music websites and swapping platforms (e.g. YouTube) – at no cost and with relatively little effort. The popularity of YouTube increased with such breath-taking speed that only 16 months after its founding, in February 2005, approximately 100 million music clips were being looked at per day. In 2011, YouTube was already the third most popular homepage worldwide, after Google and Facebook (Cayari, 2011). In this way, various legal (such as iTunes) and illegal (such as Napster) online music stores have gradually changed the way many people access music (North & Hargreaves, 2008).

Figure 7: Download distribution curve in Germany

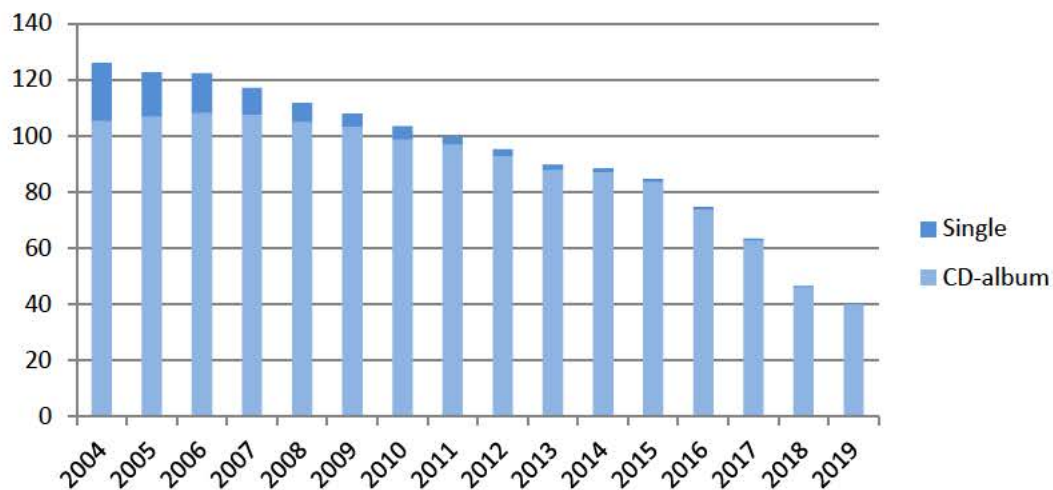


(BM IFPI, 2015, p. 6)

As Figure 7 shows clearly, the number of downloaded CD-albums and singles was more than 14 times greater in 2013 than in 2004 (BM IFPI, 2015). Not only did the popularity of legal platforms grow, but there was also an explosive increase in downloads from illegal platforms.

The German music industry IFPI presumes that approximately 900 million songs were illegally downloaded in 2010 (see graph 'Sales performances of the German music industry 1984-2015') (BM IFPI, 2015). These developments left their mark on the record industry, of course: between 2004 and 2013, sales of physical CDs in Germany collapsed by 28.7%. (See Figure 8)

Figure 8: Disk distribution curve 2004 - 2009 in Germany



(BM IFPI, 2015, p. 6)

Further analysis shows that earnings from music sales fell from 40 million to 32 million US Dollars worldwide between 1996 and 2003 – and current analyses show this trend continuing (Hintze, 2011). The four major music companies, Universal Music Group, Sony/MBG, Warner Music Group and EMI, who lead the market in recording technology, are still reporting diminishing sales (Mattick, 2009). In 2019 Sony/MBG, reported continuing decline in the sale of physical data carriers and rising values for downloads, that is, for the streaming of titles: ‘Sony Music streaming revenues grew 8.2% last quarter (2018), as overall sales hit \$946 million’. An important side-effect of this trend is that not only music companies, but also professional composers and performers who finance their own work partially by means of copyright laws and the royalties suffer under the rapidly increasing numbers of illegal downloads which these illegal formats do not provide (Hintze, 2011).

This trend, plus easy uploading onto the Internet, triggered powerful changes in all branches of music because the transformation of media use of leisure time leads to qualitative, as well as quantitative, changes in how much time is spent with these activities: whereas television viewers passively consume programme content created by other people, the Internet, with its ‘Web 2.0’, enables users to actively influence Internet content in interaction with other people (Cayari, 2011). 25% of young people under the age of 19 create their own content several times per week and post it on net forums in the form of photos, videos, music, or texts (Knolle, 2008). Although media pedagogues consider the invitation of ‘Web 2.0’ portals, such as My Space, YouTube, or Wikipedia, to actively produce content to be of positive value, not all of the posted content is of high quality (Glogner-Pilz & Föhl, 2011).

The possibilities of digitalization also contribute to a completely different change in the consumption of media and music: digital-TV-offers enable modern consumers to structure their television viewing according to personal taste, such as watching a film or programme when it is convenient for them. The same is undoubtedly true of today's music enthusiasts, who prefer to listen to music when and where they wish, instead of being bound to fixed concert times. Thus, it is not surprising that although substantial numbers (67%) of the Swiss population attend live concerts several times a year, an even larger percentage (86%) listens to music at least once every 12 months on their personal data carriers (Swiss Statistics, 2009). Music also began to be consumed, collectively and individually, in ways that earlier had been reserved for public venues (Müller, 2014). The growing variety of contemporary music devices and music styles opened access to popular music for an ever-widening audience. Not only the educated middle class, but a socially heterogeneous, less wealthy audience also could now more easily make their preferred choice of music and had the means with which to listen to it. This brought about a change in the socio-demographic composition of the music audience (Müller, 2014).

Portable data carriers and playing devices are not only used at home: there is hardly a public place – department store, restaurant, bar, or elevator – without 'canned music', even classical music. And if classical music, as an art form, is intended to evoke unique and powerful feelings, then this constant omnipresence of music subverts the possibility of exclusivity. If art is an opportunity to create extraordinary sensations, its oversupply has ruined the extraordinary in it (Haselbach, 2012). Because of the change from quality to quantity and omnipresence, art discourse, meaningful for art, has become 'everyday' and must instead give way to the aestheticization of everyday life typical of the entertainment industry (Haselbach, 2012).

Technological advances therefore have powerfully influenced sales of physical data carriers (CDs) and the private downloading of music. The market for classical music is relatively small compared to the significantly larger pop market: in Germany, for instance, the sale of all downloads and streaming totalled 1.146 billion Euros in 2015, while classical music sales totalled only 70 million Euros (BM IFPI, 2015). Furthermore, sales of pop music showed an annual increase of 17% in 2014, whereas classic sales during the same period sank by 13% (BM IFPI, 2015). Part of the explanation for this is that older people – who form the majority of the classical audience – use the Internet much less frequently than younger people: in 2016, 100% of those aged 20-29 used the Internet, 75% of 60-69-year-olds, and only 45% of those over 70 (BM IFPI, 2015). There are, however, other factors that influence the dynamics of CD-sales in different countries, such as the availability of CD-players and other playing devices, market penetration of the Internet and smartphones, consumer habits, demographic peculiarities, and cultural diversity (BM IFPI, 2015). Even if these new media and their

forms of use for classical music have created a new kind of popularity, the style of music still remains a niche, because popularity is based much more on the special association with music than on its universal appeal (Parakilas, 1984).

But the Internet, especially the development and widespread use of social media, is also leading to other changes in the consumer area of live concerts: as a study from 2012 shows, the boundaries of a live event are being shifted, so to speak, in that fans or concert-goers who follow a concert only via social platforms feel as strongly involved as if they were physically present at the concert (Bennett, 2012). Therefore, technological progress, especially the Internet, has not only changed the private consumption of music, but also affected the live concert.

Impact of technological development at classical live performances

Technological advances have also affected live performances of classical music. The opera landscape shows this clearly: thanks to the integration of such technical advances, opera has become a multi-media phenomenon and a spectacle that takes place in public venues and also in the cinema (Josch, 2010). This moves to a more overtly commercial, distributed technological support for opera contrasts with symphonic music. Advancing technology has left practically no traces on live classical concerts to date – where multi-media interpretations of Mozart, Bach, or Beethoven in classical concerts would be possible, as happens in opera.

The lack of a commercial impetus in the presentation of classical concerts may be partly explained by the effects of subsidies. Symphony orchestras may often be the beneficiaries of subsidy or be sheltered within public broadcasting organizations. Substantial government subsidies free many European concert organizations from the necessity of remaining aware of those trends and changing expectations that affect, and possibly, constrain private cultural institutions – they are freed from any need to develop themselves further (Haselbach, 2012,). Classical concert organizations tend to avoid driving away their, mostly older, regular audience, who provides them with the largest percent of their income, by confronting them with multi-media presentations to which they are not accustomed. Research has established that the educated middle class of the 19th century changed concert behaviour in the direction of a ritualization that required full concentration on the music and disciplined the audience to worshipful silence (Müller, 2014). Since the majority of today's concert audiences still shows some of the characteristics of 19th century audiences and continues to engage in the numerous rituals that have become established elements of the classical concert, it appears

that no transformation of this ritualized behaviour has yet taken place (Müller, 2014). In this respect, the application of multi-media may even be an unwelcome component for many concertgoers, as it may also encourage, or necessitate, changes to the established rituals.

As suggested previously, technological progress also enables music consumers to listen to their preferred music whenever and wherever they want, in a quality that is almost imperceptibly close to the original. Organizers of classical concerts therefore must deal with the question of what motivates consumers to physically attend a classical concert, when these technologically facilitated options are so readily available.

A study (Dobson, 2008) shows that, with regard to the audio quality of the music, visitors very often give a positive rating to a live concert, as it also offers a corresponding visual experience, so that it is perceived and described as more 'real' and 'fully 3D' (Dobson, 2008). This study also shows that 28% of the audience prefer the live experience, not least because of the immediacy or spontaneity of the performance. Beyond this experiential component, the classical concert remains a valuable platform not only musically but also socially. Its social importance is briefly discussed below.

The cultural and educational importance of the classical concert for society

The average age of the classic audience in most of Europe today is over 60 years and the age gap between them and the rest of the population continues to widen. If nothing is done to reverse this trend, it can be assumed that the number of concertgoers who are presently accustomed to paying for a cultural event will decrease by about 36% simply due to aging (Hamann, 2005).

Others argue that the chief challenges lie elsewhere. Today's classical orchestras are primarily confronted by four challenges: (1) Consumer behaviour has changed fundamentally because of technological progress. (2) Thanks to this technological progress, new event formats (such as the transmission of opera performances on large open-air screens) are continually being created, so that the range of events on offer is constantly growing and orchestras are confronted with rapidly increasing competition. (3) Based on this, the selection of the musical programme for a classical live concert represents a further nontrivial challenge. While in the 19th century, the public knew very few compositions, since a work could only be heard at a concert and not on the radio or from a recording medium, today's classical music fans often limit themselves to a few favoured works, which they could listen to in the permanent sprinkling on the radio, the Internet, in department stores etc. from a flood of compositions. (4) Finally, from a financial position there is the challenge of developing a

new business model with a commercial outcome with which the continued existence of the orchestra can be ensured both artistically and economically (Radbourne & Arthurs, 2007).

The twin demands of artistic and financial viability place sometimes contrasting burdens on concert promoters. Seen from the financial perspective, the situation is exacerbated by the assumption that future generations entering the marketplace will be less willing to pay for cultural events. The availability of news, advertisement, software, books, music, film, computer games, or presentations at no cost on the Internet (Rolke & Höhn, 2008) leads to conclusion that future classical concerts in Europe will not pay for themselves and will have to be kept alive artificially with government subsidies. It could be argued that this cultural offering, like everything else, should be turned over to the mechanisms of the free market, so that it would simply disappear if there were too little demand to sustain it. Existing cultural and educational policy in Europe particularly, explains why this has not happened.

In terms of the classical concert, from a marketing perspective, it must be assumed that an essential component of the format, namely classical music itself, cannot be changed or can only be changed marginally (Colbert, 2007). Beethoven's Fifth Symphony will sound somewhat different with different interpretations, but the musical text is and remains the same, so that the music remains unmistakable. This leads fundamentally to an oversupply in the highly competitive classical music market. However, even if a product's core cannot be changed, marketing efforts can be intensified, as is the case with most products in the goods and services market, so that, for example, the packaging (in this instance, the way classical music is conveyed) is changed.

The true purpose of art is not the creation of beautiful objects. Much more than that, it is a means of understanding, a way of exploring the world in order to find one's own place in it (Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 2009). Art, as part of cultural education, leads people to self-responsibility, giving them a personal (inner) as well as a social (outer) perspective (BPB, 2009). Art's function is to bring together pleasure and emotions that are out of the ordinary: thus the quest for feelings such as shock, deep emotion, relief, release, euphoria, and anxiety leads many people to movies, literature, theatre and also to concerts (Haselbach, 2012). Because of its socially relevant dimension, cultural education is often seen as an essential component of general education and has, therefore been made a governmental responsibility, at least partially (BPB, 2009).

Cultural education and culture itself are often the focus of very controversial political discussions: Non-profit organizations occupy a unique position in the market as they may offer a product that is not supplied by for-profit companies because it delivers a negative or minimal profit margin. For this

reason, non-profit organizations benefit from public privileges, such as subsidies, which in turn are the subject of political considerations (Kolb, 2001).

Opponents of cultural politics see it clearly interfering with the free market, robbing consumers of the opportunity to react to the range of cultural possibilities, what they cost, and how they compete with other cultural offerings (Haselbach, 2012). Such commentators think public cultural institutions are at least partially freed from existential risk by government subsidies and from the necessity to orient themselves to supply and demand, therefore, these institutions are thereby encouraged to ignore healthy competition (Haselbach, 2012). Further, they claim that subsidized cultural institutions are concerned solely with 'Managing the Status Quo', that they demonstrate no innovation energy, no visions for the future and no attempts to develop strategic potential or increased cooperation with new partners. Whereas non-subsidized private institutions have long since learned to use the instruments and methods of management, audience research and reactions to programming, public institutions avail themselves of such widely available skills and knowledge only with great hesitancy (Haselbach, 2012).

Proponents of cultural politics, however, see the free market as the biggest enemy of culture because it reduces everything – including culture – to merchandise (Haselbach, 2012). They argue that purely economic reasoning is inadequate, that operating entirely within the free market would promote cultural suicide (Haselbach, 2012). Without government support, cultural variety would be lost because art that must compete in the free marketplace can survive only by serving the tastes of the masses, thereby becoming one-dimensional and thus redundant (Haselbach, 2012). Besides these arguments, there are also considerations about conceiving of music as a 'product' and linking it with a specific value (O'Reilly et al., 2013). The business policy of classical concert organizers, who act in an increasingly risk-averse way to avoid declining visitor numbers (further), is therefore understandable (Burland & Pitts, 2010).

But here it should also be noted critically that long-term, value-oriented marketing should be firmly anchored in the DNA of every company, even in the field of classical concerts. In other areas of the free market where no state subsidies intervene in the market, current marketing strategies now also take the heart and mind of the consumer into account. According to Kotler, when customer-oriented marketing replaces product or producer-oriented marketing, the market becomes dominated by 'participatory and collaborative marketing'. Due to widespread subsidisation, this development has taken a different turn for the classical concert.

Given the perceived unreliability of government cultural support, cultural sponsorship has gained importance since the 1980s, a possible consequence of issues arising from the marketization of

culture. Cultural institutions corporate communication is increasingly implemented in professional and systematic way (Polanetzki, 2008) facilitating this trend. Fundamentally, corporations tend to pursue psychological goals rather than economic ones when they sponsor culture (Bruhn, 1997). A corporation signals externally (to affiliated businesses, consumers and a larger public) and internally (to employees and shareholders) that it is willing to accept socio-political responsibility (Schneider, 2004), hoping that the public interest generated by this sponsoring will reflect on the corporation itself and contribute to a strengthening and clarification of its own public image (Pradel, 2001). In other words, sponsoring is 'business-oriented patronage' that uses a 'third person' to shape a particular public image for the sponsor by providing financial and practical support to the sponsored institution (Winkelmann, 1998).

The future of cultural politics in Europe is widely discussed. Many commentators suggest that it should be characterized by civic responsibility, possibilities for rational choices and contradiction, as well as equal rights and freedom from authoritarian principles. More emancipation (from the past, from kitsch, from commerce) is demanded, as well as scope for unconditional development of widely varying cultural groups and classes (Haselbach, 2012).

Precisely because the future of state subsidies is becoming increasingly uncertain, market considerations are also becoming increasingly important in the field of classical concerts and for operators of symphony orchestras. According to the literature, there seems to be a broad consensus as to which fundamental areas of influence are crucial to the success, and thus the continued existence, of classical concerts. According to Radbourne (Radbourne, 2011) these are:

- the power of artistic innovation on audience relationships and company reputation,
- the need for start-up investment and/or ongoing corporate or philanthropic support,
- the particular marketing strategies that achieve branding and loyalty,
- the ways in which technology can be used to immerse the audience,
- the selection of a partnership that achieves cost sharing, investment, loan or equity,
- the impact of venue size, occupancy rates, market share, company size on costs and income,
- the benefits of accessing a global market through touring or electronic distribution.

However, since the economic factor is not the main focus of this study, there is no intent here to discuss these issues further; they serve to demonstrate that interaction with culture is a contemporary concern and extends beyond individuals and their consumption choices, thereby adding an additional dimension to issues surrounding cultural events and their audiences. The focus

of this research, however, is on the *audience*; what role do its required behaviours and expected rituals play in attracting (or deterring) members.

Interaction rituals

The extent to which the rituals and behaviours associated with classical concert attendance influence the propensity to attend concerts is significant. As Price (2017) observes “The decision-making process behind attendance at a concert has been extensively researched, identifying several reasons why audience members choose to attend or not to attend a concert”. Measurement of this extent is probably a matter for investigation through large-scale audience surveys, supported by investigation of the decision-making process. Price, in her work, considers the potential impact of populist programming for concerts. This study is however dedicated primarily to the question of how to change rituals in the (current) concert behaviour expected of audiences (rather than concert programming itself) to make classical concerts more attractive to a broader and younger audience.

Interaction rituals in a public context

First of all, it has been established that there exists no generally accepted definition for rituals; definitions vary widely among the various scientific disciplines (Michaels, 2008). The dictionary definition (Oxford Online dictionary) has “A series of actions or type of behaviour regularly and invariably followed by someone”. Expected behaviours (which are a core component of definitions of rituals) form a central element of this study and are described in more detail in the following sections.

Rituals are held to be amongst the most effective forms of human communication and interaction. In his book ‘The New Power of Rituals’, Michaels (2008) describes rituals as institutional patterns within which collective knowledge and collective modes of behaviour are staged and performed and self-presentation and self-interpretation of commonly-accepted rules are confirmed. Ritual behaviours, Michaels continues, are physical, performative, expressive, symbolic, regulated efficiently and are not used for specific purposes; they are repetitive, homogenous, liminoid, ludic, and operational. Such commonly-accepted behaviours are verbal and physical means for creating common ground and delineating differences (Michaels, 2008). Bücher, in particular, sees rituals as an instrument for regulating the rhythms of chronological and social processes (Bücher, 2010). According to Bücher’s

theory, there are cyclic rituals that follow the rhythm of days, weeks, months or years (for example, the ritual of waking up and of the summer solstice, etc.); life-cycle rituals, initiation rituals (birth, puberty, etc.); rituals around specific events (such as battles, famine, and death).

In general, shared rhythm seems to play a significant role in rituals. Synchronous behaviour such as singing, dancing or marching promotes a sense of community: According to a study by Wiltermuth (Gazzaniga, 2018) this makes people are more inclined to cooperate with each other. In addition, synchronous activities such as singing in churches, dancing at parties or marching in the military prevent individuals from stepping beyond the bounds of the acceptable and enriching themselves, for example, at the expense of their fellow human beings.

Interaction rituals are a ritual sub-group in which direct communication is of central importance, along with the rituals of greeting and of physical distance, (Belliger, 2013). Grounded in the work of Durkheim (1965) and Goffman (2005), Collins (2014) describes an interaction ritual as a set of symbolic representations riding on emotional energy; as a mechanism of mutually focused emotion and attention producing a momentarily shared reality that generates solidarity and symbols of group membership (Collins, 2014). Collins also formulated a cohesive perspective – Interaction Ritual Theory – that provides a comprehensive perspective on these important and prewise rituals that shape much of human interaction. “IRT [Interaction Ritual Theory] not only is an important contemporary extension of the Durkheimian legacy of the sociology of emotions; it also helps us understand the emotional and ritual dynamics of face-to-face interaction” (Boyns & Luery, 2015).

Collins’ (2014) framework identifies interaction rituals through the application of four conditions:

1. People in the same room at the same time
2. The delineation of boundaries to show who belongs and who does not
3. A common focal point
4. A shared ambience or emotional experience (Collins, 2014).

According to Collins (2014), the result of an interaction ritual is a ‘collective effervescence’, which produces inter alia stronger group solidarity. Furthermore, Collins (2004) suggests both that participants identify more strongly with high culture when the crowd has responded enthusiastically to the performance and that the effect of ritual intensity is more powerful than the simple effect of being recognized by other people. Hence, interaction rituals at classical concerts (as inherently social occasions) are a central social element.

The purpose and importance of interaction rituals for society

With today's growing emphasis on individual self-determination, perhaps other practices will replace (collective) rituals. However, the idea that rituals in our contemporary society are antiquated and superfluous is not tenable, even when using a very traditional concept of ritual. Even today, community life is impossible without rituals. Every change in, or reform of, institutions and organizations also involves changes in the pertinent rituals (Michaels, 2008). In today's political environment, marked by discussions about social disintegration, the loss of values, and the search for cultural identity, rituals take on new meaning because they bridge the gap between individuals, communities, and cultures (Belliger, 2013). Additionally, those acting out the rituals in social situations bring with them their physicality rather than only verbal communication (Belliger, 2013), confirming the importance of rituals by what is done, as well as what is said.

Rituals are among the most effective forms of human communication and interaction. They create communities and organize the flow of communication within and between them (Michaels, 2008). The funeral of Pope John Paul II provided an impressive example of this (Michaels, 2008): millions of people came to Rome in order to participate actively in the ritual and to share in the deep emotions and the feeling of community. The media coverage of this ritual permitted an even broader participation and gave additional millions of people the opportunity to share their intense emotions with family members, friends and acquaintances, and to discuss for instance religion, the meaning of life and death, the spiritual and political power of the church, as a temporary community of diverse peoples and cultures.

The physicality of rituals is also evident at huge events like the soccer world championships: if the excitement is strong enough, it is not sufficient merely to state the outcome, even in a loud, enthusiastic, repetitive voice. At peak moments of victory, or suspense followed by dramatic success, the excited viewer reaches out to touch, hug, or kiss someone (Collins, 2014). The bigger the victory and greater the suspense, the more prolonged the body contact: the range goes from 'high fiving' to 'body hugs' to 'piling onto a heap of bodies on the playing field' (Collins, 2014). Clearly, rituals bring together a community that has no other coherence and no other purpose than to experience the peaks of ritual emotion itself (Collins, 2014).

The answer, then, to the previous question of whether rituals are antiquated and superfluous in our society is clearly 'no'. It is even suggested that rituals compensate for today's sense of loss of community, authentic identity, order and stability, these losses influenced, if not driven by,

the rise of individualism, the abstract virtual world and the erosion of social and cultural systems (Michaels, 2008).

Development, function and significance of interaction rituals at classical concerts

Technological advances in the music industry enable consumers to listen to music anytime, anywhere, in a quality approaching that of a live concert. A natural corollary might be to ask, despite this technological possibility, what does attending a live classical concert provide that technological presentations do not.

Some have argued that the dynamics of such events can be totally immersive and personal presence can create identity for the visitors (Burland & Pitts, 2014). There are also further reasons for attending a concert, such as listening to a particular work played by a particular artist without having to buy a recording, or the possibility of experiencing how something goes wrong during a live performance, or simply the presence of other visitors (Earl, 2001).

The presence of other audience members enables not only an exchange between artists and audience, but also within the audience, which is an important added value from the consumer's perspective (Pitts, 2005). Last, but not least, a live concert experience can leave a much stronger emotional impression compared to private music listening, which also leads to the experience being remembered for a longer time (Gabrielsson & Bradbury, 2011).

From the standpoint of interaction ritual theory, an answer also presents itself: it is the experience of *belonging* to a focused crowd that provides the lure of an entertainment group (audience and performers); all the more so if the performers already enjoy the status of “sacred object”, giving fans the additional excitement of being close to them (Collins, 2014). It is the experience of partaking in a special event – the hush of attention before the orchestra starts, the collective focus on the musicians – that makes the opera or symphony experience a more significant experience than simply listening to the same music at home (Collins, 2014).

Various social research studies show that having a common musical preferences can connect people and that listening to music together can facilitate the development of interpersonal relationships (Hargreaves et al., 2006). Or, in the sense of Small: The essence of music lies not in musical works but also in participation in a performance event, participation in social action (Small, 1998).

However, if you look at the ritualization of classical concerts and compare it with that of pop, rock or jazz concerts, you can see that there is no, or very little ritualized interaction, between performer and listener in the classical music context. In the best case, the presence of listener seems to be irrelevant, in the worst case it seems to be a disturbing factor (Small, 1998).

The question therefore becomes what is the 'meaning', or task, of interaction rituals at classical concerts. According to Barthelmes and La Motte-Haber (1999) interaction rituals at classical concerts serve to intensify emotions and to aid in understanding compositional and/or dramaturgical structures (Barthelmes & La Motte-Haber, 1999). It is essentially a matter of reciprocal support between music and ritual; on the one hand, music intensifies ritualized procedures by synchronizing the participants, marking the chronological order, emphasizing special events and characterizing objects, persons, and symbolic acts (Barthelmes & La Motte-Haber, 1999).

Equally, the effectiveness of the music itself is increased by the intensity of ritual behaviour – although conscious attention to ritual tends to draw attention away from the music (Barthelmes & La Motte-Haber, 1999).

In contrast, Small is of the opinion that music actually does not exist as a *thing*, but that music is an *activity* that brings music to life in the first place (1998). Therefore, not only should the act of composition and performance by musicians be counted, but also the ritual contemplative listening of the audience at classical concerts. Given the issues outlined, ritualization – aside from the music itself – is perhaps the most important aspect of contemporary classical concerts. It is evident from cultural history how these rituals developed, why they were introduced and why a symphony concert today embodies the character of, a not entirely reverent, celebration, representing a common mythology and the values of a particular group within our fragmented society (Small, 1986).

The central moment of this development at classical concerts occurred in the second quarter of the 19th century: a critical change in the way European audiences reacted to music developed in the years from 1820 to 1850 (Müller, 2014). Until then, audience behaviour was far more reminiscent of the noisy atmosphere around a modern soccer field: during the music, people talked to each other – sometimes softly, sometimes loudly – ate and drank, visited each other, and promenaded around the concert hall. Businessmen made deals, women showed off their newest gowns, and courtesans endeavoured to capture the attention of potential lovers (Müller, 2014). However, between 1820 and 1850, new standards of audience behaviour developed, which would extend well into the 20th century. The primary aim of these new modes of behaviour was to forge the cohesiveness of aristocrats and middle classes by displays of their wealth while,

at the same time, reinforcing the differences in social standing between them and the lower classes (Müller, 2014).

These new behavioural practices resulted in major changes and audience behaviour underwent radical changes. All listeners were required to be silent, keep body movement to a minimum and refrain from heated arguments about the performance (Müller, 2014). The new interaction rituals forbade eating and drinking during the music, making noise, or engaging in loud conversation with people several rows away. Late-comers were no longer allowed into the hall. Spectators were expected to concentrate exclusively on the stage, thereby transforming themselves, hopefully, into the human species called 'an educated citizen' (Michaels, 2008). After 1850 there was a marked tendency to distinguish between 'serious music' and 'entertainment' even in concerts in gardens, parks, and music pavilions. This was accomplished by programming the 'classical' elements in the first half of the concert and the lighter repertoire after the intermission, when the clinking of glasses, the tobacco smoke, inattention, and the volume-level of conversation usually increased (Salmen, 1988). Of course, these rules of behaviour greatly restricted the leeway of everyone involved, curtailed the socializing, and channelled everyone's attention solely on aesthetic enjoyment (Salmen, 1988).

The rule of absolute silence (reinforced in the opera by worshipful darkness) suddenly prohibited the previously participatory communication in the hall, where sociable chats and loud expressions of opinion all the way up to singing along had been considered normal (Barthelmes & La Motte-Haber, 1999). It was precisely this participatory behaviour by which the middle-class audience had influenced what was played on the programme. It had helped shape the direction of music history in a significant way (Müller, 2014). Under the rule of absolute silence, this was no longer possible. These group-related regulations, with their unsettling and repressive effects on concertgoers, are still important components of classical concerts today. For those whose income level or 'social skills' do not satisfy what are sensed to be requirements for concert attendance, these regulations engender uncertainty and a feeling of 'not belonging' to the social environment around them. Such people simply stay away (Salmen, 1988).

The extent to which such behaviour and ritualization are still contemporary practice is explored by Small (1998) in his book 'Musicking'. As already noted, his thorough analyses of the rituals still practiced today demonstrates that they correspond, in principle, to those from the mid-19th century. For example, in terms of the arrangement of the seating in the concert hall, the discussion among the visitors during the interval about the soloist's performance, and the placement of the orchestra on stage.

Therefore, concerts are still characterized by rituals that put distance between the music and the audience and create an atmosphere of fetish: rituals such as entrance and exit ceremonies, applause directed at the 'stars', the usually now-dead composers, as well as the maestro, and their orchestra. Other rituals like small talk in the intermission and post-concert dinner in a restaurant make the evening festive, but often provide nothing more than an empty frame for the music and perhaps degrade it to an occasion for public representation (Barthes & La Motte-Haber, 1999). Even though this ritualization is still very much as it was, there has nevertheless been a change from the 19th to the 20th century. Here, it is less a question of removing established rituals than it is of developing new rituals and ways to appreciate music (Müller, 2014). For example, records, radio, and the cinema brought about a new dynamic between artists, producers, and consumers by causing a mass-shift in the direction of a wider media-presence (Müller, 2014).

When comparing this development in classical music to that in other styles of music, it is precisely this media-presence in radio, cinema, and records that made the rise of rock'n'roll possible. As of 1955, it provided the most powerful impetus, both in the media and in musicology, for the diversification of music culture (Neuhoff, 2008). This diversification and broadening of music culture, especially in the important fields of rock and pop, occurred simultaneously with sociological developments that can be described by phases such as upward-mobility, educational expansion, proliferation in transportation and mobility, growth of leisure time, change in social values, and individualization. Listening to music became an everyday activity and an identity factor, a means of defining one's leisure identity as opposed to one's professional identity. Without a doubt, popular music has profited from this development more than classical concerts, which, with all their various rituals and practices, have been largely excluded from a general widening of public interest (Neuhoff, 2008).

Overview of existing interaction rituals at classical concerts

The following list (see Table 1) provides an overview of interaction rituals at classical concerts.

Since it is difficult to draw general conclusions about the socio-demographic structure of the classical music audience and its behaviour due primarily to often widely differing characteristics such as profession, age, education, and geographical provenance, the following overview focuses primarily on German-speaking Europe (Salmen, 1988).

These rituals are arranged in chronological order as they occur in the course of concert attendance:

Table 1: Summary of observed rituals

Time-Line	Description of Rituals
Preparation Workplace, profession, daily routine, normal behaviour, relationship to environment, orientation, formative behaviour	Choice of leisure activities (Barthelmes & La Motte-Haber, 1999)
	Choices of cultural activities (Engeler, 1990)
	Purchasing a theatre-or concert-subscription (Engeler, 1990)
	Reading the program-offerings. Choosing a concert (Engeler, 1990)
	Ordering ticket/s (Barthelmes & La Motte-Haber, 1999)
	Fulfilling social and professional obligations (Fischer, 2006)
Preparing for the Concert Transition-rites, entrance into another 'world', seeking interaction, expectations	Changing clothes / not changing clothes (Fischer-Lichte, 2004)
	Conversations about business (Barthelmes & La Motte-Haber, 1999)
	Choice of jewelry (Barthelmes & La Motte-Haber, 1999)
	Psychological transition from work to leisure (Fischer, 2006)
	Having dinner at home, at work, at the event venue (Michaels, 2008)
	Transportation, looking for a parking place (Fischer, 2006)
	Buying or showing the ticket to the ticket-controller (Engeler, 1990)
	Greeting the ticket-controller (Barthelmes & La Motte-Haber, 1999)
	Check coat at the cloakroom, giving a tip (Engeler, 1990)
	Coffee in the foyer (Barthelmes & La Motte-Haber, 1999)
	Purchase of a program (Fischer, 2006)
	Reading the program, standing or sitting in the hall (Fischer, 2006)
	Social small talk (Barthelmes & La Motte-Haber, 1999)
	Friendly encounters with acquaintances (Barthelmes & La Motte-Haber, 1999)
Concert First Part Social actions, reception into the concert community, shared interests, a feeling of belonging to the group	Looking for the seat (Barthelmes & La Motte-Haber, 1999)
	Having a favorite seat (Barthelmes & La Motte-Haber, 1999)
	Observing seat-neighbors (Fischer, 2006)
	Sitting with friends or in groups (Fischer-Lichte, 2004)
	Looking around (Barthelmes & La Motte-Haber, 1999)
	"Waking up" at the applause (Barthelmes & La Motte-Haber, 1999)
	Applause: long or short (Barthelmes & La Motte-Haber, 1999)
	Leaving the concert hall: at the front, at the back, not leaving (Michaels, 2008)

Intermission Social and professional position, communication, acknowledging and fulfilling social and professional expectations, partial fulfillment of musical expectations, conversation and 'product analysis'	Looking for friends and colleagues (Fischer, 2006)
	Drinking coffee, champagne, etc. (Barthelmes & La Motte-Haber, 1999)
	Moving to a different area (Engeler, 1990)
	'Digesting' the music just heard (Barthelmes & La Motte-Haber, 1999)
	Reading in the program (again) (Fischer, 2006)
	Personal, family, and professional talk during the intermission (Hausmann & Körner, 2009)
Concert Part Two Resuming expectations, deeper involvement, confirming role-behaviour, release at the end of the concert	Re-entering the concert hall: at the front or rear (Engeler, 1990)
	talk to the person sitting next to you (Barthelmes & La Motte-Haber, 1999)
	Seeing empty seats, choosing a new seat (Barthelmes & La Motte-Haber, 1999)
	Clearing one's throat, 'contagious' coughing (Engeler, 1990)
	Favorite sitting positions (Barthelmes & La Motte-Haber, 1999)
	Concentration (Barthelmes & La Motte-Haber, 1999)
	Reading the program (again) (Fischer, 2006)
	Applause at the end (Barthelmes & La Motte-Haber, 1999)
	Calling 'boo' or 'bravo' – or not (Fischer-Lichte, 2004)
	Leaving the concert hall at front or back (Engeler, 1990)
	Visiting the green room (Barthelmes & La Motte-Haber, 1999)
	Lingering or quickly leaving (Barthelmes & La Motte-Haber, 1999)
	Picking up coat at the cloakroom (Engeler, 1990)
	Farewell conversations (Barthelmes & La Motte-Haber, 1999)
Returning Home Return to "reality", exiting the experience, confirmation of one's expectations	Lingering over conversations (Engeler, 1990)
	Eating, drinking (Barthelmes & La Motte-Haber, 1999)
	Criticism, conversation, being silent (Fischer, 2006)
	Returning home (Barthelmes & La Motte-Haber, 1999)

Literature Review Summary

Music historical considerations

The development of the concert format of the classical concert was strongly influenced by the emancipation of the middle class in the middle of the 19th century (Tröndle, 2009). In the past, the social aspect of attending a concert, i.e. talking, eating, drinking, walking, etc., were important. Now music became the central focus of the event – musicians were placed on a stage and only entire works (e.g. a four-movement symphony) were performed, whereas previously only individual movements were presented (Blume, 1989). If an audience member wanted to be counted as being

among this social class, they had to follow a strict ritualization. These included, among other things, festive clothing (Blume, 1994), contemplative listening without speaking (Tröndle, 2009) and respect for the regimentation of applause, which forbade clapping between the movements of a coherent work (Tröndle, 2009).

The kind of music played was central in the development of the concert format. As is still done today, distinctions were made between so-called serious and popular music. While such classical concerts were primarily devoted to sophisticated music (Dahlhaus, 1967) intended to promote a person's subtle development, pleasure played only a subordinate role (Blume, 1994), in contrast to the popular music concerts. The distinction between serious and popular music gradually led the audience to different consumer patterns and lifestyles (Busch, 1987), which, in turn, had economic consequences.

Since the concert format was now aimed at a relatively small part of the population, new forms of financing had to be found with which concerts could be supported (Haselbach, 2012). As a result, the teaching of classical music became part of the educational mission, enabling the state to participate in financing. This explains why a substantial proportion of professional orchestras in Europe are supported with public subsidies, without which such companies would be unable to survive (Haselbach, 2012). This circumstance contributes significantly to the current situation, as organizers of classical concerts have for a long time been unaware of the expectations and needs of their audiences and of changes in cultural and consumer behaviour (Haselbach, 2012). In contrast, then as now, popular concert events were financed mainly by ticket revenues, so the organizers were forced to orient themselves much more towards the needs and expectations of the audience (Polanetzki, 2008).

Changes in cultural and consumer behaviour

Age, education and the social environment play a significant role in the consumption of classical music (Tröndle, 2009). But individuals do not develop a taste for classical music only with increasing age. Rather, they return with increasing age to those musical styles that accompanied and shaped them in their younger years (Tröndle, 2009). Thus, to lead a younger audience to classical music, it is necessary for socialization to include classical music already in early years (Mende, 2004). It has been found that the proportion of classic music enthusiasts increases with educational level. This highlights the importance of socialization, with classical music as an essential element of education (Bernstein, 2007).

Fundamentally, however, the enjoyment of classical music is not exclusively a question of age – younger people are also interested in classical music (Tröndle, 2009). This insight seems to be particularly important in the context of technological progress, to which younger people generally have easier access than those who are older (Glogner-Pilz, 2011).

On the one hand, this technological progress has resulted in a fundamental change in leisure activities since the end of the Second World War (Polanetzki, 2008). Before the industrial revolution leisure was still used mainly to recover from physically strenuous work (Polanetzki 2008), thanks to the mechanical relief provided by technological progress, leisure has increasingly been used for sport, culture or further education (Stebbins, 2009).

The rapidly growing leisure market, characterized by emotionalization, ultimately encouraged our society to expand from a consumer society to an experience consumer society (Polanetzki, 2008). Technological progress also had lasting consequences for the consumption of culture and music: with the development of the CD and the MP3 and MP4 formats in the 1990s, it was possible to compress, store and reproduce music without any loss of quality, making it easily accessible to a broad audience (Hintze, 2011). These developments enabled consumers to fulfil their individual musical wishes whenever and wherever they wanted (Hintze, 2011).

Since fulfilling individual consumer wishes has become increasingly possible, not least through the Internet, consumers have become increasingly accustomed to meeting their own personal consumer expectations, which, unlike in the past, has led to a new expectation (Ulrich, 2009). Accordingly, cultural behaviour has also changed, so that the individual consumption of music could easily substitute for attending a concert. This development led to an explosive increase in sales of sound carriers and players (BM IFPI, 2015). However, the decline in ticket revenues posed major challenges for classical concerts organizers (Haselbach, 2012).

Interaction rituals

Analysing the ritualization mentioned earlier in more detail constitutes an important part of the literature review because it plays a central role in this study.

Essentially, interaction rituals come into being when:

1. people are in the same room at the same time
2. clear boundaries defining who 'belongs' and who does not are to be recognized,
3. a common focus exists, and
4. an emotional experience or atmosphere is shared (Collins, 2005).

In this respect, a classical concert meets these conditions fully. Interaction rituals at classical concerts fulfil an important function by reinforcing listeners' emotions, thereby promoting a better understanding of a composition or dramaturgical structure (Barthelmes & La Motte-Haber, 1999). Today, when the sense of community, authentic identity, order and stability are declining in society, rituals are an important form of human communication and interaction that creates identity (Michaels, 2008).

Ritualization in society has changed significantly since the Second World War, but only slightly for classical concerts (Müller, 2014). Rock or pop concert benefit significantly more from contemporary forms of ritualization than do classical concerts (Müller, 2014).

With the adaptation of rituals to sociological developments, such as upward-mobility, educational expansion, proliferation in transportation and mobility, growth of leisure time, change in social values, and individualization, daily listening to music has become an identity factor in the choice of leisure activities (Neuhoff, 2008). For classical concerts, obsolete interaction rituals must be identified and modified to correspond with current cultural and consumer behaviour.

Methodology

Introduction

With regard to the choice of method, it is useful to re-examine the question posed by the study: In principle, the aim is to examine the effect of the ritualization of the current format of classical concerts primarily on the younger age groups of the audience. Based on these findings, it is intended to examine how rituals that have a negative effect on this age groups could be changed in order to increase their attractiveness, so that these younger age groups are more likely to attend classical concerts. This is an issue that is rooted in practice and for which an equally applied framework is needed.

The choice of the method by which a study is conducted has a direct influence on its result. It is therefore a central concern to select an appropriate method for the given problem. The research goal of this study is to better understand and then change social reality, specifically the ritualization within the audience at classical concerts. Since the focus is particularly on a social setting, and especially on audience research, the first step was to examine the methodological approaches, concepts and procedures used in comparable studies in the field of concerts or other cultural events.

Based on an analysis of the literature, some of the key approaches used and issues raised are briefly outlined here:

- The 'Revealed Preference Technique' has been used in assorted studies (Axhausen, 2003; Loosschilder et al., 1995; Louviere et al., 2000; Steierwald, 2005; Wittink & Cattin, 1989) to investigate how people behave in a current market. When using this method, individuals' purchasing decisions are examined. Very often, this approach is used to reveal consumers' preferences and, in particular, the influence of politics on the basis of consumer buying habits. For example, the question of whether the opening of a new art centre in a certain region influences the attractiveness of the property market was examined (Walmsley, 2019).

However, this method is not suited to evaluating the acceptance of innovations (or, as in the case of this study, modifications of ritualization), nor does it allow for the separate interpretation influences, that are strongly correlated with each other (Axhausen, 2003).

Furthermore, since the present study deals with the 'consumption' of cultural goods, which is not exclusively subject to questions of consumption (Haselbach, 2012), this method was not considered.

- The method of subjective wellbeing (SWB) assessment is a procedure with which the internal judgment of people has been investigated. This method uses a comparison to determine how the impact on wellbeing changes through participation in an event or other activity, or what would be required for an individual to achieve the same change in wellbeing (O'Brien, 2010).

This method also takes into account other factors, such as health or personal traits, that have a direct impact on SWB (Diener, 1984). Accordingly, it would have been expected that no reliable findings on the effects of changing the ritualization of classical concerts could be drawn without taking these other factors into account. Accordingly, this method was disregarded.

- Narrative enquiry represents another method for recording the meaningful nature of the whole of an event. The principal approach of this method assumes that narrative accounts contain rich data. If the structured evaluation of this data material takes into account the findings of cognitive psychology in particular, results can be obtained that are significantly more powerful than information on attendance alone and other relatively simple behavioural measures (Bruner, 2011).

As this method is particularly suitable for a small group of respondents, due to the complex processes of data collection and analysis, it was not used here, as the aim of the study is to obtain a broader impression of the entire audience.

- In the field of qualitative research, the ethnography of consumption has developed recently to become an important research strategy for understanding the feelings and emotions of consumers. This method focuses on the exploration of the multifaceted dimensions of experiences and associated meanings of events (Ziakas & Boukas, 2014). Unlike a normal visitor survey, such data collection is not carried out immediately during, or after the event, but one day after the experience. During this time the mental processing of the experience is already completed and the strongest impressions of the experience are stored as memories, which thus become the object of research (Mariampolski, 1999).

However, it must be borne in mind that the procedure is not suitable for all consumption situations and that the response rate is likely to be much lower, as the relevant form must be completed and sent, or submitted online, which would probably deter many visitors (Carù & Cova, 2008). Apart from this, the subjective perception of the participant is the main focus, which limits the generalizability of research findings (Ziakas & Boukas, 2014). However, Ziakas & Boukas go on to say, "it would perhaps be better for researchers to try revealing

issues and interrelationships that add new insights to phenomena under study rather than drawing absolute conclusions” (p. 25). Their sentiments here are similar to those that inform this study.

This phenomenological approach was not however thought suitable for the present study, as the availability of the concert audience is exclusively limited to the concert and any survey work would thus become considerably more complex.

The aim of this study is both to gain a deeper understanding of the expectations of a potential audience and to generate a more general impression of the perception of ritualization (and selected changes) by the audience. For this reason, the use of qualitative as well as aggregate quantitative data is thought appropriate. Accordingly, a method had to be found that is different from those approaches mentioned above, one with which fundamentally different data types can be combined.

Such methods are used in particular when more than just a paradigmatic or methodological approach, method of data collection, and/or type of analysis strategy is integrated (Bazeley & Kemp, 2012). They provide a robust alternative to the false dichotomy between qualitative vs. quantitative methods and constructivist vs. positivist research that culminated in the so-called paradigm wars of the 1900s (Flick, 2017).

In the area of mixed-method approaches, the Q Methodology is certainly noteworthy for this study. This method was developed to detect and analyse similarities and differences in the subjective viewpoints of individuals in an objective way (Davis & Michelle, 2011). In this method, respondents are asked to place a series of statements, images or other objects in a configuration that is then seen as a holistic expression of each person's perspective. In this way, smaller groups of factors can be identified, which typically represent a common and coherent viewpoint among respondents (Davis & Michelle, 2011). However, as this method is exclusively designed for small-scale approaches, it is therefore not appropriate to the scope of this study.

Questions in the area of audience behaviours, attitudes, socio-demographic attributes have usually been researched with quantitative methods, and the understanding of behaviours, perceptions, feelings, motivation or desires have generally been investigated with qualitative methods, such as e.g. open-ended interviews or ethnographic observation (Davis & Michelle, 2011). However, a few exemplary studies that use mixed methods in this field should be mentioned here, as they provide considerations pertinent to the choice of method for this study:

- In an audience research project aimed at improving the understanding of the behaviour of an English classical music audience, a mixed-method approach was applied, using focus groups and questionnaires (Crawford et al., 2014). In a study from 2008, which investigated the effect of the concert venue and familiarity on audience experience, a written survey of the audience was also conducted, which contained both qualitative and quantitative answers (Dobson, 2008).
- In another study, in which the visitor behaviour of the under-25s in particular was examined, a verbal and visual survey during and after the concert was conducted in addition to the written survey before the concert. Hence both quantitative and rich qualitative data could be generated. In addition, a participatory approach was chosen, which enabled active contribution in focus groups (Dearn & Pitts, 2017).
- In the German-speaking countries, which are particularly relevant for this study, there are some studies that take a similar approach to those outlined above in the field of audience research (Glogner-Pilz & Föhl, 2011; Tröndle, 2019) as well as in the sector of community-based participatory health research (Blumenthal et al., 2015).

A common feature of these studies is the participatory collaboration with affected persons or a representative selection of them (focus group), which seemed to me to be useful for the present task. However, in view of my personal situation, especially the view that exists on the basis of my many years of professional experience, this form of cooperation did not go far enough for me.

In choosing the method, I sought to let those whose demographic characteristics corresponded to the potential new audience that the research was keen to attract decide which rituals are perceived as disturbing and to suggest how they could be changed - *not* to control or stipulate this. Equally, I have been active for many years in the field of organizing classical concerts and I could not therefore approach the question in an unbiased manner. Accordingly, I decided to carry out the study with an action learning approach, making a virtue of my immersion in the setting under investigation.

As the aim is to make the format of the classical concert more attractive for a broader, and especially younger, audience by changing its ritualization, the expectations and ideas of such younger audiences are of particular interest. Therefore, it is crucial to learn more about the expectations of this target group rather than those of the current 'regular' concert goers who do not meet the desired socio-demographic parameters (particularly their older average age). The desire for a

‘younger’ audience was a motivating factor commonly encountered (in my experience) amongst concert promoters, who (perhaps naively) feared that the eventual loss of their more aged audience.

I therefore decided to learn more about the expectations of this target group by giving a small group of people, who fit the desired profile, the task of addressing this question. To this end, an Action Learning Group (ALG) incorporating individuals with appropriate socio-demographic parameters (age, interests, location of the desired target group) was established. Broadly speaking, the ALG’s task is to identify existing rituals that it considers have a disturbing influence on the classical concert and then propose ways to change these rituals, to make them more attractive to the intended target audience. From a methodological standpoint, the approach chosen is action research (AR).

At this point, it must be noted that the chosen AR approach has not yet been applied in the field of audience research and has generally received little research attention to date, (Walmsley, 2019), especially not in the classical concert context. It seems that the notion of working with audiences to determine the *form* of an event is uncommon. Accordingly, the question arises as to why the audience under investigation has not been assigned an essentially participatory role so far in the research context – particularly as this is how the audience is understood from the perspective of music event consumption (see discussions in the literature review).

Action Research

In general, and by way of introduction, it can be said that action research takes a different approach: It is an embedded learning process through which policy and practice can be constructed on the ground. It is a means for getting things done, which is owned by the many stakeholders who are affected by problems and have a part to play in their resolution. As such, it is a process that can be built into the ‘everyday’ practice of community activists, professionals, policy makers and change agents (as well as students and researchers) rather than a specialist process for an expert researcher (Reason, 2003).

Action research can be seen to have originated in the 1940s, with Kurt Lewin and the group-dynamics movement in particular (Unger, 2014). In order to find practice-relevant solutions to pressing social problems, Lewin developed a new form of social research that was not content with the production of scientific texts that result in nothing but books (Reason, 2011). While Lewin was not the first to use action research per se, he introduced a form that was recognized in the social sciences for the first time (Unger, 2014) and hence is often associated with the development of this approach.

According to Lewin, the basic approach principles are the systematic study of social problems and the challenge of solving them. In this way, data is generated, evaluated and targets set in a continuous (cyclical) process of cooperation between researchers and practitioners (Bargal, 2006).

Greenwood and Levin (2007) therefore describe action research as a form of democratic inquiry where professional researchers collaborate with participants in a given context to seek and enact solutions to problems of major importance to those represented by the participants (Greenwood & Levin, 2007). Action research, from its inception, has therefore revolved around practical issues – the kinds of problems, concerns and needs that arose as a routine part of activity ‘in the real world’. This practical orientation has remained a defining characteristic of action research (McIntyre, 2008). The purpose of action research can therefore be seen as generating living theories about how learning improves practice and informs new practices (McNiff & Whitehead, 2006).

Since action research investigates the complexity and multidimensionality of everyday problems in daily life, the process must necessarily be holistic, involve a wide range of disciplines and methods, and take into account the overall context (Greenwood & Levin, 2007). As the aim is to investigate people's everyday behaviour as fully as possible, research is not carried out in a laboratory, as people behave differently in that context than they do in everyday life: they think about the meaning of the laboratory experiment and try to adapt to the expectations of the experimenter (Fiedler & Hörmann, 1978) or try to create an ideal image. They consequently do not behave naturally (Mayring, 2002).

Therefore, the *process* of AR itself is the methodology (Mellor, 1998). For instance, (Dadds, 2003) speaks of ‘methodological inventiveness’, by which an iterative procedure that best fits the question to be investigated is sought. Action research therefore is used particularly when researching change. Studying change is seen as a useful way of learning more about the way a process works (Bryman, 1989). In this study, change is not seen as something suggested at the end of a research procedure based on insights generated, but rather as the central element, leading to more knowledge through action as a central plank of the research approach. Direct implementation in the real world and investigation of corresponding effects are characteristics of this applied method. For this reason, an action research approach is usually focussed on the question of *how* a certain situation can be improved and what occurs when this is pursued. Such questions are usually based on personal commitments that aim to contribute to social or human development. These commitments usually have an intellectual orientation, are systemic, geared to co-determination and critical (Reason, 2011).

These characteristics resonate with the understanding of 'audience' within this research and the focus on ritual, specifically as it pertains to the notions of 'community' and of providing an 'organizational' mechanism. Therefore, instead of seeing the persons involved as 'subjects' of a study, the research process integrates them as participants. Participation, as a fundamental feature of action research, brings with it a shift toward democratizing the research process (Denscombe, 2010). The research process is therefore not controlled by a 'professional, external researcher' but rather by a 'practitioner' working in the field to be researched and often personally affected by its problems.

Action research also rejects the concept of a two-stage process in which research is first conducted by researchers and then, in a separate second stage, the resulting knowledge generated is applied by practitioners. Instead, the two processes, research and action, are integrated (Somekh, 2006). Since research and action must therefore go together, the process must hew closely to practice.

This practical focus is also the underlying ethical challenge of this research method. Given this close relationship to practice, not only does problem-setting become the subject of investigation, but also the persons involved in it, such as work colleagues. Therefore, the participatory aspect of the research process, for example, extends to requesting appropriate consents and active involvement, as the researched are not subjects but participants. This issue is considered more fully later in the section concerning the ethics of research but highlights here the researcher's role as a facilitator.

"This role is [...] to encourage practical deliberation and self-reflection on the part of the practitioners" (Zuber-Skerritt, 1996)). What is more, the researcher's role is defined and constrained by everything else in the research field – the researcher influences and is, in turn, influenced by others. Therefore, research fields cannot be studied in a value-free manner because researchers bring their own values with them (McNiff & Whitehead, 2006).

Given their practical backgrounds, researchers also possess a considerable fund of useful insider-knowledge, a fundamental advantage that is often highlighted in action research. At the same time, a researcher's way of looking at things in his or her own professional field, as well as proximity to the problem-setting can introduce possible bias, leading to a form of myopia, so obvious things are no longer apparent. The 'work-site' approach also affects how well the findings represent the situation and the extent to which generalizations can be made (Denscombe, 2010). These issues raise concerns for the conduct of action research that cannot be overlooked in its development and are considered in the research design (see Study Design section). They also highlight that the researcher is as much a participant as the others involved in the research and part of the 'temporary community' that directs and engages in the research. Essentially, action research is therefore a participatory research method

for planning and researching a life and work practice together with those directly and meaningfully living and acting in that practice. Consequently, interest in knowledge and research questions spring from the convergence of two perspectives, i.e. the scientific and the practical (Bergold & Thomas, 2012).

Traditional research, particularly business and management research, is based on the epistemological assumption that there is an answer to everything. Knowledge is certain and true, and is 'out there', waiting to be discovered (McNiff & Whitehead, 2006). Answers to questions are fixed for all time and all possible answers are compatible and commensurable (McNiff & Whitehead, 2006). In contrast, the action research approach assumes that knowledge is uncertain and ambiguous. Existing knowledge is individual property and therefore often subjective and biased. The object of research is not 'other people' but the 'I' in relation to other 'I's'. Finally, there is never only one answer to a question and multiple responses are possible (McNiff & Whitehead, 2006). Accordingly, this study is not about seeking a *single* answer to the research questions. It is about exploring a social reality in order to better understanding it and how to change it on the basis of the knowledge acquired (Unger, 2014). Given the issues outlined thus far, it is evident that action research requires a commitment to a specific form of knowledge gathering and has a relatively involved and co-productive development process. The resulting issues in the application of action research in this study, including its acceptance in research practices in German speaking countries and the nature of knowledge production pursued, are briefly described below.

Designing an action research approach

It took until the 1970s and, indeed, into the 1990s in some locations for action research to receive widespread support (Herr & Anderson, 2015). In contrast to Great Britain, for example, where action research has been discussed almost continuously since the 1950s, its reception in German-speaking Europe began later and experienced a pronounced, but brief bloom, in the student movements of the 1970s. During the 1980s, interest waned, to the point that action research largely disappeared from the German-speaking research landscape (Altrichter, 1990). Nevertheless, the participatory approach continued in certain application-oriented research fields, such as evaluation research, futurology, transdisciplinary sustainability research and technology assessment, so that continuity and further development of the approach can also be observed within specific disciplines (Matthies & Simon, 2008).

Since 2010 the approach has again been more widely discussed in German-speaking countries: special issues of the journals "Forum qualitative Sozialforschung" (Forum for qualitative social research) were published and monographs presented the approach in a textbook format alongside manuals on qualitative research containing contributions on participatory research (Bergold & Thomas, 2012). The question arises why participatory research in the German-speaking world is now emerging from its marginal, or rather niche, existence.

This pattern may reflect wider global developments as participatory research has been promoted by social contexts in which participation and citizen involvement have gained political weight and minorities have been given voice, or have made themselves heard, in social discourse (Blumenthal et al., 2015). Another reason might be found within the social sciences, where qualitative social research, although it still has a difficult position to defend as a counterpart to the evidence-based quantitative research movement (Denzin & Lincoln, 2013), has become increasingly established and differentiated since the 1980s. This qualitative movement has legitimized such forms of research and created space for methodological and theoretical diversity (Bergold & Thomas, 2012). A third reason might be found in the relationship between society and science: representatives of sociological research have put forward the thesis that the relationship is changing and that new forms of knowledge production are becoming possible (Bergold & Thomas, 2010). This change of relationship between science and society is theoretically realized in sociological research that adopts the model of a 'Mode 2 Society' and 'Mode 2 Knowledge Production'.

Gibbons et al. (2011) describe a paradigm shift from what is called scientific knowledge 'Mode 1' to 'Mode 2'. According to its definition, the development of homogeneous disciplinary Mode 1 knowledge is mainly of interest to an academic community, while heterogeneous transdisciplinary Mode 2 knowledge is chiefly developed through practical application (Gibbons, 2011). However, the Mode 2 model is criticized for lacking an empirical basis. Though, it has also been argued there has never been a pure Mode 1 science, and that the subdivision into Modes 1 and 2 inherently simplifies the diversity of the links and entanglement of scientific knowledge processes with users and other social actors at different times (Simon, 2010). While this argument has some merit, that Mode 2 knowledge has helped highlight the potential of application and practice in research cannot be refuted.

In principle, three different models of 'practice research' can be distinguished. They vary primarily in the nature of the cooperation between science and professional practice, in particular the shares of the professional specialists (Heiner, 1998):

- In the first model, the usual division of labour remains unchanged: academic researchers conduct the research. They cooperate with practitioners who do not undertake research activities themselves.
- In the second model, not only scientists, but also managers conduct research in practice.
- In the third model, the professional experts are at least as actively involved in the research as the scientists.

The first fundamental decision is therefore one of who participates in the research process and in what form (this could be construed as the nature of the action) and, by implication, who does not. One approach – focussing on the participation of users, target groups and representatives of communities as *partners* and *co-researchers* – is community-based-participatory research (CBPR) (Wallerstein & Duran, 2010). This approach originated in North America and has been widely used, especially in the health sector, since the 1990s. In this research method, the term ‘community’ plays a vital role. A central feature of CBPR is understanding a community as an identity-forming entity or as an ‘aspect of collective and individual identity’ and to build research collaboration on this basis (Wallerstein & Duran, 2010). Methodologically, CBPR is a research strategy that makes use of the entire repertoire of qualitative and quantitative methods (Minkler et al., 2003). Given the focus on community and the overlap to the notion of an audience as a temporary community, this approach has merit within this research.

However, the term ‘community’ cannot be translated easily into the German language, nor straightforwardly transferred to the German social context. Use of different translation platforms (such as Google Translate, Pons or Langenscheidt) results in no less than five different translation suggestions for the word ‘community’. When translated into German, the suggestions range in the general sense from the commonwealth, a municipality, the polity, the general public to a section of the population. It is the latter term that is closest perhaps – but it must be noted that ‘community’ needs to be understood in the way it is in the English literature, whilst appreciating that in German there is no simple linguistic or conceptual analogue.

More recent sociology describes ‘post-traditional communities’ emerging in modern societies as more volatile and based on voluntary membership choices rather than obligations and sanctions as in traditional communities (Hitzler, 2009).

In a sense, this definition can also be applied to a classical concert audience. Both traditional and post-traditional communities (Hitzler, 2009) fundamentally contain the following components:

1. a sense of belonging
2. differentiation from others
3. shared concerns, interests and values
4. accessible interaction (-time-) spaces

These components form the essential basis for the parameters to be examined in this research. Given this coalescence, CBPR presents itself as a suitable research approach.

The second central decision is to decide in what the partners will be involved (Pollock, 2002):

- The first, lowest form is compliant participation, common in academic research: community members are informed about a study conducted by academic researchers and members give their consent before participating.
- The second form is controlled or targeted consultation, in which individual community members are asked for advice about the design of a study, for example within the framework of expert interviews. The academic researcher then decides to what extent this advice will be followed.
- The third form is mutual consultation involving longer-term cooperation between scientists and community members who, for example in the form of a project advisory board, have an overview of the entire project and voice their opinions on both selected and comprehensive aspects.

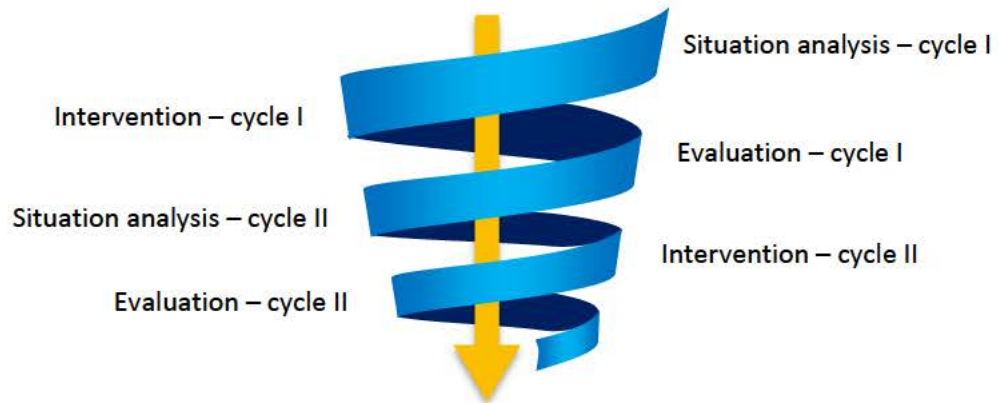
This third form characterizes the approach taken within this work, and cements the study as clearly being practice-based action research with a community – one whose varied voices shape and guide study design.

Study Design

CBPR, as with all forms of action research, proceeds in a cyclical manner, and this needs to be foregrounded to help make sense of the research design and process. Any action research process consists of cycles of active and reactive phases (Corbin & Strauss, 2015), in which several successive stages of action are linked by continuous feedback loops (Thomae, 1999). In general, data are generated and analysed to develop information about potentially relevant action orientations and their implementation in practice (Rosenstiel et al., 1994). Based on the idea of a simple action

research cycle (Observe - Reflect - Plan – Act) (Burns, 2007) or Situation analyses – Intervention – Evaluation (Maimunah & Nor, 2008) the overall approach to the study design, is presented below and visualized in Figure 9:

Figure 9: Summarized Study Pattern



To offer further detail on the content of these elements (see Table 2), events are depicted as a chronological sequence of actions, before each is considered in a more detail.

Table 2: Research event sequence

Situation analyses – cycle 1	
A. Set project scope and recruit action research participants	
B. Action research introduction meeting	
	Welcome and ALG member introductions
	Introduction to the topic and Study design explanation
<i>Set-up Meeting 2 Tasks i & ii</i>	ALG members asked to attend a classical concert: note their impressions of the event and identify audience interaction rituals they consider disturbing
C. Concert visit	
D. Meeting 2	
<i>Task i</i>	Assembling impressions of the classical concert and of other cultural events
<i>Task ii</i>	Initial identification of audience rituals perceived as disturbing and formation of thematic clusters for Task iii
<i>Task iii</i>	Prioritization of rituals (allocation of points) and identification of rituals perceived to be most disturbing
E. Meeting 3	
	Introduction and invitation to develop a modification for the selected rituals
<i>Task i</i>	Collecting ideas for ritual modification
<i>Task ii</i>	Prioritisation of the proposals for modifications (allocation of points) and elaboration of the proposed modifications
Intervention – cycle 1	
F. Establish concerts (listed separately) at which interventions can be enacted, negotiate and brief stakeholders to enable interventions to rituals to be enacted	
G. Create audience survey instrument to capture response to changed rituals, circulate at concerts where rituals are modified	
H. Enact modifications (concerts are listed separately), circulate audience survey	
I. Action research participants also attend concerts at which agreed modifications are implemented	
Evaluation – cycle 1	
J. Analyse audience survey data once concerts where modified rituals are all performed	
Situation analysis – cycle 2	
K. Meeting 4	
	Presentation of audience survey results
<i>Task i</i>	Evaluation of the outcomes (has ritual [positively/negatively changed perceptions) from AP participants and the audience survey
<i>Task ii</i>	Selection of those rituals considered in a modified form in a new concert format
<i>Task iii</i>	<i>Development of a concert format to attract a younger target audience</i>

Intervention – cycle 2
L. Establish concert at which interventions can be enacted, negotiate and brief stakeholders to enable interventions to rituals to be enacted
M. Enact new concert format, circulate audience survey (based on previous design)
N. Action research participants also attend new format concert
Evaluation – cycle 2
O. Analyse audience survey from new format concert

Situation analysis - cycle 1

A. Set project scope and recruit action research participants

Since various factors (such as design of the musical programme, selection of guest artists, duration of the concert, start time of the concert, etc.) were predetermined, elements that were not ‘fixed’ in this manner were the only ones available for intervention. The focus of this study was on the investigation of interaction rituals – as the ways in which an audience is constrained/encouraged to contribute/participate in the concert – as factors that *could* be changed. This choice of ‘interaction rituals’ was also based on my extensive professional experience and personal observations and is, in part, therefore based on personal assessment, and hence not unbiased.

From the multitude of research methods available I elected to use an Action Learning (AL) approach as I not only have the opportunity to conduct a real-life study (at classical concerts and not in the laboratory), but also the appropriate decision-making power. From a system-theoretical point of view, it is also possible to investigate why this system (classical concert) seems to be out of balance (ageing) and what internal changes can be done to adapt (Mele et al., 2010).

More specifically an Action Learning Group (ALG) approach is used because I am convinced that the decision-making power on the issue researched should, as far as is possible, be left entirely to those directly concerned (i.e. the potential audience). Such an orientation also works within the CBPR methodology.

To initiate the research process and form an Action Learning Group, it is first necessary to find suitable members. Persons affected by a certain topic or active in a particular setting were sought (Unger, 2014). For this study, it was necessary that potential ALG members exhibit certain interests, because the research relates to classical music. In concrete terms, members were sought who enjoyed listening to classical music but did not attend classical concerts. As explained previously, the main objective of the study is to develop means for attracting a younger and wider audience to

classical concerts in Switzerland and particularly in Zurich. The desired socio-demographic parameters were incorporated into ALG member selection. Therefore, ALG members also needed to be aged between 30 and 60, and balanced gender-representation was sought. The level of completed education was not considered because, as stated in the literature review, concert visitors are varied in this respect. The size of the group was deliberately set at eight, as it allows for balanced gender representation, and as this number enabled different opinions to surface whilst limiting the potential for a dominant voice to always lead.

The search for and selection of members took place through my personal environment. I firstly talked about the research and its aims, as well as ALG member inclusion parameters, with acquaintances from my leisure activities, but also with business partners. Based on these initial conversations, I was not only able to determine whether the socio-demographic parameters would be met, for example the target average age, or the ALG member gender mix, but also if a potential member enjoys listening to classical music but does not (or rarely) attends classical concerts. And finally, in these initial conversations I was also able to gauge whether a potential ALG member was likely to participate actively in the work, and thus contribute participatively to the CBPR.

This therefore included discussing the time commitment that was needed from ALG members over what can be considered an extended research data generation timescale (months rather than minutes or hours, as is often the case in many research projects). Since there were numerous other demands in terms of time and effort made on potential ALG members, the search proved to be challenging. Therefore, the key criterion was preference for classical music, and whilst attempts were made to manage the ALG members socio-demographic mix this became a secondary consideration.

According to the Federal Bureau of Statistics (Swiss Statistics, 2016), the Swiss population has the following demographic characteristics (see Tables 3 and 4):

Table 3: Socio-demography of Switzerland

Average Age	43.53 years [The largest age group (35%) is between 40-64 years] Men = 42.06 years Women = 44.90 years
Gender distribution	51% women, 49% men

In comparison, the ALG members' demographic characteristics are:

Table 4: ALG Socio-demography

Average Age	45.36 years (1.9 years above the general Swiss average)
Gender distribution	50% men 50% women

Table 5 provides further ALG member details.

Table 5: AGL characteristics

AGL member number	Gender	Age	Prior attendance at classical concerts
1	Female	52	Never
2	Male	42	Rarely
3	Female	31	Never
4	Female	48	Rarely
5	Male	45	Never
6	Female	43	Never
7	Male	58	Rarely
8	Male	44	Rarely

Apart from the unique opportunity to gather rich experiential information through the interaction of an ALG, it should also be noted that most members of the ALG had no, or very limited and sporadic, prior personal contact with each other at the beginning of the research process. During ALG cooperation, closer personal ties developed within the group, which also resulted in a psychosocial aspect that can influence the work of ALG. This includes psychological or group dynamic developments, such as the dominance of individuals within a group, the manipulation of other team members, the tendency towards normative discourse and conflicts or disputes within an ALG (Smithson, 2000). Thus, the greatest risk in this context is considered to be the possible influence of censoring and conforming (Carey & Smith, 1994). The dynamic process of individual members in a group influencing each other is difficult to access, especially if it has been decided that the ALG

should be given as much room for maneuver as possible. By making decisions on a democratic basis, however, the potential of an ALG member to have undue influence can be somewhat mitigated.

B. Action research introduction meeting

Since participatory research is largely characterized by context, quality and flexibility (Bergold & Thomas, 2012), one of the initial objectives for the first meeting was to give ALG members a detailed understanding of the study's subject matter. I therefore informed the ALG-members about the tasks, design, and basic intent of the study. This introduction formed the theoretical basis from which ALG members could develop various solution options, after establishing relevance and need for practical action (Unger, 2014).

Another important goal of this meeting was to explain to ALG members their role as participating 'scientists'. This does not consist of acting as scientific experts, but in engaging in joint debates and diverse forms of knowledge making. At the same time, I also discussed my own role in this process. In principle, the head of such an AR study has various options at their disposal, such as trainer, coach, scaffolder, mentor, partner-in-dialogue, co-learner, reciprocal learner and practical facilitator (Nind, 2011).

I therefore explained to the ALG that this study is not a laboratory experiment in which I, the researcher, define the interaction rituals to be changed. Instead, it is a field study in which the new potential audience – represented by ALG-members – take over that task. I therefore decided to limit myself primarily to the role of the observer and facilitator. In the latter function I saw my task above all in the administrative implementation of the modifications decided upon by the ALG, (and in cycle II in implementation of the new concert format that was created).

It is understandable that it was difficult for me to limit myself to the role of observer throughout the entire process, as I had formed my own opinion on the question through my many years of professional practice. Particularly as, even before I conducted this study, I took a variety of measures to deal with the apparent ageing of the audience. These included the integration of other art forms in the concerts (crossover programming), the realization of concerts in other venues (such as bars, cinemas or museums) or open-air performance; the integration of discussions with a conductor or guest artist, or the development of communication and marketing strategies to reach other target groups.

Since I therefore had to assume that the administration team and I had already been influenced by the various experiences we had gained with such measures, I considered it to be central to the process of this study that this information should, as far as possible, not become part of ALG's considerations. I therefore explained this to the ALG and asked that I deliberately not be involved in discussions, but only consulted when it came to substantive, administrative or organizational issues. The distribution of others' roles within the ALG itself was not discussed in this fashion.

Finally, the ALG was briefed on what needed to be done to facilitate two tasks to be undertaken as part of the next meeting. ALG members were asked to attend a Zurich Chamber Orchestra classical concert (*C. Concert visit*). This offered those who had never been an experiential basis for responses. The first task was to detail their impressions of the event. To help facilitate this ALG members were given four questions (listed in Table 6 below) to consider. They were also asked to identify interaction audience rituals they considered to be disturbing (see Table 11).

C. Meeting 2

Meeting 2 - Task i: Assembling impressions of the classical concert and of other cultural events

ALG member impressions of the concert were explored by considering their responses to the four questions provided (see below) and were recorded using a flipchart and by awarding points. (Each ALG-member was assigned a colour-code to facilitate later analyses of patterns specific to age or gender - see Appendix Figure 96, p. 259). Table 6 below summarizes the ALG's responses developed from their first task in meeting:

Table 6: Fundamental questions the ALG addressed

Question	Answer/Evaluation
What did you think of the classical concert? (Describe your impressions and feelings in a few key words.)	The female members of ALG described the concert without exception in positive terms and found it to be surprising, dreamy, a broadening of their horizons, and a welcome change from daily routine. The male members used both positive words, such as inspiring, entertaining, relaxing and delightful, but also negative terms such as long-winded, sleep-inducing and/or boring. The age-specific view is mixed, so that there is no clear distinction in this respect.

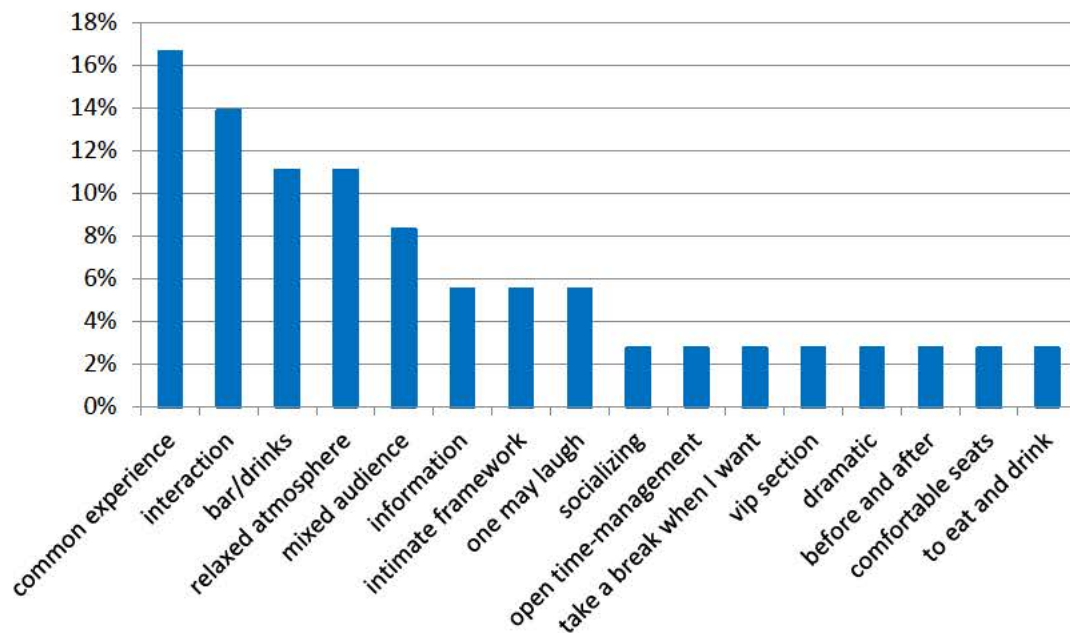
What was it about the concert that you most enjoyed?	The responses of the female ALG-members focussed primarily on musical parameters like tone quality, acoustics, the artists' interpretations, or the music in general, whereas the male ALG-members mentioned, in addition, the atmosphere, the place, the shared experience, or the refreshments after the concert. While the younger members mentioned the music, the event, but also the social aspect, the older age categories almost exclusively focused on the community experience.
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What did you find to be demanding or deterring?	Both women and men primarily mentioned the length of the event and particularly the behaviour of the audience. The older members mentioned here primarily the beginning time and the (too long) duration of the concert, while the younger members were disturbed by the lack of parking spaces, the small number of good seats, or insufficient advertising.
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Why don't you go (more often) to classical concerts?	Most of the female ALG-members mentioned the high-ticket prices, not having someone to go with them, too few parking places, or too few good seats in the concert hall. For the male ALG-members, the reasons were the unsuitable hour, lengthy programmes, as well as – like the women – price versus benefit.
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Subsequently, ALG members were asked about other cultural audience-events they attend and what aspects, in their opinion, most strongly contribute to the development of community-feeling within those audiences (see Figure 10). Of the audience-events mentioned, such as pop concert, cinema, cabaret, opera spectacle (Verona), jazz concert, art exhibition and exhibitions of photography, the following characteristics were perceived as positive.

Figure 10: Aspects for the development of community-feeling



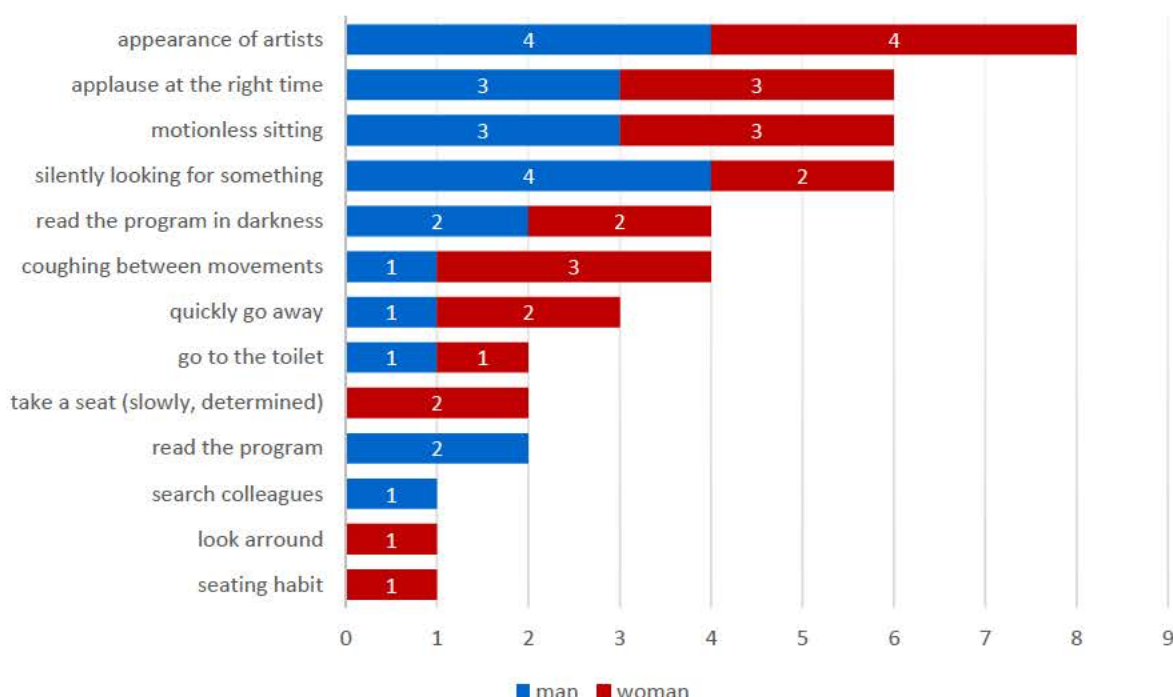
Meeting 2 - task ii: Initial identification of audience rituals perceived as disturbing and formation of thematic clusters for Task iii

A detailed analysis of existing interaction rituals followed, based on ALG members experiences at the concert they attended. The aim was to determine those rituals that the majority of ALG members found disturb the feeling of a shared experience in the audience, have a negative effect on the concert atmosphere, or even act to deter concert attendance. To facilitate this, I described the interaction rituals that have already been observed at classical concerts (see the overview of existing interaction rituals). From this overview of different interaction rituals, such as the restrained welcoming of seat neighbours in the audience, the strict applause-order or the rapid leaving of the concert venue after the concert (Engeler, 1990), ALG members selected interaction rituals they perceived as disturbing. ALG members supplemented this list with additional observations.

Meeting 2 - Task iii: Prioritization of rituals (allocation of points) and identification of rituals perceived to be most disturbing.

In the subsequent evaluation, each ALG member was asked to select the 5 interaction rituals they found most annoying. The ALG used this method to identify the interaction rituals to be discussed in greater detail below: see 'Disturbing Interaction rituals' (p. 95 - 96).

Figure 11: Disturbing rituals at classical concerts



As Figure 11 shows, Artists' appearance, applauding at the right time, motionless sitting, reading the programme in the dark and going to the toilet were equally named by both male and female ALG members. This was the case with 4 out of 5 of the most frequently named disturbances. Additional comments reveal that the studied, and therefore 'artificial', behaviour of the artists is also annoying, as is the apparently compulsory rule forbidding free and spontaneous movement. Most women also mentioned coughing between movements, quickly going away, taking a seat, looking around, and seating habits.

Most men mentioned silently looking for something, reading the programme, and looking around for colleagues.

On the basis of this evaluation, the ALG selected appearance of artists, applause at the right time, the restricted freedom of movement (motionless sitting, silently looking for something, coughing between movements) or read the programme in darkness as the rituals (or elements thereof) that are most disturbing. Accordingly, the democratic decision was made to continue to work with these rituals.

D. Meeting 3

Meeting 3 - Task i: Collecting ideas for ritual modification

The first ALG task was to suggest how to change the interaction rituals selected (the top 7 identified in Meeting 2 - Task iii were considered) so they might be perceived to be less annoying. This was a lively discussion, which was potentially subject to the laws of group dynamics, and it is possible that the opinions of the most vocal members of the ALG were weighted more heavily. I also consciously took on the role of the observer but prepared myself to intervene when I felt that a suggested ritual modification might be too disturbing or upsetting to the present audience. Fortunately, I did not have to intervene.

Meeting 3 - Task ii: Prioritisation of the proposals for modifications (allocation of points) and elaboration of the proposed modifications

The ALG voted on the following modifications to the identified interaction rituals (listed in descending order of points allocated in Figure 11, p. 91). Once the order had been prioritized, ALG members worked through each interaction ritual modification in turn, starting with the one seen as most important, to develop an elaborated proposition for the modification to be applied. The final expressions of the suggested modifications were reached through discussion and are also summarized in the following Table 7:

Table 7: Annoying Interaction rituals and ritual change suggestions

	Interaction ritual	The annoying components	Suggested modification
1	Appearance of artists	The ALG finds it studied, unnatural and annoying when the soloist repeatedly leaves the stage during the applause and returns to the stage when the applause continues.	The soloist should not leave the stage during applause, they should receive the applause in a relaxed and natural fashion and perhaps interact (non-verbally) with the audience.
2	Applause at the right time	The ALG finds it restricting that the audience is only allowed to applaud at the end of a work, instead of spontaneously and even between movements.	The audience should be encouraged to applaud between movements, even spontaneously.

3	Sitting motionless	The ALG finds it annoying that the audience is forced to sit motionless during the entire concert, creating a stiff, tense atmosphere.	The audience should have the opportunity to move around between works and between movements, to converse quietly with their neighbours, send a posting on social media, and read the programme, to relax.
4	Silently looking for something in their handbag	The ALG finds it restrictive to have to be quiet while looking for something (programme, cough drop) in one's purse or jacket pocket.	The audience should have the opportunity during a movement of a work to pull out an object in a relaxed way, even if it makes noise.
5	Read the programme in darkness	The ALG finds it annoying, if one has no time to finish reading the programme - usually purchased immediately before the concert - because the lights are dimmed when the concert begins.	The introduction to the concert or the certain works should become part of the performance itself. The lights in the hall should be raised between movements, so that the programme can be read more easily.
6	Coughing between movements	The ALG finds it annoying that there is a lot of coughing between movements and attributes this to the tense atmosphere during a movement.	To relax the tense atmosphere, the audience should have the opportunity to relax during the movements.
7	Quickly go away	The ALG finds it annoying that the whole audience leaves the building very quickly after the concert and that there is no social opportunity for the audience to mingle and to share impressions with friends and other audience members.	A social framework should be created, in which the audience can mingle with each other after the concert. ¹

¹ Unlike many other concert providers, the Zurich Chamber Orchestra already began in 2014 to offer its audiences a concert-lounge directly after concerts, where the audience is invited to a free drink. Since the ALG considers this valuable in the context of the questions regarding interaction rituals, the idea of the concert-lounge is considered in subsequent audience surveys.

Intervention – cycle 1

E. Establish concerts at which interventions can be enacted, negotiated and stakeholders briefed to enable interventions to rituals to be enacted

After the modifications were decided, it was a matter of discussing and implementing them within the executive boards, administration and, finally, within the orchestra. Whilst it was understood that the study was carried out due to the declining number of visitors, in some quarters seeking to make changes to address this was still met with scepticism, as it opened up new avenues and perhaps even called into question paradigms that were previously considered inviolable.

At the same time, it was also a matter of determining the Zurich Chamber Orchestra concerts in the Tonhalle Zurich at which a modification of a ritual could be performed, taking into consideration programmatic and organizational circumstances. The aim of these considerations was, among other things, to take into account which guest artists or conductors that were already engaged are open to carrying out the study in their concert, whether the existing design of the musical programme is suitable for modification or in which period a concert will take place. The following concerts were identified as suitable (see Table 8):

Table 8: Concerts of the Zurich Chamber Orchestra to be modified

May 19, 2015, 7.30 p.m.; Soloist: Julian Rachlin, Viola/Violin	
Concert programme:	
J.S. Bach	Brandenburg Concerto Nr. 6, B flat Major, BWV 1051
J.S. Bach	Violin Concerto, reconstructed after BWV 1056
J.S. Bach	Violin Concerto, E-Major, BWV 1042
W.A. Mozart	Violin Concerto Nr. 2 D-Major KV 211
W.A. Mozart	Symphony Nr. 29 A-Major KV 201
Number of seats occupied: 1,116 out of 1,452 (Tonhalle Zurich, Large Hall)	
Modification in the second half of the concert: The audience can spontaneously applaud between movements (2).	

June 2, 2015, 7.30 p.m., Soloist: Fabio Biondi, Violin

Concert programme:

G.F. Telemann Suite in G-major TWV 55:G10 "Burlesque de Quixotte"

G.F. Telemann Divertimento in B-flat Major TWV 50:23

G.F. Telemann Divertimento B-flat Major TWV 50:23

G.F. Telemann Suite in G-Minor TWV 55:g2 "La Changeante"

G.F. Telemann Ouverture in 4 Parts in F-Major "Schwering Manuskript"

Number of seats occupied: 447 out of 634 (Tonhalle Zurich, Recital Hall)

Modification in the second half of the concert:

- The artist is asked to remain on stage during the applause (1)
- Between movements the lights are raised in the auditorium,
 - So that the audience can move, converse, read or relax (3, 6), or
 - look for something (4).

June 23, 2015, 7.30 p.m., Conductor: Sir Roger Norrington, Soloist: James Galway, Flute

Concert programme:

W. A. Mozart Symphony Nr. 6, F-Major, KV 43

W. A. Mozart Flute Concerto Nr. 2, D-Major, KV 314

W. A. Mozart Symphony Nr. 38, D-Major, KV 504 'Prague'

Number of seats occupied: 1,505 from 1,542 (Tonhalle Zurich, Large Hall)

Modifications in the second half of the concert:

- the introduction of the programmed works is integrated into the performance itself (5).
- Concert-lounge (7)

As the audience at such concerts is primarily made up of 'existing concert goers', many of whom may be very familiar with the existing ritualization (in some cases as a result of several decades of interaction), it was necessary to take this into account when planning and implementing the ritual modifications. The aim was to ensure that the audience was not overly disturbed in relation to its usual routine and hence may even become annoyed. For this reason, but also to give the audience a basis for comparison with the original ritual, changes were limited to one half of the concert (hence, the first half of the concert was conducted in the 'accepted' fashion before the rituals were changed).

F. Create audience survey instrument to capture responses to changed rituals

In terms of the audience response to the modifications, the aim was to obtain the broadest possible coverage of the opinion. For this reason, I decided to implement a written audience questionnaire, which can be swiftly completed so that respondents' time burden is minimized, also helping increase the response rate. The questionnaire was composed of both open and closed questions – seeking to balance the depth of data generated for the research and ease of completion for the respondent.

Audience Survey Considerations

It is important to remember that the aim of this study is both to gain a deeper understanding of the effects that the performance of a particular ritual at a classical concert has on the individual in the audience and, more broadly, the aggregate impression of the audience at that particular event. To achieve the latter objective, it is therefore necessary to choose a method of data collection that allows aggregation of outcomes across an audience. This includes, for example, collecting data 'in the heat of the moment' using electronic devices, such as mobile phones or tablets (Burland & Pitts, 2014) to capture the immediacy of a response. This embraces the use of an Audience Response System (ARS), which can generate data from the audience using electronic devices and multiple-choice questions (Kay & LeSage, 2009). However, since the goal was also to see the concert as a total experience, gauging an overall impression was considered more important than various partial impressions or snapshots. Therefore, audience data generation during the concert, which may also have disturbed the audience's concentration, was avoided and data generation instead took place immediately after the concert. Possible disturbance through the use of a mobile app-based mechanism, or similar, would also have increased, as such an approach has not been previously used with the orchestra's audience and, as such, some members might not have been familiar or confident with its use. Additionally, as the concert hall is darkened during the concert [in all but in one modification], the survey questionnaire would therefore be difficult to read or complete during the performance. This issue helped ensure that the survey distributed before the concert was not completed until the end of the performance and that the modified ritual/s was experienced.

Other data collection methods, such as conducting interviews, whilst a possibility, would have meant a very different approach. Rather than seeking responses from as many audience members as possible immediately at the end of the event after they experienced the changed ritual, interviews or

focus groups would have meant locating possible participants and following up after the event – losing the immediacy that was sought.

To attempt to capture audience impressions, the questionnaire was essentially divided into two parts: in the first, attitudes towards the reception of rituals, the audience, as well as the concert format were sought. In the second part, the audience member's socio-demographic and visitor behaviour data were pursued. This includes, in particular, age, gender and frequency of concert attendance.

As previously explained, the purpose of this study is to gather more detailed findings on audiences' reactions to modifications to concert rituals. Evaluation of qualitative data to promote this deeper understanding (Mayring, 2002), is thus essential. Such data are generated mainly through open questions, where respondents can answer in their own words. Therefore, these data must be evaluated later through categorization or interpretation (Hemming, 2016). Such questions constitute a key component of the audience survey.

Equally, many audience members may wish to leave quickly after the concert, and this is something that must also be considered. The time required to fill out the questionnaire must therefore be minimized to encourage as many responses as possible. This goal can be attained best by using questions with pre-defined, scaled answer. These tend to limit answer options on the one hand, but on the other, they greatly simplify and accelerate the filling out of the form (Denscombe, 2010). The decision to shorten the time taken to complete the questionnaire using predefined scales also has the consequence that the answer options are restricted and that the result of the evaluation is significantly influenced by this choice of words (Denscombe, 2010).

Therefore, the formulation of closed questions concerning the current, as well as the modified ritualization design is important. To generate such data, semantic differential and rating scales were used (Kempf-Leonard, 2004). As there are no comparable studies or public surveys on this subject in German-speaking Switzerland, it was not possible to build on existing sources and a set of items were developed to address the nature of this research and its specific context – Zurich. The intent was to generate data to capture the audience's assessment of the overall nature of the concert, the sense of community in the audience [semantic differentials] and the extent to which the existing and modified ritualization alter perceptions [rating scales].

To design the semantic differential scales, for example to investigate the concert format changes or the audience community, it was first a matter of defining appropriate characteristics with which concert format or audience can be described. For this purpose, I noted down various conversations

with visitors (e.g. after a concert) and from these isolated positive and negative adjectives. The most frequently mentioned characteristics thus formed the initial selections used to create the semantic differential pairs. If a characteristic – for instance ‘modern’ – was selected in this way, and no corresponding opposite was evident, it was necessary to determine one.

There were two main requirements for the selection of such counter-terms: Firstly, the greatest possible contrast between the definition terms had to be found, which should be understood as clearly and unambiguously as possible – in the example above of the word ‘modern’, the contrary characteristic ‘outdated’ may have negative associations for the majority of the audience, whereas ‘traditional’ is more likely to offer ‘interpretive space’ leading to both positive and negative associations. On the other hand, the choice of words must also contain only terms that are colloquially familiar within the respondent group and can therefore be more easily understood. It is therefore equally necessary to establish if each word only represents a negative value (e.g. using the word ‘obsolete’) for younger and for older visitors, as linguistic usage not only differs by region, but also within certain target groups. For example, an audience of a classical concert goers in England do not call themselves fans, but rather use terms such as ‘conservative fanatic, committed listener or aficionado’ (Dearn & Pitts, 2017).

This requirement must be understood, in particular, within the cultural context in which the research takes place. The use of the High German language in Switzerland differs significantly from that in Germany or Austria. In this research, the terms chosen are aligned with the language used in published material, such as newspaper reviews of cultural events, theatre, opera or concert event announcements or the corresponding programmes in, or around, the Zurich area. This approach was used to ensure audience members responding to the survey were more likely to be familiar with the words used as the terms were consistent with the language used to express information and present critique of cultural events. In addition, it is also important to note that the terms listed in the body of this thesis are translations from [Swiss] German into English, which once again brings an additional layer of complexity.

Alongside the semantic differential scales, attitudinal scales were used to directly address the aspects of ritual. The design of these scales is fundamentally based on the construction of so-called ‘rating scale’ (alternatively also termed the ‘Likert scale’ after its inventor), on which respondents indicate the degree of their agreement or disagreement on a multi-stage answer specification (Hemming, 2016).

In this way, responses can be recorded in a differentiated manner, but it must also be noted that the information provided only corresponds to an order sequence - from approval to rejection - and that it cannot be assumed that the distances between the individual points on the scale are equal. As a result, the calculation of an average value on such a scale is statistically inappropriate (Hemming, 2016). Hemming's view, though widely supported (mostly uncritically), is utterly wrong. Numbers have no history – they do not know where they come from – so if you assign numbers, you may do exactly as you wish, within the laws of arithmetic. There is support for this view in the statistics literature.

In the questionnaire response scales with an uneven number of categories are deliberately used, since the intent is to avoid an overly positive rating being given where essentially a respondent is indifferent. However, neutral assessments can be excluded during analysis, if necessary.

The limitations surrounding response though closed scale formats were offset through the supplementary use of an open response sections, so that the audience, could provide individual responses. These combine pre-coded and open answers (Schnell, 2011), of the form (see e.g. audience survey 02.06.2015, p. 267):

- '[modification X] has changed the social atmosphere at tonight's concert?' (scaled response)
- 'Please give reasons for your assessment?' (open response)

(See the appendices for an audience questionnaire example.)

G. Enact modifications, circulate audience survey

As stated previously, to ensure the audience had a basis for comparing the original and modified ritual, the modifications were enacted in the second half of the concert, so that the original ritual could be experienced in the first part. Changing only half of the concert also served to ensure regular concertgoers' practices were not overly disrupted.

To support research integrity, the principle of informed consent was applied to the public who formed the audience (Hopf, 2016). The listeners present were therefore also told that audience survey participation was voluntary. However, to promote survey participation, a competition was organized. Participation in the competition was limited exclusively to survey participants. To enable the awarding of prizes, contact details were provided by those that wished to enter the competition.

The actual implementation of the modification began at the concert by informing the audience about the study and specifics of ritual modification at that event. This is an example (translated into English from Swiss German) of how the study, its goals, and the ritual change were communicated:

“Social behaviour during the consumption of cultural events has changed radically in recent years, but the form of the classical concert has remained practically unchanged since the middle of the 19th century. This may be one reason classical concerts are increasingly unattractive, especially for younger audiences.

Within the framework of a scientific study, we are considering the question of how to alter interaction rituals so that more modern concert formats can develop. As part of this study, a group of younger concertgoers was asked to suggest relevant modifications. In tonight’s concert we would like to try out one of these changes and see what you think of it. The group was disturbed by the fact that they couldn’t simply applaud whenever they wanted to. Therefore, in the second part of the concert, I invite you to an experiment: pay no attention to when you are normally allowed to applaud. Instead, applaud whenever you feel like applauding – even between movements – but only if you like the performance, of course.

It may be difficult at first but try to look impartially at how eliminating this applause ritual affects you and use the questionnaire you have been given at the end of the concert to share with us openly and honestly how it felt to you.

We thank you in advance for your valuable assistance.”

The questionnaire and a ballpoint pen were given to the entire audience before the concert. The completed surveys were collected directly at the concert hall exit to be recorded immediately.

As can be seen from the audience's comments later, it must be taken into account that a one-off modification of a ritual practiced over many years is unlikely to feel natural to the regular audience present, and this should be taken into account in evaluation. A similar perception is also to be expected of artists and members of the administration, who are not used, for example, to an audience clapping after each movement, or the room lighting between sequences being illuminated. Any visible reactions from these groups may also have had an influence on audience members’ perceptions of the intervention.

H. Action research participants also attend concerts at which agreed modifications are implemented

The questionnaire distributed before the concert was not only completed by concertgoers immediately after the concert but also by the ALG members who attended the events where rituals were changed. As ALG members were familiar with each other and may understandably wish to discuss the experienced ritual change with each other after the event, their survey responses may have been jointly completed or influenced through mutual agreement. As such, these responses were separated out and analysed separately from those of other audience members. This is to support both reflection on the changed ritual in subsequent ALG meetings and to provide a basis to consider the group's perspective in relation to that of the audience at large as a device for further work within the ALG.

Evaluation – cycle 1

I. Analyse audience survey data from concerts where modified rituals are all performed

The objective of the evaluation of the generated audience survey data can be divided into two sub-objectives: On the one hand, that the audience survey provides an impression of the reception of the concert format, of the audience in and of itself, as well as of the modifications carried out. Among other things, it is intended to clarify whether parts of the audience believe that the concert format is outdated. Based on the findings obtained, it is then possible to decide later, among other things, whether a proposed modification is generally accepted positively by the audience, which increases the likelihood that it will be continued. On the other hand, the evaluation of the general audience survey outcomes in the ALG, as well as the evaluation of the ALG members own survey responses, provides a deeper understanding of the reception of the modifications. Based on such an understanding, further single interventions may be developed, or other more fundamental changes may be suggested.

The evaluation of the generated data was therefore a central challenge. In this study, both qualitative and quantitative data are analysed, and this increases process complexity. However, this complexity cannot be avoided because of the nature of the research questions posed. This mix also responds to the approaches taken in social science studies of audience behaviours, where, primarily,

socio-demographic attributes and correlation, as well as causal relationships are investigated with quantitative data and qualitative data are also used to generate a deeper understanding of audience behaviour, motivation, feelings and expectations (Patriarche, 2015).

Designing an audience survey to generate both quantitative and qualitative data must also take data analysis into consideration. As quantitative data are numerical, measurement is a central goal; and, validity and traceability are central priorities so that the replication of a study is possible (Bryman, 2006). However, it is important to remember that an assessment of the strength of any community feeling perceived by audience members is not only very subjective, but also that people have differing ideas of what constitutes community feeling, making objective comparability even more difficult (Mayring, 2002). However, assessing audience responses to a change in another manner is more difficult. Accepting that the results generated are subjective and bound to the context of this study is, however, not problematic given the framing of this research.

Qualitative data are essentially non-numeric and come most often in the form of words and images, generally as part of small-scale studies in terms of numbers of situations or persons included; the deep understanding of a specific phenomenon within the overall context is normally foregrounded (Denscombe, 2010). Qualitative advocates state that there is no way to understand anything *worthwhile* about people and their problems solely with statistics (Bernstein, 2007). For this reason, qualitative studies are very seldom conducted in a laboratory, but usually in the original environment. Qualitative research also tends to operate on the assumption that social realities are 'wholes' that cannot be understood in isolation from their contexts, nor can they be fragmented for separate study of their parts (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

In this research, the problem statement is described from the viewpoint of the person affected and the research design is accordingly flexible. While it seeks to examine the influences of particular rituals, selected by the ALG members who also outline possible modifications, the design also appreciates that these modifications sit within the 'experience of the concert' as a whole – that provides the 'context' and whilst it is the audience who respond, in some way, to the modification they themselves are as much a component of 'the experience' as the modified ritual and all other aspects of the event. Reality is hence seen as the creation of the people involved. Therefore, 'objectivity' is not the supreme goal. To that end, the skills and values of the researcher are also an integral part of the study. The researcher's 'self-identity' is hence treated as being significant in relation to analysis processes (Bryman, 2006).

Analysis of qualitative data is certainly a challenge that presents a wide range of problems for a researcher. Among the various challenges that need to be solved, the literature mentions problems with the initial data, the analysis of individual variables, the handling of large amounts of data, the simultaneous examination of different characteristics with only one object of investigation or how to generalize (Vaus, 2002). The lack of reliability is usually due to an inadequate description of the analysis process and the consequent concerns about the credibility and usefulness of the findings (Carey, 1995).

There are different methods for qualitative data analysis that incorporate different ontological and epidemiological perspectives (Smith, 2008). First of all, some hold that the data arrive in a raw condition but are pre-coded, so the main task of the researcher is to reduce, group and label these raw data (Mayring, 2002). Others view the situation differently. The core idea of the hermeneutic approach is that everything produced by human beings is always associated with subjective meanings, with sense and sense-making (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). The development of meaning and sense through serial interaction with the data is then the primary goal, rather than reducing, grouping and labelling 'raw' data.

Thematic analysis was used in this research, as it is relatively easy to apply, comprehensible and one of the most used approaches for qualitative research (Guest, 2012). It can be flexibly adapted to the problem and coding is based directly on the raw data. Evaluation of the qualitative data was based on Mayring's (2002) idea of qualitative content analyses. The breakdown into analytical units is made according to the principal of inductive category development. The purpose of this inductive system is to develop categories-based answers given and not to assign answers to pre-defined categories (Mayring, 2002).

In order to quantify the corresponding answers informatively, the principle of dimensioning, according to (Hemming, 2016) was applied. This approach to qualitative content analysis is intended to achieve improved objectivity of the evaluation. In principle, this is based on the assignment of text excerpts to categories that have been developed or on the formation of new categories.

In applying this method, the procedure was divided into six steps (Braun & Clarke, 2006):

1. familiarization with data
2. generating initial codes
3. searching for themes among codes
4. reviewing themes
5. defining and naming themes
6. producing the final report

Using this method, the qualitative data generated were first reviewed to develop a rough overview. Subsequently, initial codes to which the comments received could be assigned were generated. A second review of the data was conducted to check and make final adjustments to the codes before the comments were finally coded.

This can be illustrated by considering examples of some of the comments received in relation to ritual modification of 'appearance on stage': While comments such as 'by stepping up and down one can clap longer and thus express appreciation better' or 'the applause is for the artists, therefore they should also remain on stage' the expression of appreciation has been accepted as a basic statement, comments such as 'it was laughable' or 'it is less restless' focus on the general mood. Comments such as 'I see the joy of the artists over the applause' or 'I feel more connected to the musicians' reflect the improved connection to other people in the hall centred on the musicians as a central statement and coded accordingly. This excursion into the results is offered as an example of the iterative, cyclical, nature of the analysis within the overall cycles of community-based-participatory research.

With regard to the evaluation of the quantitative data obtained from the closed questions in the audience public surveys, the following issues were considered. The primary objective of the audience survey is to gain a general insight into the audience's perception of rituals at a classical concert. It is therefore necessary to summarize the observations, for which purpose primarily descriptive statistics are used. The nature of the generated data suggested a conservative, relatively limited, approach to analysis.

The first step in describing (and then analysing) the generated data was to convert the predefined response options into a corresponding numerical scale. This was necessary in order to be able to carry out calculations of mean values, bivariate frequencies or modal values in the subsequent evaluation (Müller-Benedict, 2007).

In the subsequent display of a calculated value, the numerical value was then again displayed in relation to the category assigned to it (i.e., 'I agree a little'), or graphically represented (see e. g. Figure 14, p. 119).

This method was also applied to the evaluation of the frequency of concert visits, gender, age groups, or also to the evaluation of the concert format and its audience (see e.g. Figure 101, p. 266).

Situation analysis – cycle 2

J. Meeting 4

In addition to the participation of co-researchers and the idea of empowerment, participatory research is characterized by its dual objectives. These are not only understanding social reality but also changing it, which is why knowledge generation is an essential component, but not the primary objective (Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995).

The essential advantage of the study design chosen is that benefit already arises during execution of the study, as that which is 'learned' is implemented during the research, and not only at its end (Beywl & Joas, 2000). In concrete terms, this means that survey findings not only help to understand social reality better, i.e., in this study, assessments of the existing ritualization of classical concerts by audiences and responses to the modifications tried, but also to fine-tune modifications based on these assessments. In this research, the findings of the first action research cycle were particularly helpful for ALG and led to the development of a new concert format.

Meeting 4 - Presentation of audience survey results

ALG members were presented with the findings from the audience surveys. Feedback was broken down by age group, gender and frequency of concert visits and reported against each ritual modification. This enabled the members of the ALG to learn, or make inferences about, the cultural and consumer behaviour of the target group, a younger audience and the perceptions of current concert goers.

Meeting 4 - Task i: Evaluation of the outcomes (has ritual positively/negatively changed perceptions) from AP participants and the audience survey.

Through group discussion, based on survey findings, as well as reflection on their own responses to the modified rituals, the ALG determined which changed rituals they perceived had a positive effect in the eyes of the younger target groups (and which were viewed least favourably). There was recognition of possible divergences of view between the target audience and current concert goers – helping the ALG to consider if there was capacity to resolve the views or if there appeared to be too great a division to make this possible, and if attempting to do so would create the 'worst of both

worlds'. The discussion of the audience survey outcomes in response to specific modifications therefore informed the next round of interventions, for which a new concert format was developed.

The group engaged in this discussion without the aid of a supporting activity – for example awarding points or mapping. At this point in the study the ALG members were highly conversant with its intent and had developed a group working pattern. They were able to generate without support or intervention a fulsome and considered dialogue.

It is likely that ALG members at this point have also formed their own opinions on issues that the study examines, talked to other people about it, or were influenced by audience reactions, which may possibly have led to a change (or reinforcement) of perspective. Such individual reflections and considerations will have also influenced the evaluation of cycle 1 outcomes.

Meeting 4 - Task ii: Selection of those rituals considered in a modified form in a new concert format

The second part of the ALG meeting was about developing a new concert format based on the collected findings, the ritualization of which was adapted to the feedback (and derived from it, the expectations) of the potentially new, younger audience. Here, too, it must be noted that this was a lively cooperation between ALG members – and there is likely to have been some elements of group dynamics at play.

The basis for the discussion of which rituals should be considered in a new concert format was both the findings from the audience surveys conducted and the personal impressions of the ALG members. This lively discussion soon made it clear that, in principle and if possible, all modifications should be taken into account. This includes in particular 'appearance on stage', 'auditorium lighting', 'background information as a performative part of the concert', social gathering after the concert' and last but not least 'clapping between movements'. The ALG agreed to further develop those modifications that were negatively evaluated by the audience, so that they could still be incorporated into the new concert format in a modified form. (e. g. the concert atmosphere destroyed by the illumination of the auditorium or the chosen form of providing background information by a historical figure).

Since ALG members did not have experience in the conduct of concert events, I made my expertise available by submitting suggestions for further modification developments, which served to support the ALG's deliberations. This applied both to the ritualization modifications, and to the design of the musical programme, as well as to the design of the concert hall and the use of technical means (i.e. a projection).

Furthermore, and as part of this process, the idea emerged amongst the ALG members to define 'young families with young children aged between three and five' as a possible target group, since it was assumed that the expected average age of these parents is lower than that of the current concert audience. Since I had decided at the beginning of the study to withdraw to the role of observer, I decided not to intervene, even though I was aware that the additional focus 'child' would fundamentally change the initial situation and thus the course of the study. I was aware that it would be difficult, or impossible, to find out how current parents in the audience would assess the new concert formats, if they were not usually present with their child and acting in the role of parent, but rather there as regular concertgoers. Therefore, I accepted the changes in the initial situation as part of the action learning process and supported subsequent administrative implementation.

Meeting 4 - Task iii: Development of a concert format to attract a younger target audience

Given the decision of the ALG to design the newly developed concert format as a 'family concert', the new framework and orientation of the concert became clearer, so that the ritualization modification should be oriented to the needs of the newly integrated audience segment (young children and their families).

For example, it was to be expected that toddlers would not be able to concentrate on the music for a long period, and it was consequently decided to divide the musical programme into several small pieces. This in turn meant that only single sections from different works and not whole, multi-section compositions were to be performed. And with this decision, the ritual 'clapping between movements' was influenced, as each movement became a 'separable' entity, making clapping at its conclusion part of the sequence of action. (see details of the musical program in Table 9)

Since the course of the concert was also based on a children's book, which was read between the musical performances by a narrator, it became clear to the ALG, that the dramaturgy of the concert would have been too much disturbed if the musicians left the stage after each work. The ALG therefore decided that the musicians should not leave the stage during the entire duration of the concert, which hence significantly influenced the modification of the ritual 'appearance on stage'.

Equally by using a large-scale projection, the lighting in the audience room was significantly influenced, so that there was no need to raise light levels between two works. The modification of the ritual 'auditorium lighting' was thus also an implicit part of the realignment.

These examples show that the (surprising) decision by ALG to focus second round of intervention on a new segment of the audience also enabled them to resolve a number of elements of the task

into a more cohesive whole, namely the modification and further development of ritualization the address a younger target audience, resulting in a harmonious, new concert format.

Intervention – cycle 2

K. Establish concert at which interventions can be enacted, negotiate and brief stakeholders to enable interventions to rituals to be enacted

Preparation of the detailed course of the concert format, as well as its marketing and subsequent administrative supervision of implementation (e.g. ticket sales, spatial planning and technical management at the concert, furnishing of the concert hall (e.g. seating) etc., see Figure 103, p. 270) was planned with the administration team.

Thus, the parameters determined by the ALG formed the basis for the administrative implementation of the newly created concert format. As in 'Intervention – cycle 1', there was not only enthusiasm, but also scepticism and great reservations on the part of the members of the administration. For orchestral musicians, it is a paradigm shift not to perform for a large audience in a venerable concert hall, but only to play music for parents and around 100 toddlers (who occasionally make noises). Accordingly, restraint and scepticism were clearly noticeable here as well.

Table 9: New developed concert format

September 16, 2018, 11:00 a.m.; Storyteller: Thomas Douglas	
Musicians of the Zurich Chamber Orchestra	
Concert programme:	
L. Boccherini	Minuet
J. Pachelbel	Canon in D
W.A. Mozart	from: Serenade G-Major, KV 525: Allegro & Rondo. Allegro
J. Brahms	Hungarian Dance No 5 (WoO 1)
P.I. Tchaikovsky	from: The Nutcracker Suite: Overture, Marche, Flower Waltz
V. Monti	Czardas
D. Shostakovich	from: Jazz Suite: Tahiti Trot (Tea for two)
Number of seats occupied: 250 (ZKO House)	

L. Enact new concert format, circulate audience survey (based on previous design)

As with the previous concerts, the audience was informed about the content and implementation of the study by way of an introductory welcome. The audience was again asked to participate in the audience survey, which was based on the same considerations and methods as that of the previous audience surveys used in cycle 1 of this study.

Even though the first performance of this concert format went smoothly, there were some significant changes in this type of music mediation that presented new challenges and required getting used to by the artists and staff involved. This included the changed rituals, among other things, the direct contact (including interaction) of the musicians with the audience (especially the toddlers), the supervision of the video projection, that the audience does not sit quietly on chairs, but makes themselves comfortable on yoga mats and pillows on the floor.

With time and numerous performances of this new concert format, however, it could be observed that both the audience accepted the new ritualization (for a classical concert), but that the musicians also became accustomed to direct contact with the audience and even developed a joy in interacting with the audience in a playful way.

The approach to the distribution and collection of the audience survey parallels that detailed in 'Intervention – cycle 1: H. Enact modifications), circulate audience survey' and therefore not given further treatment here. It is worth noting however there was no competition used to stimulate participation – attendance at this novel concert format was likely to be enough motivation for audience members to offer comment on the experience.

M. Action research participants also attend new format concert

As in the previous concerts, the ALG members were also part of the audience, and filled out the audience survey, the ALG responses was again evaluated separately.

In considering the ALG members, it must also be noted that they may not have children with them at the event and may therefore experience it differently to other adult audience members. Equally they may also no longer perceive the results of their work in an unbiased manner, having dealt with the question over a fairly long period of time, or that, due to the cooperation in the ALG, were exposed to the influence of group dynamic that could influence their judgment.

Evaluation – cycle 2

The data generated in this way formed the basis for the final evaluation and conclusion. The analysis was carried out according to the same principles and methods as those used in the previous evaluations. I was also faced with similar challenges. This is also the case for the conclusion, so that, among other things, the temptation can be seen to necessarily prove a presumption established at the beginning, or to allow personal bias to flow into a conclusion. Although attempts have been made to circumvent such influences, it must be assumed that they have left certain traces. Such issues also raise broader considerations around research quality.

Quality criteria in action research

The use of action research as research strategy has been strongly criticized in the literature (Bryman, 2012; Kock, 2004; Somekh & Lewin, 2008) and it has even been asked if this method is worthy of the name research at all. Against the background of such possible criticism, it seems important that certain quality criteria are taken into account to determine whether a study using this method can be considered valid and reliable (Herr & Anderson, 2015).

A general response to the criticism directed at action research could be developed from the notion that the more systematic research is (i.e. the more it builds on the theoretical and methodological knowledge already available); the more self-critical is its conduct (i.e. the more carefully it is checked and deviating data and interpretations are considered); and, the more communicative it is (i.e. the more it is geared towards making the process and results public), the more it deserves the name 'research' (Bogner, 2019). Action research, as with any approach, can seek to ensure that these general principles are addressed in its design and implementation.

To assist in this endeavour the following nine criteria can be applied to determine how well a study is done (da Silva et al., 2019) and in the design stages to inform research quality considerations: construction of the research corpus; data collection and analysis; research reflexivity; process description; process democratization; catalysis of participants; results; openness for surprise; and dialogue with peers.

Therefore, the following considerations were made with regard to maintaining the quality of the study by combining the criteria listed above with the three qualitative research quality criteria of (Baur & Blasius, 2019):

- Transparency:

When designing the research process, as well as when writing up the study, work was undertaken to record the processes of deriving the research questions from the observation of a real-world problem, the choice of research method, the selection and compilation of ALG members and the generation of data (both in the course of the ALG's works and by means of the audience survey), so that the entire research process can be detailed, understood and thus evaluated.

Although the occasionally dynamic work of the ALG and in particular its decision-making process made this challenging in some cases, an attempt was nevertheless made to present these processes in as comprehensible and comprehensive manner as possible.

Furthermore, to promote transparency, the interim results (audience survey evaluation) were presented and discussed with the ALG members to ensure that interpretation and further development of interventions for cycle 2 was grounded in the dynamics of the group and not simply based on the assessment of one individual researcher, which can be regarded as a communicative validation (Strübing et al., 2018).

Here, in presenting the qualitative and quantitative data, an attempt was made to show the various interpretative keys in a plausible and transparent manner. Wherever possible, alternative interpretations were presented, as well as a transparent indication of the considerations on which these interpretations were based and the presentation of arguments for the one that was viewed as most likely. This enabled interpretations to be challenged and refined and ensured that the worked ALG from a shared understanding.

- Intersubjectivity:

Whether the complex initial situation (the presumption that there are outdated rituals at classical concerts that have a negative effect on the audience, as well as on the image of the concert format) is viewed as plausible by several individuals is examined in this study. This is done through the work of the ALG members and by gauging the opinion of the audience at the selected concerts. However, as mentioned previously, it must be assumed that within these two systems (ALG, audience) there are also social or societal processes that can influence the formation of opinions – and this necessitates both sensitivity to this and the fostering of intersubjectivity to help strengthen research quality.

To promote intersubjectivity, the research process (and especially the work of the ALG) was democratized as much as possible. In doing so, I did not want my already preconceived

notions to affect the course of the study. At the same time, the transfer of decision-making power to the ALG (as a democratically organized system) with the associated work process triggered intense discourse and thus also consensual validation (Strübing et al., 2018). For this reason, as a researcher in this process, I adopted the position of observer and facilitator and did not bring my subjective impressions or views into the discussion. This was the case even at the point when ALG decided to focus on a specific target group (young families), which changed the general parameters of the study.

It should also be noted that my assumptions and views regarding the issue being researched were disclosed to the ALG at its first meeting and were therefore well known. Therefore, there is the potential for these views to have influenced the ALG and played a formative role in the research.

- Range:

Given that this is an action research study and not an experiment, the aim is not to accept or reject causal relationships, since the cause and effect of a ritual modification cannot be clearly assigned due to the interweaving of various influencing factors (H. Schulze, 2010). Rather, this study focuses on the investigation of a real-world problem in which these social or cultural factors play an important role. And since these factors, as well as the socio-demographic characteristics of an audience, may differ greatly from region to region (O'Sullivan, 2009), the transferability of the findings gained here to another audience has to be treated with care – and issue of ecological validity (transferability) need to be taken into account.

However, even if the specific findings of this study with a Zurich concert audience can only be transferred to an audience in London, Moscow or Shanghai to a limited extent, they do inform what could be further researched or examined.

Alongside, and closely related to the issues of research quality at the general level, are those of ethics and research integrity that are detailed below.

Ethical principles and research integrity

Given its participatory approach, both in terms of the ALG particularly, but also audience survey, this study is based on the ethical principles for community-based participatory research developed in 2012 by the Centre for Social Justice and Community Action in Great Britain (Brydon-Miller, 2003). They read: mutual respect, equality and inclusion, democratic participation, active learning, making a difference, collective action and personal integrity. In 2011, the Centre for Social Justice and Community Action also identified various sources of conflict that could result in ethical challenges to participatory research (N. & M. Unger, 2014). The chief of these is discussed briefly below, and are considered primarily in relation to the work of the ALG.

- **Partnerships, cooperation and power**

As explained above, the cooperation model chosen for this study includes the highest level of participation. This ensures that the target group, a younger and broader audience, can largely determine the course of the study, i.e. which rituals are perceived as disturbing and formulate changes accordingly. The effects this cooperation had on me and my position as a researcher are also discussed below.

- **Community Rights, Conflicts and Democratic Representation**

The democratization of the process associated with the choice of the cooperation model not only helps address possible bias on my part – I cannot be neutral due to my many years of activity in the field of organising classical concerts – but also distributes the decision-making power among the ALG members. As previously mentioned, this can prevent existing power relations from being reproduced (Unger, 2014).

- **Anonymity, privacy and confidentiality**

For ALG members, the principle of informed consent is applied throughout the study. This states that participation is voluntary and takes place when a person has given their consent on the basis of information about the aims and methods of the research project (Hopf, 2016). ALG members were informed in advance of the study objectives, as well as about its general approach and the methods, before they signed a written consent form. ALG's members were also assured of their anonymity.

Participation in the audience surveys was voluntary and anonymous. However, anonymity was given up when a respondent elected to participate in the competition. For this reason, the prize winners were drawn by a person not associated with the research.

Only the contact details relevant to awarding prizes were provided, but not the completed questionnaire – thus effectively separating the two elements.

The process of collecting and evaluating the questionnaire responses was carried out exclusively by me, guaranteeing confidentiality and data anonymity throughout.

- **Blurred boundaries between researchers and activists**

The researcher's positioning is a crucial point in every research process. Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1993) first pointed out the problem of researcher positioning in action research. The complexity of the insider/outsider position was also taken up by Collins (1990), among others, in the discussion "insider-within" (Hill Collins, 2009). They point out that distinct positions in a company or society give rise to different points of view. In the "outsiders-within"-position, Collins noted that people developed unique insights and knowledge through their marginalization. As an example, she mentions women who, in a male-dominated organization, become expert observers of male culture. Using this knowledge, they can better interact in their daily dealings with their male colleagues.

Therefore, as researcher, I must constantly be aware of how I relate to those involved as I cross various boundaries in the research process (Herr & Anderson, 2015). The researcher can assume a variety of positions, leading to a variety of loyalty conflicts (Herr & Anderson, 2015). While social scientists usually consider themselves 'mere observers', outside a situation and exploring what a defined group of people does, action researchers position themselves within that group (McNiff & Whitehead, 2006). Accordingly, the relationship between action researcher and participants presents a central dilemma because the researcher assumes both insider and outsider positions, entering into a cooperative relationship with the participants in order to address the question (Herr & Anderson, 2015). This positioning changes during the research process, making the complexity of the challenge even more significant (Thomson & Gunter 2011). However, the benefits of this approach lend to the relevance of the research and enrich its findings.

Action Research: Findings and Discussion

With regard to the following evaluations of the visitor surveys, it should first be noted from a statistical point of view that the concerts were held in the large and small halls of the Tonhalle Zurich, which have a visitor capacity of 1,452 and 634 respectively.

The following number of completed questionnaires were registered in the concerts (see Table 10):

Table 10: Completed questionnaires

Date	Hall	sample size
19.05.2015	big	374
02.06.2015	small	117
23.06.2015	big	351

In contrast, the newly created concert format (see cycle II) was performed at the ZKO-House in Zurich. Due to the presence of children (and the expected restlessness), the visitor capacity was limited to 100 children with one or both parents/caregivers, the eventual total number of visitors (children and parents/caregivers) was 250. The sample size achieved here was 140.

It should be noted that not every respondent gave an answer to every question, so that the sample size in relation to individual survey responses can therefor vary slightly.

Audience characteristics and concert assessment

Audiences not only react very differently from region to region (Schacher, 2016), but also the understanding of audiences (and thus the results of research) varies across disciplines, resulting in contradictions between studies focusing on consumer behaviour (Pitts, 2015). This needs to be borne in mind when interpreting the results of this research, and attention to issues that might be specific to the study location or this research are highlighted.

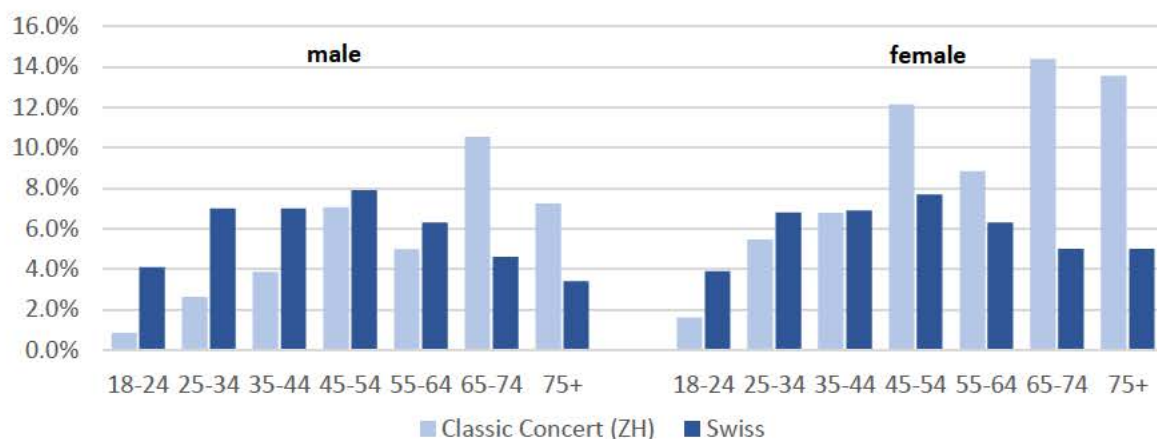
The characteristics of the audiences who attended the concerts in Zurich and took part in the surveys are detailed here to provide a context for the feedback generated. These audiences consist, in large measure, of individuals who repeatedly attend Zurich Chamber Orchestra concerts. Accordingly, it must be assumed that this feedback primarily represents their views, their opinions and their preferences. Also bear in mind that I am known to this public. Thus, the possibility exists that certain answers or assessments are not entirely 'honest', and subject to some degree of 'social desirability

bias', because, as acquaintances of mine (or as familiar strangers) and in some cases identifiable by name given their participation in the competition associated with the survey, some might have modified their responses to what they perceive will be more to my liking. Since, however, no one was required to participate in the competition, they could have expressed negative opinions anonymously.

Classical music audiences in Europe have a high average age. Swiss Statistics (2016) reports an average total population age of 43.5 years, based on a nationwide survey. Broken down by gender, it is 42.1 years for males and 44.9 for females. The average age for participating Zurich Chamber Orchestra audiences is 62.3, 18.7 years higher than the national average. The average age of male concert goers is 64.7 years (22.6 years higher than the national male average), and that of female concertgoers is 61.6 years (16.6 years higher than the national female average).

The widest gap is to be seen amongst both male and female concertgoers, up to 34 years of age and those over 65. While the two lowest age categories are underrepresented in classical concert audiences, the top two age groups contain significantly more people proportionately than the Swiss population. A gender-specific comparison (see Figure 12) shows that males up to the age of 44 are more strongly represented than female listeners, while women over 45 are significantly more strongly represented than men. This effect is particularly pronounced among the over-65s.

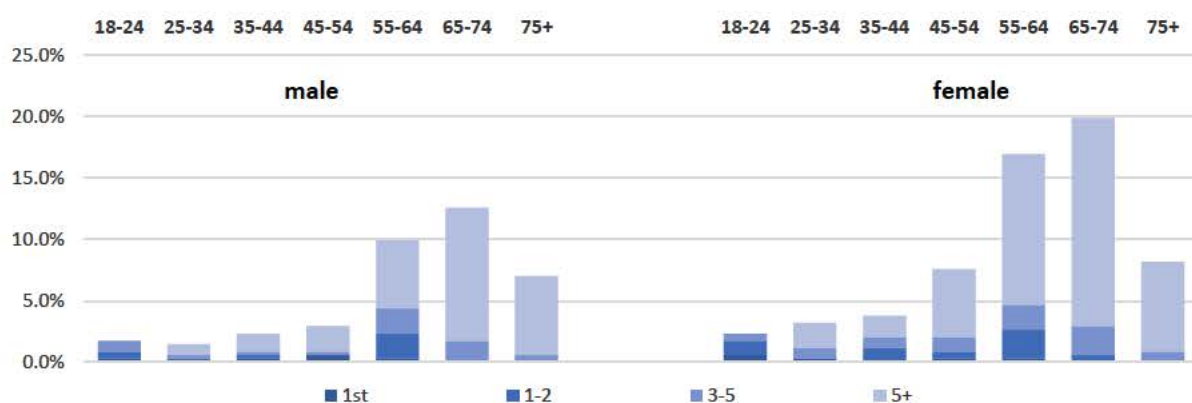
Figure 12: Comparison of age structure
(N = 826)



Comparing age structure evaluations with the frequency of concert visits (see Figure 13), clearly indicates that the three higher age categories (those over 55 year olds) attend concerts more frequently than those in the younger age categories. The youngest age category (18 to 24) includes

no one (either female or male) who attends five or more concerts per year. Conversely, there is neither a man nor a woman in the 65+ category who attended a concert for the first time. Based on the data, one can say that people attend concerts more frequently with increasing age. Female concertgoers predominate in all age categories, most markedly in the over 65s, particularly in terms of women who attend concerts more frequently than men. This evaluation was based on data provided by the first concert examined in May 2015.

Figure 13: Cross comparison of age structure, gender, frequency of concert visits
(N = 342)



In the the audience survey of June 2015 (see Figure 100), the audience was asked to give a personal assessment of how the concert, as well as the audience itself, affected the respondent. The answers contained predefined characteristics (e. g. modern, antiquated, conservative), and a corresponding value to be marked on a scale. Responses to these questions were evaluated according to age categories, gender and frequency of concert visit.

Examining the audience's assessment of the concert experience, the following picture emerges (also shown in Figure 14 / 15 & 16, p. 119/120):

- ***modern vs. antiquated***

The audience essentially agreed that the concert experience seemed modern rather than antiquated. As Figure 14 shows, the younger two age categories (those up to 34-year-olds) were the most likely to perceive the experience as antiquated. In contrast, it is the middle age categories of the 45 to 64 year olds that classify the concert experience as most modern. Male and female concertgoers agree in this regard (see Figure 15). Analysis of the question on the basis of the frequency of concert visits (see Figure 16) shows that the more concerts

attended, the more often the concert tends to be classified as outdated. Visitors attending a concert for the first time feel the concert experience to be the most modern.

- ***enjoyable vs. tiring***

The majority of the audience considered the concert experience to be enjoyable. It seemed most pleasant for the lowest three age categories. In contrast, the 75-year-olds and over clearly found the concert more tiring than all other age groups. Female concert visitors found the concert experience somewhat more pleasant than their male colleagues. Finally, first-time concert visitors found the concert experience most tiring. Concert visitors who attend between one and five concerts a year found the concert experience the most pleasant.

- ***entertaining vs. dull***

The concert experience was generally classified as entertaining, with the lowest three age categories holding this impression most strongly. In contrast, it was the over-55s who tended to report a boring impression. The concert experience was somewhat more entertaining for female visitors than for males. Here, too, it is the concert newcomers who felt the concert experience to be most entertaining. The least entertainment was reported by those concert visitors attending five or more concerts per year.

- ***varied vs. monotonous***

In this regard there are clear differences between age categories. Particularly worth mentioning is the 18 to 24 year old category, which classified the experience as much more monotonous than the 35 to 44 year olds. All other age categories found the concert experience varied in comparison. Here, too, it was the female concertgoers who tended to rate the concert experience as more varied. It is interesting to note that those concertgoers who attend five or more concerts per year were most likely to view the concert experience as monotonous. Once again, it is the newcomers for whom the concert experience was most varied.

- ***dynamic vs. static***

In general, the concert experience is dynamic for all age categories. However, this applies least to the lowest three age categories – i.e. those up to 44-year-olds, with up to 24-year-olds reporting this impression most strongly. On the other hand, it was the over-65s who felt the concert experience to be most dynamic. Male concertgoers tended to report a static concert experience. Finally, it is not surprising that first time classical concert visitors found the experience more dynamic than all others.

- **striking vs. ordinary**

While the audience agreed that it was more of a unique experience, no age-specific tendencies were noticeable. The 18 to 24 and 35 to 44 age groups classified the concert experience more as ordinary. On the other hand, the 25 to 34 year olds, the 45 to 54 year olds, as well as the 75+ year olds, felt the concert experience more unique. A definite difference is evident however with gender-specific evaluations. The concert experience was more unique for female visitors than for their male counterparts. Analysis by concert attendance frequency shows that the concert experience was classified as more common with increasing visit frequency.

Figure 14: Appraisal of the concert (by age categories)

[N = 329]

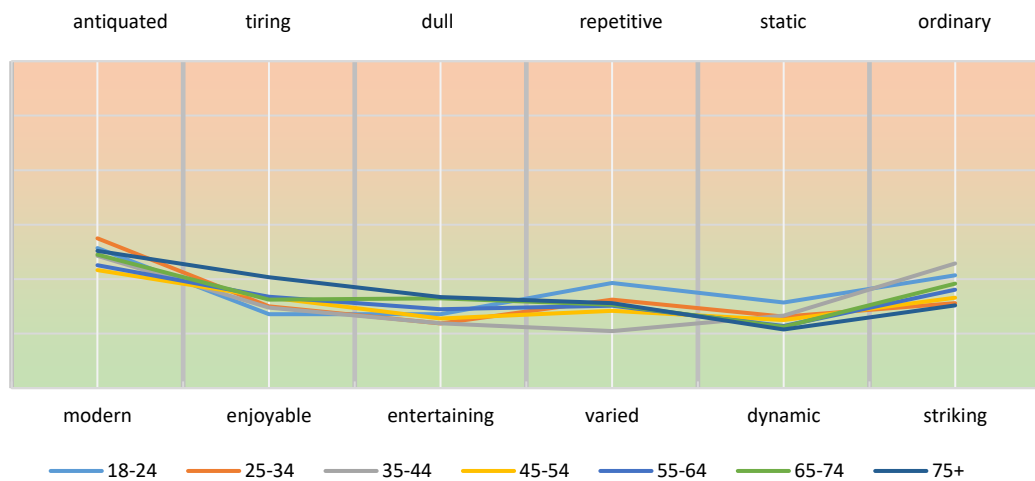


Figure 15: Appraisal of the concert (by gender)

[N = 329]

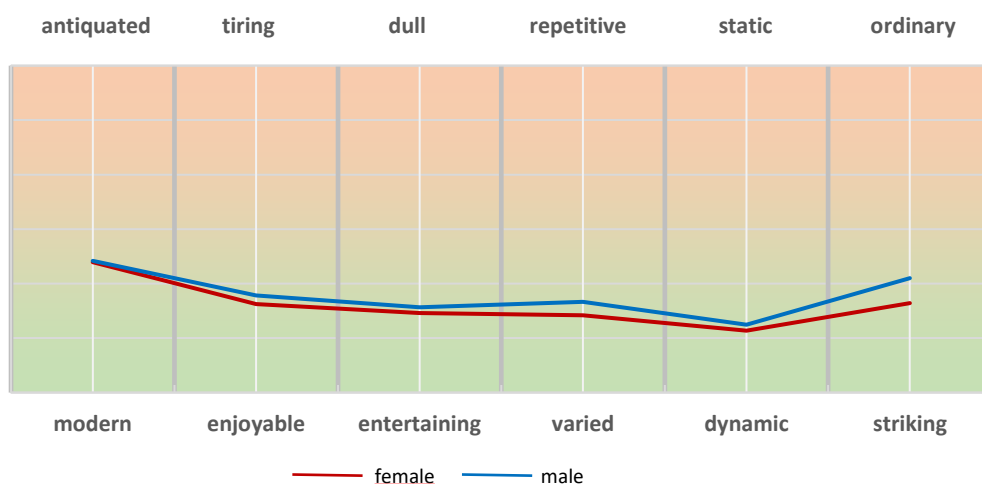
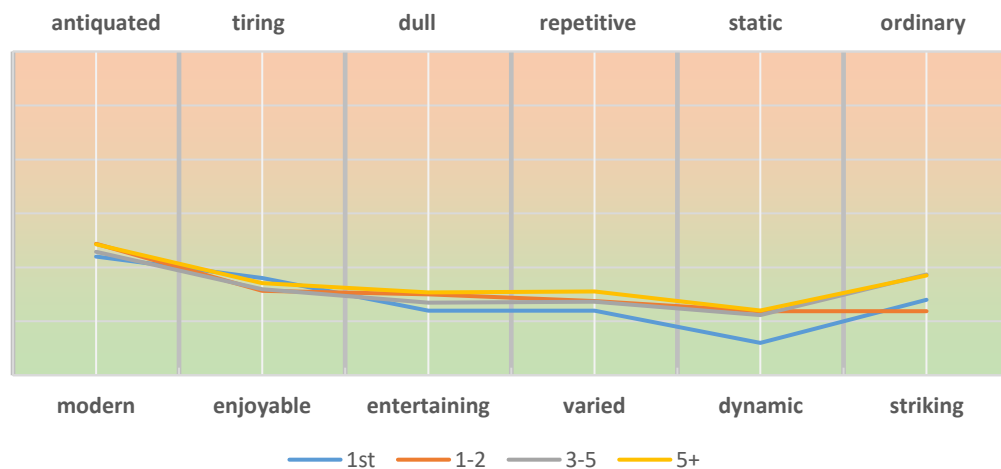


Figure 16: Appraisal of the concert (by frequency of concert visits)
[N = 329]



The audience was also asked to give a 'self-assessment' of the audience. Responses to this question were identical to the assessment of the concert experience, though the dimensions were different. They are listed in detail in Figure 17 / 18 & 19 (p. 122).

easy-going vs. formal

All age groups believed audiences were more easy-going than formal. However, an age-specific split could be observed – concertgoers over 55 were more likely to report an easy-going audience. On the other hand, those up to and including 54-year-olds believed the audience was formal. The 18 to 24-year-olds reported this impression most strongly. Gender-specific analysis shows that women tended to find that the audience is easy-going. Analysis by concert attendance frequency shows a relatively high similarity across groups, though it is the group of first-time visitors that was most likely to classify the audience as formal.

open-minded vs. conservative

This question shows a clear division between the different age categories. The higher age categories (i.e. those over-55) tended to perceive the audience as more open-minded. This impression is strongest among the highest age category, 75+. As observed in other cases, however, it is not the youngest age categories but rather the 45-54-year-olds who believed the public seemed least open-minded. Gender-specific evaluation shows the female concertgoers tending to consider the audience to be open-minded. A clear split can be seen in the evaluation according to the frequency of concert visits. While most audience members who attend one or more concerts per year reported audiences to be more open-minded, those attending a classical concert for the first-time rated audiences more conservative.

- ***sociable vs. reserved***

All age categories shared the view that the audience seemed more sociable than reserved. Here, too, it is the group of 18 to 24-year-old concertgoers who adopted a distinctly different attitude. They believed the audience more sociable than the older visitors. It was chiefly the middle age categories of 35- to 64-year-olds who considered the audience more reserved. And here, also, it is women who reported the audience as being more sociable. Concert visitors attending one or more concerts per year considered the audience sociable while the newcomers were undecided.

- ***enriching vs. tiring***

While the youngest, the 18 to 24-year-olds, were most likely to believe the audience enriched their experience, it is the second youngest category of the 25 to 34-year-olds which was most likely to hold the opposite position, that the audience tires them. All other age categories tended to perceive the audience as 'enriching'. Gender-specific analysis showed women were more likely than men to see the audience as enriching their experience. Visitors attending one or more concerts per year tended to find the audience enriching while first-time concertgoers gave a neutral response ('neither/nor').

- ***energetic vs. serene***

Different age categories provided different assessments. While the youngest and oldest concertgoers classified the audience as dynamic, it was the 25-54-year-olds who reported an opposite opinion, perceiving the audience as calm. The 55 to 64 age group, on the other hand, gave a neutral answer ('neither/nor'). This division in the audience found in the age-specific assessments was also found when gender was considered. Women tended to report the audience as dynamic, while men tended to report the opposite. Analysed by frequency of concert visits, the first-time visitors found the audience to be serene, while all the others offered a rather contrary view, perceiving a dynamic audience.

- ***contemporary vs. antiquated***

The majority viewed the audience as antiquated. The lowest four age categories of 18 to 54-year-olds reported this impression most strongly. It was particularly the 25 to 34-year-olds who rated the audience as most antiquated. Conversely, the highest three age categories, 55 to 75+, gave predominantly neutral answers ('neither/nor'). In this dimension, the male concertgoers tended to consider the audience as antiquated. Lastly, the group of first-time visitors reported a more negative assessment, considering the audience much more antiquated.

Figure 17: Self-assessment of the audience (by age category)

[N = 329]

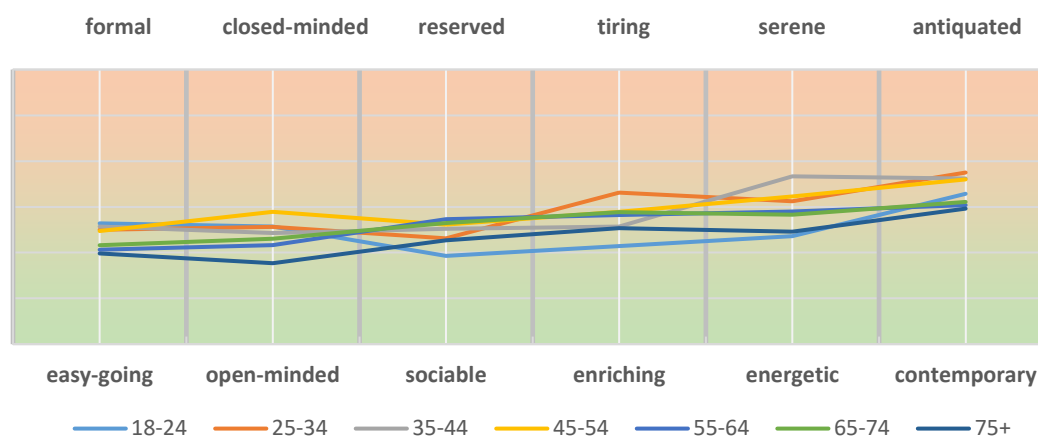


Figure 18: Self-assessment of the audience (by gender)

[N = 329]

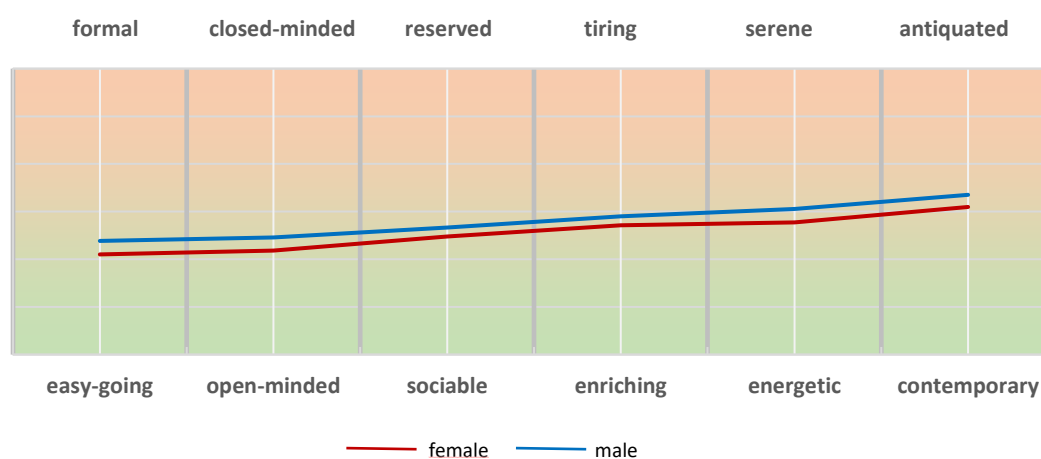
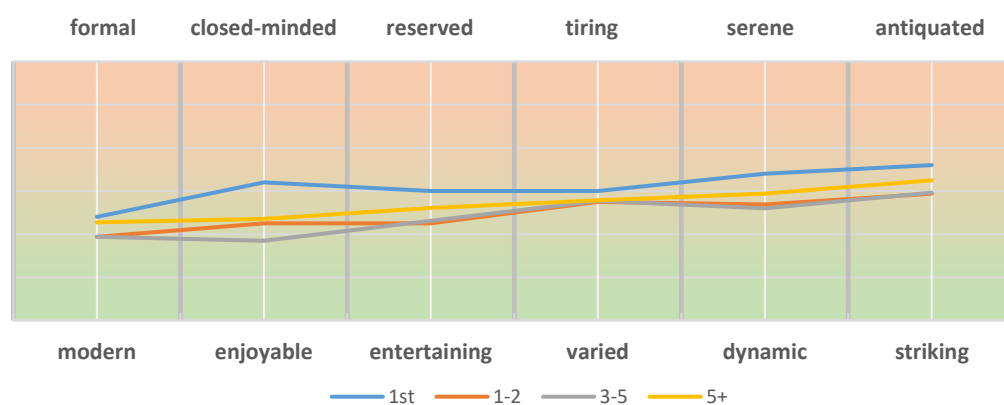


Figure 19: Self-assessment of the audience (by frequency of concert visits)

[N = 329]



From the audience's self-assessment of the concert experience, the following conclusions can be summarized:

- The concert experience was not considered formal and tiring, but rather as modern, entertaining and dynamic.
- The concert experience was more entertaining and varied for the youngest age group, 18- to 24-year-olds, but was also more repetitive, static and everyday than for older concert visitors. The assessment of the over 75+ group was diametrically opposed to that of the 18 to 24-year-olds – an age-specific difference can be discerned.
- Female concertgoers generally assessed the concert experience more positively than male visitors.
- Assessments such as variety, dynamism or entertainment tended to decrease inversely to increasing frequency of concert visits.

From the audience's personal self-assessment, it can be concluded that:

- The audience perceived themselves as being less formal, conservative or reserved.
- The youngest age group, the 18- to 24-year-olds, classified the audience as more formal and conservative, but also as sociable and dynamic.
- The 75+ age group considered the audience to be as open-minded, sociable, enriching, dynamic and modern as the 18- to 24-year-olds but viewed the audience as relaxed and open-minded.
- An age-specific split in terms of the characteristics formal, conservative, dynamic and antiquated can be determined. The younger age groups assessed these more negatively.
- Female concertgoers again generally perceived the audience more positively than male visitors.
- First-time visitors perceived the audience as more formal, more conservative, more reserved, more strenuous and more antiquated than everyone else.

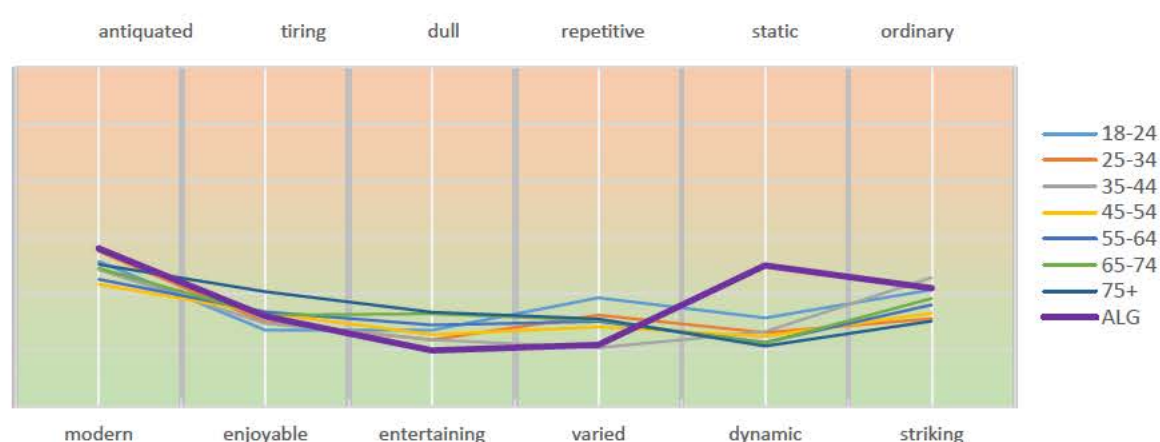
Characteristics and self-assessment of the ALG

The following compares the assessments of ALG members, with the assessments of the concert audience. Due to the selected size of the ALG of only 8 members, no direct comparison of the corresponding age groups or gender distribution is made, as the data basis is simply too small to be meaningful for such a small group. Accordingly, the evaluation of the audience is supplemented only

by the average assessment of the ALG. This comparison only serves as a guideline to compare a general tendency in the audience, respectively the ALG.

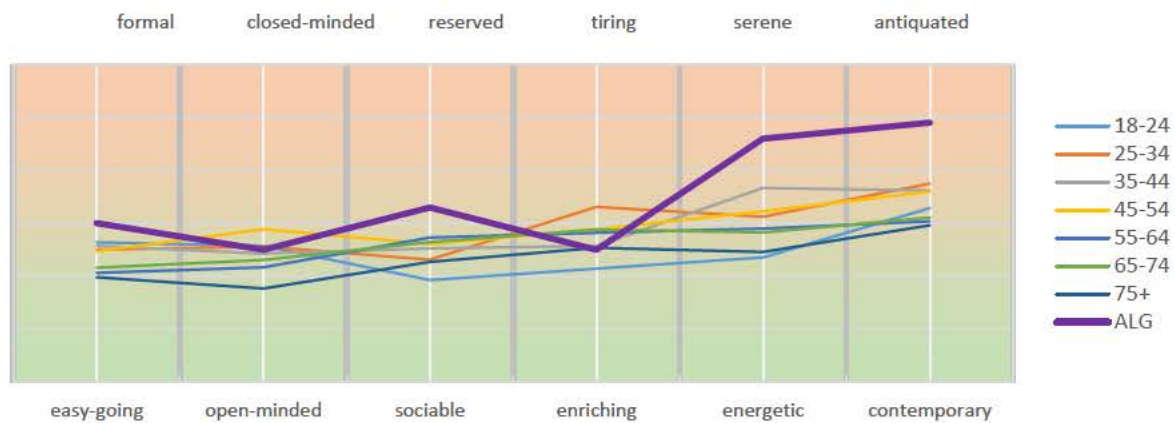
Comparing ALG assessments with those of the audience demonstrates that views of the ALG members broadly correspond to the total audience average except for one criterion (see Figure 20). Accordingly, the ALG is clearly of the opinion that the concert format is less dynamic compared to the general audience. Basically, the concert format had a slightly more enjoyable, entertaining, dynamic and striking effect on the members of the ALG than on the rest of the audience.

Figure 20: Appraisal of the concert by ALG (by age groups)



As Figure 21 shows, audience assessment by ALG members is sometimes different (overall more negative) from self-assessment by the audience itself. The ALG considers the audience partly significantly more formal, closed-minded, reserved, serene and antiquated than do members of the audience itself. This effect is most obvious in the dimensions 'sociable vs. reserved', as well as 'contemporary vs. antiquated'.

Figure 21: Self-assessment of the audience (by age groups)



Action Research Part II: Implementation and evaluation of audience survey

As described in its task definition, the ALG was commissioned to identify first those actions or interaction rituals which, in their opinion, have a negative influence on the general mood at a classical concert. Next, the ALG was to determine which actions or interaction rituals were most disturbing and to develop a proposal for how each of these particular rituals could be changed or renewed.

The proposed changes were implemented within the framework of actual concerts by the Zurich Chamber Orchestra. The audience present was asked to record their individual impressions by means of a written audience survey during or immediately after the concert.

The results of this process and the analyses of the specific audience surveys in relation to particular ritual changes are described and evaluated below.

Modified interaction rituals

Clapping between movements

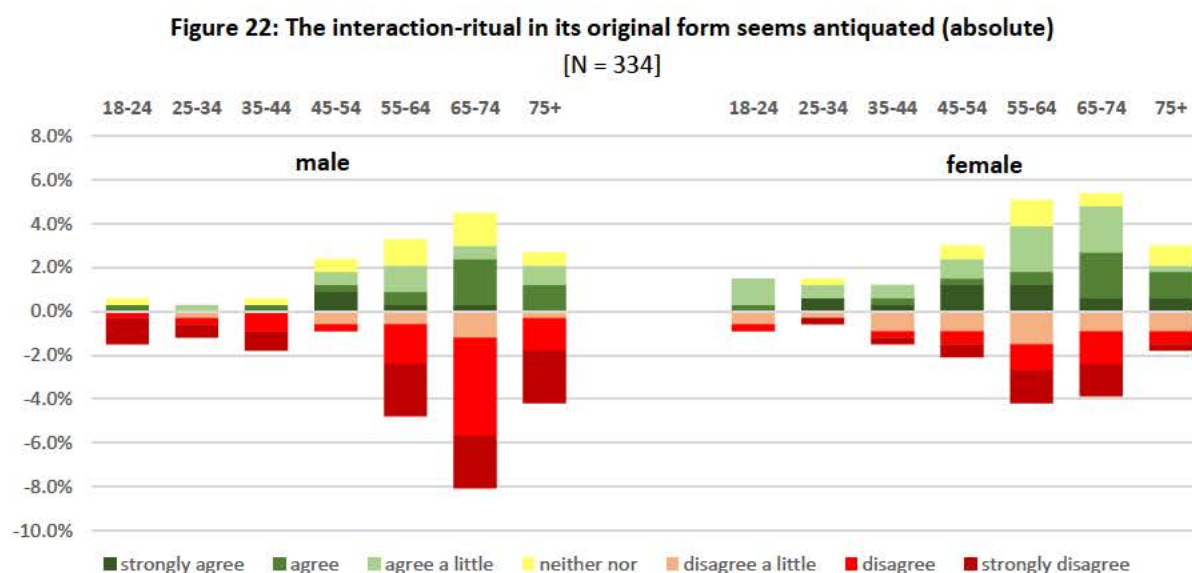
Whereas spontaneous applause was an important element of interaction between artists and their audiences before 1850 (Müller, 2014), today's concert rituals require listeners to hold their applause until the end of a work, even though the first movement of a symphony, for example, might close with a thrilling finale.

Approximately one third (33%) of the ALG found this interaction-ritual unnatural and restricting. This assessment does not seem to be an isolated observation: it is evident that people are afraid to applaud at the wrong moment in a classical concert – this fear may prevent them from attending such a concert (Ross, 2010). So, in accordance with the ALG’s suggestion, the audience was invited to ignore this ritual during the second half of a concert and to applaud whenever they felt it to be appropriate and whenever the mood of the music seemed to invite it.

The purpose of the audience survey was to determine:

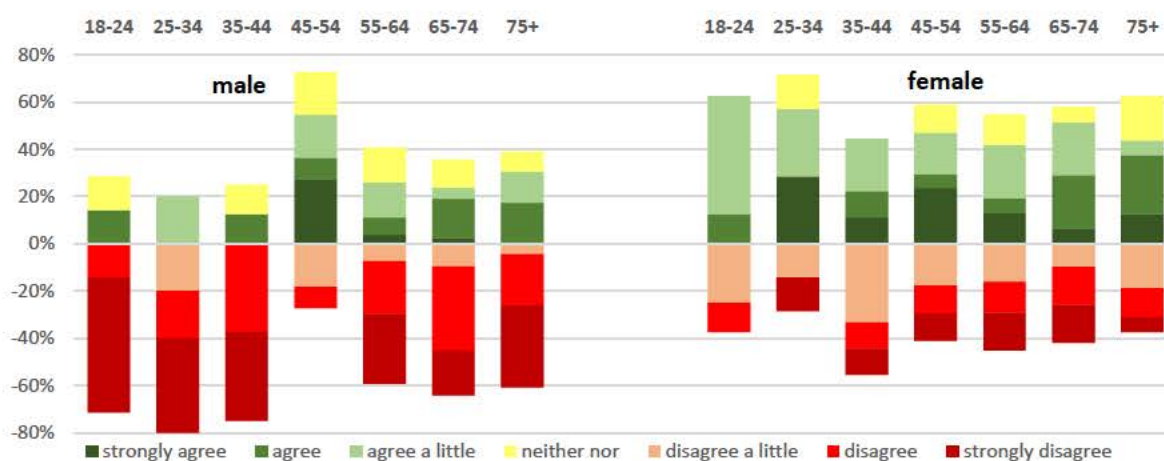
1. whether the ritual in its original form seemed antiquated,
2. whether, and in what way, the alteration of this ritual changed the atmosphere of the concert, and
3. whether the alteration of the ritual reinforced a “community feeling” among the listeners

Overall, the answer to the first question is no: a small majority (55%) did not find the interaction-ritual antiquated. Dividing the responses into age-groups, which is shown in Figure 22, it becomes clear that most 18-35-year-olds consider the ritual antiquated or even very antiquated. The 35-64-year-olds are equally divided between ‘not antiquated’ and ‘very antiquated’. Persons 65-years-old and above - the largest group of listeners – believed the ritual as practiced today is not old-fashioned.



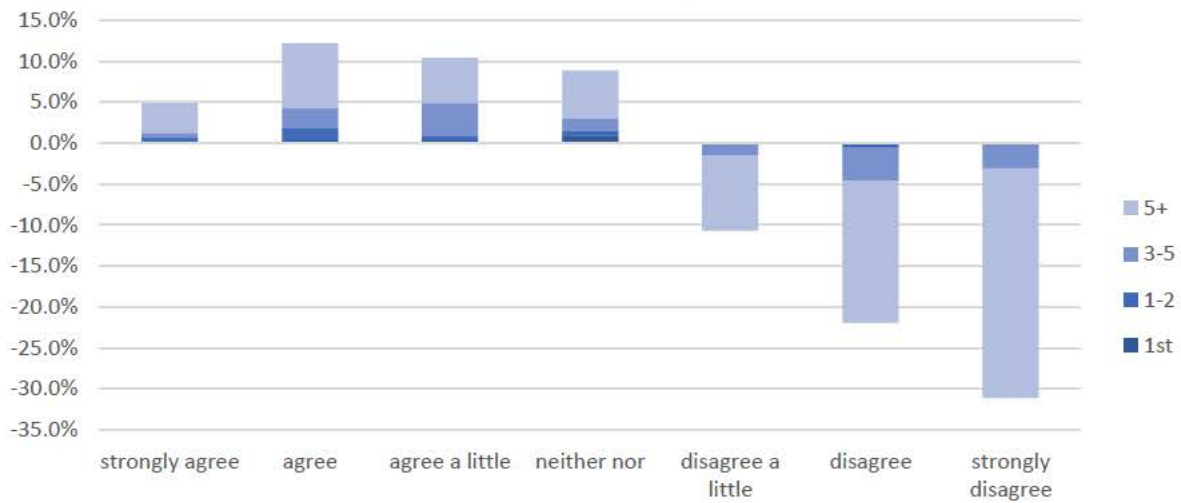
In contrast to the previous illustration, the following Figure 23 shows the same evaluation, but with percentages centered around the mid-point within an age group. This makes it clearer that the male concertgoers feel that the ritual in its original form does not seem outdated. It is interesting to note that this is particularly the case in the three younger age groups of 18 to 44 year olds. Furthermore, in the case of men it is the 45-54 year old group, the majority of whom perceive the ritual as antiquated. A somewhat different picture emerges in the case of female concertgoers: the majority of them are essentially of the opinion that ritual appears outdated in its original form. Exceptions are the age groups 35-44, as well as the age group 55-64.

Figure 23: The interaction-ritual in original form seems old-fashioned (relative)
[N = 334]



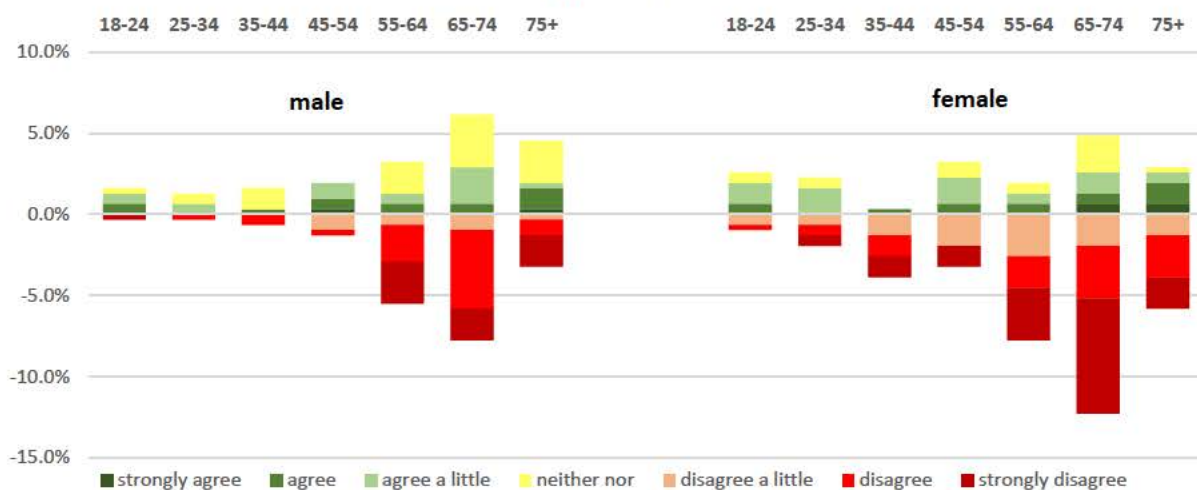
The following presentation (see Figure 24), based on the frequency of concerts, shows regular concertgoers who attend five or more concerts a year clearly believe the ritual, in its current form, is not ('I disagree') or not at all ('I strongly disagree') outdated. While a slim majority of those who attend 3-5 concerts per year agree that ritual does not seem obsolete, the majority of those who attended for the first time, or attend one or two concerts per year, agree that ritual appears obsolete in its current form.

**Figure 24: The interaction-ritual in original form seems antiquated
(acc. to concert frequency) [N = 334]**



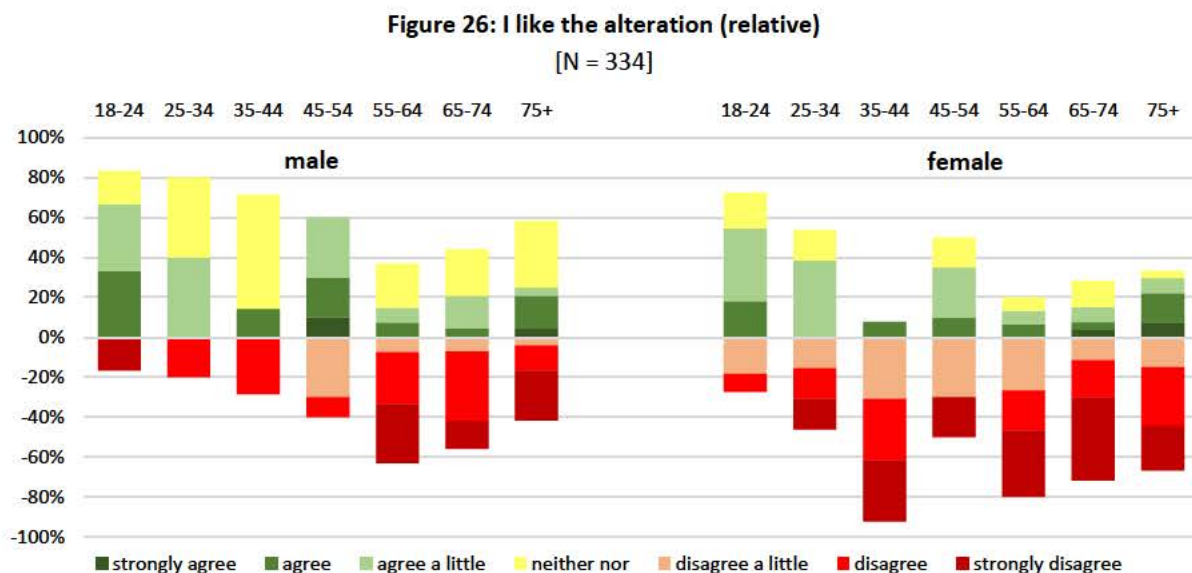
The audience was also asked to assess the alteration of the ritual. Summarized shown in Figure 25, the majority (57%) did not like the alteration. The survey showed that only 30% of the female listeners and only 38% of the male listeners liked the alteration of the ritual. Examining the responses according to frequency of concert attendance, it is evident that the more often listeners attend concerts, the more strongly they reject the alteration. When one applies the criterion by age-group, it becomes clear that the majority (42%) of those over the age of 45 'disagreed a little', 'disagreed', or 'strongly disagreed' with the alteration of the ritual.

**Figure 25: I liked the alteration (absolute)
[N = 309]**

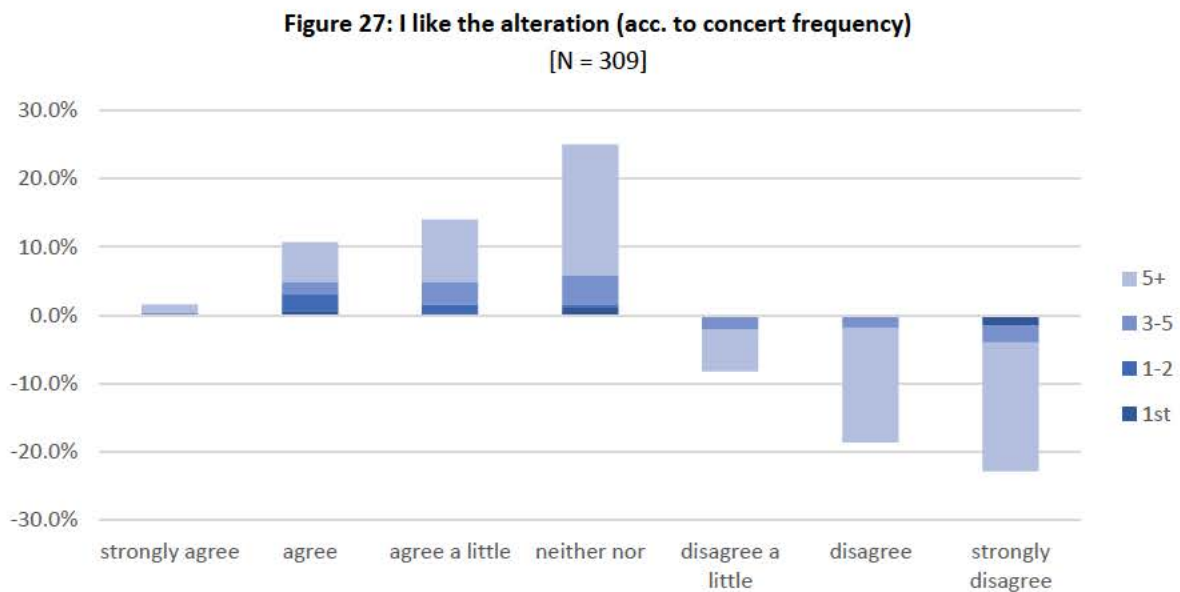


Here, too, the ratio prevailing *within* the age categories illustrates, once again, what has been said above: In principle, female concert participants rejected the proposed alteration of the ritual more clearly than the male visitors. This is particularly strong in the age group of 35 to 44-year-olds (see Figure 25 & 26). Apart from this age group and among both women and men, the upper three age categories of 55 to over 75-year-old concertgoers were particularly opposed to the proposed change in the ritual.

It is noteworthy that, in contrast, the younger age categories of 18 to 34-year-olds and 35 to 54-year-old male concertgoers rejected the change in the ritual significantly less and even rate it positively. This observation is particularly pronounced in the youngest age category of 18 to 24-year-olds. The proportion of neutral answers ('neither nor') was clearly high, especially among men (see Figure 26)



While the following description (see Figure 27), based on frequency of concert visits, shows that by far the largest part of the audience attends concerts regularly, i.e. five or more times a year, those concert visitors attending a classical concert for the first time or going to concerts between one and five times per year, generally rate the change in the ritual positively.



Analyzing the corresponding commentaries makes this split between different age-groups even clearer: 72% of the negative commentaries came from those aged 45 or over. They criticize applause between movements as disturbing the ‘dramaturgy of the concert’, the ‘magic of the moment’, and the ‘concentration of the audience’. The silence and maintenance of tension at the end of a piece were especially important for this age-group.

In passing, it should be mentioned that difficulties in enduring this often-prolonged concentration, or even tension, do not seem to be an isolated case for many age groups in the audience. If one considers a cough as a tool to temporarily relieve this tension in a quasi-legitimate manner (because one is not allowed to talk between movements), the results of relatively recent study demonstrate this. The audience in that study coughs twice as much as in everyday life, especially with contemporary music or slow, quiet movements (Wagener, 2012).

I noticed some form of uncertainty arising in the audience, specifically during the applause between movements, not permitted in the normal ritualization. Some members of the audience seemed to think they had to applaud after every movement, and the applause seemed somewhat forced and sometimes even timid. Consequently, some of the moments that profited from the silent maintenance of tension under the normal rituals (for example, after a slow, quiet movement) were now abruptly interrupted by applause.

One can assume it was the one-time alteration of the ritual – a novelty, so to speak – which was possibly unfamiliar and therefore disturbing to regular concertgoers. And one can further suggest

that the regular concertgoers' survey responses reflect how disturbed they felt by the suddenness of the alteration, as opposed to a deliberate judgment of the alteration per se.

Because this was the first change of the ritual, it is more likely to be a spontaneous behaviour than a new ritual. The corresponding evaluation clearly shows (see above) that rejection of the altered ritual becomes stronger the more often a person attends concerts.

In contrast, 63% of the positive commentaries come from those aged 34 or younger. Young people find the alteration of the ritual to be spontaneous and uncomplicated and they primarily value the active participation of the audience and the possibility to communicate their appreciation to orchestra and soloist directly. This view is shared by 36% of the 45-54-year-olds, further demonstrating the age-related split initially mentioned.

Most ALG members approved of the alteration. They noticed an atmosphere of relaxation and uncomplicated spontaneity in the audience, as well as a higher degree of concentration, consistently across the diverse age-groups.

The third question the audience was asked to consider in the survey was: 'Did the alteration of the ritual changed the atmosphere of the concert'. Most of the audience (73%) and of the ALG (83%) felt that alteration of the interaction-ritual changed the atmosphere of the concert. All age-groups shared this view, except for those over 75, who tended to feel the alteration brought no change in atmosphere.

54% of all respondents judged the alteration to have a negative effect on the concert atmosphere. In the group of undecideds 'neither/nor'-respondents, 75% believed the alteration of the ritual was not spontaneously carried out and that audiences would need time to become accustomed to it.

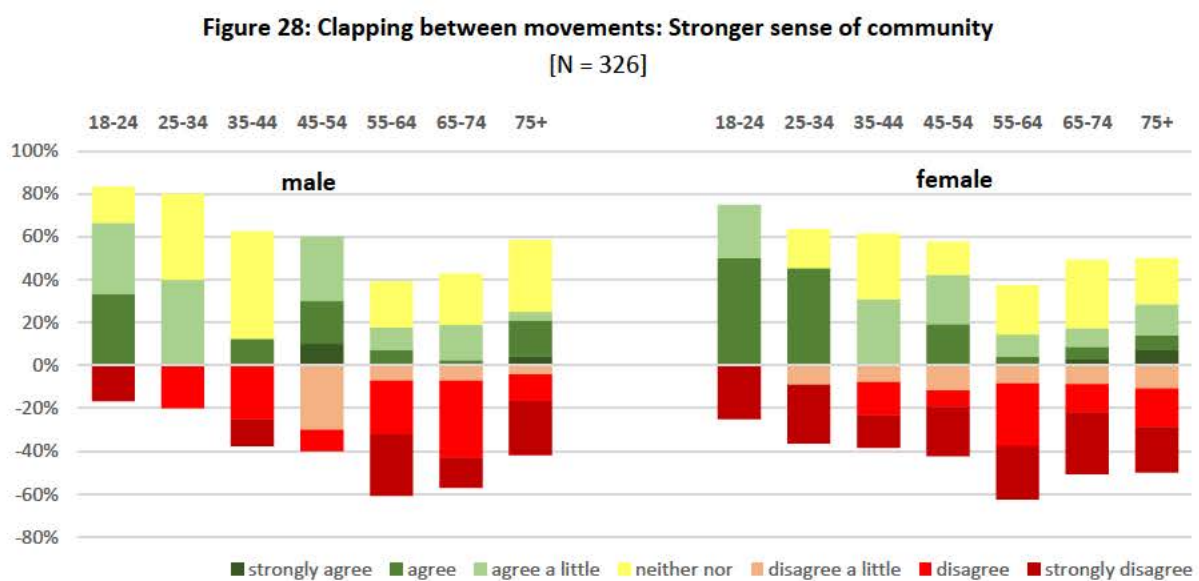
Among the large majority (83%) of those giving negative comments, (such as it disturbs the mood, especially after slow movements; it steals concentration and magic; silence is an essential part of the music; applause disturbs the magic of the moment), the chief criticisms were that the mood, concentration or silence were interrupted and disturbed by applause.

In contrast, 63% of those offering a positive opinion stated that the alteration of the ritual provided the audience with more possibilities for spontaneous interaction (active involvement of the audience; spontaneity, dynamic and refreshing atmosphere; audience is much more integrated; you can spontaneously express your feelings; immediate expression of joy), that the atmosphere was more relaxed (53%) and that the concentration of the audience was increased thereby (35%) (the mood was more concentrated).

Effect of alteration on group assembly

As can be seen below (see Figure 28), women feel more closely connected to other members of the audience than men do. This raises the question of whether the alteration of the ritual supports or contradicts this gender-specific observation.

The following chart (see Figure 28) shows that alteration of the ritual intensified the feeling of community for men in the audience more than it did for women. 61% of men felt a stronger sense of community, while 58% of women felt no difference as a result of the alteration.



Gender-specific analysis of this question shows a clear majority (69%) of all age-groups 35 years and over shared the opinion that alteration of the ritual did not strengthen community feeling, particularly in the age-groups 55-64 years (72%) and 65-74 years (75%). In contrast, 67% of those under 34 years felt that community feeling was intensified by the ritual alteration.

It is evident that the more often people attend concerts, the more they felt that the alteration of the ritual did not intensify community feeling in the audience.

Effect of modification on bodily co-presence

Being able to express appreciation directly to the performing artists appears to be essential to the audience, providing them with possibilities for further interaction and, so to speak, giving them a task and therefore legitimizing their presence.

The alteration of the interaction-ritual simplifies and favors this form of expression, allowing applause to be spontaneous and enthusiastic, something welcomed by many listeners. The alteration of the ritual has a positive effect on 'bodily co-presence'.

Analyzing the positive commentaries shows that this is primarily the opinion of younger and female listeners. 63% of these positive commentaries came from the age-group 25-34, and 83% of them come from women.

Effect of modification on barriers to outsiders

The existing interaction-ritual allowing applause only at the end of a work requires that audience members know when a work is finished – this is not always obvious. It is precisely this knowledge, or the lack of it, that puts distance between well-versed listeners and 'outsiders'. As soon as group pressure resulting from this prerequisite is reduced – by altering the interaction-ritual – and the audience can applaud after every movement, then the less well-versed listeners should have fewer inhibitions about attending classical concerts.

Since applauding appears to be an important aspect for all age-groups, one can assume that a positive alteration of this interaction-ritual will have a noticeable effect on the atmosphere at concerts. When one examines the positive commentaries regarding the alteration of the interaction-ritual, one sees that 93% come from listeners aged 18-54 (average age 36.0) and mainly female (56%). 96% of those who commented negatively were aged 35-64 (average age 49.5) and mostly male (51%). In other words: young, female concertgoers approve of the alteration of the interaction-ritual more than older, male listeners by a clear margin.

Effect of modification on mutual focus of attention

The alteration of the ritual apparently split the audience regarding 'mutual focus of attention'. Commentaries such as 'the mood was more concentrated' or 'the audience was quieter' show that younger listeners were especially aware of a stronger common focus. All commentaries taken together indicate that 57% of those giving positive comments were younger than 34, whereas 74% of negative responders were older than 45.

One possible explanation for this might be that today's methods of information gathering are strongly characterized by multi-tasking behaviour, with modern consumers constantly switching between diverse (often multi-media) sources of information, meaning they remain occupied by a single source only for a short time. Younger consumers are no longer accustomed to attending to only one information source (in this case, music) for an extended time and their attention wanes relatively quickly (Haselbach, 2012). When the total time (for example, a whole symphony) is divided into several shorter segments by applause, the concentration required is often interrupted. This corresponds more to the usual information behaviour of younger consumers. Their attention-span lengthens, so to speak.

In contrast, commentaries from older listeners frequently indicated they found applause between movements distracting ('the applause disturbs the magic of the moment'), they lost a feeling for the work as a whole ('the musical dramaturgy was destroyed' or 'disrupts the flow'), and though that 'the clapping disturbs concentration'.

Effect of modification on shared mood

Conversely, the audience felt that the atmosphere became more authentic and emotional by altering the interaction-ritual (43%). The listeners found the atmosphere was more relaxed when they could applaud whenever they wanted to. These listeners were mostly younger (average age 43.3) and female (53%), who attend classical concerts 3-5 times per year. On the other hand, most of the total number of concertgoers (57%) felt that intermittent applause was not conducive to a good concert atmosphere. They specifically criticized that intermittent applause destroyed the drama of the concert and the magic of the moment and 'robs the music of room to breathe'.

Some listeners (male, aged 34-54) attributed this to the audience's inability to deal spontaneously with the alteration of the ritual and to the audience's lacking the sensitivity required to permit more room for quiet at the end of a slow movement.

Summary: Clapping between movements

A simplified evaluation system (see Table 11) was assigned to these results, so they could also be displayed graphically on the basis of this evaluation system. This simplified valuation system contains a neutral position (zero), values for positive or negative valuations (+1, -1) and clearly positive or negative valuations (+2, -2). Where no findings could be obtained from the survey and evaluation, no value was assigned.

The categories examined in each case (age, gender, frequency of concert visits) are summarized in two age groups (the lower four age groups of 18 to 54-year-olds ('younger') and over 55-year-olds ('older')) to provide a broader overview. Frequency of concert visits was divided into two categories, less than five and five or more.

This can be illustrated using the example of the ritual 'Clapping between movements':

If a majority of the entire audience (total) describes the current ritual as not antiquated, this is considered a positive evaluation and accordingly given a positive value (1).

If younger concertgoers consider the ritual to be antiquated or very outdated, this assessment is given a negative value (-2).

If men consider the ritual as not antiquated, this assessment is given a positive value (1) as this is a positive assessment.

The numeric value assigned here is therefore based on the evaluations, primarily with the intention of presenting it graphically.

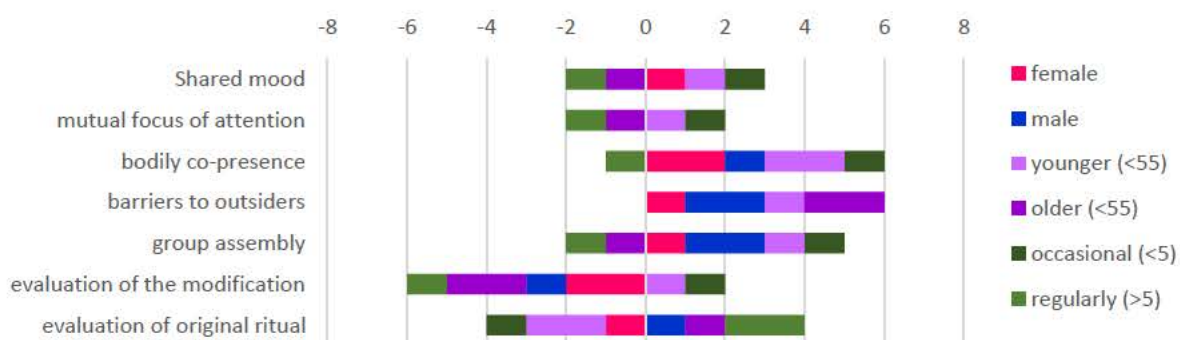
Table 11: Summary: Clapping between movements

	total	female	male	younger (<55)	older (55 or >)	occasional (<5)	regular (5 or >)
Assessment of the ritual in its current form							
<i>The majority (55%) do not consider the ritual antiquated</i>	1						
<i>Young listeners (18-34 years) consider the ritual antiquated or very antiquated</i>				-2			
<i>Men do not find the ritual antiquated</i>			1				
<i>Those 65 years and over do not consider it antiquated</i>					1		
<i>Most women find the ritual outdated</i>		-1					
<i>Concertgoers who attend five or more concerts do not find the ritual obsolete.</i>							2
<i>Concertgoers attending 1-2 concerts per year find the ritual outdated.</i>						-1	
Current form totals	1	-1	1	-2	1	-1	2
Assessment of the change							
<i>57% of the audience do not like the change</i>	-1						
<i>Women reject change more strongly than men</i>		-2	-1				
<i>Those over 55-year-olds reject the change of the ritual particularly strongly</i>					-2		
<i>18-34-year-olds reject the change less or rate it as positive (especially 18-24-year-olds)</i>				1			
<i>Those who go to concerts less than five times a year rate the change positively</i>						1	
<i>Concert visitors who go to concerts 5 times or more dislike the change</i>							-1
Change assessment totals	-1	-2	-1	1	-2	1	-1
Group assembly							
<i>60.7% of men notice a stronger community feeling</i>			2				
<i>Women rate the increase in community feeling less strongly than men</i>		1					
<i>66.7% of those under 35 notice a stronger community feeling</i>				1			
<i>People who go to a concert for the first time or only rarely rate the change as positive.</i>						1	
<i>Regular concertgoers reject the alteration of the ritual</i>							-1
<i>69.2% of those over 35 do not notice a stronger community feeling</i>					-1		
Group assembly totals	1	1	2	1	-1	1	-1
Bodily co-presence							
<i>The change has a positive effect</i>	1						
<i>Particularly those between 25 to 34-year-olds evaluate the change positively</i>				1			
<i>Most women rate the change positively</i>		1					
Bodily co-presence totals	1	1		1			

Barriers to outsiders							
<i>The change tends to break down barriers</i>	1	1		1			
<i>93% of those aged 18-54 like the alteration</i>				2			
<i>The change is more positive for women than for men</i>		2	1				
Barriers to outsiders' totals	1	2	1	2			
Mutual focus of attention							
<i>57% of the positive comments come from those aged under 34 years.</i>				1			
<i>74% of those over 45 years do not like the alteration</i>					-1		
Mutual focus of attention totals				1	-1		
Shared mood							
<i>57% of the audience do not like the alteration</i>	-1						
<i>43% of younger listeners see an improvement in mood</i>				1			
<i>53% of women see an improvement in mood</i>		1					
<i>Positive comments: more relaxed</i>							
<i>Negative comments dramaturgy is disturbed</i>							
Shared mood totals	-1	1		1	-1	1	-1

The results are summarized in a graphical overview below (see Figure 29), incorporating an evaluation using Collins' interaction ritual elements by visitor characteristics, i.e. age, gender and frequency of concert visits per year.

Figure 29: Summary: Clapping (by Collins' elements)

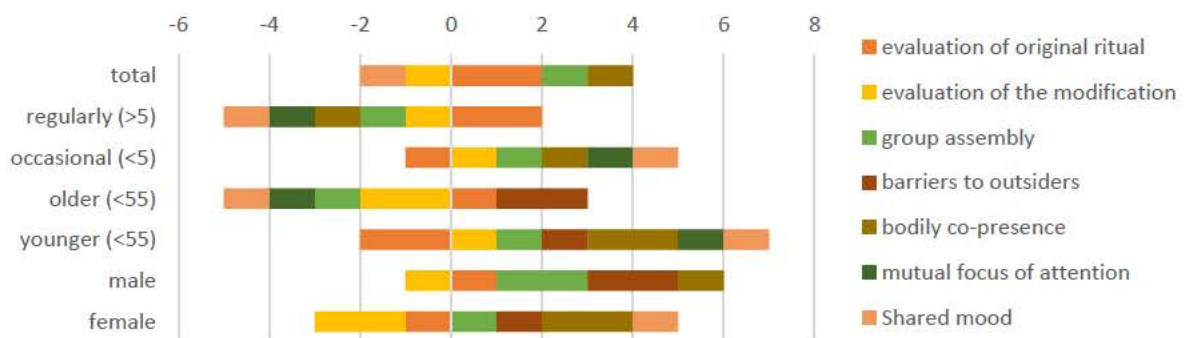


The graphic summary (see Figure 29) shows that the audience is divided in its evaluation of ritual change. While particularly regular, older and mostly male concertgoers preferred the original ritual, it is the younger, female visitors, who go to concerts less frequently that liked the change. The assessment shows that only younger concertgoers, i.e. those no older than 55 years, perceived it very positively. On the other hand, it is female concertgoers older than 55 years who responded very negatively to the ritual change.

The differentiation according to the different conditions shows that the older visitors, who regularly attend concerts, saw shared mood, mutual focus of attention, bodily co-presence as well as group assembly being negatively affected.

In the area of bodily co-presence, it is younger female concertgoers who noticed a clear improvement. In the area of barriers to outsiders and group assembly, conversely, it is the male concertgoers who noticed a clear improvement.

Figure 30: summary clapping (by categories)



The comparison based on visitor categories (shown in Figure 30) makes this observation even more clear: regular concertgoers clearly rejected the change in the ritual, while occasional concertgoers tended to take a positive view.

When the age-specific evaluation is compared, it becomes evident that older visitors rejected the change, while younger visitors, i.e. those under 55, approved of it.

Positive comments

- greater participation of the audience
- atmosphere is more relaxed or less tense
- brings dynamism, awakens audience from passivity

Negative comments

- intermittent applause disturbs the dramaturgy, the magic of the moment, and the concentration of the audience
- silence is an indispensable component of music
- less concentration in the audience

Discussion of findings

As the intent of the research is to develop a new concert format specially tailored to a younger audience, this discussion focuses on age-specific observations. Older visitors (especially those over 65), who made up most of the audience, felt that the ritual was not outdated. Conversely, younger visitors claimed that the ritual in its present form is and has a negative effect on mood. Those between 35 and 64 years of age were divided on the issue. Gender-specific observations shows that most women considered the ritual outdated, while men (especially those between 18 and 44 years of age) took the opposite view. Analysis based on the frequency of concert attendance, shows that the more attendances, the more they considered the ritual not outdated.

Accordingly, it comes as no surprise that rejection of the change in ritual becomes stronger the more concerts are regularly attended, since regular concertgoers are mostly in the upper age categories. For example, 73% of the negative comments (which came exclusively from visitors over 45 years of age) criticised that the dramaturgy of the concert, the magical moment or the concentration of the audience was disturbed by an interlude of applause.

This result is not surprising, if one assumes that regular concertgoers are used to the existing ritualization and perhaps also attend concerts regularly because they appreciate the usual routine as it is and do not want it to be changed.

In contrast, 63% of the positive comments (particularly from younger concertgoers) stated that the change leads to more spontaneity and simplicity and that these visitors appreciated the opportunity to make an active contribution to the course of the concert by expressing their enthusiasm more strongly.

Based on the analysis, it can also be established that the change of ritual strengthens common focus in the eyes of younger concertgoers. Younger concertgoers are often no longer used to concentrating on one audio source over a longer period due to multimedia consumption. If this period is interrupted by applause more often, the range of efficacy is more in line with their normal consumer behaviour. The change also had a positive effect on bodily co-presence, especially for younger concertgoers between the ages of 25 and 34, because more frequent applause enhances presence. Similarly, in the eyes of these younger concertgoers, the barriers to outsiders are dismantled, since one can applaud after each piece and no longer needs to know whether a work consisting of several movements is finished or not.

It can therefore be concluded that the alteration of the ritual should not be attempted in a conventional concert format attended by average regular concertgoers, because this older audience tends toward a negative opinion of the alteration. However, based on the positive assessment of the younger audience in the areas of bodily co-presence, barriers to outsiders and community spirit, it is clear that these changes should be considered for a concert format that is tailored to a younger audience.

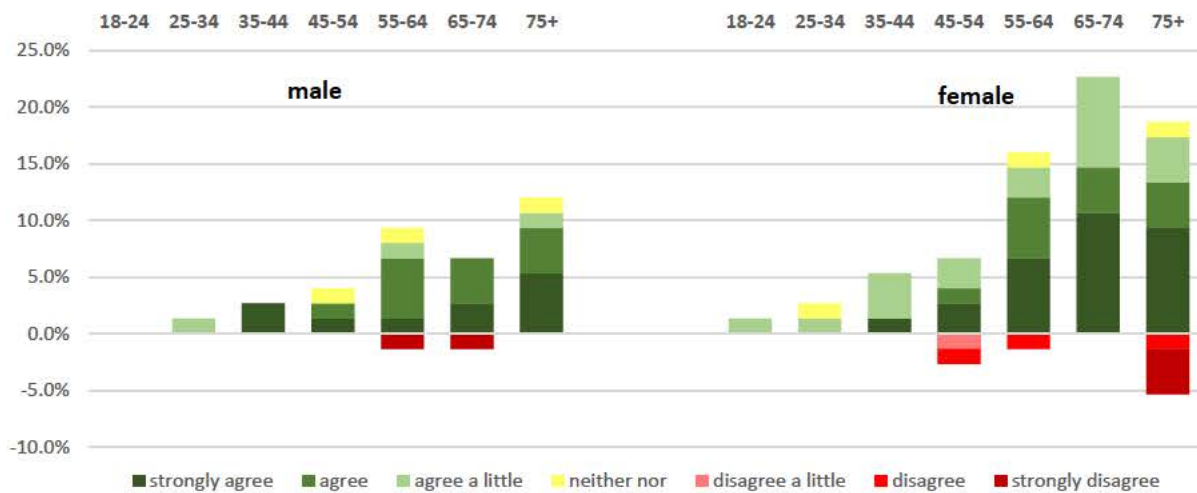
Appearance on stage

The members of the ALG observed that the conductor or soloist leaves the stage several times during the applause after a piece, only to enter it again a few moments later. This procedure continues if the audience continues applauding. For most ALG-members, this ritual is restive and disturbing. To change the ritual, the soloist is therefore instructed not to leave the stage during a performance and to receive the applause of the audience and, if appropriate, to pass it on to the orchestra as usual.

Based on the evaluation, it can generally be stated that most of the audience positively welcomes this form of change in the ritual. Comments such as 'I don't like the back and forth anyway', 'the applause is for the artists, so you should stay on stage', 'it's a lot less restless' or 'it'll be much more natural' support this observation.

This predominantly positive assessment by the public is also clearly reflected in the following presentation (see Figure 31). It can be said that this impression seems to increase with increasing age and that the greatest approval is registered among both male and female concertgoers in the age groups 65-74 and over 75 respectively. Interestingly, the negative assessments show it is particularly female concertgoers over 75 years who also reject the change of ritual.

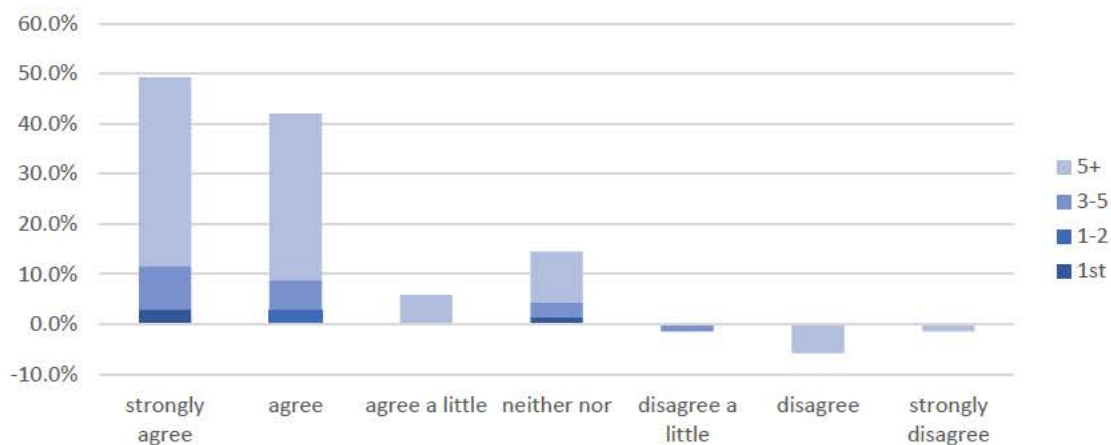
Figure 31: I liked appearance on stage
[N = 83]



The evaluation according to frequency of concert attendance (see Figure 32) shows that those who rarely attend classical concerts ('1st' and '1-2') rate the change either neutrally, positively ('I agree') or very positively ('I strongly agree').

It is also shown that most concertgoers who regularly attend concerts ('5+') agree ('I agree') or strongly agree ('I strongly agree') with the change. The same group of people in the audience also make up the largest proportion of visitors responding positively to the change in the ritual.

Figure 32: I liked appearance on stage (by frequency of visits)
[N = 83]



Effect of modification on group assembly

Since this is not so much a ritual within the audience itself, but rather a well-rehearsed process between artist and audience, the aspect of community feeling within the audience was not explicitly addressed in audience survey. When the artists are also integrated into the group of people or the 'audience'-system, individual comments show that the sense of community within this entire group is strengthened. Comments from regular, i.e. more than five times a year, classical concertgoers over 65 years, shows that the connection between the audience and the artists is strengthened by this change in ritual ('connection to the audience remains' or 'connection to large audiences').

Effect of modification on bodily co-presence

The question whether the change of ritual positively or negatively influenced audience perception of physical presence can be evaluated as positive. Occasionally, older female concertgoers were critical that the absence of the ritual shortens the applause and reduces the appreciation of the musicians ('applause is less long' or 'by performing and then reappearing one can clap longer and thus better express one's appreciation').

In contrast, on the one hand, various positive comments indicated an intensification of personal contact, especially between artists and the public ('eye contact with artists possible' or 'the artists take more notice of the public and pay more tribute to the applause'). Conversely, it was noted that the artists appeared more relaxed on stage ('the musicians feel freer'). Most of these comments came from female concertgoers in the higher age categories, who regularly attend concerts. However, there was also similar feedback from younger people in the audience, so that no age-specific tendencies could be identified.

Effect of modification on barriers to outsiders

To try and keep the audience survey as short as possible, the question on whether the change in the ritual changed the barriers to outsiders was not explicitly asked as the ritual itself creates limited barriers.

Effect of modification on mutual focus of attention

The question whether the common focus of attention changes is not directed to the music but to the applause, i.e. the appreciation of the artists through the applause. Here the change in ritual had a strong positive effect. As noticed in connection with bodily co-presence, feeling more connected to the artists is appreciated. This promotes strengthening or intensification of the common focus of attention, as evidenced by feedback such as 'more connection with the musicians', 'closeness, contact and connection with artists increases' or 'I like to look the musicians in the face, so I have the opportunity to pay them my personal thanks'. These commentaries came exclusively from regular both male and female concertgoers older than 55 years.

Effect of modification on shared mood

The comments mentioned above, but also those such as 'more pleasant, no exaggerated star behaviour', offer positive feedback as do 'it is quieter if the musicians stay in the hall and also more pleasant for the concert visitors', 'the change creates a relaxed atmosphere' or 'one could laugh' demonstrate that the common mood at the concert is fundamentally improved by the ritual change. The corresponding assessment of the statement 'I liked the change in the ritual' was predominantly 'I agree' or 'I strongly agree'. This feedback came mostly from female concertgoers between the ages of 35 and 74 and mostly regular attenders.

Again, the Table 12 below provides a summary overview of these findings.

Tabular summary

Table 12: Summary: Appearance on stage

	total	female	male	younger (<55)	older (>55)	occasional (<5)	regularly (>5)
Evaluation of the modification							
Older visitors agree with the change significantly more than younger visitors					2		
Younger visitors agree more than older visitors				1			
Women agree with change slightly less than men		-2	-1				
Visitors, who rarely go to concerts, see a reinforcement of the concert experience in the change						2	
Regular concertgoers agree with the change							1
Evaluation of the modification totals	1	-2	-1	1	2	2	1
Group assembly							
Older concertgoers notice a strengthening of group assembly					1		
Both male and female concertgoers rate the change positively		1	1				
Regular concertgoers are more in agreement with the change than sporadic concertgoers						1	2
Group assembly totals	1	1	1		1	1	2
Bodily co-presence							
Female concertgoers increasingly report an increase than males		2	1				
An intensification is more strongly noticed with increasing age				1	2		
regular visitors appreciate the change more than sporadic concert goers						1	2
Bodily co-presence totals	1	2	1	1	1	1	2
Mutual focus of attention							
A strengthening of the focus of attention is exclusively given by older concert visitors					2		
Only female visitors cite that the possibility to value musicians decreases		-1					
Both male and female concertgoers report an increase		1	1				
The regular concertgoers are those that give positive ratings							1
Mutual focus of attention	1	-1	1		2		1
Shared mood							
Most female concertgoers report a strong or very strong increase		1					
Visitors between the ages of 35 and 74 have a positive view of the change					1		
Regular concertgoers make positive comments							1
Shared mood totals	1	1			1		1

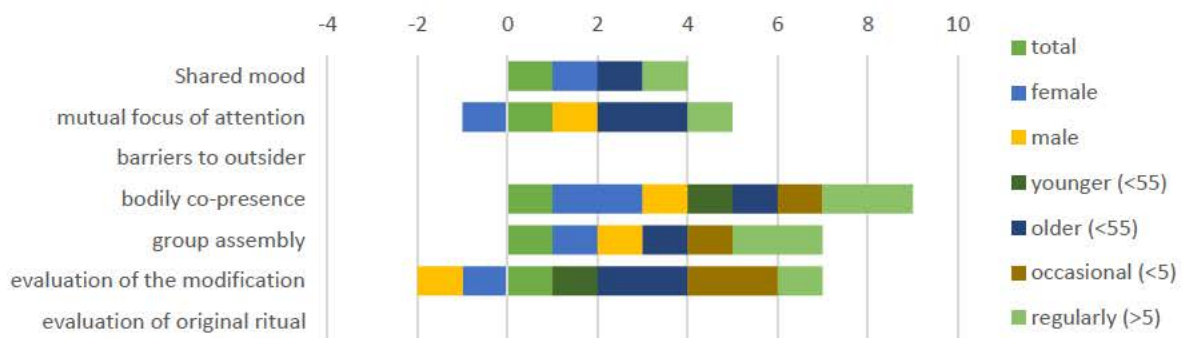
Positive comments

- the concert becomes quieter
- the artists take note of the audience and appreciate the applause more
- one could laugh
- the applause is for the artists, so they should stay on stage too
- connectedness with artists increases

Negative comments

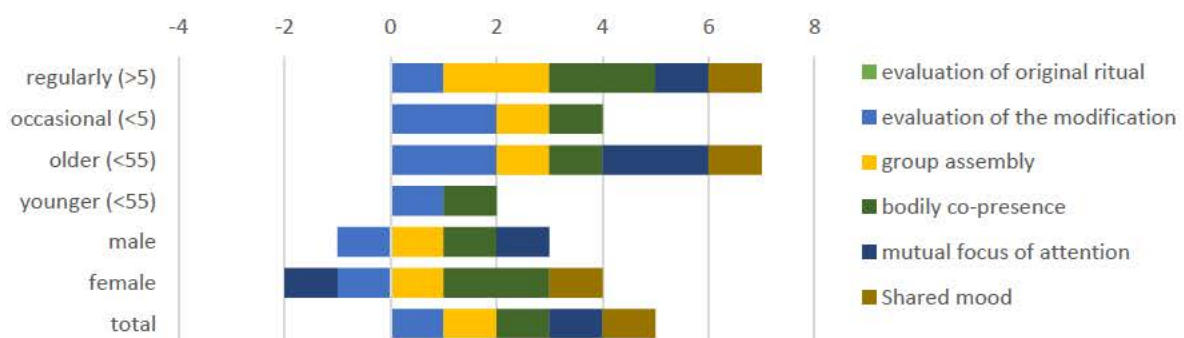
- the applause - and thus the possibility of appreciation - becomes shorter

Figure 33: Summary: (Re)appearance (by Collins' elements)



Graphically shown in Table 33 it can be said, that most of the audience viewed the change positively. Even though both male and female visitors criticized the change and found that the applause, and thus the possibility of appreciation was lower, the positive effects, especially in connection with bodily co-presence and group assembly, were almost exclusively assessed positively. Regarding the mutual focus of attention, female visitors tended to perceive a negative development.

Figure 34: Summary: (Re)appearance (by categories)



Considering effects by visitor categories (see Figure 34), it is striking that regular concertgoers rated the change more positively than occasional visitors – specifically, it was the assessments of bodily co-presence and group assembly that led to this result.

Age-specific comparison shows older visitors rating the change more positively than younger visitors. The decisive factor here is the mutual focus of attention.

Finally, gender-specific comparison shows female concertgoers, in contrast to male visitors, perceiving the change as affecting the mutual focus of attention negatively. But it is also the female concertgoers who offered most of the positive perspectives on the change in terms of the bodily co-presence, which clearly benefited from the change.

Discussion of findings

Given the positive outturn, this ritual change has significant potential for cycle 2 of the study (new concert format development especially tailored for a younger audience). An attempt must be made to enhance this, as the focus is not only on the actual enjoyment of classical music, but also on the social experience. Judging from the comments made, the sense of community, as well as bodily co-presence, can be increased by the changes.

Evaluation of Collins' ritual conditions (or elements) shows that bodily co-presence experiences the most significant revaluation. This development seems particularly important because private consumption of classical music is much easier than it was due to technological progress. So, if this change can strengthen the feeling of bodily co-presence, motivation to attend classical concerts could be increased. Interestingly, the effect is much more modest among younger people, however. This change therefore has significant potential to influence the experience of older audiences.

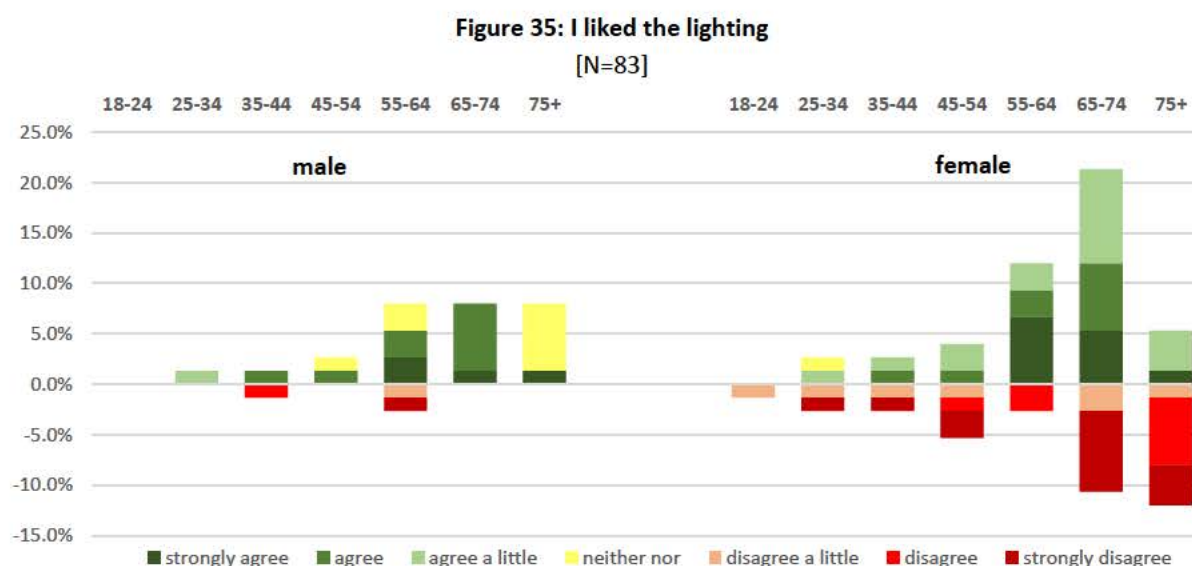
Auditorium lighting

Artificial lighting enabled auditoriums to be darkened considerably during classical concerts. The audience, thus deprived of any opportunity to participate interactively during the concert, was also enjoined to maintain a devout silence. The audience became a grey mass with no real 'function' (Fischer-Lichte, 2004).

ALG members observed that persistent dark generates intense concentration in the audience, with little opportunity to relax, even between two successive works. Equally, these lighting conditions make it impossible to read the programme or to talk freely. The ALG felt changing this had potential for promoting additional access to music, particularly if the programme's introduction to a work could be read immediately before its performance.

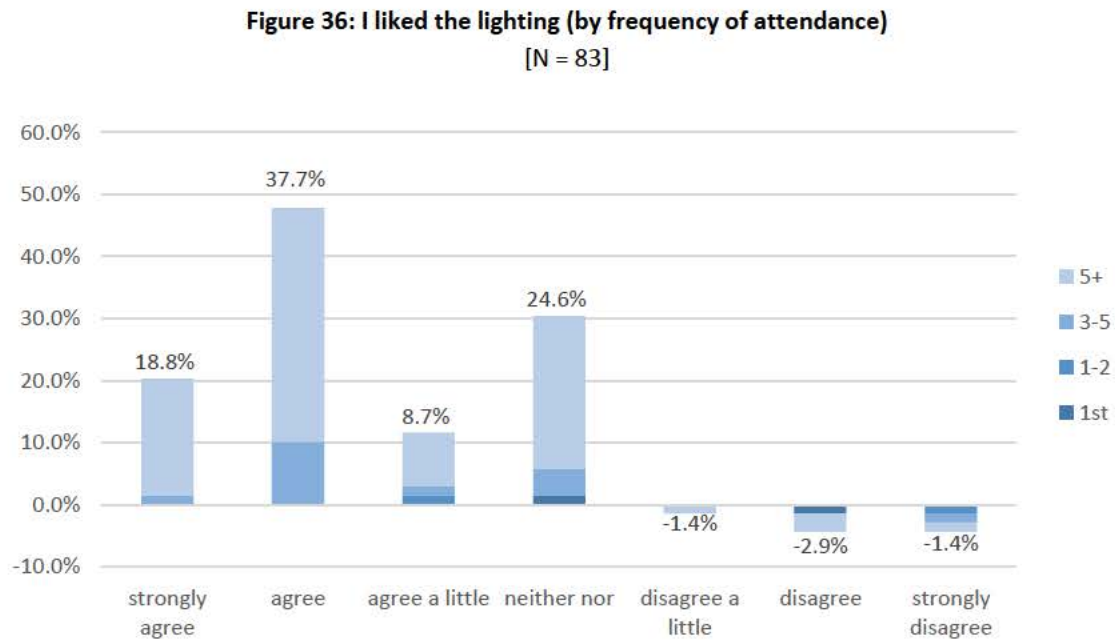
Based on these observations, the ALG proposed illuminating the auditorium between two successive works to enable viewers to read the programme. The ALG also hoped to promote temporary relaxation in the audience. This would be desirable because the attention span of young cultural consumers, in particular, has been greatly reduced by overlapping experience phases (Polanetzki, 2008). The ALG hoped that temporary relaxation would extend this attention span.

The following graph, which details opinions in response to the change in lighting, shows a large gap between male and female concertgoers. While most male concertgoers appraised the change positively, with some neutral ratings, among female visitors the ritual change was more frequently met with low, strong to very strong rejection. This is particularly true for females over 65 years. However, age-specific analysis also shows that most females between 55 and 74 years approve of the change (see Figure 35)



When frequency of concert visits is considered (shown in Figure 36), the change is generally assessed positively by most of the audience. Also noticeable is the greatest approval ('I strongly agree' and 'I agree') given only by those visitors who attend three or more concerts per year. This is especially

evident among regular concert visitors ('5+'). A relatively small proportion of this group expressed a negative view, while a sizeable proportion (25%) was neutral ('neither nor').



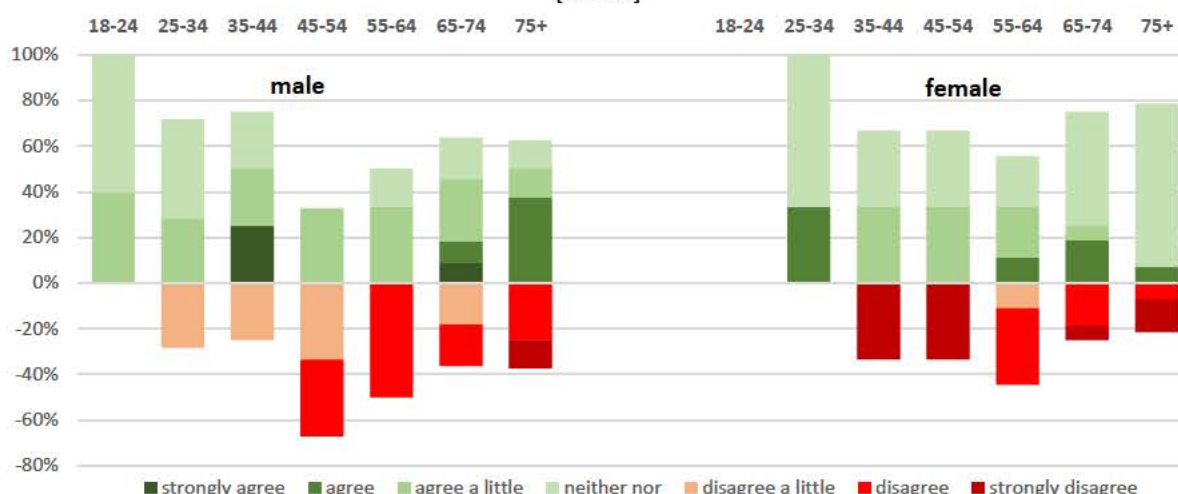
Effect of modification on group assembly

Illumination of the auditorium between works was positively received by the entire audience (see Figure 37). The only exceptions were male concertgoers up to the age of 54 years, where negative feedback outweighed the positive.

Both male and female visitors in the younger age categories tended to show greater approval. This diminished with increasing age, up to 54. Approval again increased in age groups above 54. Rejection was most pronounced among male concertgoers in the 45-54 age category, decreasing thereafter.

Figure 37: Auditorium lighting: Stronger sense of community

[N = 89]



Effect of modification on bodily co-presence

Generally, an improvement in bodily co-presence was observed. Even if auditorium illumination between works reduced audience mood somewhat, the feeling of being part of the whole audience was strengthened and perceived positively ('it gives one the nice feeling to be part of the whole', 'one rather perceives that there are other viewers', 'now it is an audience instead of just a grey mass'). These comments came from the 65 to 74 age group in particular.

It also promoted contact with neighbours in the audience ('less anonymous', 'feel like exchanging a few words with neighbours'). This increased audience exchange however disturbed some visitors. The age structure of the comments listed here shows that contact with audience neighbours is more appreciated with increasing age.

Effect of modification on barriers to outsiders

According to individual comments, this change helped dismantle barriers to outsiders. The ritual of clapping, of knowing when one is allowed to clap and when not (Müller, 2014), changed with illumination of the auditorium. It is a clear signal that a work is now over (lights go up), and one can clap. Accordingly, comments such as 'emphasizes that a piece is over', made by younger concertgoers in the lower two age categories up to 34 years, indicated a weakened barrier. These comments came almost exclusively from younger, mostly female members of the audience who

rarely go to classical concerts. Thus, it can be assumed that any barrier to outsiders, especially in these groups, would be dismantled.

Effect of modification on mutual focus of attention

The various comments received highlighted a split in the audience regarding the change in the mutual focus of attention. The common focus of the audience remained more in the auditorium than on the stage during the temporary auditorium illumination. This was perceived positively not only because the sense of community was felt to be greater, but also because the subsequent common focus seemed enhanced. It is interesting to note that this observation was made particularly by female concertgoers in the oldest age categories (65+) who attend more than 5 concerts a year.

At the same time, men and women between the ages of 65 and 74, attending five or more concerts a year, were particularly critical of the illumination, saying it encouraged the audience to converse, for example ('there was talk between the pieces'), making them more restless and weakening their common focus.

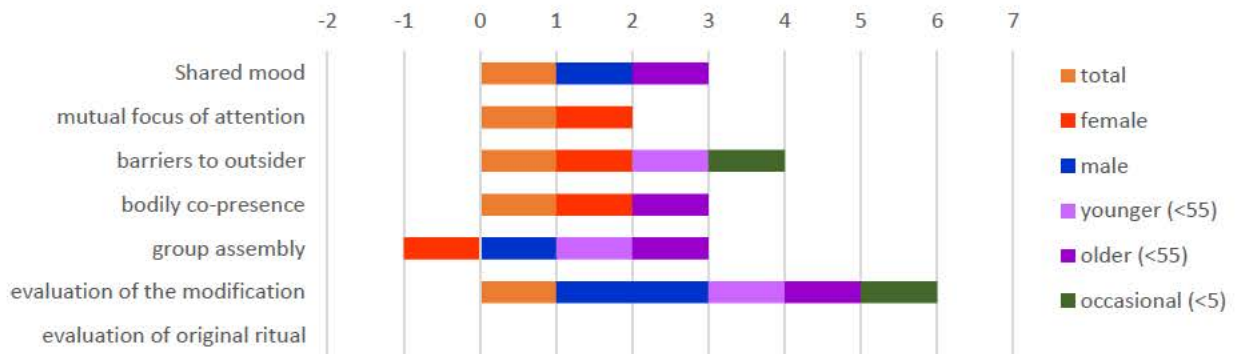
Effect of modification on shared mood

The comments regarding mood at the concert were mostly positive. These came from the higher three age categories of those over 55, the majority of whom were female and attended classical concerts more than five times a year.

These comments positively noted that auditorium illumination between works created a short interruption in concert dramaturgy that had a loosening effect ('loosen up the whole thing') and created a valued closeness to the artists ('one sees the musicians better'). A few negative comments, especially from female concertgoers, criticized auditorium illumination for disturbing the dramaturgical course of the concert and abruptly interrupting the mood ('without light in the hall the mood remains longer'), or even suspends it ('implies the end of the concert').

Tabular summary

Figure 38: Lighting (by Collins' elements)



In summary (see Figure 38), the change in the ritual in terms of barriers to outsider, shared mood, bodily co-presence and mutual focus of attention, consistently achieved a positive effect. Most women see deterioration only in group assembly.

Figure 39: Lighting (by categories)

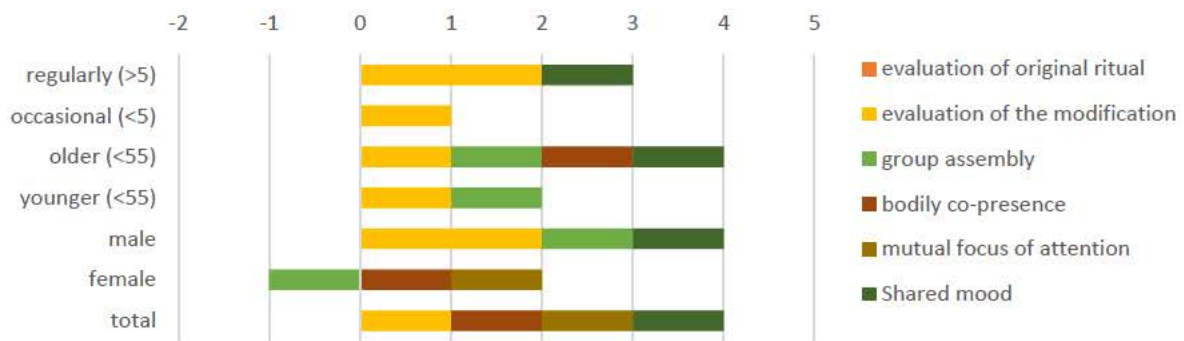


Figure 39 clarifies that male visitors over the age of 55 viewed the change positively. Women generally rated the change less positively than men. Finally, those attending concerts only occasionally viewed it less positively than regular concertgoers.

Positive comments

- it makes you feel like you're part of the whole
- one applauds more duly, because one feels respected, and less anonymously
- you see the musicians better, less distance
- shows that a new oeuvre begins

Negative comments

- without light in the hall the mood is maintained longer
- it destroys the concert atmosphere

Discussion of findings

With regard to the development of new concert formats tailored to younger audiences, here men and women over 65 years, and men up to 44 years and women up to 54 perceived the sense of community in the audience much more strongly with this ritual change. Various comments indicate that by illuminating the auditorium, the audience can perceive one another more easily and communicate better verbally (or non-verbally) during the concert. The social aspect of a concert is at least as important a component of a classical concert as is the enjoyment of the music itself. Thus, it seems central to consider this particular change of ritual for a new concert format for younger, but also older, visitors.

Why female concertgoers believe more clearly that illumination of the auditorium does not strengthen the sense of audience community cannot be said. Since more women buy tickets for themselves and their partners, it seems important to investigate this effect in more detail.

In the eyes of younger visitors, however, the change in the ritual not only improved group assembly but also reduced barriers to outsiders. This observation is of crucial importance regarding the desired broad impact of the new concert format because it removes uncertainty (when to clap) and relaxes the code of conduct. Hence, enjoyment of the music is foremost. Removing the barriers to outsiders is seen as an improvement and is therefore likely to be a key component for incorporation into the design of a new concert format.

Background information as a performative part of the concert

ALG members considered the background information on a work or composer to be quintessential. At the same time, they were disturbed by the means that information was conveyed – through the concert program.

A large part of the audience arrives at the concert venue only a brief time (approx. 15 minutes) before the concert starts. After depositing a coat at the cloakroom, a short visit to the bathroom and greeting friends or acquaintances, only a few minutes remain until the concert begins and the hall is darkened. This leaves little time to review the musical programme, as well as background information on the work, composer or soloist.

The ALG proposed making information about the work a performative component of the concert. This idea originated with some members of the ALG who perceive announcements at other cultural events very positively (such as a circus performance or a stand-up comedy show) and wondered whether this could be implemented in similar form at a classical concert. The ‘master of ceremonies’, a role created for this purpose, guided the audience through the first part of the programme as ‘Major Domus’ (see illustration in the appendices) in an 18th century costume.

This rather unusual form of music mediation was, of course, then mentioned in the assessments of the audience (especially in the responses to the open questions). For this reason, a distinction was made during data evaluation between an assessment of the modifications of the interaction ritual and assessment of the chosen historical figure. Reactions to the ‘master of ceremonies’ were noted with a view to the further development of information transfer but are not included in the evaluation within this study.

As Figure 40 and 41 show, most (68%) of the audience rated the change in the ritual positively, with the proportion of women (46%) being significantly higher than that of men (30%). It is particularly noteworthy that, almost without exception, the younger age groups gave positive ratings. Only 12%, exclusively from the three highest age groups, were highly negative.

Figure 40: I liked the introduction to the work as part of the concert (absolute)
[N =327]

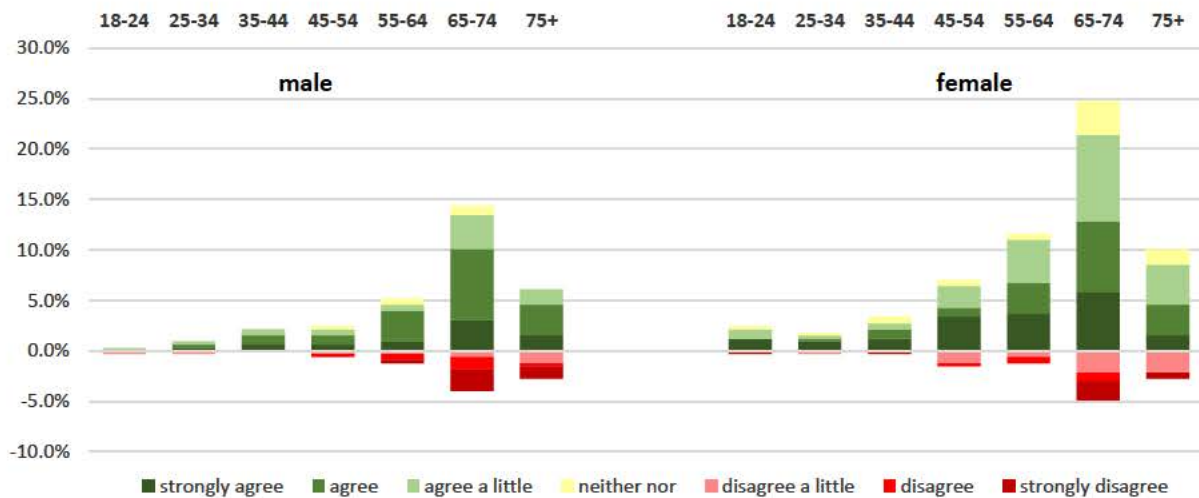
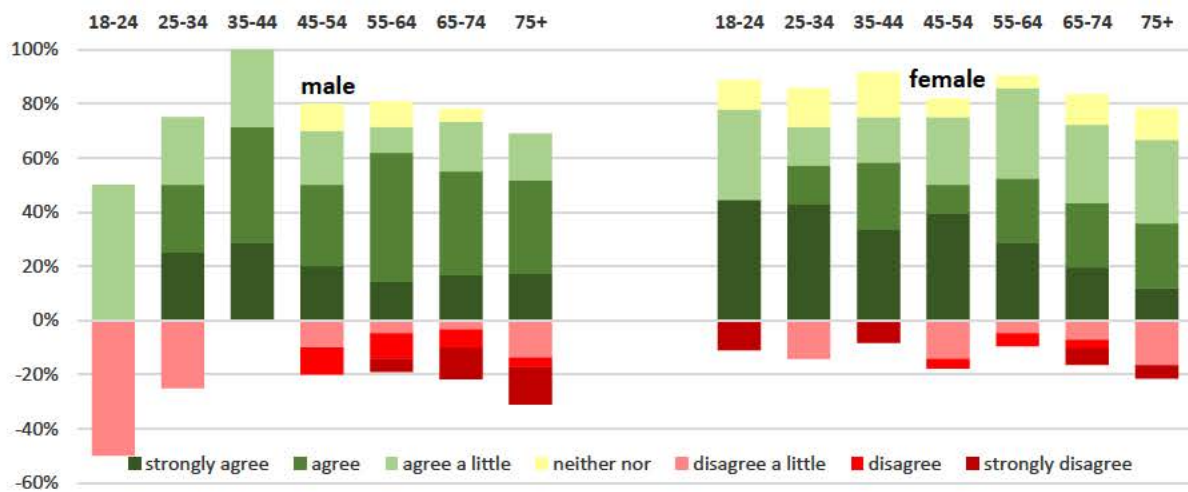
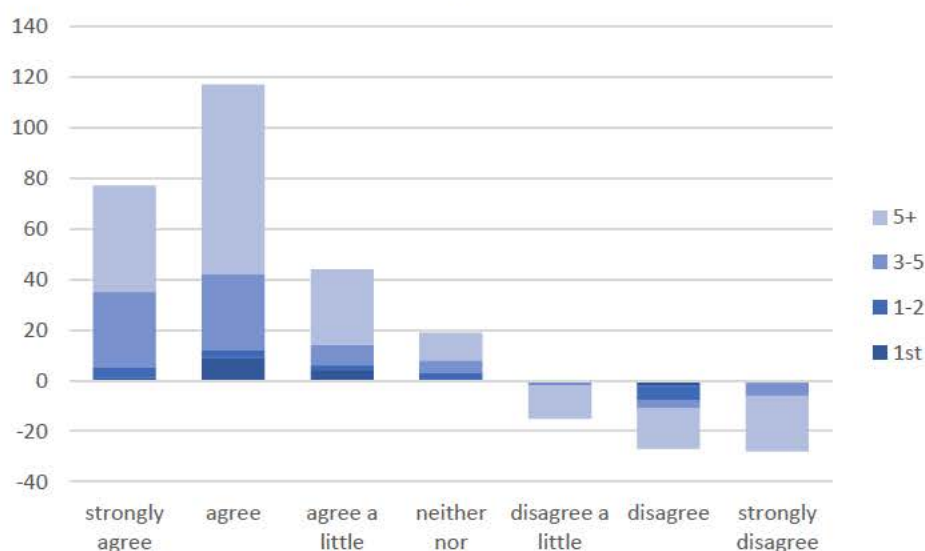


Figure 41: I liked the introduction as part of the concert (relative)
[N =327]



It was positively noticed that the introductions relaxed the atmosphere at the concert and loosened the course of events. The introductions, placed between the works, disturbed the dramaturgical flow of the concert for some, resulting in some negative comments.

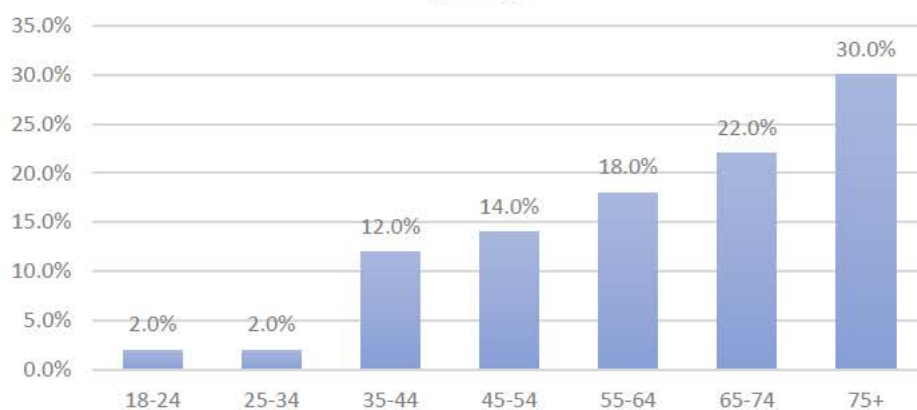
**Figure 42: I liked the introduction to the work as part of the concert.
(by concert frequency) [N = 327]**



Analysis based on frequency of concert visits (see Figure 42) shows that a clear majority in all categories evaluated the change positively. Visitors who attend a maximum of five concerts per year were most positive about the change.

A short video of the 'Major Domus' was made available to concertgoers in the run-up to the concert, so concertgoers could inform themselves about the programme prior to the concert, e. g. on their way to the concert hall (see appendices). Those who watched the video before the concert were asked to rate it. It is surprising that it was not the younger visitors, as might be expected, but rather the older visitors who had informed themselves about the concert programme in this way. Figure 43 shows the age structure of those who watched the video:

**Figure 43: age structure
[N = 50]**



Analysis by gender and frequency of concert visits reveals no significant anomalies. The video's content rating is generally 'very good' – 70% were of the opinion that this form of obtaining information was entertaining. 72% of respondents also believed the video content was informative, with 34% saying that the video was 'very informative' and 25% that it was 'informative'.

Effect of modification on group assembly

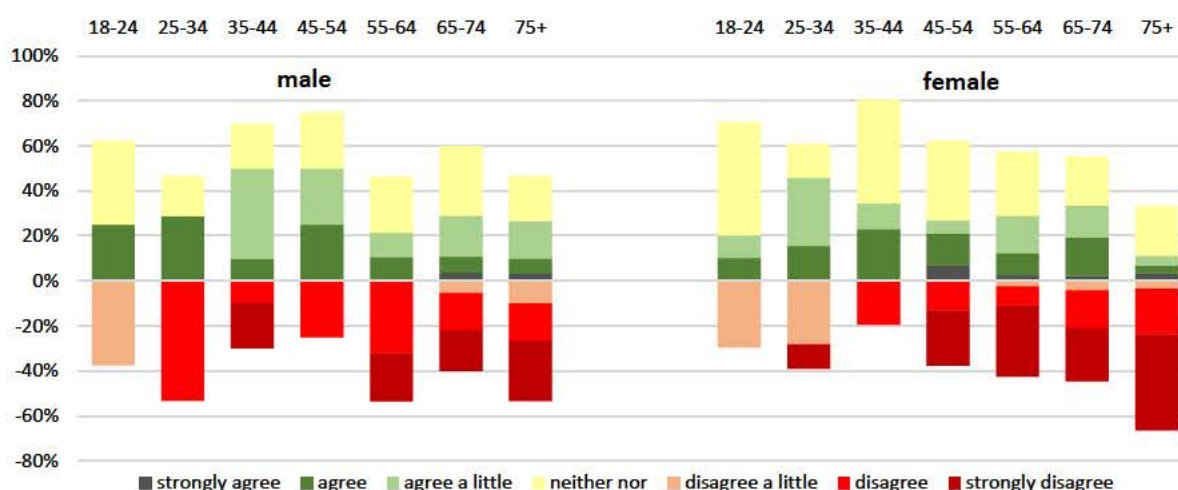
Whether introducing the work as part of the concert made the audience feel more connected to the rest of the audience can be determined quantitatively from the survey. However, the reasons for the increase or decrease in the respondents' sense of community were not apparent from the question posed.

The positive feedback shows a certain loosening of mood observed in the audience. It is assumed that introductions of the works led to discussions in the audience, making interviewees feel more connected with others.

Evaluation (see Figure 44) shows that most (36%) answered the question neutrally with 'neither/nor', 59% of these being women. 42% saw no increase in community feeling thanks to the modification, while 22% noted an increase.

While differing perceptions are represented in roughly equal parts in the younger age groups, a larger group consisting of the higher three age groups felt that the change did not improve the sense of community (see Figure 44).

Figure 44: Background information: Stronger sense of community



When analysed by frequency of concert visits, the more frequently or regularly concerts are attended, the more negative the attitude towards changes in rituals becomes. A large majority (75%) of those attending five or more concerts a year rated the change in ritual as being negative or as neutral. Conversely, 67% of those attending 3-5 concerts per year rated the changes as positive or neutral. Finally, 100% of those who attend one or two concerts per year rate the change as positive or neutral.

Effect of modification on bodily co-presence

The ritual was changed primarily to offer information. Since the survey was designed on the assumption that reading a customer magazine, researching on the Internet or in specialist books, as well as the mediation or passive consumption of background information through the choice of historical figure (Major Domus) would have no major influence on bodily co-presence, this aspect was not taken into account in the audience survey.

Effect of modification on barriers to outsiders

When concert visitors inform themselves about concert content by means of a concert programme, a fundamental asymmetry of information in the audience must be assumed. While some people informed themselves about the works or a composer or read the programme in preparation for the concert, others had neither the interest nor the time or opportunity to prepare for the concert.

However, it should be noted that the level of knowledge regarding a performed work or the corresponding composer was not explicitly queried before the concert. Accordingly, it is not possible to judge whether and how visitors' level of knowledge differed before the concert. It can be assumed, however, that the concert programme conveys new knowledge (or at least refreshes it), since it has been proven that many concertgoers read it, which would not be the case if it were considered uninteresting or uninformative.

The historical development of the classical concert presented shows that the educated bourgeoisie claimed the classical concert as a social platform for itself by means of a strong ritualization. The elite used their prior knowledge (musical capital) to make it more difficult for the petty bourgeoisie and others to feel comfortable in the opera house and the concert hall (Müller, 2014). This demarcation by prior knowledge of the required ritualized behaviour is very often reinforced by an asymmetry of

information, so that concert visitors had to familiarize themselves with a given work to know, for example, when to clap and when not.

Since introducing the work to the entire audience became part of the concert with this modification, a shared information base was created that also became the subject of audience discussions, both during the concert and during the intermission. Reducing information asymmetry is also expected to reduce outsider exclusion.

Effect of modification on mutual focus of attention

While the form of the introduction (i.e. the figure of the ‘master of ceremonies’) engendered some negative comments, 72% of the audience found the introductions ‘informative’ and 75% ‘entertaining’ or ‘stimulating’. According to various comments, the explanations led to a better understanding of the works. The introduction concentrated on specific details, such as information on the creation of the work, the composer, historical circumstances at the time the composition was created, or music-theoretical idiosyncrasies, creating a stronger intellectual connection to a work. According to the feedback, this reinforced the listening experience or the focus of attention. Assuming these listening experiences were the subject of conversations during the break and after the concert, it can be suggested that the common focus of attention in the audience was fundamentally strengthened by this ritual change.

Since more younger concertgoers mentioned the entertainment characteristic of the mediation form positively and older ones often mentioned the information content, it can be assumed that the mutual focus of attention here tended to increase more strongly. A gender-specific tendency was not discernible.

Effect of modification on shared mood

Apart from comments on the choice of master of ceremonies figure, ignored in this context, relevant comments are divided into two categories: the negative, consisting of feedback that the introductions destroyed the festive concert atmosphere, detracted too much attention from the music and interrupted the dramaturgical flow of the concert. Most of these comments came from the older, female members of the audience who attend concerts regularly, i.e. more than five times a year. The comment group detailing positive feedback - that introducing the work loosened up and relaxed the concert atmosphere - comes mostly from the younger, male audience, attending classical concerts one to five times a year.

A significant part of the negative feedback is aimed at the musical and dramaturgical course of the concert, which affects the quality of the shared mood only indirectly. In contrast, the positive feedback relates almost exclusively to shared mood. Since a large part of the audience viewed the changes in the ritual positively (see Figure 40 & 41, p. 154), it is assumed that the change improved the shared mood.

Tabular summary

Table 13: Summary: Background information

	total	female	male	younger (<55)	older (>55)	occasional (<5)	regularly (>5)
Evaluation of the modification							
<i>Seldom visitors evaluate the change more positively</i>						2	1
<i>The change is fundamentally positively evaluated</i>							
<i>Female concertgoers accept the change more than male</i>		2	1				
<i>Older concertgoers are more critical than younger</i>				-1	-2		
<i>Young woman are more positive than men</i>		2	1	2	1		
Evaluation of the modification totals	1	2	1	1	-1	2	1
Group assembly							
<i>A majority (36%) answer 'neither nor'</i>	0						
<i>42% do not recognize an increase of the sense of community</i>	-1						
<i>Women decline the change more considerably than men</i>		-1	-2				
<i>Younger visitors are more positive than older</i>				2	1		
<i>Occasional visitors are more positive than frequent visitors</i>						1	-2
<i>The negative attitude rises with the amount of concert visits per year</i>						1	-1
Group assembly totals	-1	-1	-2	2	1	1	-1
Barriers to outsiders							
<i>Information asymmetry is weakened so that barriers to outsiders are decreased</i>	1						
Barriers to outsider totals	1						
Mutual focus of attention							
<i>72% of the audience felt the introduction is informative, which leads to an increase of the focus of attention</i>	1						
<i>Information content is more valued by older visitors</i>				0	1		
<i>There is no gender-specific trend</i>		0	0				
<i>Regular concertgoers evaluate the introduction more than infrequent visitors</i>						1	2
Mutual focus of attention totals	1				1	1	2
Shared mood							
<i>Older, female and regular visitors felt more disturbed by the change</i>		-2			-2		-2
<i>Younger visitors mention the positive atmosphere more frequently, than older visitors</i>				2	1		
<i>Male visitors mention the improved atmosphere more frequently than woman</i>		1	0				
<i>Most visitors that attend 1 to 5 concerts per year value the better mood more</i>						2	1
Shared mood totals	0	-1		1	-1	2	-1

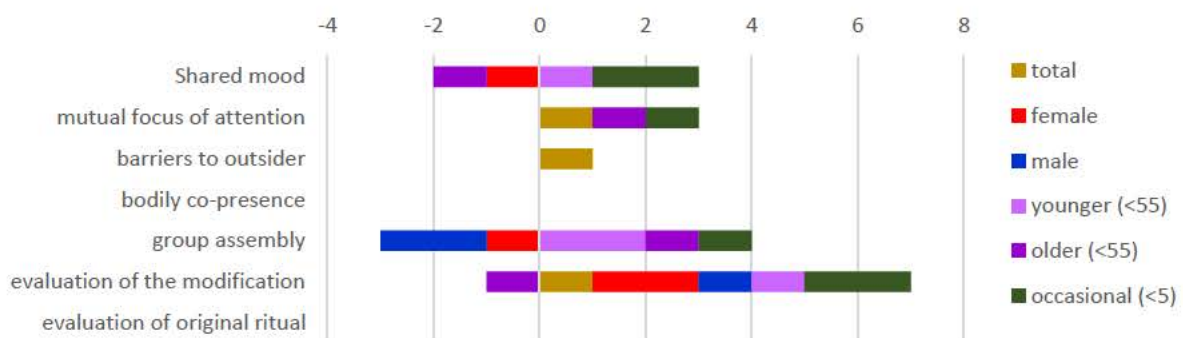
Positive comments

- good mood, loosens up the atmosphere, very informative, entertaining
- laughing together, concentration
- gives more reference to the pieces
- the younger people were enthusiastic

Negative comments

- the festive concert atmosphere suffers a bit
- disturbs, radiates nervousness and restlessness
- introduction has changed atmosphere negatively
- introduction to the works and greeting disturb the festive concert atmosphere

Figure 45: Background information (by Collins' elements)



The change was generally received positively by the majority. Figure 45 shows that it was occasional concert visitors who especially noticed a positive effect on the shared mood. Female and younger concertgoers, on the other hand, were the ones who noticed a negative development. The change in the ritual therefore divided the audience. It was particularly well received by younger visitors. A negative assessment was made by male concert visitors.

Figure 46: Background information (by attendance categories)



Compared to frequent concerts visitors, those attending classical concerts less than five times a year rated the change significantly more negatively (see Figure 46). Nevertheless, they noted that the mutual focus of attention was positively influenced by the change. For occasional concert visitors, it was especially the shared mood that increased because of the change.

Age-specific analysis clearly shows a split (see Figure 46). Those under 55 viewed the change positively. Here, group assembly and shared mood led to these positive results. The gender-specific evaluation shows female concertgoers may have been more positive about the change, but, like male visitors, they recognized a negative development in group assembly and in shared mood.

Discussion of findings

Changing the ritual and integrating presentation of background information into the concert was generally received positively by all age groups (even if the form chosen for mediation was controversial).

When evaluating the assessments of younger concert visitors, it is noticeable that group assembly and shared mood were much more strongly perceived because of the change. Both statements indicated that the common experience was fundamentally enhanced by the change, which must be at the centre of efforts.

With the change, the information base for intellectual access to the music within the audience was balanced (at least in relation to a certain aspect of a work). This created a shared information base for joint discussions during or after the concert.

It should be noted that the intellectual approach to classical music seems to be an important component. As a study from 2009 shows, passionate opera fans are convinced that you have to be intellectually engaged with an opera before you can fully grasp its content and really enjoy it (Benzecry, 2009).

The consequence of the modification was a more strongly perceived sense of community. Since these developments were rated positively, such changes should be considered when redefining the concert format.

Social gathering after the concert

ALG members observed that audiences at various concerts tended to leave the venue quickly after the concerts. They found this disturbing, regretting that the lack of opportunities to eat and drink together made it difficult to socialize after a concert at the concert venue. They continue to see classical concerts as social event at which concert visitors can meet and exchange ideas.

As a result, concerts within the scope of this study, as well as subsequent concerts, were expanded to include the so-called 'ZKO after-concert lounge' ('ZKO Lounge'). The concert hall foyer was temporarily converted into a cosy lounge using simple means as monochrome lighting design. Work with sponsors made it possible for entire audiences to be invited for free drinks. The orchestra and the artists invited to the lounge were asked to actively seek contact with the audience to promote additional personal proximity. When evaluating the ZKO Lounge, the free drink incentive is probably relevant in the decision to visit. This must be disentangled from the general attractiveness and availability of the ZKO Lounge. Sponsorship might, of course, make such 'free' provision more permanently part of the ZKO Lounge experience.

Initial estimates indicate about 65% of the visitors visited the lounge. The average time spent in the lounge was approximately 30-45 minutes. The last visitors left the concert venue or the lounge around 1 ½ hours after concert end.

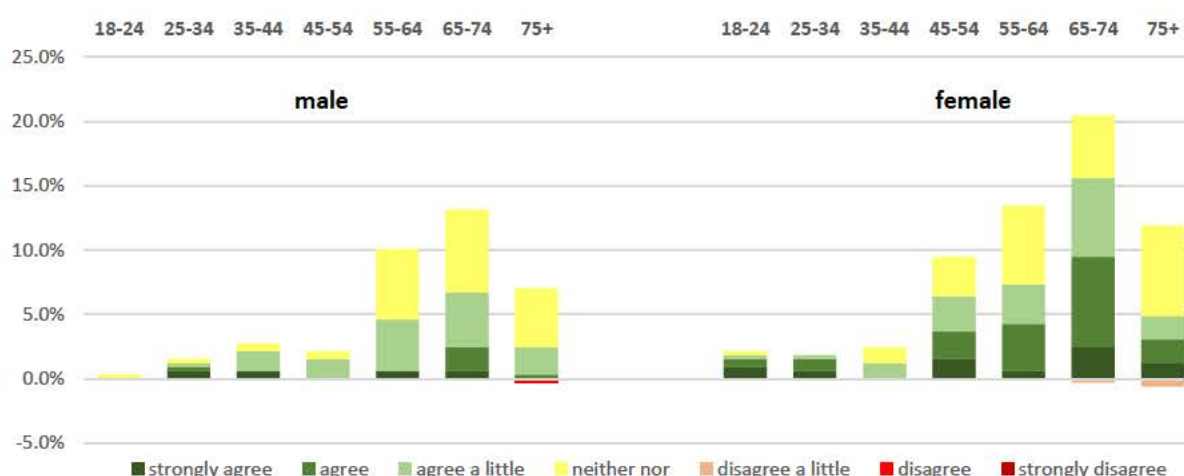
Other studies (Pitts & Gross, 2016) have shown that contact with the artists is very much appreciated by the public, and perhaps even expected today. This personal contact enables the audience to get to know the 'expert' view of the musicians, as well as to experience that the artists are also 'ordinary people' (Nooshin, 2014), which is difficult due to the distance between stage and audience created in 'traditional' concerts. Based on personal observations, I was able to see that this opportunity to

express the *performers'* personal enthusiasm and gratitude for 'a very special moment' was greatly appreciated by those audience members present.

In the associated audience survey, concert visitors are asked to indicate how much they liked the 'ZKO Lounge' and whether it made them feel more connected with other people in the audience.

As Figure 47 shows clearly, a large majority (96%) of the audience assessed the offer positively, with 52% finding the opportunity offered 'good' and 42% even rated it 'very good'. Gender-specific analysis shows that the proportion giving a positive rating is higher for women (86.6%) than for men (66%). A relatively substantial proportion of the total audience, namely 18% of men and 23% of women, gave a neutral answer ('neither nor').

Figure 47: I like the ZKO-Lounge
[N = 327]



Effect of modification on group assembly

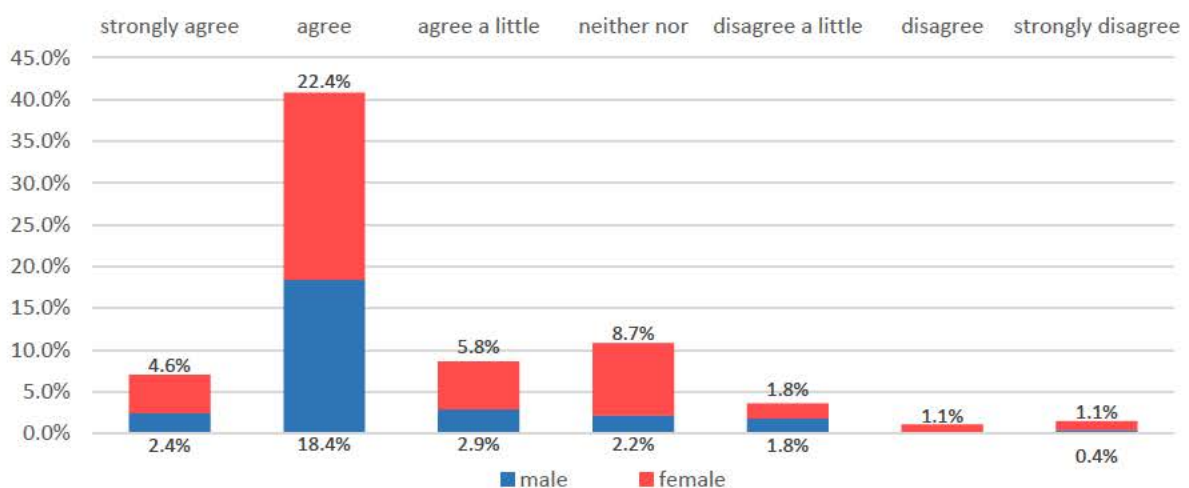
The question 'In the ZKO Lounge I feel more connected with other people' is intended to determine whether the lounge increases the sense of community in the audience.

While most of the audience assessed the opportunity for social exchange in the lounge after the concert positively, the result, while quite clear, is not as overwhelming as might be first assumed: the majority (83%) of the audience felt that the 'ZKO Lounge' strengthened the feeling of community in the audience. Conversely, 11% thought the offer had neither a positive nor a negative effect on the

sense of community and only 6% considered it did not strengthen the sense of community in the audience.

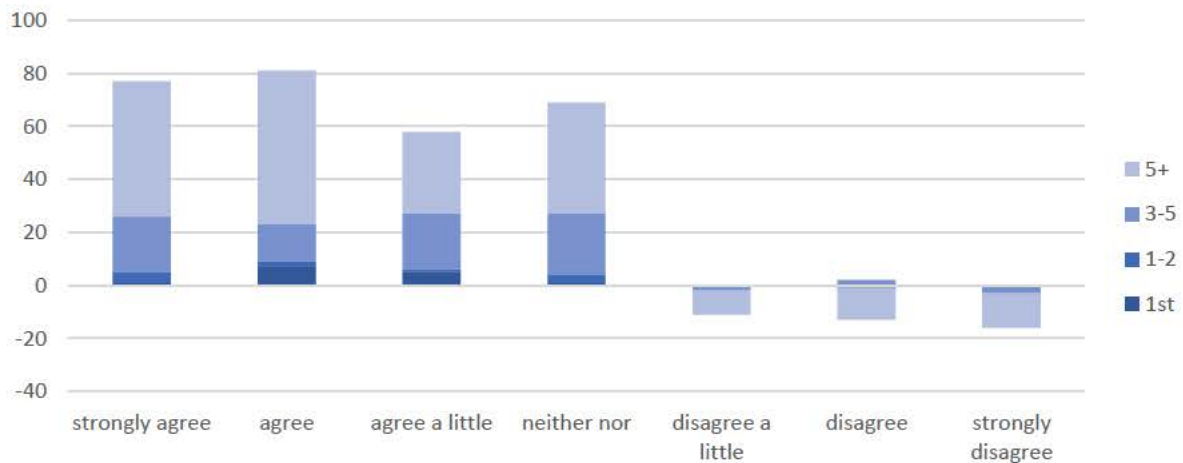
Gender-specific analysis (see Figure 48) shows female concertgoers tended to rate the question positively, so that these answers predominate in the corresponding areas.

Figure 48: Sense of community at social gathering after the concert
[N = 277]



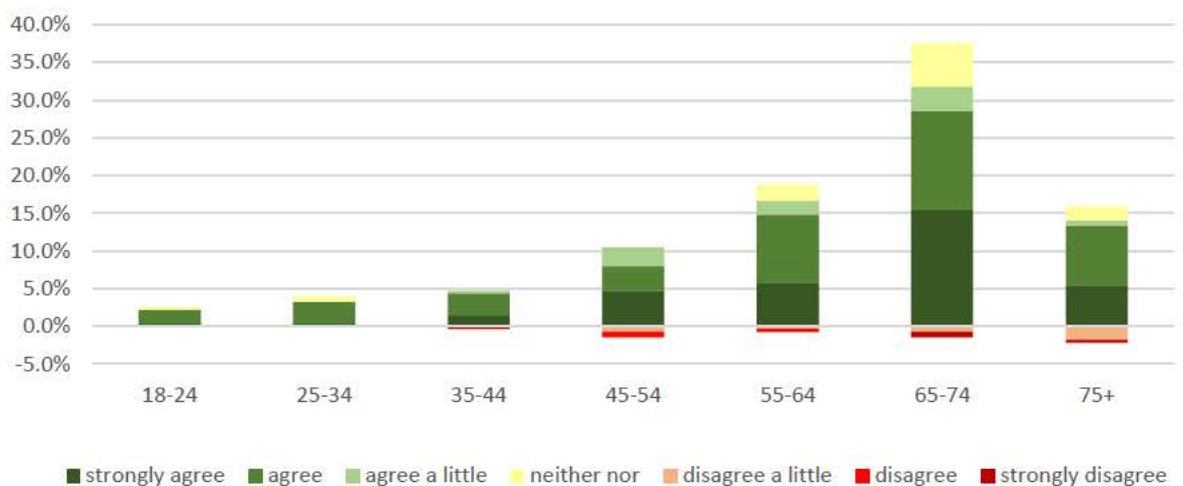
Age-specific comparison shows that the opportunity for social get-togethers after the concert is appreciated more by older concertgoers than by younger ones. In the 65 to 74 age group, in particular, it is clear that the opportunity for socializing after the concert greatly strengthened the feeling of audience community. However, negative feedback, even if modest, was also given by these older age groups.

Figure 49: Sense of community at social gathering after the concert (frequency)
[N = 277]



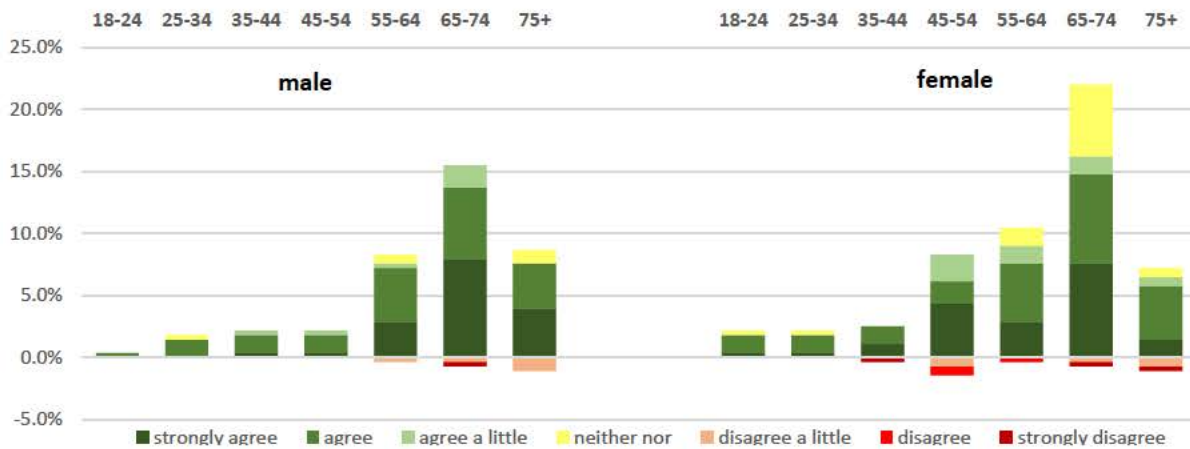
Finally, when analysed by frequency of concert visits (see Figure 49), almost all occasional concert visitors, i.e., those who attend a classical concert at most twice a year, gave positive feedback. Most regular concertgoers also believed opportunity for social encounters after the concert strengthened the sense of community, despite a few contrary opinions.

Figure 50: Sense of community at social gathering after the concert (summary)



The proportion of female concertgoers (again) that like the 'ZKO Lounge' is greater than the proportion of male concertgoers. Age (see Figure 50) and gender-specific assessment (see Figure 51) show a similar picture – both male and female visitors overwhelmingly shared the opinion that opportunity for social gathering after the concert fundamentally strengthened the feeling of community in the audience. Neutral feedback, especially in the 65 to 74 age group, was given exclusively by female visitors.

Figure 51: Sense of community at social gathering after the concert
[N = 277]



An age-specific tendency (see Figure 51) seems to be confirmed – the opportunity for social get-togethers after the concert was appreciated more by the upper age groups (45+) than by the younger. The proportion of ‘I strongly agree’ assessments tended to increase in relation to the younger age groups. However, this was no longer the case for women over 75 years of age, which may indicate declining mobility.

In order to keep audience surveys as short as possible, the study did not investigate bodily co-presence, barriers to outsiders, mutual focus of attention and shared mood in relation to the ZKO Lounge. In order to gain useful insights, however, results were derived from other survey questions, including those from the other two concerts. Most important, however, is the evaluation regarding change in the feeling of community mentioned above.

Effect of modification on bodily co-presence

The potential for meeting friends and acquaintances within the framework of a classical concert must be given at least the same importance as enjoyment of the aesthetic (Keuchel, 2005). Accordingly, the same potential must also be granted the ‘ZKO Lounge’.

Based on my observations, the possibility for the audience to personally express their gratitude and enthusiasm to an artist after the concert is a great added value that potentially distinguishes a classical concert from the enjoyment of classical music at home.

Even if, or precisely because, these conversations (apart from the inspiring performance of an interpreter or musical analyses) revolve around (almost exclusively) positive emotional experiences, they create, or strengthen, an emotional bond that makes these visitors 'ambassadors of classical music' or 'cultural citizens' (Pitts & Gross, 2016).

Based on the audiences' positive evaluations, I assume that the physical presence of each individual concert visitor will increase the value of the opportunity. It can be further assumed that increases in this value analogously intensify the feeling of belonging, or shared mood, since cultivation of one's personal network is central here.

Effect of modification on barriers to outsiders

The educated bourgeoisie of the 19th century shaped the classical concert into a platform for bestowing social prestige, excluding lower classes through rituals of interaction (Salmen, 1988). Therefore, a format such as the 'ZKO Lounge', primarily developed to promote broad social exchange, is nevertheless used to maintain one's personal network, generally *within* a social class or milieu. This implies, in turn, that group formation with like-minded people at a concert is probably intensified. Consequently, it can be assumed that the barriers to outsiders will tend to be strengthened.

Conversely, there is potential for network expansion within the framework of a social platform such as the 'ZKO Lounge'. This, in turn, implies that the barriers to outsiders would be decreased. As this situation was not an intended consequence of the research design, no survey questions explored this area, meaning no overall conclusion can be drawn on such potential social effects. They are however noted for completeness and as a possible issue for future exploration.

Effect of modification on mutual focus of attention

Based on my own observations, concert visitors' experiences during the concert, e.g. the artistic performance of the orchestra, the intensity of feelings conveyed by a work, the soloist's dress, were often the subject of discussions in the ZKO Lounge'. Since the focus is on the concert experienced together and this is maintained for longer and more intensively in the 'ZKO Lounge', I assume here that the opportunity to meet in a social setting after the concert strengthens the common focus of attention.

Effect of modification on shared mood

Examining findings in the areas of lighting, appearance on stage and background information, it is especially the older, female, frequent concert visitor who noticed an improvement of the shared mood in each case. Without specific data for assessing change in shared mood during the social gathering, I presume the shared mood changes similarly, i.e. the audience group would notice a significant change in the shared mood. This however needs to be examined in the future.

Tabular summary

Table 14: Summary: Social gathering after the concert

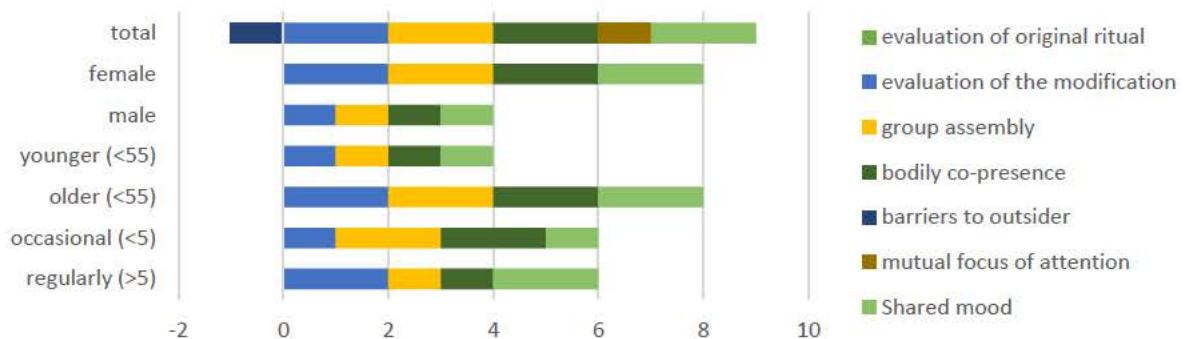
	total	female	male	younger (<55)	older (>55)	occasional (<5)	regularly (>5)
Evaluation of the modification							
<i>Female visitors value the ZKO Lounge more positively than male visitors</i>		2	1				
<i>Older visitors rate the lounge significantly more positively than younger visitors</i>				1	2		
<i>In principle, the majority view is positive</i>	2						
<i>Based on the observation that older visitors go to concerts more often than younger ones, it is assumed here that regular visitors will be able to see the change</i>						1	2
Evaluation of the modification totals	2	2	1	1	2	1	2
Group assembly							
<i>83% of the total audience believe that the lounge strengthens the sense of community</i>	2						
<i>Women think that the lounge enhances the sense of community</i>		2	1				
<i>Older visitors are increasingly of the opinion that the lounge strengthens the sense of community</i>				1	2		
<i>The occasional concertgoers are more clearly of the opinion, the Lounge strengthens the community feeling</i>						2	1
Group assembly totals	2	2	1	1	2	2	1
Bodily co-presence							
<i>The change in the value of the bodily co-presence is based on the changes in group assembly (see above)</i>							
Bodily co-presence totals	2	2	1	2	1	2	1
Barriers to outsider							
<i>it is expected that group formation will tend to be reinforced by this possibility</i>	-1						
Barriers to outsider totals	-1						
Mutual focus of attention							
<i>It is expected that the opportunity to meet in a social setting after the concert increases the common focus</i>	1						
Mutual focus of attention total	1						
Shared mood							
<i>It can be assumed that the shared mood is reinforced by the possibility of social gathering</i>	2						
<i>It is assumed that female, older concertgoers who frequently attend concerts will notice a marked improvement</i>		2			2		2
<i>It is assumed that male, younger concertgoers, who go only sporadically to concerts, rather see an improvement</i>			1	1		1	
<i>It can be assumed that the shared mood is strengthened by the possibility of social gathering</i>	2						
Shared mood totals	2	2	2	2	3	2	2

Figure 52: Gathering (by Collins' elements)



Both the summary regarding the ritual conditions according to Collins' conditions (see Figure 52), and the following list according to visitor categories (see Figure 53), make it clear that the opportunity to meet each other after the concert within the framework the ZKO Lounge is rated positively. This effect is most evident in the areas of group assembly, bodily co-presence and shared mood.

Figure 53: Gathering (by audience categories)



The consistently positive ratings are also reflected in the summary according to visitor categories. It shows that female concertgoers view the opportunity much more positively than their male counterparts. The age-specific comparison shows that older concertgoers, i.e. those over 55 years of age, appreciate the opportunity much more than younger audience members.

The comparison based on annual concert visits shows that the assessment was the same for both groups, with the regular concert visitors evaluating the shared mood, group assembly as well as bodily co-presence, more positively, leading to the positive result.

Collins' conditions for interaction rituals: findings summary

Of all the changes implemented within the framework of this study, the most positive effect was achieved by socializing after the concert. With few exceptions, the change is considered 'positive' or 'very positive' by all visitors of all age categories and all genders.

The evaluations, by each of Collins' conditions for interaction rituals, show that particularly bodily co-presence and group assembly were perceived more strongly than before the change. Since this development was perceived more strongly by older concertgoers than by younger ones, these considerations should not only be applied to the concert format for younger visitors, but also to concert formats appealing to older audiences.

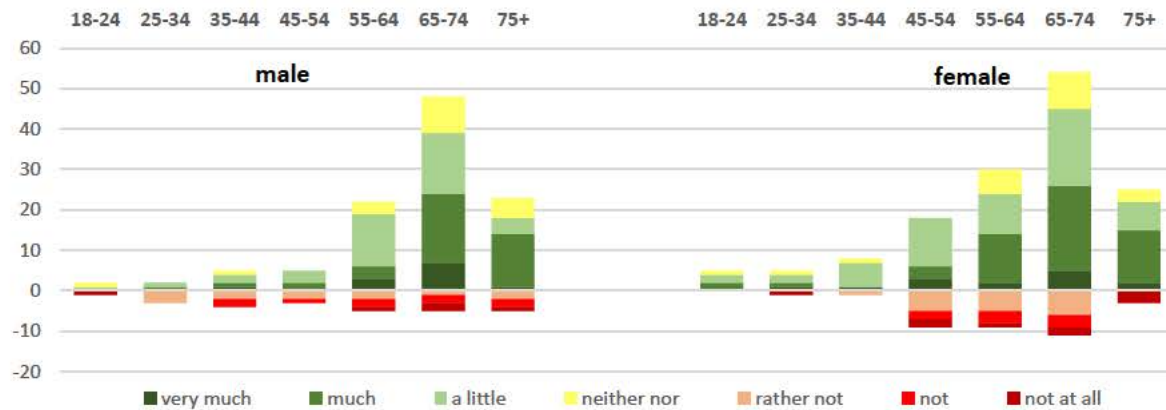
Level of community feeling at classical concerts compared to other cultural events

During the survey, the audience was asked to assess how strongly it judges the sense of community in the audience at classical concerts compared to other events. The corresponding survey question was 'How do you feel connected with other people in the audience at the following events? ('Please only make an assessment where you have had personal experience'). The following events were listed: classical concert, opera/ballet, pop-rock concert, jazz concert, theatre, exhibition/museum, cinema, football match.

The first evaluation shows the respective assessments in absolute figures (see Figures 54, 56, 58, 60, 62, 64, 66 and 68) broken down by gender and by age group. This presentation is intended to clarify the respective weighting of the age structure. The second graph (see Figures 55, 57, 59, 61, 63, 65, 67 and 69) illustrate the relative ratio within an age group. Although neutral assessments ('neither/nor') are listed, they are generally not included in the evaluation ('agree' or 'disagree').

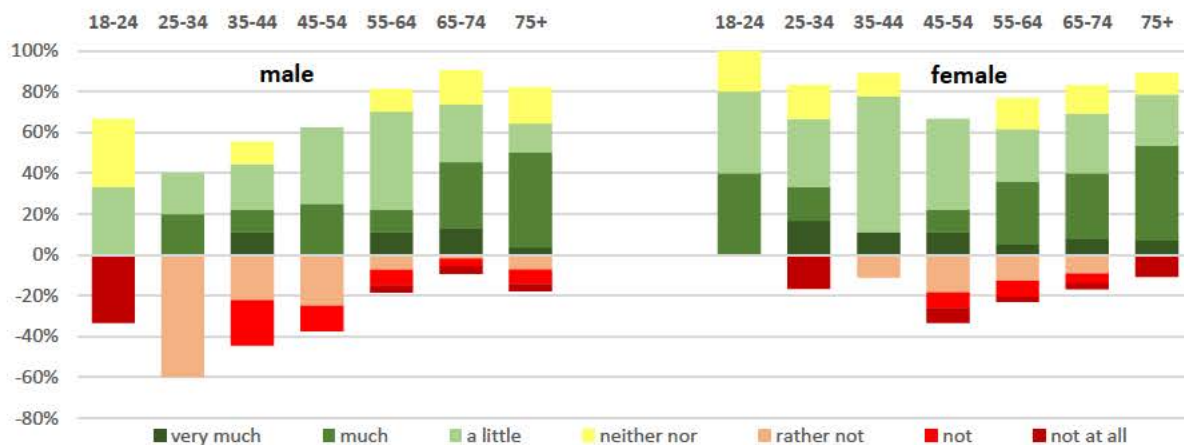
When comparing age structures, comparability across all events is noticeable, the highest three age categories, in particular the 65 to 74-year-olds, are most strongly represented. This is perhaps surprising when it comes to ratings of football matches or cinema visits, since the survey was conducted as part of a classical concert. The audience surveyed was not primarily the regular audience of a football match nor a cinema, but rather the regular audience of a classical concert. If one wanted to assess that broader public, one would have to carry out the survey as part of a football match or a visit to the cinema.

Figure 54: Sense of community at Classical concert (absolute)
[N = 312]



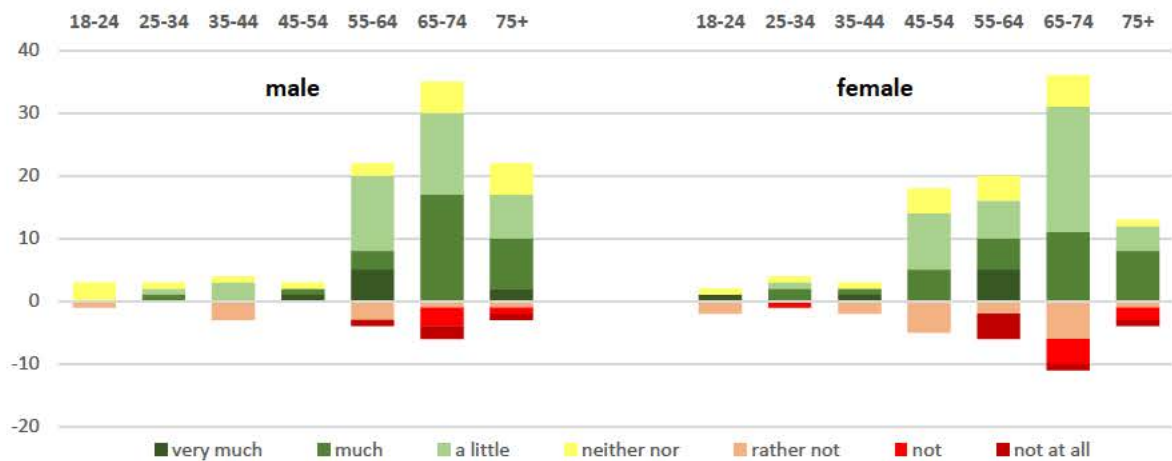
It should be noted that the 65 to 74 age group, both males and females, was clearly the most strongly represented at classical concerts. Here, too, female concertgoers somewhat outnumbered the males.

Figure 55: Sense of community at Classical concert (relative)
[N = 312]



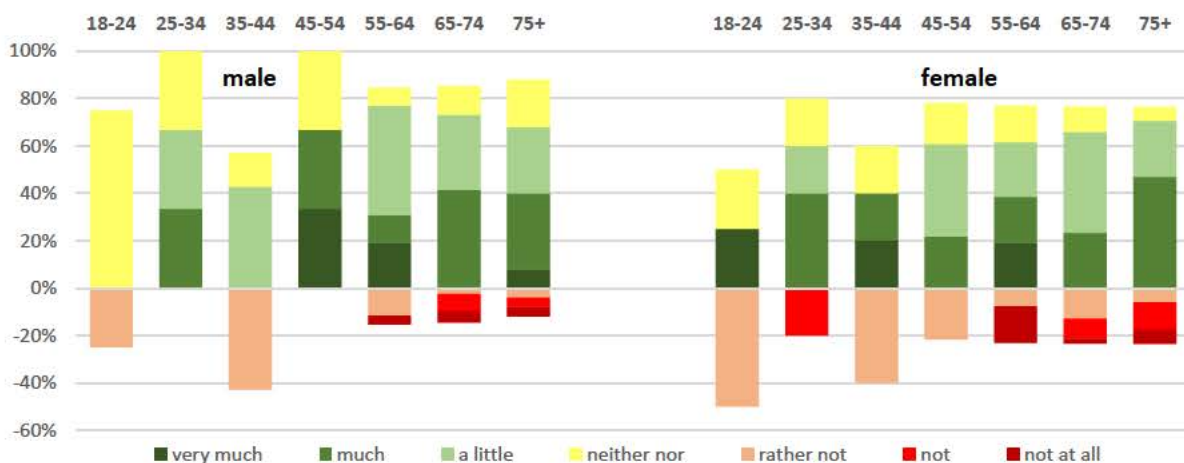
Female visitors to classical concerts tended to have a stronger sense of community than male visitors (see Figure 55). This discrepancy was particularly noticeable in the younger age groups under 44. Negative responses ('rather not', 'not' and 'not at all') decreased with age while the sense of community was perceived more strongly with increasing age. Although this development was linear for women aged 45 and over, there was an increase in negative feedback for those aged 75 and over, even though the proportion of those experiencing a strong sense of community increased significantly.

Figure 56: Sense of community at opera performance (absolute)
[N226]



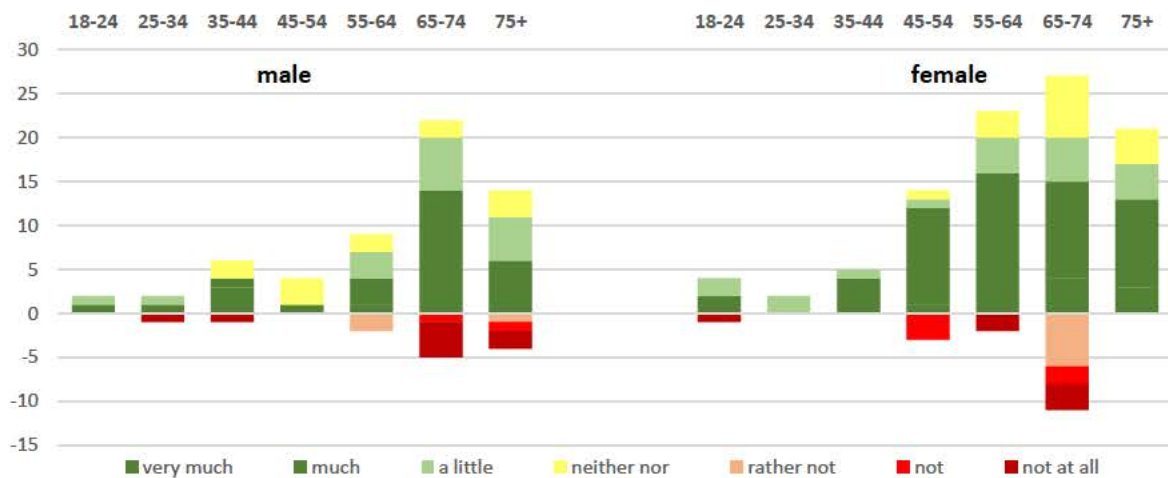
Comparing this with that of the classical concert, younger male visitors valued the sense of community in the opera more highly than in the classical concert. The three upper age categories have similar ratios (see Figure 56 and 57)

Figure 57: Sense of community at opera performance (relative)
[N = 226]



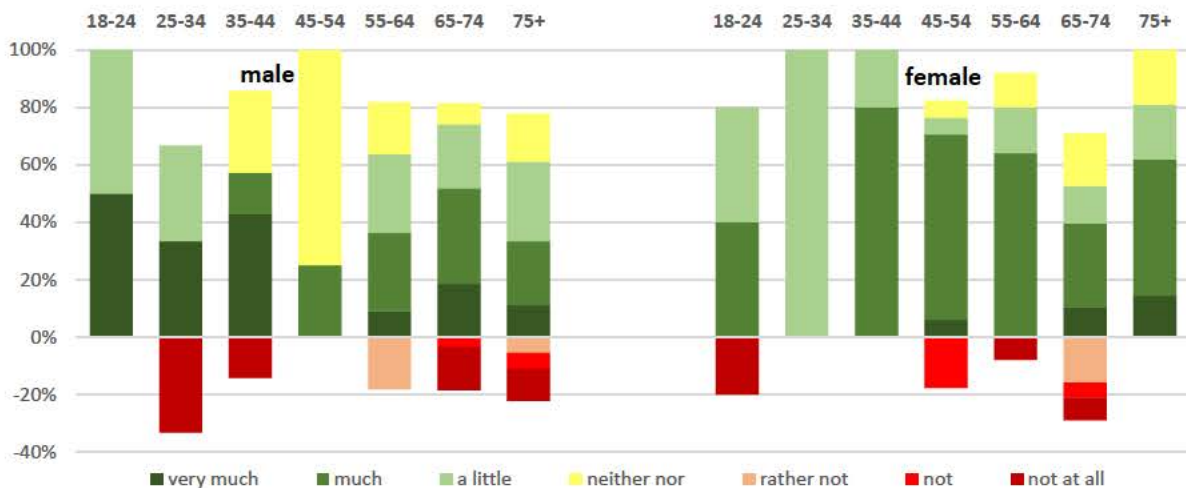
The ratios within age groups shows this even more clearly – particularly the younger age groups felt less connected with other visitors in the classical concert. Conversely, male visitors were more undecided ('neither/nor') than those in the classical concert. Women up to 54 years of age perceived the sense of community more strongly in the classical concert than in the opera. This is particularly true for women aged 18 to 24 and 35 to 44.

Figure 58: Sense of community at Jazz-concert (absolute)
[N = 185]



The majority of a female concertgoers at jazz concerts classified the sense of community as strong compared classical concerts (see Figures 58 and 59)

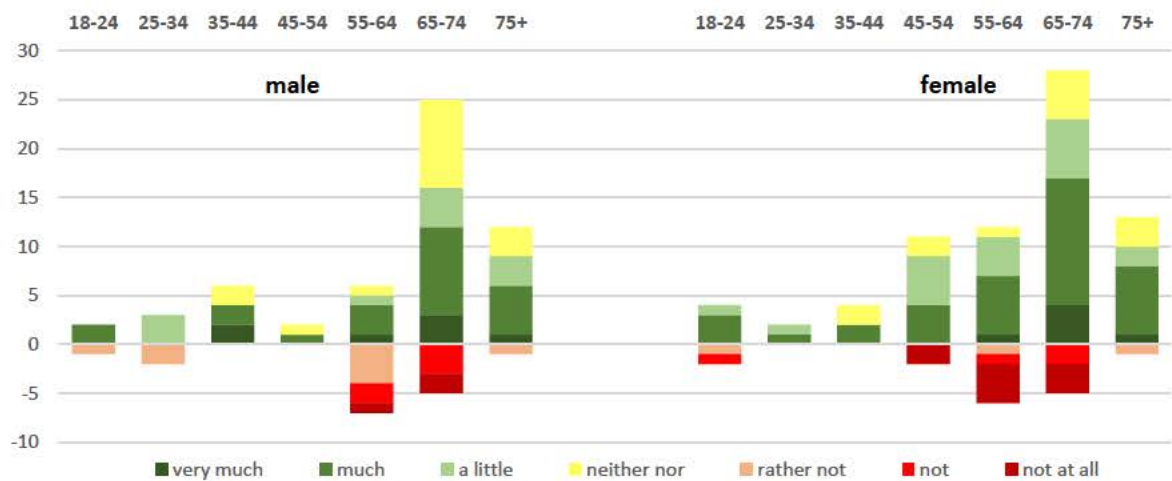
Figure 59: Sense of community at jazz-concert (relative)
[N = 185]



The relative ratios within age groups showed a significantly higher assessment of the sense of community at a jazz concerts compared to classical concerts. The following comparison of all events clearly shows that jazz concert audiences felt the strongest connection with other visitors. Male concertgoers, especially those up to the age of 44 perceived the sense of community at jazz concerts strongly and appreciated it more than those at classical concerts. The assessment of men aged 55

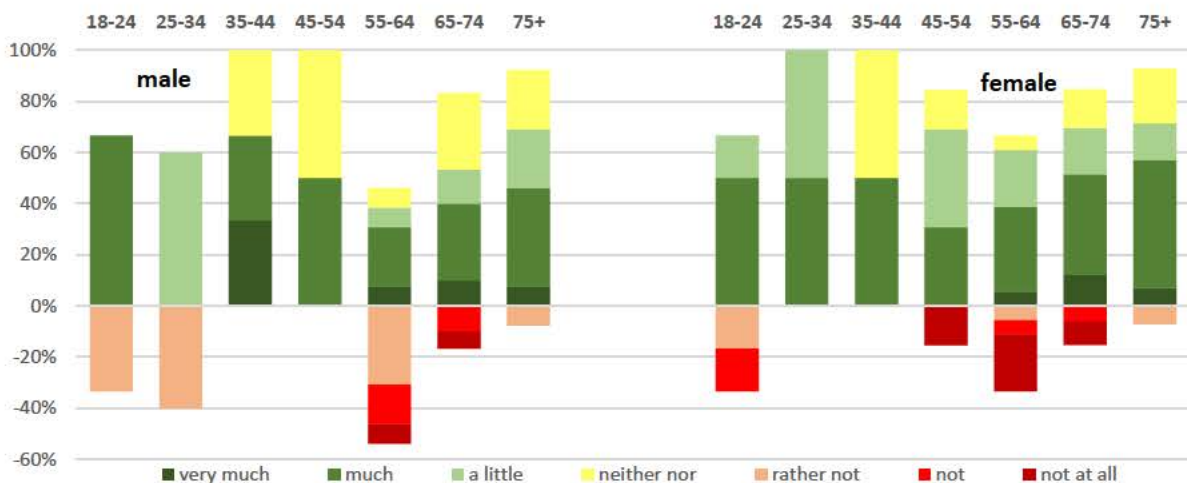
and over is comparable. A similar picture emerged for women, with women up to 64 years of age in particular being more aware of the sense of community at jazz concerts.

Figure 60: Sense of community at pop- and rock-concert (absolute)
[N = 162]



The age structure, with the exception of the youngest 18 to 24-year-old age group, is almost identical when comparing assessments of the sense of community at pop and rock concerts with that at classical concerts (see Figures 60 and 61)

Figure 61: Sense of community at Pop- and Rock-concert (relative)
[N = 162]



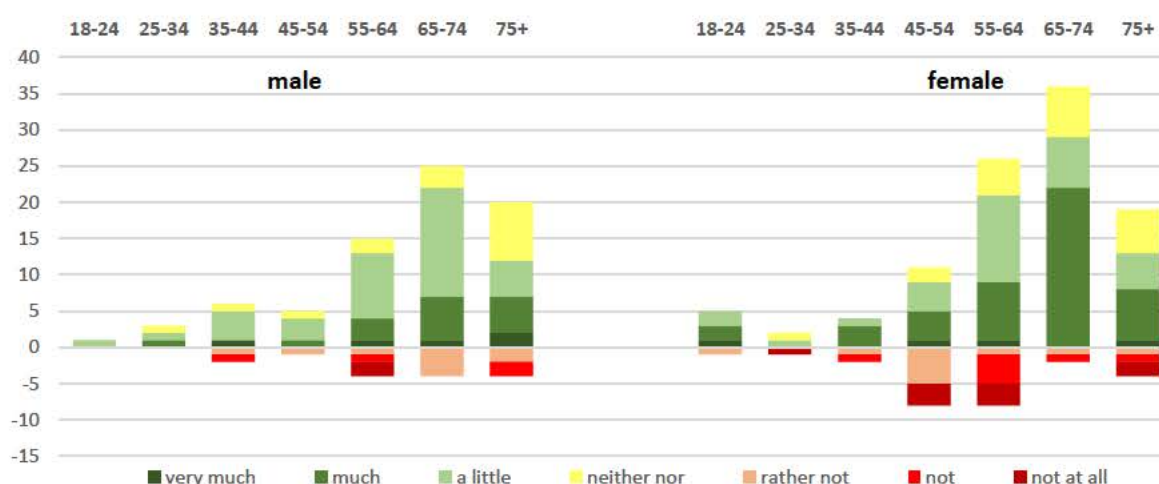
Comparing the ratios within the age groups, male visitors felt the sense of community in pop and rock more strongly than at classical concerts. This was particularly the case for 35- to 54-year-olds.

Conversely, 55 to 64-year-old men rated the sense of community at classical concerts much higher than at pop and rock concerts.

The lowest two age categories of women differed from each other. While the 18 to 24-year-old women were more aware of the sense of community at classical concerts, it is the 25 to 34-year-old women who feel much more connected at pop and rock concerts.

Figure 62: Sense of community at theatre performance (absolute)

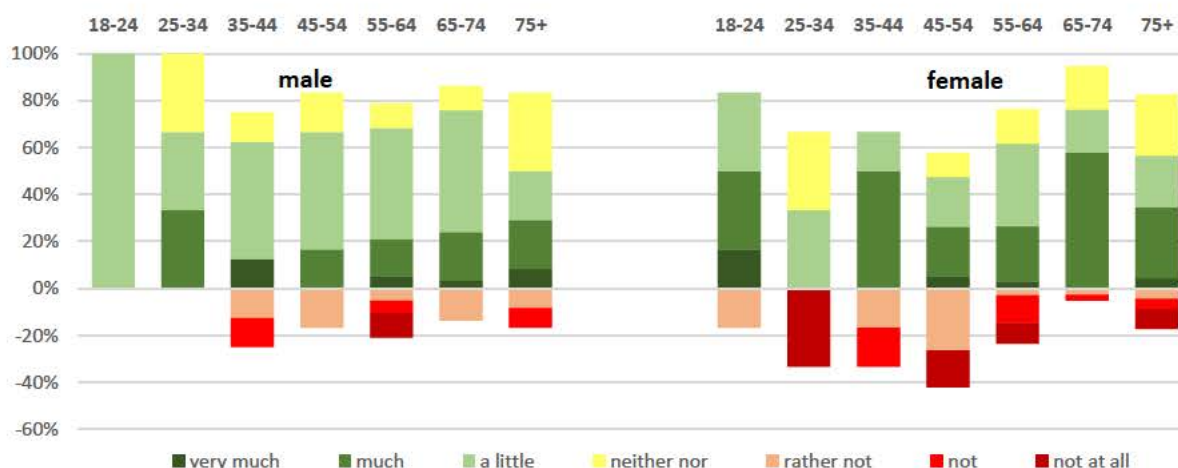
[N = 219]



The sense of community is rather similar when comparing theatre performances and classical concerts (see Figures 62 and 63). Minor differences can be seen in the 65 to 74-year-old age group who feel connected in the theatre.

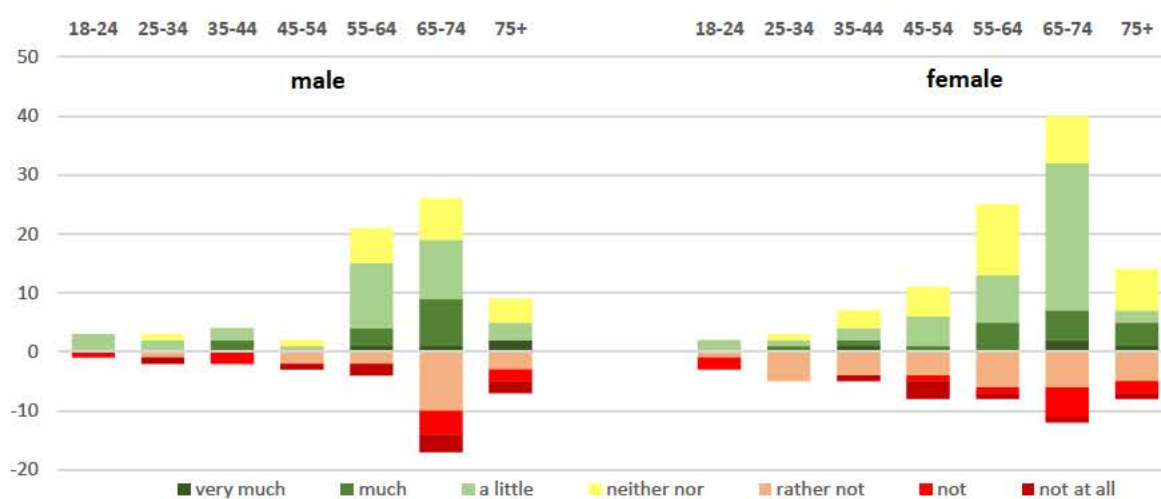
Figure 63: Sense of community at theatre performance (relative)

[N = 219]



Comparing respective age groups, men and women up to 34 years of age felt more connected to other visitors in the theatre than at classical concerts. This difference is even more pronounced among men than women. The over 75-year-olds, on the other hand, felt the sense of community in the classical concert much more strongly than at the theatre. Here, too, more strongly among men than women.

Figure 64: Sense of community at art exhibitions (absolute)
[N = 254]



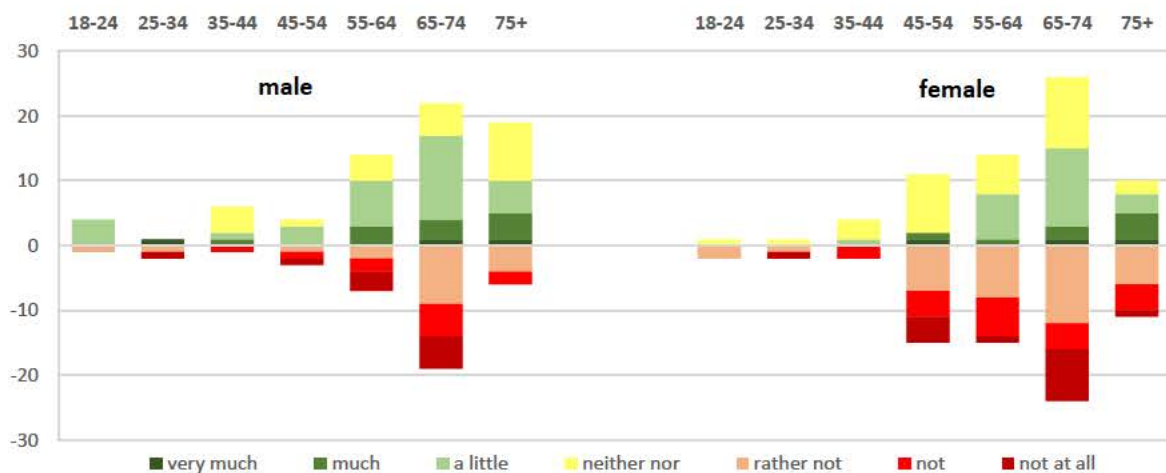
The sense of community at art exhibitions (see Figures 64 and 65) is clearly different from that of classical concerts. This certainly not least because the audience does not meet in its entirety at a certain point in time at an exhibition but changes constantly. When asked 'How do you feel connected with other people in the audience at the following events', the 'very strong' or 'strong' answers are strikingly lower.

Figure 65: Sense of community at arts exhibition (relative)
[N = 254]

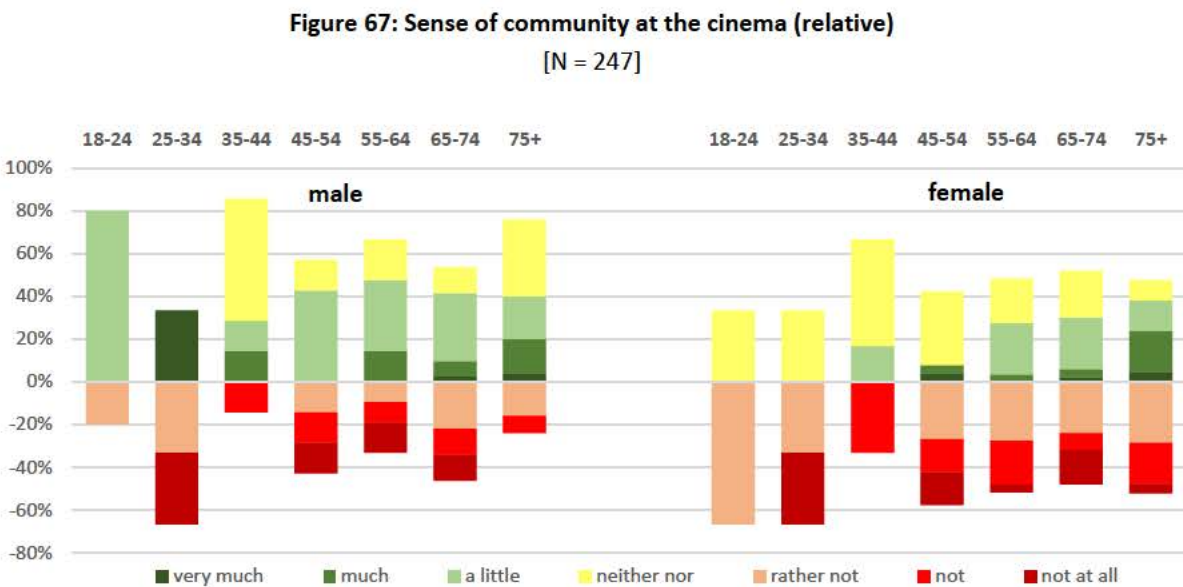


Women perceived the sense of community at art exhibitions to be less than did the men. Most striking are women up to the age of 34: while they assessed the sense of community at classical concerts almost unreservedly as positive or at most neutral, the overwhelming majority at the art exhibition tended to feel unconnected. There were also noticeable differences among male visitors: while men of 65 largely classified the sense of community at classical concerts as 'strong' or 'very strong', negative or at best neutral mentions predominated in this age group at an art exhibition.

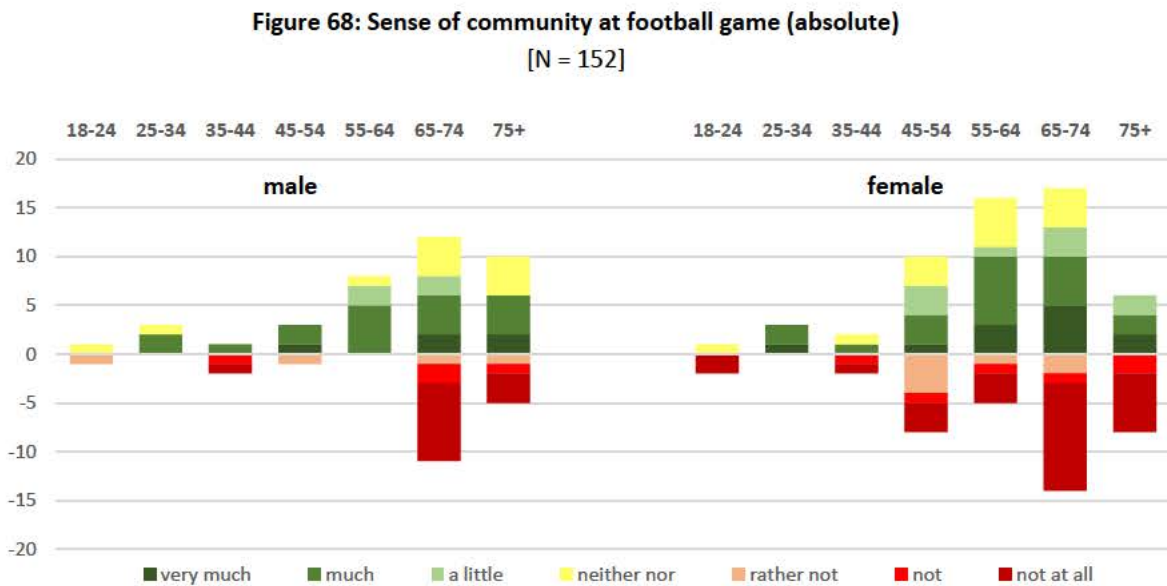
Figure 66: Sense of community at the cinema (absolute)
[N = 247]



Similar observations about cinema visits (see Figures 66 and 67) can be made as with the art exhibitions. Apart from young men up to the age of 24, more strongly represented here, the age structure of cinemagoers was almost identical to that of classical concerts. All of those questioned, of course, were visitors to classical concerts and not at the cinema (but those responding had experience of it).

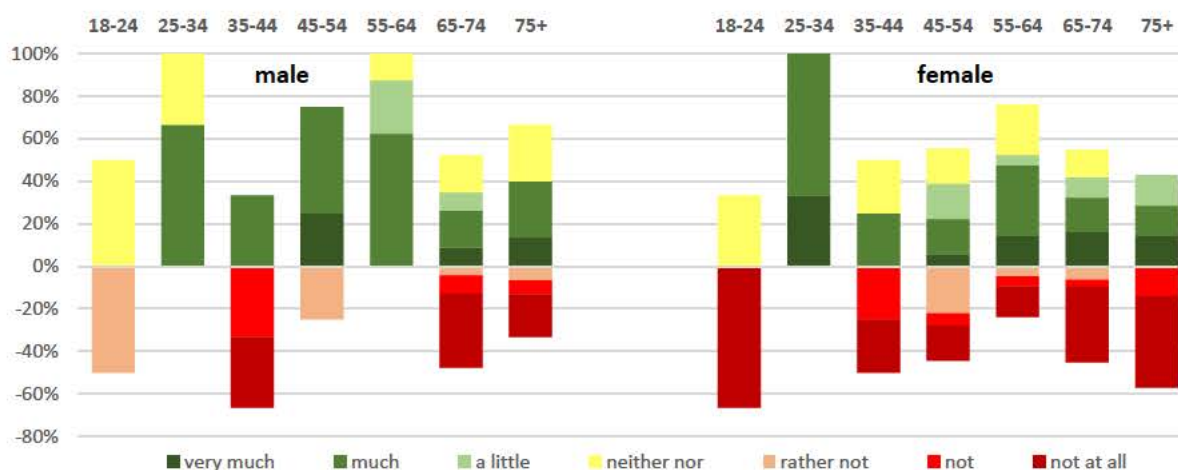


The sense of community among cinemagoers was perceived to be much lower than at the art exhibition and is the lowest value overall.



Interest in football is relatively low among classical concert visitors (see Figures 68 and 69). Male and female participants aged 65 and over appeared less interested in football.

Figure 69: Sense of community at football game (relative)
[N = 152]

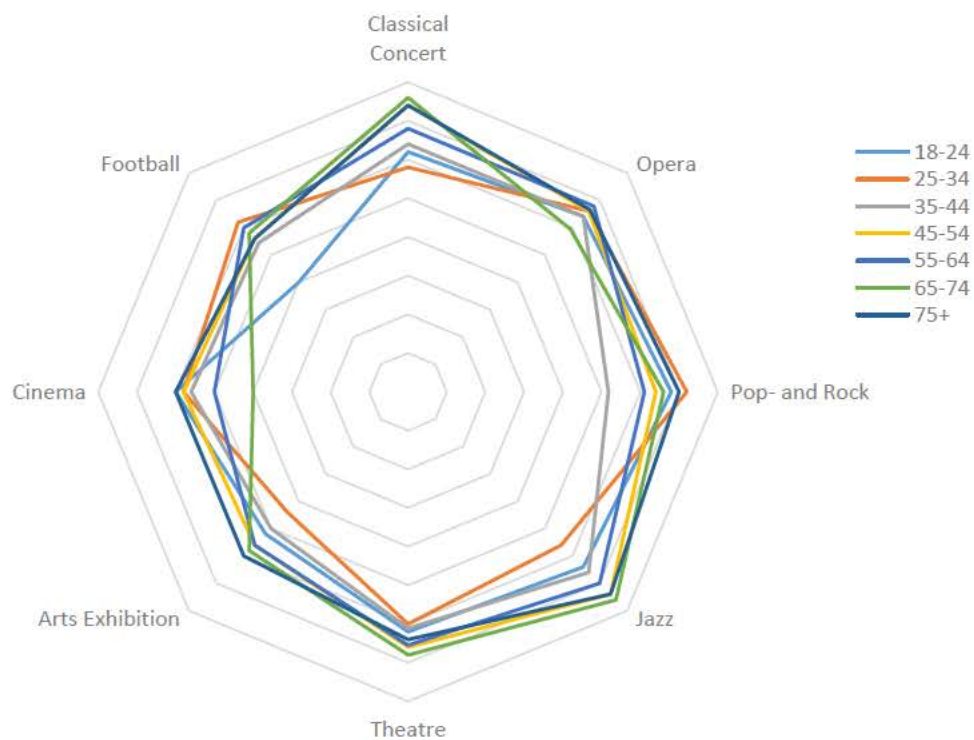


The sense of community was perceived to be significantly less than at classical concert. The observations of female visitors were particularly striking. The proportion of female visitors, excepting the 25 to 34-year-olds, having no sense of community at all is many times greater than at classical concerts. This was most clear in the 18 to 24-year-old age groups and among visitors over 75 years of age. Only the 25 to 34 year old age group showed a strong to very strong connection to other visitors.

There was also a lower perception of community feeling among the male visitors there compared to those at classical concerts. Male visitors between 45 and 64, as well as those between 20 and 34, had a stronger sense of community, while those over 65 had less. With the latter, the proportion perceiving no sense of community at all ('not at all') was significantly greater at classical concerts.

Comparing assessments of the sense of community by various age groups (shown in Figure 70), it can be seen that visitors under 45 years of age generally feel more connected to other visitors at less formal events, such as rock and pop concerts, than do older visitors. These groups claim to feel less connected in the theatre, opera, classical concerts or art exhibitions than older visitors. The younger age groups feel most connected to other visitors at pop and rock concerts and in the cinema, while older visitors feel much more connected at more formal events such as classical concerts, opera, theatre or art exhibitions, especially jazz concerts.

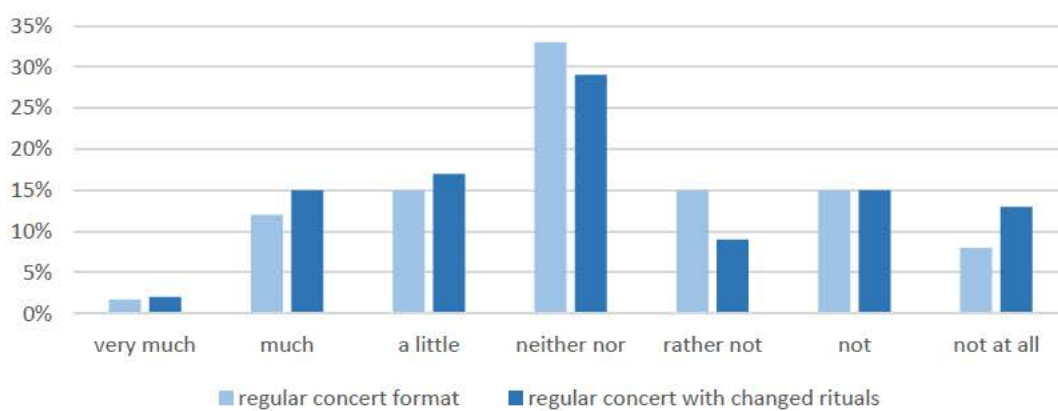
Figure 70: Comparison of sense of community by age categories
[N = 1,757]



Summary: Sense of community

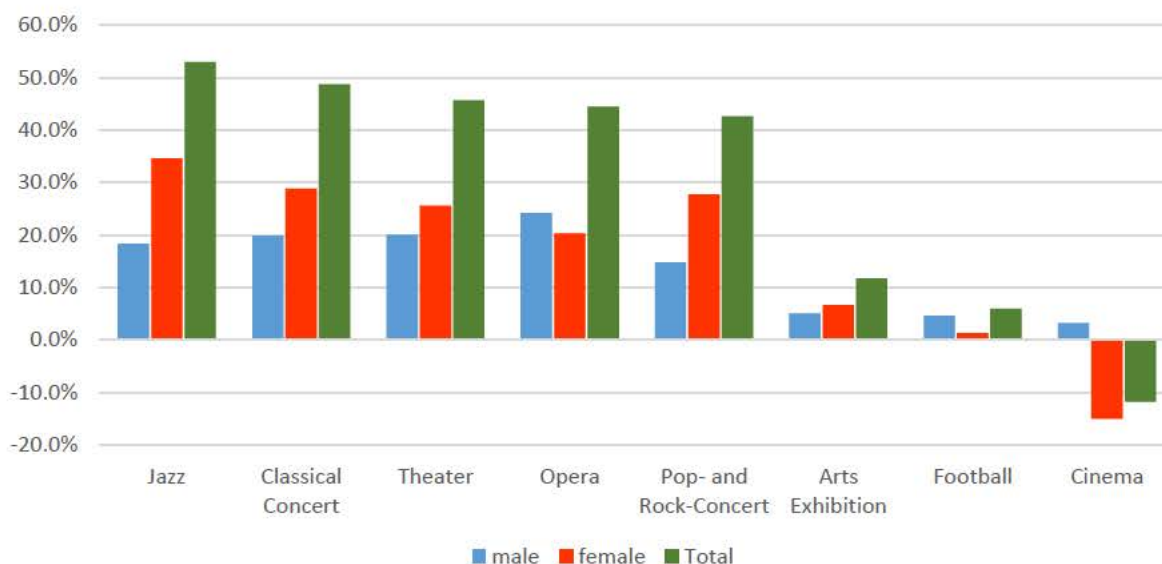
In principle, it can be said that the different rituals have improved the sense of community among the target group (including the younger concertgoers under the age of 54). (see Figure 71)

Figure 71: Comparison of Sense of Community after modifications



The following comparison (see Figure 72) shows the evaluations discussed above. For the sake of clarity, however, neutral assessments ('neither nor') are excluded from the presentation.

Figure 72: Summary sense of community
[N = 1,757]



The sense of community was perceived more strongly at classical concerts than in the theatre, opera or pop and rock concerts, but somewhat less than at jazz concerts. It is clear that the sense of community is limited at art exhibitions, football matches and in the cinema. Comparing gender-specific assessments, female visitors to jazz concerts, classical concerts, theatre, pop and rock concerts and art exhibitions had a higher sense of community than male visitors.

Summary of main findings

The literature review, the work of the ALG, and the evaluation of audience surveys is compared and evaluated in the following summary. New concert formats based on these findings were developed in a subsequent step. These were implemented on a trial basis within the scope of this study and evaluated analogously to the audience surveys already discussed.

The second Action Research cycle was focussed on developing new concert formats based on the findings gained in the first part of this study. Thus, the second Action Research cycle addresses the third research question: how ritual ingredients can be managed to achieve greater levels of collective effervescence. For this purpose, the evaluations of the audience surveys are compared and

evaluated once again based on ritual elements according to Collins, namely group assembly, bodily co-presence, barriers to outsiders, mutual focus of attention and shared mood.

Because the age of audience members is explicitly a subject of this study (to examine the extent of group solidarity as a ritual outcome, particularly with respect to audience member age), the results are also examined by age, gender and frequency of concert visits. The following evaluation is again based on the tabular summary developed in the Findings and Discussion section.

Summary: Concert format

The audiences tended to assess the format as enjoyable, entertaining, varied, dynamic and striking (see Figure 14, p. 119: Appraisal of the concert (by age categories)). Regular, and hence often older, concert visitors gave this impression more clearly than younger concertgoers. This rather positive evaluation is based on whether the audience classified the concert format as antiquated or modern. A slim majority of the audience perceived the format as modern. The differences between the various age categories were marginal. This assessment is particularly surprising because the largest group surveyed tended to be older and more likely to be familiar with the established concert format.

This was reinforced by ALG member assessments, i.e. the potential future audience. They perceived the concert format as being not very modern but expressed this impression more strongly. The majority of ALG members also believed that the concert format was static rather than dynamic.

Summary: Audience

Investigating a concert audience's socio-demographic composition (primarily its age structure) and the intensity of the perceived sense of community at classical concerts addressed the two following research objectives in particular: 'To examine the extent of sense of community as a ritual outcome, particularly with respect to audience members' age' and 'To compare and contrast experiences of ritual outcomes from the classical concert with the concert audience's experience of other common cultural actions or events having ritual ingredients'. This, in turn, served as a basis for answering the second research question.

The socio-demographic component of the age structure at classical concerts was examined and compared with that of the Swiss population in the 'characteristics and self-assessment of the audience' section. The average age of the concert audience was found to be nearly 19 years higher than that of the Swiss population. The under 34 age groups are clearly under-represented in the classical concert audiences examined, while the over 45s are clearly over-represented, compared to the age structure of the total population. This is particularly true of female concertgoers.

Classical music becomes a preferred music style from the age of 25. While the percentage of classical music lovers among the youngest age group is small in comparison to styles such as rock, pop, house or techno, the percentage of classical lovers increases significantly with listener age. Interest in classical music depends not only on age reached, but also on socialization with this style of music from an early age. This is a critical realization for the classical concert, because socializing young people with classical music increases the probability that they will attend classical concerts as they get older (Mende, 2004). At the same time, however, it should also be noted that older people increasingly show interest in rock, pop or jazz concerts if they attended such events from an early age.

If nothing changes in this situation, massive audience shrinkage at classical concerts will be encountered within 15 years, since those currently over 65+ will then be 80+ years old and thus less likely to attend classical concerts due to decreasing mobility and increasing frailty, for example. At the same time, a growing proportion of this age group (still able to go to concerts) will attend pop, rock or jazz concerts, since more were socialized into these forms of music rather than classical music.

In audience self-assessments, most audience perception is of itself as 'serene' and 'traditional' (antiquated) rather than formal. Importantly, younger age groups, who tend to be less regular concert visitors, hold this impression more strongly than older, more frequent, concert visitors. In other words: younger concertgoers (i.e. the target group) were more strongly of the opinion that the audience seemed old-fashioned, closed-minded, reserved, tiring and serene.

For a large part of the audience, social motives played a more significant role in the decision to attend a classical concert than the enjoyment of a certain piece of music or its interpretation by a certain artist. Whether attending a classical concert still serves to support upward social mobility for the young, as was the case with the 19th century educated bourgeoisie, cannot be stated conclusively here. It can, however, be strongly questioned, as clear social strata (as with the educated middle classes) can no longer be discerned. Social stratification has given way to a division into life milieus or lifestyles.

A 'joint' visit to a cultural event remains important to the modern cultural consumer. Well-being in the temporary community of the concert audience remains an important criterion for an individual making a concert ticket purchase decision. Considering that younger concertgoers perceived the audience rather negatively, – being antiquated, serene or tiring – perhaps the younger cultural consumer then does not feel 'comfortable' as part of today's classical audience: this could have a negative effect on purchase decisions.

Evaluating the assessments of how strongly survey participants feel connected to (or comfortable with) other audience members showed that younger male concertgoers felt less connected to other visitors than did older male visitors. Conversely, female concertgoers under the age of 44 tended to feel more connected to other visitors. Although the lack of data precludes a definitive statement here, observations show that younger female concertgoers often go to a classical concert with several friends or acquaintances, while younger male concertgoers are often accompanied by a female companion. The stronger solidarity in the 'couple', as a constellation of two, could be a plausible reason for this differing assessment. More generally, it can be said that the perceived intensity of the sense of community among both male and female concertgoers increased with age while the proportion of negative feedback decreased.

Comparing the sense of community at classical concerts with that at jazz, pop or rock concerts, it is clear that the sense of community at those concerts is perceived much more strongly by the younger (male and female) audience than at the classical concert. The sense of community is perceived most strongly at jazz concerts, while that at art exhibitions, football matches and in the cinema is rated as significantly weaker, or even negatively.

Summarizing, the sense of community was strongly perceived by older age groups, especially by visitors over 55. Among younger visitors, the actual target group of this research, the sense of community, in comparison to jazz, pop and rock concerts, theatre or opera visits, was rated as being comparatively weak. If, as stated above, the sense of community in a classical concert is to be regarded as equally important as the selection of the works performed or a soloist, and this is assessed as comparatively weak by the actual target audience, then strengthening the sense of community must be an important goal for achieving a broader appeal among the younger audience and attracting this group to classical concerts.

Summary: Interaction rituals

Perceptions of the existing rituals

ALG members were concerned about the way the audience is given background information about composers, works or performers. The medium of a printed concert programme seemed ineffective in their eyes: not only is the audience unable to consult it during the concert as the auditorium is almost completely darkened, but the sounds resulting from turned pages disturb other visitors. According to the audience survey, however, the audience did not share this attitude for the most part (see Figure 73). Only occasional visitors attending less than five concerts a year took a negative view of the conveying information by the printed programme 'ritual'. Considering that the contemporary cultural consumer does not usually go to classical concerts on a regular basis, much less buy a subscription, but rather attends a wide variety of cultural events, this assessment corresponds to the nature of the target group and must therefore be taken seriously.

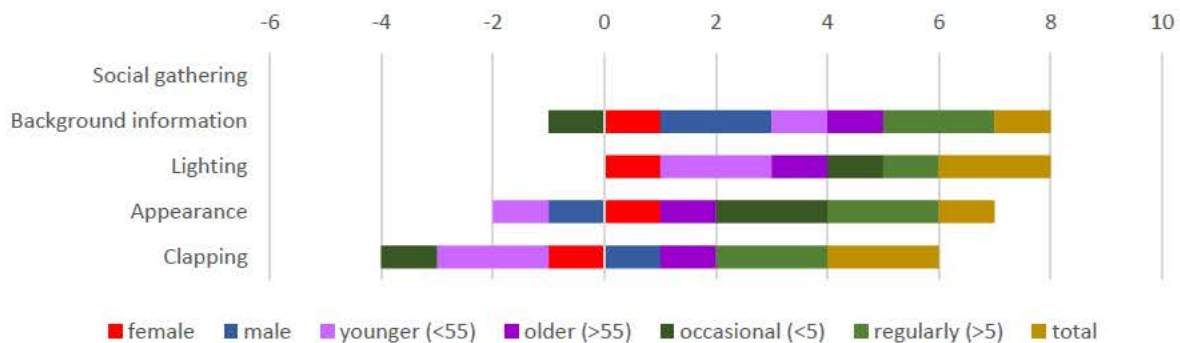
Darkening the auditorium during the entire concert also disturbed ALG members, not least because it (deliberately) prevents almost any interaction with other visitors. According to the audience surveys, however, most of the public did not share this assessment. The main reason is that the concert atmosphere would be destroyed for a large part of the audience, if the auditorium were not darkened.

The soloist or conductor constantly leaving the stage during applause, only to reappear a few moments later, also disturbed ALG members. They criticized the ritual as restless and depriving the audience of the opportunity to interact with the artists during applause. Most of the audience did not share this view. Only male concertgoers and visitors under 55 held a similar opinion. Conversely, female concertgoers, as well as visitors over 55, tended to be undisturbed. However, attention must be paid to changing this ritual since the target audience is younger visitors.

Finally, ALG members were critical that one may not applaud at will but must save one's enthusiasm until a work with several movements has been performed completely. They felt this restriction had a negative effect on the mood at the concert because one's enthusiasm could not be freely expressed, and one had to know when applause was appropriate. Evaluation of audience surveys showed that the audience was divided in this respect. It was particularly males, older and regular concertgoers who were not irritated by this, while younger, female concertgoers, attending isolated concerts, perceived this ritual as restrictive. Within these groups, it was predominantly the younger

concertgoers who were frustrated by this ritual. Therefore, considerable attention should be paid to altering this ritual.

Figure 73: Evaluation of original ritual (by Conditions)

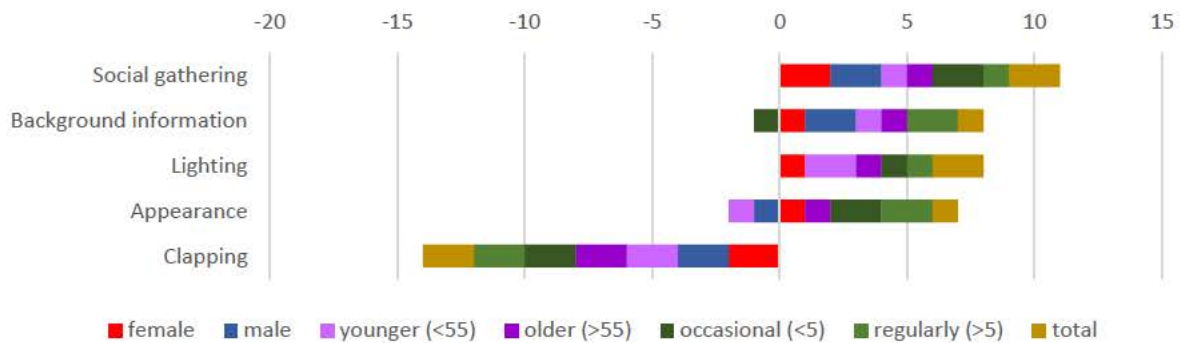


Perceptions of the changed interaction rituals:

Based on how the existing audience viewed the original ritual, the question of how the audience perceived the changes made is, of course, of interest. The audience survey evaluation was used to address this. It is presented from two aspects: socio-demographic characteristics (gender, age) and consumption behaviour (frequency of concert visits) (see Figures 74, 76, 77, 78, 79 and 80). The effects of the change on the elements of interaction ritual established by Collins are also examined (see Figures 75 and 81). These include group assembly, barriers to outsiders, bodily co-presence, mutual focus of attention or shared mood.

The possibility of social gathering within the framework of the lounge after the concert was positively received by all groups in the audience. A comparable picture is apparent in the changes in the rituals lighting and background information. Only the group of sporadic concertgoers tended to take a negative view of the information. The change in the appearance ritual tended to meet with rejection, especially among young male concertgoers, while everyone else viewed the change more positively. The change of the clapping ritual finally was rejected by most of the audience. Comparing these assessments with the original ritual assessments (see Figure 73) shows, for example, that younger female concertgoers who attend classical concerts only sporadically believed the existing clapping ritual had a negative effect on the mood. The same group, however, evaluated the change negatively. Thus, while the existing ritual was rejected by this group, the changed ritual did not lead to an improvement. This example seems to confirm that most of the target group rejects the existing ritual but does not prefer the changed clapping ritual.

Figure 74: Evaluation of the modification (by characteristics)



The second step examines how the changes in the rituals affect the elements in Collins model (see Figure 75). The audience's assessment of the social gathering after the concert was consistently positive. The audience sees positive effects on group assembly and bodily co-presence, but especially on shared mood. The change of the 'background information' ritual strengthened the mutual focus of attention, but at the same time diminished the feeling of group assembly and shared mood. This may seem contradictory at first glance, but on closer inspection it can be interpreted in the following way. All music, and perhaps classical music most of all, triggers very personal and individual feelings in the listener. By studying background information, listeners then deal even more intensively with the music, which can lead to an enhanced sensation when listening to the music. Thus, listeners are led even more intensely into themselves through the mediation of background information. The assessment, then, that this process reduces the sense of community is understandable. The proposed change to information-giving could nevertheless be a positive one, as it essentially increases the listening experience intensity, which the visitor can then discuss with other visitors, for example during the social gathering after the concert.

The change in the ritual lighting had an essentially positive effect on the shared mood (see Figure 75). By illuminating the auditorium between the works, the audience is given the opportunity to briefly exchange ideas with other visitors (even if only via eye-contact), so a stronger perception of shared mood can be expected.

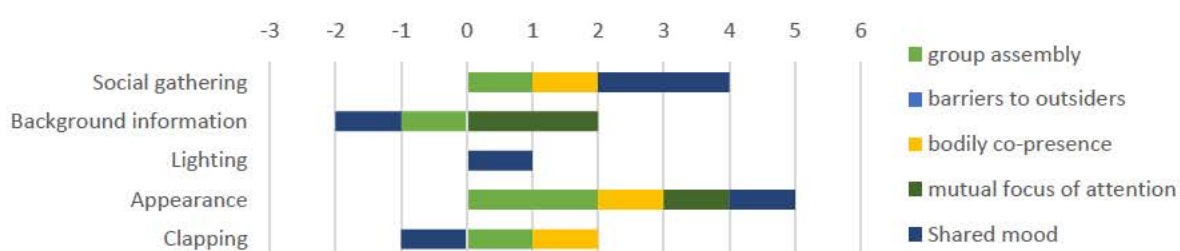
When artists remain on stage during a performance and thus interact more strongly with the audience, the parameter of group assembly, in particular, is increased (see Figure 75). Not only are other visitors seen as part of the temporary community, but of course, so too are the artists. When they stay with the audience longer because of the change, a closer relationship to the artists, but also

to other visitors in the audience, seemed to emerge. The bodily co-presence, mutual focus of attention and shared mood elements were also improved.

The change in the clapping ritual led to a positive development in the areas of group assembly and bodily co-presence (see Figure 75). A possible explanation is that during the applause, social contact in the audience was promoted by making a short verbal or non-verbal exchanges possible.

Additionally, applause gives the audience the feeling of having a task, or function, at the concert with which it can have a direct influence on the course of the event. By changing the ritual, additional possibilities to participate in this way are created for the audience, so that a positive development of group assembly and bodily co-presence seems a logical consequence.

Figure 75: Summary total (by Collins' elements)



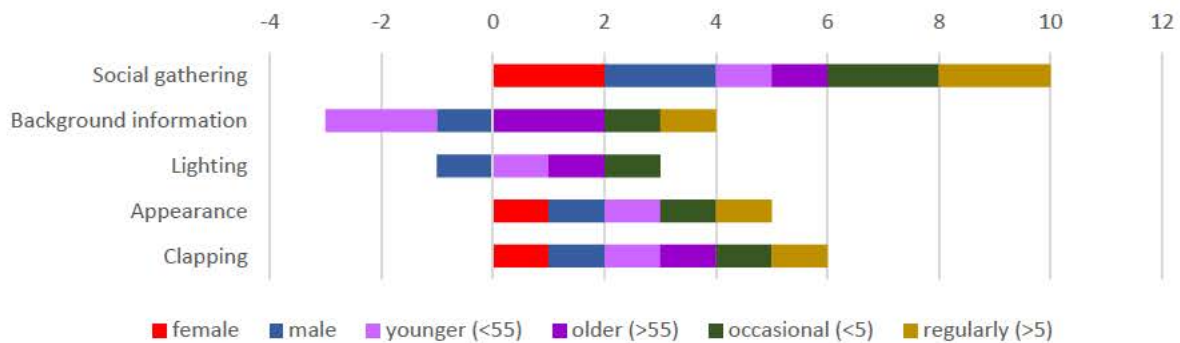
A detailed evaluation of the findings summarized here leads to the considerations below.

Group assembly

As Figure 76 shows, adding a social gathering (ZKO Lounge) had the most positive effect of all the changes to alteration of perceptions of the group assembly element. In modifying this ritual, as well as in the rituals of appearance and clapping, the audience registered only positive assessments. When socializing, these positive effects are emphasized particularly clearly.

In contrast, negative feedback was also recorded when the ritual background information and lighting were changed. While it was male concertgoers in particular who rated the changes in both rituals negatively, the background information also includes negative feedback from female concertgoers, as well as clear rejection by concertgoers under 55-year-old. Changing the rituals of social gathering, appearance and clapping had the most positives.

Figure 76: Evaluation of group assembly (by characteristics)



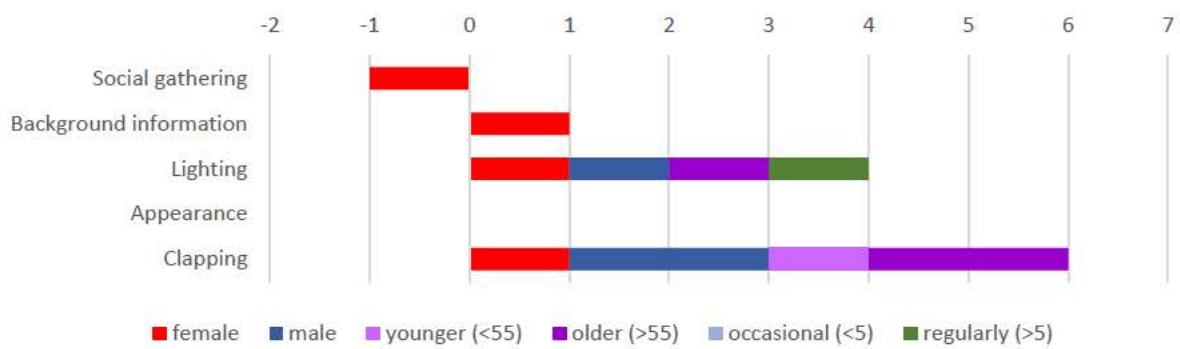
Barriers to outsiders

The following compilation (see Figure 77) shows how the barriers to outsiders developed because of the changes. The most positive effect was observed when changing the clapping ritual. Two goals were originally introduced with this procedure. Firstly, the performance of a complete work would not be interrupted dramaturgically by applause between movements. Secondly, the ritualization was intended to create a certain sense of insider knowledge, so that less knowledgeable visitors did not feel uncomfortable about knowing when they should clap. This was something that served to deter the less culturally aware from attending classical concerts. In this study, given the positive effect of modifying this ritual, it can be deduced that this mechanism still influenced the mood at a concert and that suspending the change led to a clear improvement.

Social interaction within the audience was enhanced by the brighter lighting and the opportunity to exchange (verbally or non-verbally) information not only during the break or after the concert, but also briefly between the works. This could result in the perceived reduction of differentiation from other visitors.

Female concertgoers provided a negative assessment of changes to social gathering; they perceived a strengthening of demarcation from outsiders. This may be because those conversations taking place *during* a social gathering (e.g. about what has just been experienced at the concert) lead to an increased perception of group formation. This, in turn, could be perceived as an increased barrier against outsiders; strengthening existing group cohesion raises barriers to those not already in the group.

Figure 77: Evaluation of barriers to outsiders (by characteristics)

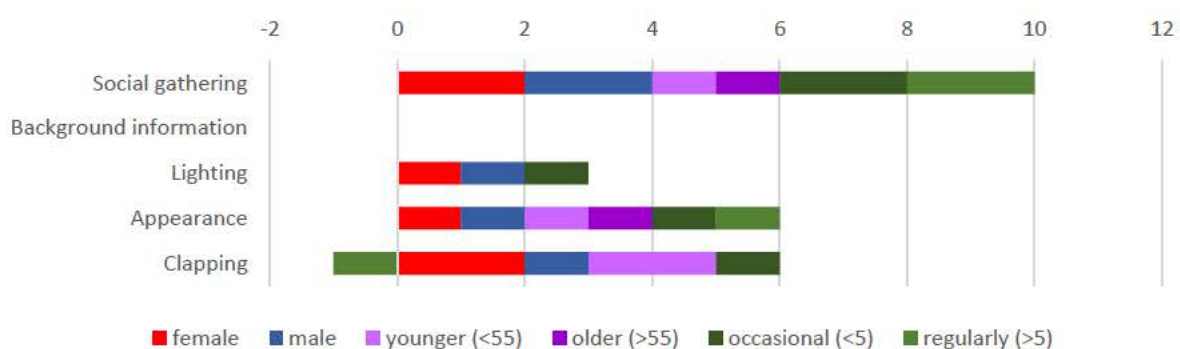


Bodily co-presence

As shown in Figure 78, the proposed changes led to improvement in bodily co-presence almost without exception. Not surprisingly, the most obvious effect was found in social gatherings. Social exchange at classical concerts is held to be at least as important as enjoyment of the music. Accordingly, the opportunity to end the concert evening together with friends or acquaintances was positively received. Changing auditorium lighting resulted in positive feedback from concert visitors of all genders, as well as from occasional concert visitors. Presumably, the change enhanced social exchange which, in turn, enhanced presence.

The modification of the clapping ritual was very well received except by regular concertgoers. Clapping is the only (usual) form of interaction between audience and artists in today's classical concert format. The audience's influence increases with clapping after each movement, which was evaluated here as an improvement of personal presence. Presumably, regular concertgoers have become accustomed to the well-rehearsed concert process and therefore feel more disturbed.

Figure 78: Evaluation of bodily co-presence (by characteristics)



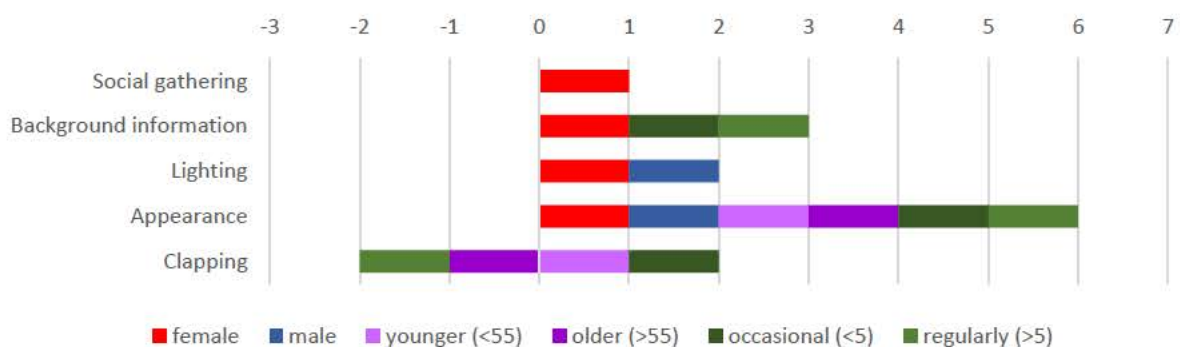
Focus of attention

The assessment of the focus of attention showed a similar result (see Figure 79). It was again the older, regular concertgoers who rated the modified clapping ritual negatively. This confirms the statement that such concertgoers were more accustomed to the usual course of the concert and felt disturbed, leading to a reduction of the focus of attention.

The other most positive effect was achieved by modification of 'appearance', resulting in positive assessments from all groups. The dramaturgy of the concert probably calms if the artists remain on stage during the applause. This calming could be perceived as less distracting, so that attention on the music remains stronger.

The integrative communication of background information during the concert was rated positively, particularly by younger concertgoers, but also by occasional and regular visitors. Background information about a work or composer facilitates access to the music. If this information reaches more people in the audience, the focus of attention should be increased. This was confirmed by both occasional and regular concertgoers. Why no corresponding statements were made by male concertgoers is unknown. Presumably, the chosen form of mediation by a (costumed) 'master of ceremonies' appealed less to men than to women.

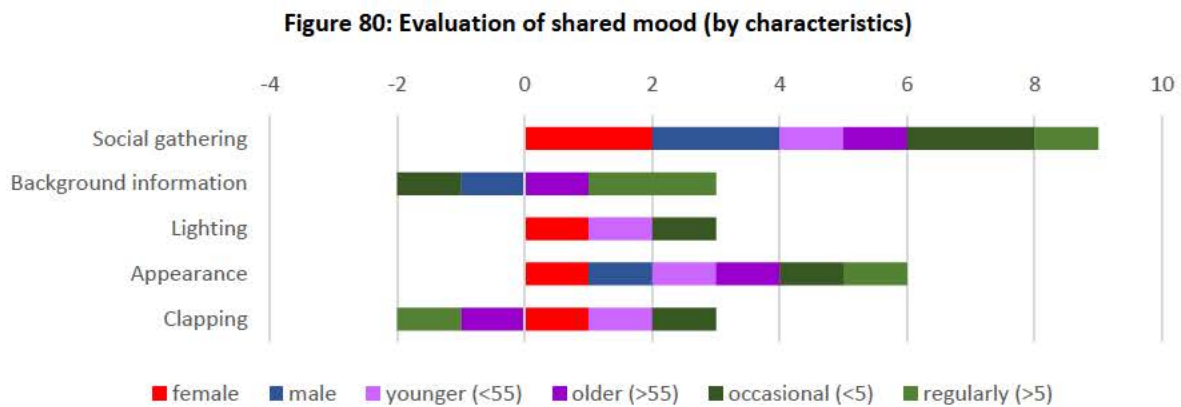
Figure 79: Evaluation of focus of attention (by characteristics)



Shared mood

The development of the shared mood is assumed to be a direct consequence of the above elements. For instance, the positively evaluated social gathering is assumed to have had a direct influence on the common mood at a concert. The following evaluation (see Figure 80) is largely based on the factors already mentioned.

The changes in the social gathering, lighting and appearance rituals were all assessed positively. Regarding the change in the clapping ritual, older concert visitors who attend classical concerts regularly gave negative feedback because they are accustomed to a fixed dramaturgy and their listening habits were disturbed by applause between movements.



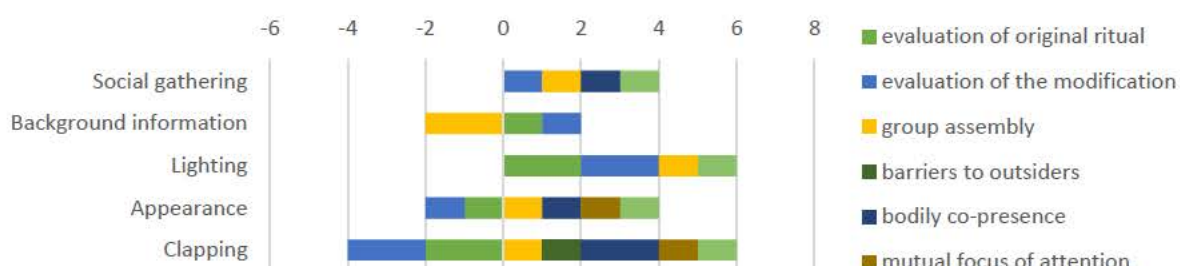
Age-specific observations

One declared aim of this study is to attract younger concertgoers with a new format. To create a basis for the development of that new concert format, the assessments of the under 55-year-old concertgoers are again compared (see Figure 81).

The changed rituals of social gathering, as well as lighting, are met with approval by most of this group. Accordingly, these changes should be considered when developing a new concert format. The sense of community, as well as the mutual focus of attention, were perceived more strongly, the barriers to outsiders were reduced, bodily co-presence was elevated, and the shared mood was perceived as more pleasant with the changed rituals of background information, appearance and clapping. Because the changes themselves were viewed negatively, however, background

information, appearance and clapping modifications must accordingly be modified and developed further.

Figure 81: Summary younger (<55) (by Collins elements)



Discussion of results – cycle 2

To obtain more reliable information, the assessments of ALG members were compared with the preceding age-specific observations, which concentrate in particular on younger concertgoers, analogous to the target group.

In the first phase of the ALG's work, the members were asked to identify those rituals which they felt had a negative impact on the concert format. The most frequently mentioned rituals - background information, lighting, appearance and clapping - were modified and subsequently investigated further in this study. The social gathering ritual was also considered.

Based the compilation in Figure 93 (p. 209), it can be stated that younger concertgoers assessed the ritual of social get-togethers positively throughout. This assessment is therefore consistent with that of the ALG.

The rituals appearance and clapping were also perceived as disturbing by younger concert visitors. This establishes a need to revise these rituals to make concerts more attractive to younger audiences as the modifications made for this study were not positively received. Conversely, the background information and lighting rituals were positively received by younger concert visitors.

The background information and lighting rituals are closely related to each other in some ways; because a darkened auditorium makes it more difficult to read background information during the concert, those wanting to read such information will probably be disturbed. Assessment of these rituals depends strongly on the type of media consumption, which could not be more diverse today.

The importance of background information about a concert varies greatly from visitor to visitor. While some might engage intensively with a concert programme, others might want simply to enjoy the music, without further educating themselves. Therefore, these assessments must be questioned critically. However, ALG member assessments must also be critically questioned. Only discussion of the questions and repeated visits to concerts will influence the opinions of ALG members.

Audience assessments must also be questioned critically. Organizing a competition (as mentioned in the survey development) with the attendant lack of survey participant anonymity can create inhibitions for expressing one's opinion honestly in order avoid creating a negative impression of the concert organizer.

Nevertheless, it seems that the ALG member assessments, or rather the criticized rituals, seem to reflect similar values among the younger audience. Therefore, they will flow into the development of a new concert format within the framework of Action Research cycle 2.

Development and implementation of a new concert format

One aim of this study to use the research results to find answers to the question of how ritual ingredients, including the concert space, can be managed to achieve greater levels of collective effervescence.

Findings from the audience surveys and the corresponding evaluations of cycle underpin the development of an exploratory new concert format, intended to better serve the needs of a younger audience. This new concert format is aimed specifically at a defined target group within the audience. This 'target group orientation' is common in many branches of industry, but still not taken for granted in classical concerts. Within the scope of this study, the development of a new concert format is directed at young families and their offspring. This decision was taken primarily for two reasons:

1. Most young parents have the socio-demographic characteristics of the desired target audience, whose average age is significantly lower than that of today's classical music audience
2. It is critically important to introduce children and young people to classical music for it is specifically proximity to classical music that increases the probability someone will attend classical concerts in later years (Mende, 2006).

Based on the findings and insights gained from action research cycle, the ALG developed suggestions for a new concert format that included the changed rituals as comprehensively as possible. The concert format developed in this way was aimed specifically at young families - with children between 3 and 5 years of age. In developing the new concert format, I took into account operational possibilities to provide a viable format that addressed issues of the available space, the orchestra, programming, the use of supporting technologies and approaches to the format and organization of the event that appeared consistent with the intentions provided by the ALG.

This concert format differs from a conventional classical concert in that the audience does not sit in the usual concert seating but sits on yoga mats and cushions on the floor. The aim was to remove any restrictions individual concert visitors might feel due to the fixed and rigid seating and instead permit them to position themselves freely and be relaxed (particularly important given the age of the children present). It was hoped this would create a relaxed mood so that the rituals 'silently looking for something', 'coughing between movements' as well as 'motionless sitting' criticized by the ALG

could be relaxed and an isolated cough or unpacking of a cough drop would not be perceived as disturbing.

The dramaturgical basis of this concert format is a children's book, read by a narrator and with illustrations projected in large format. Since the target group includes children who, experience has shown, generally cannot sit still for long, active movement was integrated into the concert. Based on the dramaturgy of the children's book chosen, the children were instructed to 'hop like a rabbit, crawl like a snail or dance like a bear'.

The corresponding pictures of the children's book and details of the work were faded in by means of a large-screen projection, conveying the relevant content as an integral part of the concert. This avoided the need to read the programme in a darkened room, addressing the issue around 'read the programme in darkness'.

To change 'applause at the right time', this concert format is based on the pre-1850 format, in which almost exclusively individual movements are performed rather than entire works, such as a three-movement piano concerto or a four-movement symphony. Since they could now clap after each movement, this freed the audience from having to know when a work is finished.

The ritual 'appearance on stage', the aspect most frequently criticized by the ALG, was counteracted by instructing the musicians not to leave the concert hall until the concert was over. They were also instructed to express their gratitude for applause non-verbally, i.e. with a bow or a friendly smile, and to actively seek contact with the audience.

To further promote this direct contact between musicians and audience, the setting of the orchestra was changed by removing the stage. The audience sat around the musicians. It was hoped this immediate proximity to the musicians would further enhance the concert experience. This immediate proximity to the audience was particularly intended to be noticeable after the concert, when the musicians were available both to the parents for a personal discussion and, especially, to the children to try out instruments for themselves. This was intended to promote personal bonds between musicians and audience and counteract the ritual 'quickly go away', so negatively evaluated by the ALG.

Audience Survey

The primary aim of this survey was to compare the data generated from the target audience, generally of a significantly lower average age, with the assessments and findings of the previous surveys from 'regular' audiences with a significantly higher average age than the target audience.

Accordingly, the questions posed also focus on the audience's self-assessment, assessment of the intensity of the feeling of community within the audience, as well as assessment of the changes in the mentioned rituals. This procedure is similar to the longitudinal study method, with the difference that the duration of the study does not extend over a long period of time (such as a human life cycle), but only over a few concerts (Ruspini, 2003).

Evaluation of new concert format audience surveys

Characteristics and self-assessment of the audience

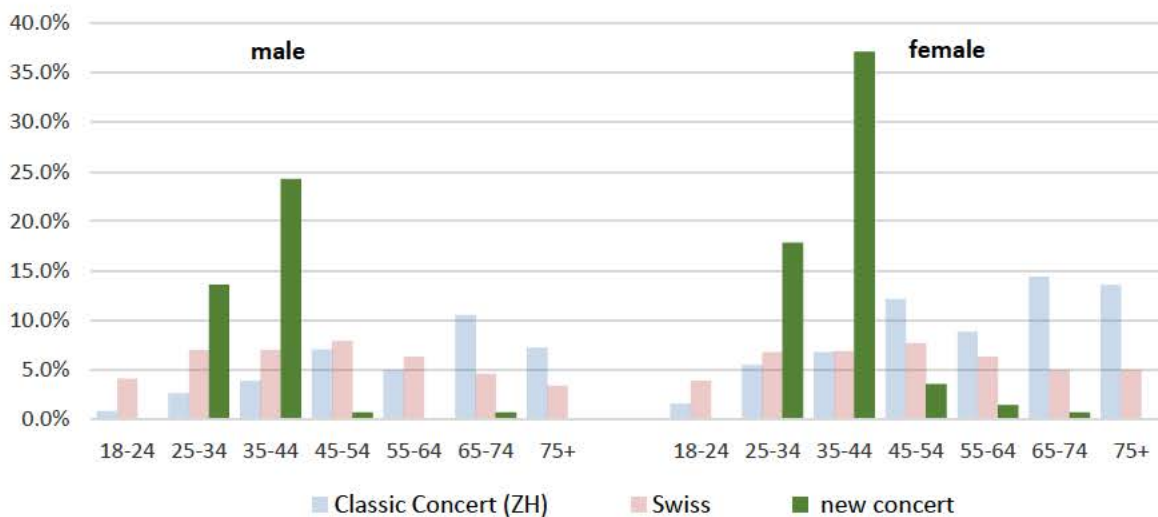
In Switzerland (Swiss Statistics, 2018), the average age of first-time mothers is between 30 and 34 years. First-time mothers are likely to be busy taking care of their children, or breastfeeding, making it difficult for them to attend concerts. Young mothers are therefore particularly difficult to attract to concerts, even with their children.

The audience of the newly created concert format (excluding consideration of children's ages) is clearly different from the more elderly group who attend 'regular' concerts. The average age of the entire audience is just under 39 years (N = 122) and is thus a full 23 years lower than that of the audience in the previous surveys. This figure is also almost six years below the average age of the Swiss population.

Gender-specific analysis (see Figure 82) shows that the average age of female visitors to the new concert format is 38 years. This is 27 years below that of female concertgoers at conventional concerts. The average of male concertgoers at the new concert format was 41 years, thus, almost 24 years younger than males at the traditional concerts. The audience is not exclusively young - there were also older visitors, perhaps grandparents, or older friends accompanying a family group or bringing children to the event.

In summary, the new concert format attracted a much younger audience so that goal of examining the impact of the changes in ritual and attracting a younger audience was achieved.

Figure 82: New-concert audience characteristics: age structure
[N = 140]

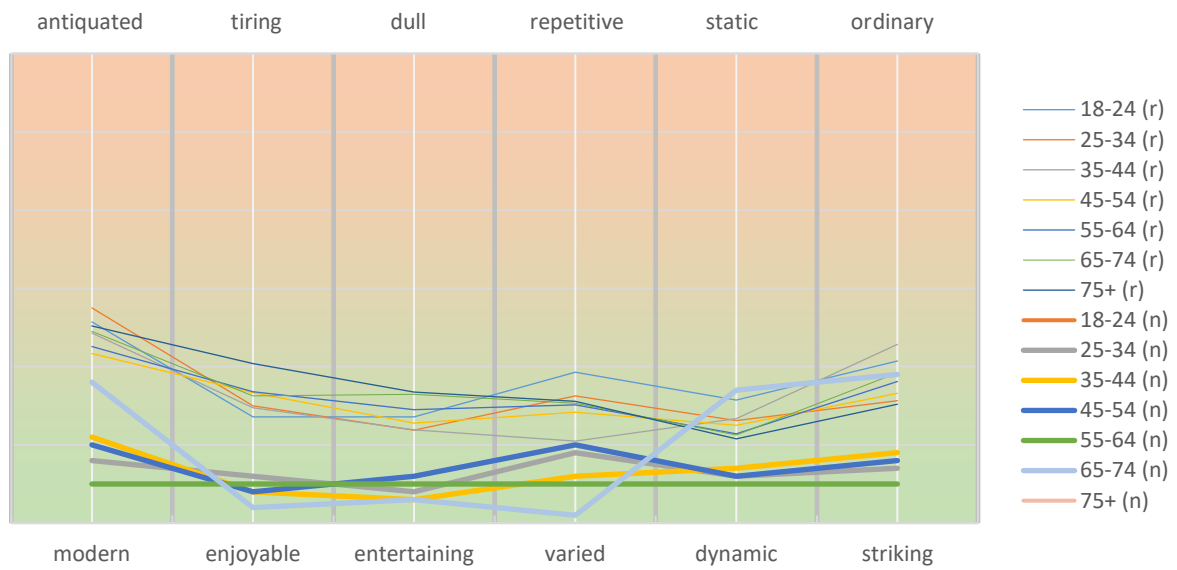


As in the previous audience surveys, the audience was asked to give a personal assessment of the concert format.

Comparing the audience's assessment of the newly developed concert format (n) with that of the regular concerts (r), demonstrates, with few exceptions, assessments are generally more positive than those of the regular audience. The audience of the newly developed concert format sees the concert format are more modern, enjoyable, entertaining, varied, dynamic and striking (see Figure 83).

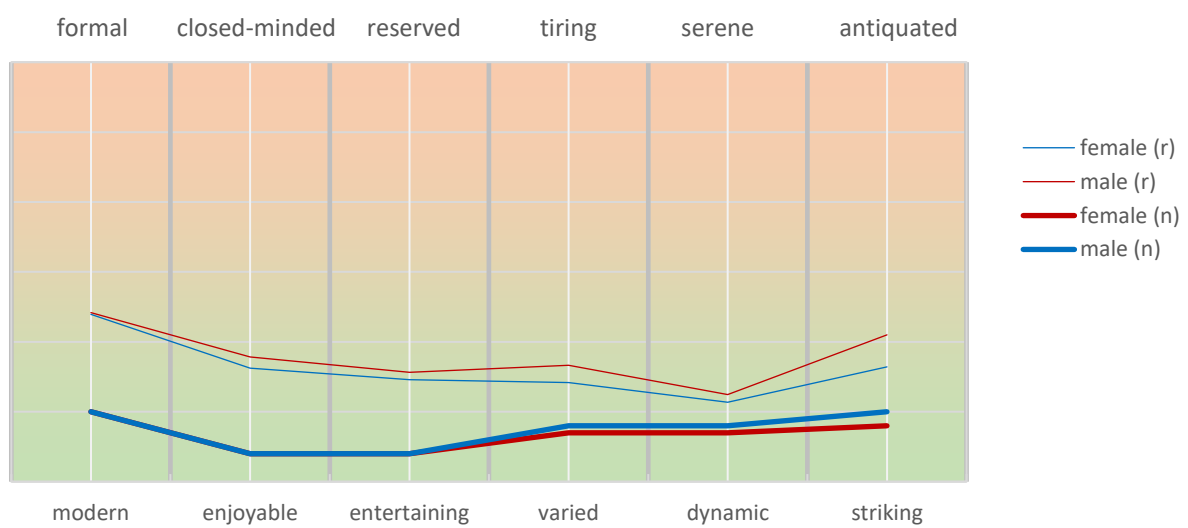
Analysis by age category (see Figure 85) shows that the oldest category represented at the concert, the 65 to 74-year-olds, share this assessment the least. This was especially so for the modern/antiquated, dynamic/static and striking/ordinary pairings. Older attendees believed the concert format appears antiquated, static and ordinary compared to younger audience members.

Figure 83: Assessment of concert formats (by age categories)
[N = 132 for new concert format]



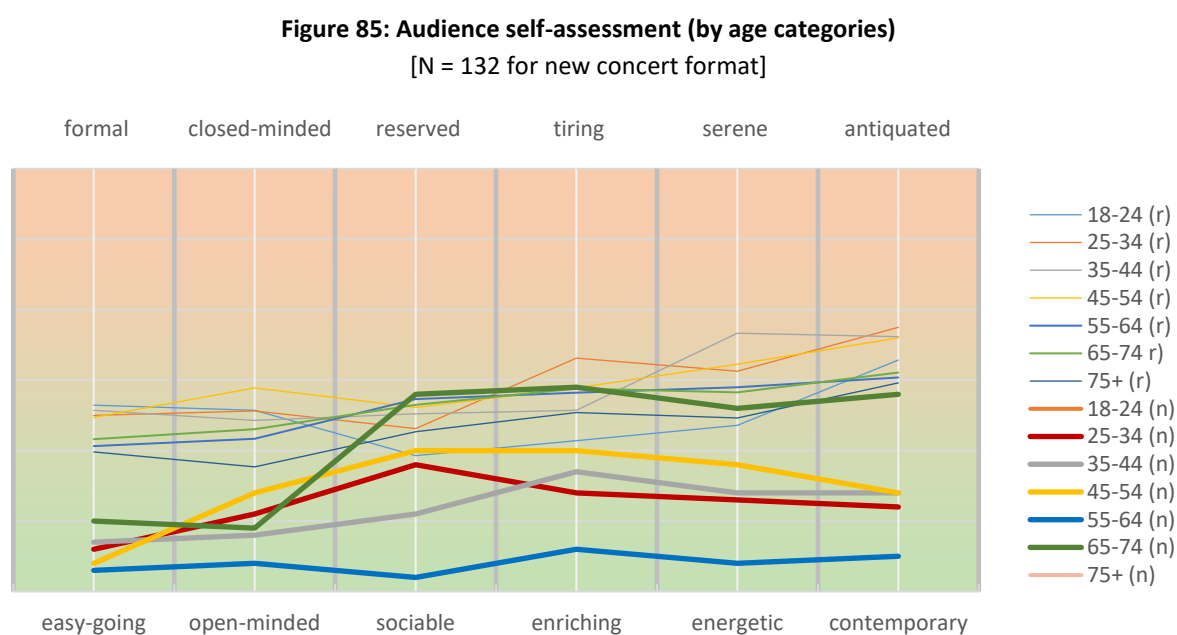
Gender-specific assessment (see Figure 84) also shows that the younger audience at the newly developed concert format (n) rated the concert experience much more positively than the older audience at the regular concerts (r). Male and female concertgoers give largely congruent assessments, differing only slightly in assessments of varied, dynamic and striking.

Figure 84: audience self-assessment (by gender)
[N = 132 for new concert format]



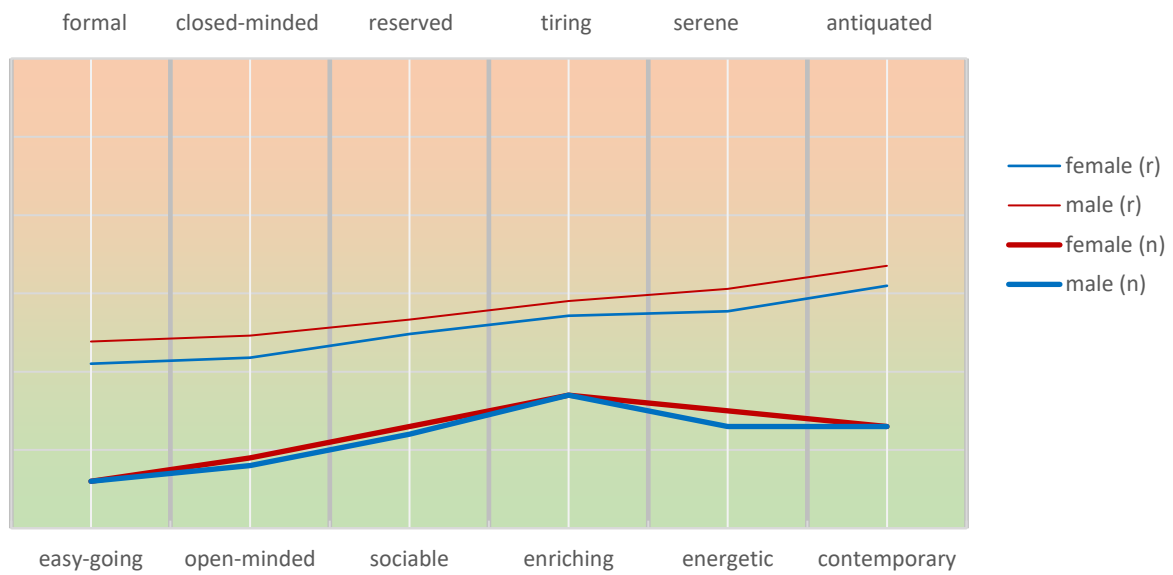
The audience was also asked to assess the audience present. Visitors to the newly developed concert format (n) tended to rate it more positively than those at the regular concerts (r) rated their audience. The difference between assessments of various age categories was striking (see Figure 85)

Visitors over 65 share this assessment least, providing assessments similar to the same age group attending regular concerts (r) for the categories reserved, tiring, serene and antiquated. Interestingly, the most positive assessments in all categories come from the second oldest group – 55-64-year-olds.



Gender-specific analysis (see Figure 86) shows that the newly developed concert format is viewed as being significantly better than the regular concert format. Male and female concertgoers are largely in agreement across categories.

Figure 86: Audience self-assessment (by gender)
[N = 132 for new concert format]



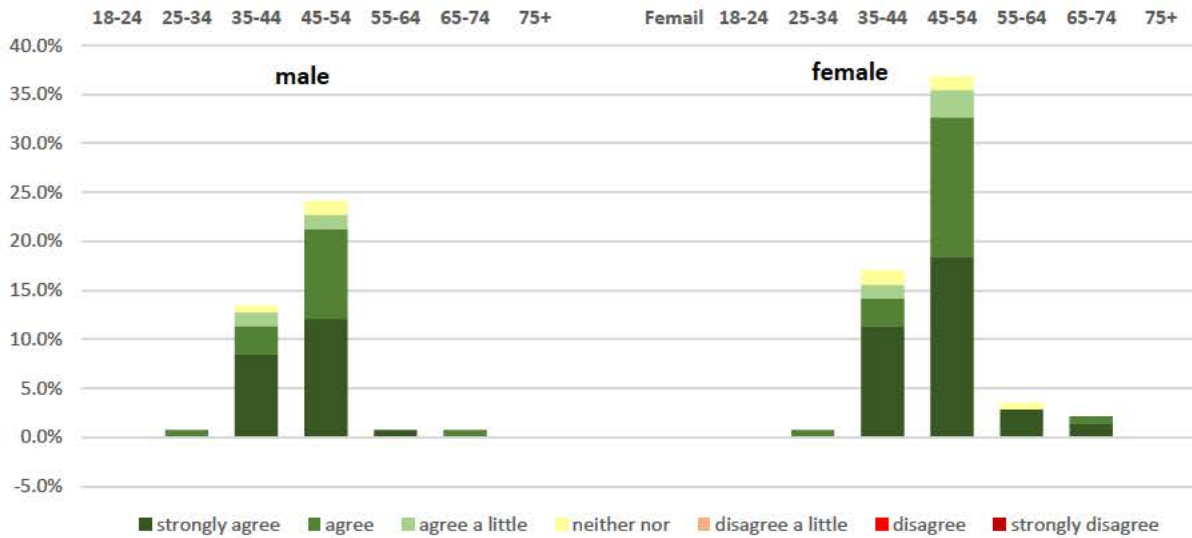
The audience was also asked to judge the changed rituals.

Clapping between movements

As the audience knew it could clap after each work, a more relaxed atmosphere could be clearly observed (regarding applause behaviour). The feedback was correspondingly positive, in contrast to the first survey, in which the audience clearly rejected the ritual change (see figure 29 and 30, p. 137/138).

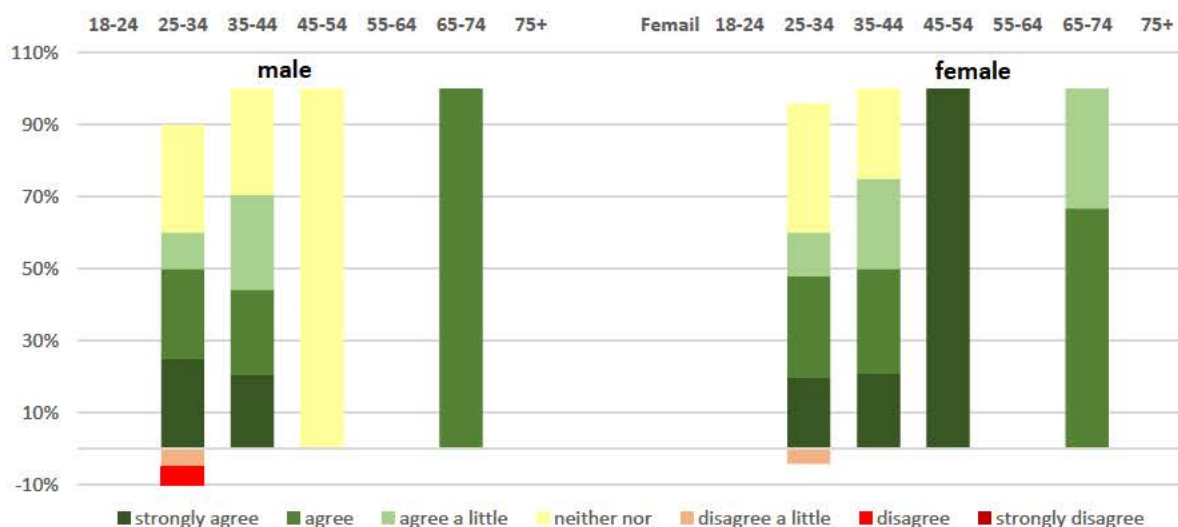
Figure 87 shows clearly that there was no negative feedback at all. Apart from a few abstentions (neither/nor), the proportion of those finding the changed ritual 'good' or 'very good' predominates in all age groups.

Figure 87: Responses to clapping
[N = 132]



The audience was asked to assess whether the changed applause ritual would lead to a stronger sense of community (see Figure 88). Responses in the original surveys (see figure 28, p. 132), particularly those in the age groups over 55, were clearly negative and a considerable proportion of the responses neutral ('neither/nor'). In the new survey, while the proportion of neutral feedback is not insignificant, (particularly for men in the age groups under 54), positive feedback clearly predominates. Apart from the age groups just mentioned, feedback is almost identical across both genders. A very small amount of negative feedback from both genders is only apparent in the 25-34 age group.

Figure 88: Clapping - stronger sense of community
[N = 132]



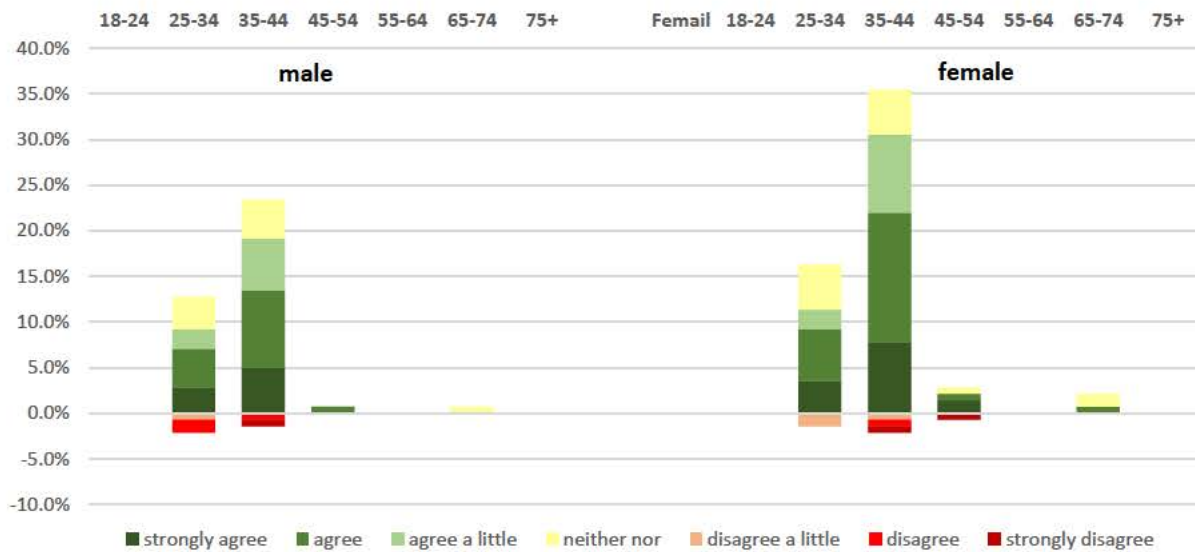
Lighting

The somewhat brighter auditorium lighting between the works was generally well received, because it made programme reading during the performance possible, as well as intra-audience communication. Conversely, the brighter lighting was also felt to interrupt the concert atmosphere (see figure 35, p. 147).

The lighting ritual was further modified for this concert by a reading aloud of background information about the works, as well as projecting pictorial material from the children's book on a large screen. The lighting in the hall could therefore be kept dim, maintaining the festive concert while still permitting good visual contact. It should be noted that the nature and scope of the information collected at this concert was both different from and more restricted than that collected at previous concerts. Therefore, only a limited comparison is possible.

Nevertheless, the lighting here received mostly positive feedback (see Figure 89), in contrast to the previous survey (see figure 35, p. 147). The majority answered the question whether the lighting enhanced the feeling of community in the audience positively, (agree or strongly agree). Negative feedback is sporadic, though most evident in the age groups up to 44.

Figure 89: Lighting - stronger sense of community
[N = 132]



Gathering after the concert

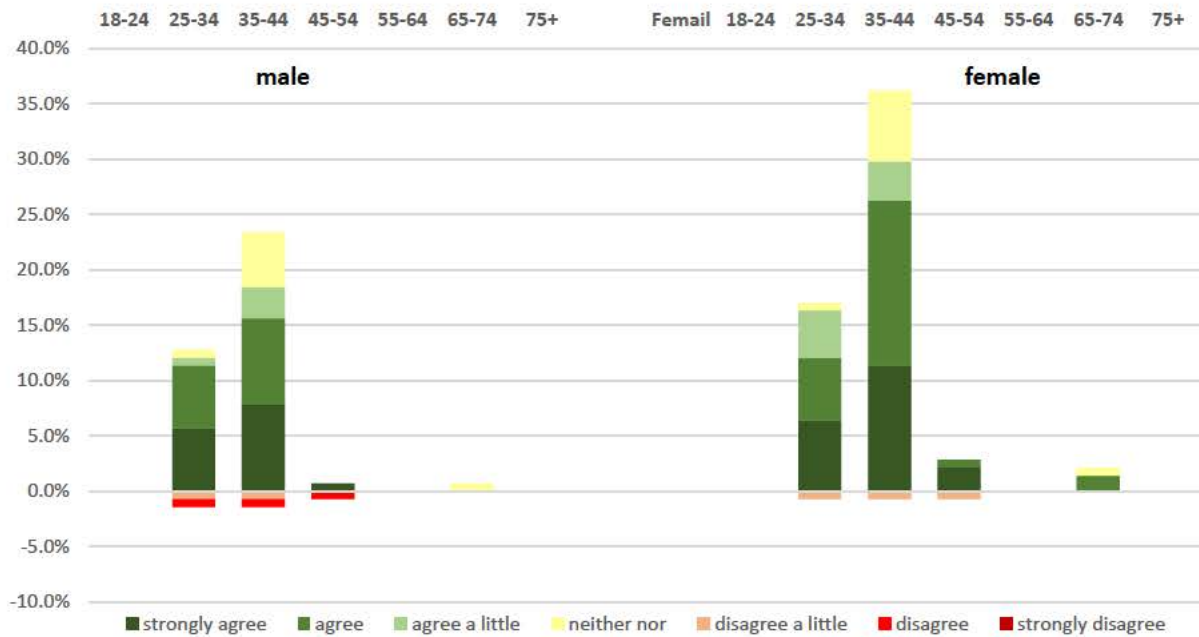
The audience was invited to linger in the lounge after the concert, chat over a drink and wind down the concert event together. The percentage of concertgoers who went to the lounge was high, with an estimated 75% frequenting the lounge at least briefly.

Survey questions on this form of social gathering after the concert sought to understand if this strengthened the feeling of community in the audience (see Figure 90). Analogous to the previous survey, the vast majority of respondents believed the change in ritual increased the sense of community.

The gender-specific comparison of the two assessments (see Figure 48, p. 165) shows that female and male assessments are comparable. However, more women believed the sense of community was strengthened by the change of the ritual to those in the previous survey.

Why this modification made male concertgoers feel more connected to other visitors cannot be established. Because the audience consisted mostly of young families with children, one might imagine that the young fathers recognized the potential for exchanging ideas with like-minded people. Negative feedback was limited.

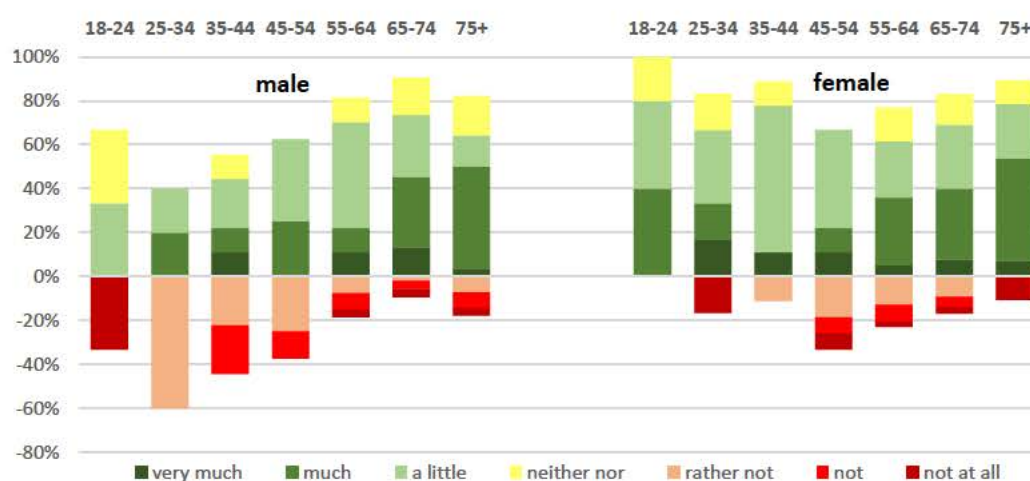
Figure 90: Gathering - stronger sense of community
[N = 132]



Analogous to previous surveys, survey participants were asked to give a personal assessment of how they perceived the sense of community in a classical concert in comparison with other cultural events. An assessment should only be made if the survey participant had other event experience. Hence there is limited consideration of rock and pop concerts here.

Comparison with the classical concert is of particular interest for this study, which is why this evaluation is brought to the fore. For better comparability, the evaluation of the previous audience survey is displayed again (see Figure 91). This graph shows the sense of community tending to increase with increasing age, except among female concertgoers up to 44 years of age. The degree of negative feedback is significantly greater among male concertgoers up to 44 years of age than among female concertgoers of the same age.

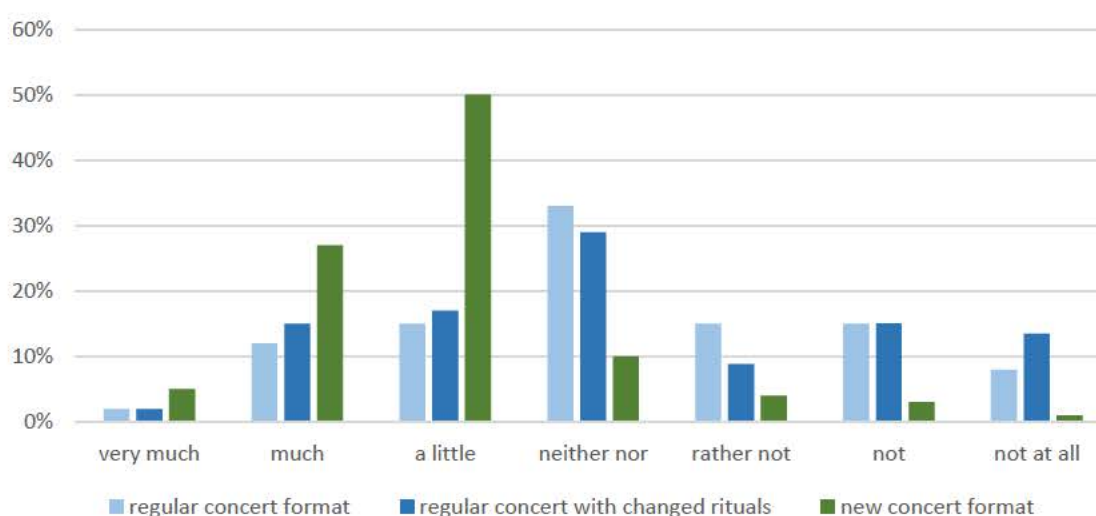
Figure 91: Sense of community at classical concert (relative)



Evaluating the current audience survey shows a significantly different picture. First, there was obviously less negative feedback from all genders. The comparatively few neutral answers (neither/nor) reinforce this impression.

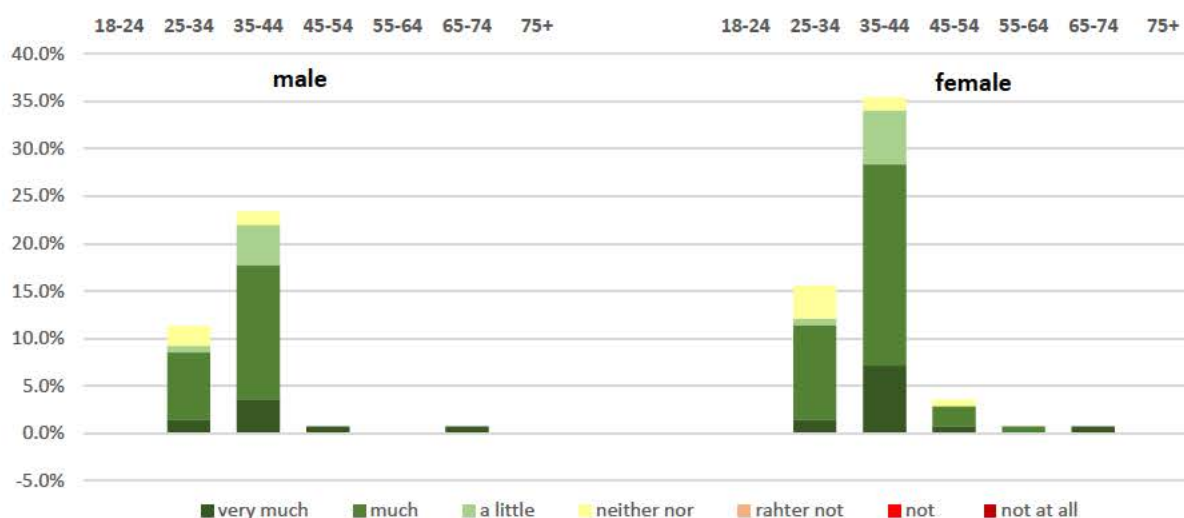
The comparison of the determined senses of community of visitors under 54 years of age at regular classical concerts and at the newly created concert format (with the question: How do you feel connected to other visitors in the audience?) shows (see Figure 92) that the newly created concert format is assessed much more positively. As can be seen from the graph, the number of positive assessments has increased significantly.

Figure 92: Comparison of sense of community at classical concert



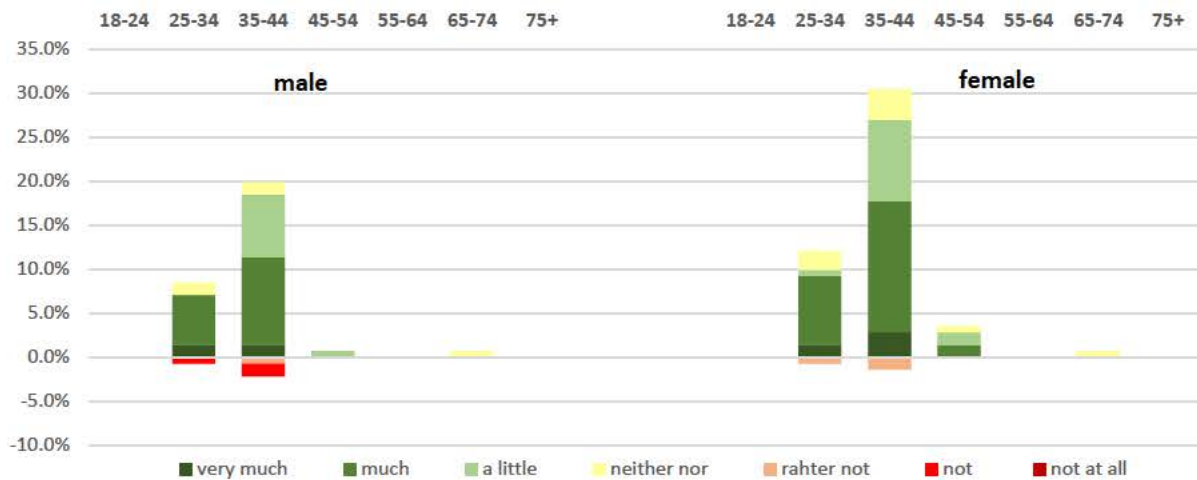
In the previous survey, most male concertgoers under 44 felt no connection with other visitors. Here (see Figure 93), they feel strongly or even very strongly connected with other visitors predominates. Perhaps the shared orientation towards young families with children shifted the common focus, accounting for a higher degree of perceived connectedness.

Figure 93: Sense of community at family concert
[N = 132]



The younger audience's sense of community at pop and rock concerts (compare Figure 60, p. 176 and Figure 94, p. 210) is also perceived very differently. For example, while in the previous survey, male concertgoers between the ages of 25 and 34 felt unconnected or only slightly connected with other visitors, in this survey, the majority indicated they felt strongly or even very strongly connected with other visitors. Also notable is that only half of the 35 – 44 female concertgoers in the previous survey felt strongly connected to other visitors, while in this survey, most respondents felt somewhat, strongly or very strongly connected with others.

Figure 94: Pop/Rock-concert sense of community
[N = 132]

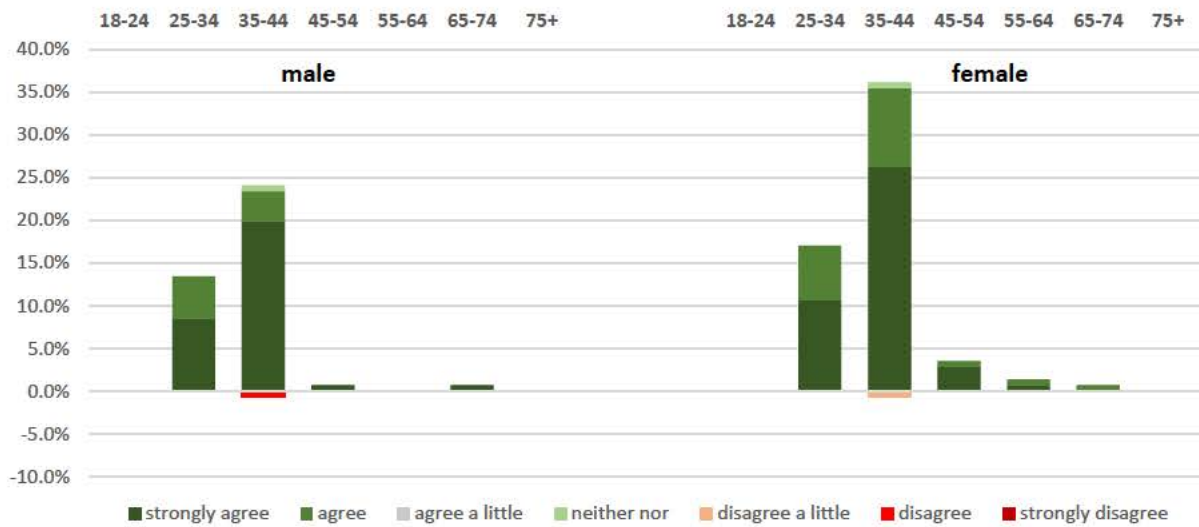


Because the target group is young families with children, no concert can be realized within the existing interaction rituals since most small children cannot sit still and listen for an hour. This circumstance must be considered from the outset. Young parents with children are likely to be more tolerant of other children who cannot sit still or are restless because they are used to this condition from their own children.

Concertgoers were asked whether the change in this ritual would reinforce the sense of community in the audience (see Figure 95). The feedback is clear: with few exceptions, almost all concertgoers of all genders and all age groups felt the change of the ritual strengthened the sense of community strongly or even very strongly.

However, as the new concert format is aimed at a new target group (families), it is markedly different from the regular concert. Because it is now almost exclusively parents with their children, it can be assumed that this will change the motivation to attend the concert (here education and entertainment of one's own child), the focus ('child' instead of one's own enjoyment of classical music), but probably also the attitude regarding the behaviour of other concertgoers.

Figure 95: Sitting silently - stronger sense of community
[N = 132]



Based on the audience's assessment of the new developed concert format, it can be concluded very roughly that some significant changes, resp. improvements can be noted.

Thus, the modifications of the ritualization resulted in an improvement of the sense of community, a more positive assessment of the concert format and of the audience present and in particular a significant reduction in the average age of the audience.

A detailed evaluation of the findings is presented in the following chapter.

Conclusion

The conclusion consolidates the findings from the literature review, the work of ALG members, as well as the evaluations from the various audience surveys. The structure of the following chapter is based on the research questions and objectives, which are used as a loose structural device. Put simply, this study explored the audience interaction rituals at contemporary classical concerts; it considered how, and to what extent, they support or hinder the formation of group solidarity at classical concerts; then compared this to other cultural events, and finally, investigated how rituals could be managed differently to achieve a greater level of collective effervescence. The starting point for considering today's concert rituals was Collins' (2004) Interaction Ritual Theory (IRT), considered an important contemporary contribution to the literature (Boyns & Leury, 2014).

Interaction rituals today

To examine whether the framework of interaction rituals provided by Collins can be employed effectively in a contemporary classical concert setting.

The research question 'What, if any, interaction rituals can be identified at contemporary classical concerts, using Collins' framework?', aimed to explore the basic structure of an interaction ritual in the context of a classical concert. The exploration included analysis of the historical conditions that lead to the creation of the format for classical concerts. In a second step was it then possible to determine which 'ritual conditions' can be observed in a contemporary classical concert.

Even if the educated middle class no longer exists in same form today as that which engineered the changes in concert presentation in the 19th century, the desire to belong to a particular social class or grouping remains. Going to the opera or a concert remains an effective way to demonstrate allegiance to higher social classes or to their broad orientation. This socio-political component seems to have changed little, if at all, since the 19th century. Rituals serve, as Collins' IRT suggests, to bring the members of particular groups present closer together, by concentrating on a common focus, and also to exclude unwanted groups or social classes.

Broadly, the study demonstrates the usefulness of Collins' Interaction Ritual Theory. The theory succeeds in providing a framework within which to consider a specific ritual (and in the case of this research a number of rituals used in the classical concert setting) and its conditions in some detail. The framework is not, however, fully specified – for example, the notions of emotional energy, or of

collective effervescence, while intuitively appealing, remain difficult to anchor and measure in the field. Despite this, the research here showed the potential for the key ideas inherent in Collins' IRT to be operationalized by an informed group of action learning participants – evidencing the applicability of the theory and its potential utility in understanding the audience in the context of classical music.

The very move to a particular form for the classical concert is itself consistent with the notion of 'emotional energy' and IRT: when viewed in this light, the changes both in the 19th century and those deployed in this research represent a move to capture an increased emotional energy by one class (group) at the expense of another. Boyns and Luery (2014) summarize Collins' position on this phenomenon as follows: "In situations with status disparity, those who are superordinate and are able to give orders will gain emotional energy, while those who are subordinate and must take orders will lose emotional energy. The amount of emotional energy gained or lost will be directly proportional to their relative status" (p 151). They argue that Collins makes a similar point in respect of power disparity in ritual usage.

Interaction rituals therefore, as understood by Collins, and as used in this research, will always by their very nature reinforce group distinction and be used to display power. As such, they are not emancipatory, but rather serve to delimit inclusion and exclusion. What is perhaps more important is 'where' these boundaries are set and the extent to which such boundaries provide a wide (or narrow) frame for possible participation. Appreciating that the rituals and issues of the participation frame are bound together is key when seeking to appeal to a wider audience. Therefore, even given the partial nature of Collins' framework, one key conclusion is that, when suitably elaborated, IRT is a useful guide to audience-related research in a contemporary classical concert setting and in other cultural events that have an audience present.

Interaction ritual ingredients identified in concerts today

To investigate the audience's perceived experience of ritual ingredients (group assembly, bodily co-presence, barriers to outsiders, mutual focus of attention, shared mood), including stereotypical formalities.

The second step in investigating IRT required audience input. In this study, the initial insight into perceptions was provided by the ALG. Only later was the broader audience involved. The ALG first determined which, in their view, of the specific mechanisms found within the contemporary concert ritual interfered with audience's attention and emotional responses. The specific mechanisms of the concert ritual that adversely affected the overall concert experience were identified and then ranked

in terms of the negative impact they were perceived to have (see Table 7). This was accomplished by relating the adverse influencers to the ritual conditions of Collins' framework.

The extent to which the ALG was able to move through this process shows clearly the utility of Collins' framework and demonstrates the ability of a (relatively expert) audience to use their experience to identify (sub)rituals they observed. This lends further support to the idea that Collins' conceptualization is meaningful.

After the ALG selected concert ritual elements to vary, broader audience participation became possible as the concert format varied.

Sense of community as ritual outcome

To examine the extent of sense of community as a ritual outcome, particularly with respect to audience members' ages.

Here, the motivation to enjoy sharing a concert experience with friends and acquaintances was found to be as great as the aesthetic pleasure itself. Feeling comfortable in a group seems to be a central requirement of a leisure activity. Given that a core concern motivating this study was the perceived aging of the classical concert audience, there was a particular focus on the differences (if any) between age groups in their reaction to and experience of the concert format. When younger visitors felt comfortable as part of a classical concert audience, they could be expected to classify it as modern, enriching and open-minded. This study refutes the assumption that younger visitors abandon their individual expectations of an experience in favour of its current ritualization.

It also demonstrates that young cultural consumers (generally) feel uncomfortable in a classical concert audience. For a young culture consumer, the potential of positive emotions such as happiness, enthusiasm or joy, offered by a classical concert, seem insufficiently attractive to encourage ticket purchase. This emphasis on feelings as determining attitudes lends support to the contention that purchase decisions are not based solely on rational, controlled processes, but are heavily influenced by emotions. Sigg (2009) suggests that emotion may affect for 70-80% of the influence).

Several motivations, might lead to attending concerts, rather than prior experience listening to recordings. First, the expected benefit to be had by listening to a certain work performed by a particular artist and, second, to hear a combination of work and artist not available through recorded media. These two possible motivations themselves have not been investigated in this study and can

therefore be neither supported nor rejected as dominant. Other motivations may be the expected added value that could also be derived from social considerations, for example, sharing an experience with friends and acquaintances, meeting other visitors with similar interests or desiring to move in a certain group or social class in order to demonstrate one's membership in that group. Concert-going, as a ritual, seems to provide 'mechanisms for mutually focusing emotion and attention, producing a momentarily shared reality generating solidarity and symbols of group membership' (Collins, 2004). It is these specific mechanisms that were of interest in this research, but this should not be taken to mean that such mechanisms are assumed to dominate, or that the other motivations were not in play.

Investigation of the second objective, examining the audience's reception of current ritualization, revealed fundamentally different perceptions between different groups with different demographic or consumption characteristics, e.g. women, men, younger and older visitors, first-time visitors or regular concert goers. This insight forms the basis for answering the question whether young classical music fans are put off from attending classical concerts by the outdated and strict ritualization.

Since ritualization is the sole focus of this study, it is impossible to say what influence other factors, such as the design of the space, the duration of a concert, the choice of concert programme (music), or the time of the concert have on the concert-going decision. However, comparing assessments of existing rituals by the younger age groups in the audiences that participated in this research establishes, without exception, that the rituals criticized by the ALG are also classified as 'antiquated' by these age groups in their responses within the audience survey. Based on these findings, the study confirms the assumption that young concertgoers are negatively influenced by the current ritualization.

To answer the second research question, 'current interaction rituals support/hinder group solidarity at classical concerts', it is necessary to understand why younger visitors, as well as the members of the ALG, perceive the current concert format as less modern, or the audience as more formal, than older visitors, or why first-time visitors perceive the audience as conservative, reserved and outdated, giving them the impression of 'tiring'.

It is clear that older visitors evaluate the audience and the concert format much more positively than do younger visitors. Based on the findings of this study, this can be interpreted as follows:

Boynes and Luery (2015) finding that superordinate people in a group gain emotional energy while subordinates tend to lose emotional energy may be a significant part of the explanation. That younger, and thus very often inexperienced, visitors tend to subordinate themselves within the

audience, in order to be perceived as 'belonging to' the audience, shows that they do not form part of the group that wields power but are rather subject to it. The impression of the younger visitors that the audience is perceived as 'tiring' is therefore logical. To counteract this, it should be possible to put younger visitors in a superordinate position, so they gain positive energy from a concert visit. This could be achieved through offering interaction rituals that are more attuned to the requirements of this group, and simultaneously therefore altering the current practices by which they feel subordinated or marginalized.

The need to make changes to the concert is also based on the assumption that there are numerous other possibilities available today (not least also social media) for positioning oneself as successful and thus part of a higher social class. It is assumed here that the use of the classical concert as a social platform is less influential today than it used to be. Against a background of wider and more attractive options for social intercourse, the willingness of younger people to subordinate themselves within the classical audience (which is perceived as negative) is likely to diminish.

Since it is to be expected that younger visitors therefore tend to look for other more attractive alternatives to offer the scope for immediate improvement in their positions, alternative concert formats must also be developed in the field of classical concerts. With such formats, younger concertgoers need not first expend energy and work hard to achieve their position but are in effectively placed in a superordinate position from the outset. Based on the evaluation of the available findings, achieving this superordinate position is a consequence of regular concert visits (i.e. the more positive assessments of regular, and hence therefore often older, concertgoers). This is the only way to gain experience in dealing with other concertgoers, which in turn gives the visitor a feeling of security.

The audience survey evaluation generally confirms the view that attending a classical concert is more valuable than listening to the same music at home, not only in terms of conviviality, but also in terms of the perceived entertainment value of the classical concert. However, assessments by 18 to 24-year-old concert goers were diametrically opposed to the assessments by the 75+ age group. Young visitors experienced the concerts as entertaining, but also as being much more static and monotonous, than did the older concert visitors.

The above insights can also explain why ritualization has not changed, or changed only slightly, and has not adapted to modern cultural and consumer behaviour. It appears that the superordinate group within the audience uses its position to determine the course (and thus the ritualization) of the concert. Additionally, the subordinate visitors' pursuit of being regarded as part of the higher society,

or at least a 'knowing' member of the current concert audience, also prevents them from opposing established rituals.

Therefore, the simplest manner in which to change this situation is to create new concert formats explicitly tailored to younger concertgoers, where the ritualization is also adapted to these younger concertgoers and hence, they find themselves in a superordinate position. It seems also likely that such new rituals will be more in keeping with modern consumer and cultural behaviour given the nature of the group targeted and the cultural experiences and practices they will bring with them.

Experiences of interaction rituals at classical concerts and other cultural events

To compare experiences of ritual outcomes from the classical concert with the concert audience's experience of other common cultural actions or events having ritual ingredients.

With the second research question, the study also sought to consider whether audiences at classical concert feel less connected than at less formal events, such as a rock, pop or jazz concerts, due to the dramaturgical course and the strict ritualization of classical concerts. Evaluation of audience surveys rebutted this view. Overall, only audiences at jazz concerts felt more connected with other participants than audiences at classical concerts. Surprisingly, the audience at pop and rock concerts felt less connected than the audience at the opera, the theatre or even at a football match. The observation that the public feels much less connected with other visitors at art exhibitions and in the cinema is predictable given the nature of these events.

This result in relation to musical events is surprising, because it might be expected that loudly singing well-known songs together at a pop or rock concert or sharing overwhelming experiences of impressive light- and laser- shows with friends or acquaintances at the same moment, would influence the sense of community positively. Various studies and experiments (Demos et al., 2012; Lakens & Stel, 2011; Marsh et al., 2009; Plank-Baldauf, 2019; Reddish et al., 2013) actually conclude that jointly executed, coordinated movement triggers synchronization within the audience and thus leads to greater solidarity and prosocial behaviour. It would seem reasonable that the more obvious (or intense) the 'jointly executed, coordinated movement' the more likely 'greater solidarity and prosocial behaviour' would be evident. Such coordinated behaviour would be more acutely felt at a pop or rock concert. In contrast, that this appears to be more evident in the classical concert is a surprise – and here it might be the very strict and ritualization that is key. However, the process of

synchronizing the audience of classical concerts has received limited research and is worthy of further exploration.

It is striking that female visitors at events (with the exception of the opera, a football game and the cinema) often felt more connected to other visitors than did men. This seems to confirm neurological research findings that women are more interested in social aspects than men (Brizendine, 2008). Incorporating age-specific assessments while evaluating the overall sense of community at classical concerts shows that concert visitors up to the age of 45 felt significantly less connected with audience members, thus confirming that younger visitors feel less connected to other audience members at a classical concert, particularly in comparison to other events. This suggests that the way in which the synchronization takes place in the audience at a classical concert is less suited to younger visitors than it is to older visitors, who are also more familiar with the rituals as they are more likely to be frequent or regular concert visits (in this sense the form of synchronization is reinforced and more evidently accepted through and by increasing familiarity and a common focus).

It should be noted, however, that surveys were conducted exclusively with classical concert audiences and not with the audiences at other events. Realizing that a common focus contributes significantly to the perceived intensity of the sense of community, and that here the audience at a classical concert shares the common focus of 'classical music' but does not necessarily share experience or interest in pop, rock or jazz music, as well as football, art exhibitions or cinema, must be recognized, and may account for the positive results for concert format in comparison to other events.

It is equally unsurprising that young concertgoers are therefore likely to perceive the format of the classical concert as antiquated and unattractive due to its outdated and strict ritualization. Evaluating assessments of younger concert visitors demonstrated that the majority of those in the lower age groups are disturbed by most of the rituals identified for change, confirming that this is the case for this subset of the audience. The differing views of younger and older concertgoers present a challenge for organizers.

This study shows that older and more regular concertgoers, trained in and practising their rituals for many years, feel these actions are not outdated and are an important part of a classical concert. Thus, any concert organizer encouraging a change in ritualization runs the risk of alienating and consequently losing the existing (older) audience (who are effectively the 'cash cow' for promoters). Instead, organizers are likely to do everything in their power to ensure their regular audiences continue to feel comfortable. This is likely to engender an understandable reticence in terms of

seeking to alter current revisualizations or develop new concert formats that encapsulate a number of such changes.

The occasionally diametrically different assessments of the concert experience across age groups suggest that the differing needs of younger and older visitors cannot be satisfied with a single concert format. Instead, different concert formats must be offered for the respective age groups. The documented ageing of classical concert audiences suggests that concert organizers are concentrating almost entirely on the existing regular audience rather than on future generations of classical audiences. Whilst it is clear that there needs to be attention paid to the needs and preferences of the audience that currently provides much of concertgoers ticket sales, simply focusing on this is likely to create a significant future problem that may well manifest itself in an existential problem for the classical concert that many commentators have identified.

Implications for arts organizations

This section addresses the questions of who could benefit from these findings and to whom should the conclusions of this study be addressed.

Given the context in which this study has taken place, it is obvious that cultural managers, organizers of classical concerts, operators of symphony orchestras, general concert promoters and agencies are those primarily affected by the research topic and likely to be interested in its findings. As such what follows is presented with these groups as the primary audience and particularly for those located in the German-speaking parts of Switzerland.

It was, in this respect, noted that the expectations of a classical concert differ greatly geographically, as cultural aspects (and thus consumer behaviour) show regional variations (O'Sullivan, 2009); The findings from this study focus on Zurich and are therefore strictly applicable only to the German-speaking part of Switzerland. The findings should be considered illustrative outside this area, as the cultural preferences and the behaviours of other local audience must be considered.

The survey results can inform changes within art organizations such as opera, theatre, ballet, cinema or art exhibitions in the locality – albeit to different extents. Here, the transferability of results must be considered in a critical fashion because the degree of event format similarity will affect the potential applicability of the research findings. The question then becomes which specific findings might be of use to the cultural managers mentioned. Or, to put it another way: what new insights on how interaction rituals affect the audience of classical concerts could be gained from this study? The

insights cultural managers or arts organizations can draw are discussed in more detail in the following section.

Outcomes of modified interaction rituals

To determine if modifying ritual ingredients for selected classical concerts can increase expressed levels of overall group solidarity, especially with respect to the concert goers' ages.

- Clapping

The ALG members felt that the formal and restrictive character of the applause ritual had a negative effect and suggested that the mood might change positively were this pattern altered.

It is hardly surprising that younger concertgoers rejected the ritual with its clear rules as to when the audience may applaud and when not, feeling it to be outdated or very outdated. Moreover, these younger visitors appreciated being able to make an active contribution to the course of the concert by expressing their enthusiasm. This suggests an 'inner relief', because one is freed from the pressure of perhaps behaving 'inappropriately' or demonstrating 'ignorance'. The possibility of applauding when one wishes seems decisive.

To summarize, the changes to the ritual presented here had a positive effect on the target audience – younger visitors – in several respects. Consequently, the ALG's assumption that the majority of under 34-year-olds believe the ritual to be outdated, or very outdated, was confirmed, as was the assumption that permitting applause as desired after each element of the performance would lead to more spontaneity and simplicity in the eyes of that age group.

However, this observation can also be interpreted to mean that the younger visitors (according to the comments made) feel a greater need to know that they are an active part of the concert, to express their enthusiasm spontaneously, or to show greater gratitude or respect for the performers.

For the future of the classical concert, this means that the existing ritualization, which originally had the goal of socially differentiation, must be amended in modern concert formats in favour of the expectations of the new target group. In this way, the sense of community or the bodily co-presence can be increased, which enhances the overall experience. Here the aim is to offer an alternative to the current format that is more suited to the different requirements of the younger potential audience. By developing such formats, the current audience is not immediately alienated, and some may choose to attend both established and new format concerts. However, a proliferation of format

types raises a number of issues for concert organizers in terms of complexity, cost, acceptance by performers and staff, their flexibility and the management of quality.

- **Appearance on stage**

ALG members perceived a negative influence by the conductor and/or soloist leaving and then re-entering the stage several times during the final applause.

The audiences surveyed shared the ALG's critical assessment, confirming that multiple appearances and disappearances by the conductor or soloist during the performance were unsettling. Most of the audience, including the younger members, welcomed the change, noting that the dramaturgy of the concert became more natural and the audience had more opportunity to express its enthusiasm.

Perhaps this 'more natural' feeling is the result of the conductor or soloist being closer to the audience now and not so distanced, less to be celebrated as an unapproachable, frequently disappearing 'figure'. Remaining on the stage tended to increase the sense of community, undoubtedly by lengthening and thereby strengthening contact with the artists.

This change therefore seems to be one that might be applied by concert organizers without the need to be as selective. The identification of a ritual changes that seem more uniformly welcome is perhaps of particular interest to concert organizers as they afford a mechanism that can be applied to different concert formats. Should this approach to appearance on stage be changed across all concert types, it may help create a basis for connection (by offering a degree of consistency) between concert format type. This connection, using common rituals, may help audience members move between concert formats, offering some level of familiarity as an initial basis for this. It is also the case that, in time, the 'new' concert format/s, with all their associated rituals will become the norm. However, this is a matter of considerable time – as generations pass - and there will be an extended period during which concert organizers will need to manage both the currently established concert format and experiment with new formats to support ritual changes. This period is likely to be both a time of innovation, possible renewal, but also one of considerable effort and insecurity that will need close attention.

- **Background information**

ALG members were disturbed by the extreme difficulty of reading programme notes or background information during the concert because the auditorium lights were dimmed during the concert.

Based on survey findings and ALG suggestions, an alternative format was developed that conveyed background information in a more relaxed and personal way, while serving as a performance component of the concert. It was hoped such mediation would help younger concertgoers especially extend their attention span by allowing them to relax *during* the event.

Background information on works or composers was conveyed in the form of entertaining stories by an actor in an historical costume. This intervention was rejected by most of the audience. Therefore, an alternative approach was developed in the new concert format developed for phase 2 of this study. Both background information and images were projected onto a large screen during the concert. This was intended both to meet the multimedia expectations of younger concertgoers and to create a festive atmosphere because projection also affects the lighting in the hall.

Providing background information via a *large-scale* projection instead of a printed programme and its further development for phase 2 (based on the experience gained during phase 1 of the study), required complete darkening of the auditorium. Thus, lighting in the auditorium during the concert differed significantly from the original ritual. As a result, it was difficult to read the printed programme, especially for older concertgoers and audience became a grey mass, also making social exchange difficult.

However, the large-surface projection made it possible to see or read texts or images and still see others thanks to the light radiating from screen. This facilitated non-verbal and verbal exchange in the audience. The entire audience of the new concert format rated the change as 'positive' or even as 'very positive', with only isolated neutral or negative feedback. Most of the audience also believed the change in lighting resulted in a greatly, or even very strongly enhanced, sense of community.

- **Lighting**

As mentioned above, ALG members were concerned that lighting is darkened in the auditorium during the performance. ALG members however suspected that temporary illumination could limit social contact to those in adjacent seats, thus possibly diminishing the community atmosphere at the concert even though offering more opportunity for bodily co-presence with immediate neighbours. Age-specific analysis shows that regular, predominantly older concertgoers, clearly welcomed the bodily co-presence that greater illumination provided – the audience was no longer simply a grey mass but rather individuals who felt they were part of the whole. It was also possible to exchange a few words with those in neighbouring seats in between movements or pieces. Most concertgoers over 65-year-old believed this strengthened common focus. During the periods of illumination,

when the audience's attention is not focussed on the stage, it instead became focused on the actual audience itself.

Experience shows that older concertgoers in particular find it increasingly difficult to study the programme under low lighting conditions. This undoubtedly influenced their feedback. But it appears that a simple change in illumination between pieces is not uniformly welcome. Whilst it has benefits, both practical and social, there are issues of common focus and atmosphere that are disrupted. For concert organizers this means that a more creative solution to lighting is needed. It may be that the use of large-surface projections offers a viable approach (as well as other benefits in the conveying of information). Because this approach was not used within the established concert format in this study it is impossible to offer an indication of regular audience response. What does seem clear is that regular concertgoers were not averse to changes in lighting. The task is more a matter of finding changes that do not disrupt in the same way as varying the auditorium lighting levels appears to. In terms of the younger audience at the new format concert, the use of large-surface projection was welcomed. This therefore could be the basis for developing a sense of community and a festive atmosphere in such contexts.

- Social gathering

ALG members were concerned that the audience left the venue relatively quickly after a concert. The usually limited opportunity to meet in a convivial atmosphere after the concert disturbed ALG members. It was suggested that the sense of community and the mood could be improved if such a possibility were available.

Therefore, after the concert, the audience was invited to end the evening with a free drink in the lounge, located directly outside the auditorium. Almost the entire audience assessed the possibility of social get-togethers positively. While the overwhelming majority of the audience believed the lounge enhanced the sense of community, a tenth saw an opposite effect. Most respondents stated that joint focus was strengthened. Joint conversation about what was just experienced probably led to this effect.

That a large majority of the audience, including younger concertgoers, welcomed the social platform created after the concert, which also seemed to strengthen common focus, demonstrated the positive affect of the change.

such an approach, finding favour with most concertgoers, could be used by concert organizers across both established and new format concerts. There are clearly costs associated therewith, both in

terms of provisioning such gatherings and staffing them, to say nothing of the associated need for additional set-up and take-down. One could look, for example, for sponsors to provide additional paid-for food and beverages that could help ameliorate the associated costs. As such, the development of such lounges has potential, both in terms of enhancing common focus in the audience and sense of community. The orchestra could also be encouraged to attend – helping to dissolve the separation of audience and performers to some extent.

Reflections on the outcomes of the study (phases 1 and 2)

It was found that visitors over 55 were overrepresented in the established classical audience, while those under 44 were underrepresented. This led to the conclusion that, without appropriate countermeasures, there will be significant decrease in audiences in 10-15 years, because those then over-65 will be increasingly less likely to be able to attend classical concerts.

Starting from a situation where concertgoers at the established format events are even older (62 yrs.) than the Swiss average age (44 yrs.), the changed format succeeded in reducing the average age of the concert audience. Evaluation of the audience structure at the new concert format showed an average age of 39 (the children present were not included in the calculation, as they did not complete a questionnaire). The 25 to 44-year-old concertgoers at this new format concert were clearly overrepresented in relation to the Swiss population. The audience age profile thus demonstrated that the study's aim of attracting a younger audience to classical concerts was achieved.

The decisive question, however, was how this audience would assess the concert format and, especially, the changed rituals. As seen above, rituals are an important instrument for creating identity (Michaels, 2008). At the same time, modern cultural consumers seem less willing to renounce fulfilment of their individual expectations in favour of enacting specific ritual in order to be seen as part of a certain group (Leverman, 1998). This is also illustrated by a study conducted with a theatre audience in 1990, which found that visitor loyalty was improved by meeting the audience's expectations better in terms of advertising, concert hall equipment or staging (Bennett, 1990).

Thus, a central concern is arranging the ritualization of a classical concert in such a way that it meets the expectations of the audience. Some findings showed that there are often vastly different expectations and habits between the different age groups. The new concert format developed here was created specifically for a younger audience with corresponding cultural and consumer habits.

Accordingly, it must be accepted that these cultural and consumer habits may not be valued equally by older visitors (who are more likely to be regular concertgoers).

In view of the literature review findings, however, it is more important today than in the past to meet individual demands, as consumers have become accustomed to having their requirements met in other areas of consumption, due to, for instance, technological progress (Kar, 2011). Analogous to target group orientation in marketing, concert formats are increasingly being developed and offered for various stakeholder groups. It must be assumed, however, that this will entail additional economic costs for concert organizers, as they will now deviate from the educational mandate to address the general public, addressing smaller stakeholder groups with different needs instead. However, should this not be done, it is difficult to foresee how the decline in classical concert audience numbers can be arrested or even reversed. It appears that the time has again come to reinvent concert ritualization for a new generation of concertgoers. But now this needs to be done through the development of alternate concert formats to be offered alongside that which has long been established – rather than deposing this ‘traditional’ presentation. This suggests, therefore selective proliferation rather than revolution is what concert organizers must seek.

Academic contributions

With regard to the choice of method used to answer the research questions raised, it has already been noted that the application of an Action Research approach in the field of public research seems to be exceptional. According to the findings of the literature review, there is no comparable study in which the *form* of conveying cultural content was examined in this manner. However, there are a few studies in which the *cultural content* of an event itself was researched using an AR-approach. Therefore, the focus of these few research projects in the field of audience research has been exclusively on content (the ‘what’) (see e. g. Action Research in Audience Analytics – project completion and evaluation, Geels, 2016) and not on the design of an event (the ‘how’). The question therefore arises as to why the audience itself has not yet been involved in a participatory manner in research on an element of the event in which it plays a clear part – how the audience behaves and, more specifically, the interaction rituals deployed.

In his essay in the ‘Journal for the Theory of Social Behavior’, David Cheal (1988), who bases his reflections on Denzin (1968), Hogenson (1987) and Rapport (1971), postulates for a totalizing view of ritual in society. He sees ritual as something that supports homeostasis and existing hierarchical structures. Based on the totalizing view of social organizations, which today represents the common

foundation for accounts of ritual behaviour, Cheal (1988) suggests a postmodern approach for looking at rituals. This claim might be met better in future studies using the approach chosen in this study, because this aspect of totality might be captured with AR (Kemmis, 2008).

This study principally dealt with the question of how the ritualization of a classical concert would have to be changed to make the concert format more attractive to younger potential audiences. To ascertain whether this potential, ideally younger, audience rated the existing audience rituals as outdated and unattractive, the focus was primarily on age-specific evaluations of the data generated. Accordingly, relative considerations have been made, which show that older and more regular visitors generally experience the concert and its audience rituals more positively than do younger and less regular visitors.

From the ratings of the group that considers the concert format most positively in absolute terms (mostly older and regular concert visitors), it is evident that even this group of visitors seems to be only moderately satisfied with the current concert formats and its associated audience rituals.

This raises the question of what convinces those 65-year-old visitors to continue visiting concerts when the majority of this group is of the opinion that current concert formats seem modern only to a limited extent and even tiring (see Figure 14, p. 119) and that the audience itself is perceived as 'outdated', only slightly open-minded, sociable and enriching (see Figure 17, 122). According to the findings of this study, this does not appear to be (or not only) explained by an outdated or disturbing ritualization.

The analysis of the 65-74 age group (see Figure 85, p. 202) shows that these visitors tend to view the concert format (both the existing and the new developed) more negatively than those of the other age groups. This means that either the change of ritualization does not (or in a limited way) alter perceptions, or that the shift of the concert to another concert hall, the different musical programme or other parameters also influenced the assessments. Due to the various comments (e. g. 'intermittent applause disturbs the dramaturgy, the magic of the moment, and the concentration of the audience' or 'it destroys the concert atmosphere'), it can be assumed that this age group is more likely to be disturbed by the change in ritualization and that they prefer the current established ritualization.

It might even be that these results are an overstatement. This could be the result of two considerations: On the one hand, it is assumed that a Swiss audience (i.e. from a historical and sociological perspective as part of the population of a so-called equilibrium society (Eberle & Imhof, 2007) is likely to make a rather neutral assessment. On the other hand, there may also be a tendency

to give a more positive assessment, as the perceived anonymity of the survey might have been subverted by the invitation to participate in a competition. Any personal relationship with the orchestra's institution could also influence responses. If, therefore, the assessment of these audience members is even more negative than the responses indicated, it is even more astonishing that a large part of the audience nevertheless regularly attends classical concerts. In the literature review it has been elaborated, that the purchase of a ticket for a classical concert is not only motivated by long-standing habits (i.e. emotional) (Sigg, 2009), but also includes an economic expectation, i.e. an increase in profit (here primarily the entertainment value) (Samson & Voyer, 2012). In this case, the positive (social and/or emotional) experiences seem to outweigh other motivation for older visitors, so that they visit concerts repeatedly.

The younger age groups almost always viewed both the concert format (see Figure 83, p. 201) and the audience (see Figure 85, p. 202) more positively. However, since the anonymization of the survey does not allow a conclusive determination whether they are the same survey respondents, it cannot be ruled out that the positive development is in relation to the conventional concert format, or rather a stand-alone assessment of the new concert format. Nevertheless, based on the comments made (e. g. 'atmosphere is more relaxed or less tense' or 'the concert becomes quieter'), it can be assumed that it is at least partly a comparison, since an increase (to the conventional format) is expressed. Accordingly, it may be assumed further that the younger concert visitors generally support the changed ritualization (as well as the move to a new concert hall). The position underlying this study, which has also been established in other studies (e. g. Mielonen, 2003), can be confirmed: an improvement of the overall situation is achieved if the ritualization regarded as outdated by younger concertgoers is changed.

To provide additional clarity and to answer the question of what conclusions can be drawn from this study, the structure of the following detailed considerations is again guided by the research objectives.

To examine whether the framework of interaction rituals provided by Collins can be employed effectively in a contemporary classical concert setting.

The study shows that the assessment by the younger concertgoers of the newly developed concert format, in relation to the audience and concert format itself, is much more positive than that of the older. The younger concertgoers tend to classify the concert as more enjoyable or entertaining (see Figure 83, p. 201) and the audience as more easy-going and open-minded (see Figure 86, p. 203). As

already noted (Mielonen, 2003), younger concertgoers in particular consider the entertainment value of a classical concert to be insufficient and are of the opinion that their social expectations of a classical concert as leisure time activity are not fulfilled. If, as stated in this study, these two decision-making factors could be significantly improved, a higher rate of attendance results.

If one compares, for example, the assessments of the younger visitors of the ritual 'clapping between movements' within the original concert with those from the newly developed format, it is easy to see that a significant improvement has been achieved. No negative assessment has been made of the latter (see Figure 88, p. 205). What is shown here using the example of the ritual 'clapping between movements' also applies in a comparable way to the other rituals examined in this study. But the question of why the assessment of the newly developed concert format is better than that of the original concert format remains.

Based on what was learned with this study, this question is answered as follows. In developing the new concert format, one feature the ALG members felt was important was that the audience be enabled to move more freely during the concert. Due to the rigid seating in the usual concert hall (Tonhalle Zurich), the realization of the newly developed concert formats was therefore moved to another concert hall in which no such seating was pre-installed. This changed the environment in which the concert was held.

A traditional concert hall for classical concerts is perceived as an exclusive meeting place for the traditional classical audience. This study shows implementing a new concert format in a modern concert hall, serving as a multi-faceted venue for different events and not exclusively as traditional concert hall, has far-reaching effects on perception, which can mainly be attributed to social change (Haselbach, 2012).

As already stated in the literature review, two aspects of social change in particular are considered to be of central importance for the classical concert: the digitalization of elements associated with supporting information and the change in the value of knowledge (Schwanitz, 2012). Access to the educated bourgeoisie circle required (certain) educational knowledge (Schwanitz, 2012), with which one sought to distinguish oneself from nobility and mob alike (Dalhaus, 1967). As an expression of education (in addition to i.e. making music and an academic title) spelling was considered particularly important (Schwanitz, 2012). If, in the context of digitalization, what one writes no longer remains because it is replaced by other forms of communication, orthographic failures no longer (or at least, to a lesser degree) affect social position (Bruggaier, 2016). Since access to knowledge has been significantly simplified by digitalisation and the Internet, and nowadays it is more a question of

knowing where to find information rather than knowing the information itself, the value of knowledge has also changed (or decreased) (Weingart et al., 2015).

It can even be said that, due to the ubiquitous concern about discrimination (especially in relation to equality), it is no longer 'a pleasure' to be an educated citizen in this basic social mood (Siegmund et al., 2008). Against this background, it seems the focus is more on avoiding the exclusion of others. Against this background, and based on the findings of this study, it can be assumed that, to achieve more social acceptance of the classical concert, its ritualization must be altered in such a way that existing demarcations, or barriers to outsiders, can be decreased or removed.

The study shows, for example, that changing the way background information about the music or its composer is provided, or redesigning the musical programme, helps to break down these barriers. If education no longer exclusively helps achieve social prestige today, specific knowledge about classical music need not be assumed. Thus, if the audience is allowed to applaud after each movement (as in the newly developed concert format) such knowledge is no longer required, since it is no longer relevant whether one is allowed to clap after any particular movement at a symphony, or to indeed know where one 'whole work' ends.

It has already been noted that the transfer of the newly developed concert format to another concert hall had far-reaching effects. A further question for future research remains how other factors (such as the choice of the concert hall, the design of the concert space or the design of the musical programme) influence audience assessment and how they could be changed to achieve improvement.

Based on the knowledge gained here, it can only be assumed that this would not be the case. It can be deduced from the evaluation of the newly created concert format that an improvement in the overall situation cannot be achieved by changing a single factor (e. g. concert hall, ritualization, musical programme) but rather by an interweaving of the mentioned influencing factors.

However, the study demonstrated that a change in regular ritualization is not only possible but is also more positively received if the 'supremacy' of the older concert visitors is bypassed (or at least weakened). This is because older concert visitors seem more accustomed to the known process through long-standing tradition with which they are familiar, or they seem to feel obliged to feel this way and therefore neglect fulfilling their individual needs. Younger concertgoers are less willing to do this. In any case, given the age structure (see Figure 12, p. 116), it can be assumed that this influence will be greatly attenuated by natural fluctuation in the coming 10 to 15 years.

Whether a 'slow' change in the social structure on the basis of the current concert format is even possible (as long as the ritualization, or the connection with the Bildungsbürgertum is made visible by the concert hall) or a 'reset' of several conditions is necessary for this purpose (as in the case of the newly developed concert format), remains disputed. It would also be interesting to investigate whether, having passed this social turning point, the newly dominant, mixed classical audience would also create barriers to other social strata or milieus with the rituals developed in the new concert format. For economic reasons, today's organizers of classical concerts would certainly be well advised to try a 'reset' to bind future classical music audiences today, given the pressing existential effects that the passing of time is having on the audience of the current format classical concert.

In principle, it can be said that Collins' theory has proved to be a valuable instrument, since it allows the change in a relevant condition (as demonstrated with 'barriers to outsider') to be explicitly observed. But it must also be noted that Collins' theory does not seem complete. It has been found that the problems discussed in this study cannot be addressed solely by observing the perceptions of (single) individuals in the audience and then changing existing rituals based on these observations.

The overall impression of a classical concert seems to be influenced on an additional level, limited in time and locally to the event in question, but going beyond the momentarily shared event. Since an additional level of influence which persists over time and demonstrably influences the classical concert in practice can be demonstrated, it can be concluded that this level is missing in the Collins' theoretical definition of an interaction ritual and should be taken into account to achieve a holistic view.

When employing such a holistic view to investigate which expectations of a concert visit must be fulfilled so that a specific audience segment can identify with it, influencing factors such as the setting of the concert format (including ritualization, venue, musical programme, duration or additional services) must be taken into account. Expectations of the entertainment or educational value, the social needs (Mielonen, 2003), but equally the social reputation desired by attending a concert must be also be examined.

In order to evaluate the effects of a modification of one of these factors (and not the interweaving of other elements) as exclusively as possible in the context of the real world, modifications should be evaluated in the same concert, as was done in the present study. With the comparative basis thus created for the audience present, other factors that change because of the modification are more likely to be ruled out. In addition, it can be ensured that respondents to the survey are the same.

Only if, for example, concert seating is changed in the concert hall and only during half of the concert, can reliable insights be gained about how this change affects the audience. This is one of this study's findings. Because the new concert format was performed in another concert hall, not only were individual rituals' influences changed, especially at the level of individual concert visitors, i. e. the micro level, but also local circumstances, creating a different social order. Analysing Collins' theory, Fine (2010) contends: 'When we analyze social structures not recognizing that they depend on groups with collective pasts and futures that are *spatially situated* [emphasis added] and that are based on personal relations, we avoid a core sociological dimension: the importance of local context in constituting social worlds.' (Fine, 2010).

It is precisely this finding that this study confirms: not only changes of the individual rituals lead to significant improvement of the overall impression, but also a change of the social dimension, by which a new social order is created, here with the change of the concert venue and a changed composition of the audience. It became evident that improving the overall situation at the new classical concert required a change in ritualization at the micro-level; but also that this was not enough. This, in turn, implies that no comparable result could have been achieved by simply changing the ritualization of a classical concert (or simply parts of it). Or, in other words, the evaluated improvements are more than the sum of the altered ritualization.

Based on the observation that sole consideration of the micro-level (i.e. individual behaviour) and the macro-level (i.e. consumption and culture behaviour) neglects an essential level of observation according to Collins' theory, the following conclusion can be drawn:

In his theoretical analysis, Collins neglects the aspects of the practical implementation of rituals in society. The theory assumes that a joint interaction per se generates solidarity and group membership. According to the consistent interpretation of his theory, Collins would define, for example, 'clapping at a performance' as ritual. According to this definition, a ritual is 'a mechanism of mutually focused emotion and attention producing a momentarily shared reality, which thereby generates solidarity and symbols of group membership.' By clapping, we signify a shared approbation and audiences often show signs of positive affect when applauding. We also show we are 'one of the many' by so doing.

It can therefore be assumed that not all applause is a ritual but can also be rather a routine act. It is likely that this varies from applause to applause and for each visitor. Thus, one can assume that there are changing motivations or feelings. And even Collins' theory does not explicitly presuppose persistence of group membership. But only a persistent affect arising from meso-level events would permit a step from micro sociology to social structures. According to Fine (2010), a meso-level ritual

event potentially has a far greater capacity to 'generate solidarity and symbols of group membership' that persist beyond the 'momentary' sharing.

This observation shows that the audience's behaviour at classical concerts is also influenced on this meso-level beyond the moment of the event, i. e. the behaviour has some persistence over time. The elements examined are micro but are evidently more than the 'routine interaction' of Fine's observation. They go beyond the momentarily shared. The isolated consideration of audience behaviour patterns at a classical concert is therefore insufficiently far-reaching and must be considered (as mentioned above) in a more complex investigation within *the context* of this additional sociological level.

To investigate the audience's perceived experience of ritual ingredients (group assembly, bodily co-presence, barriers to outsiders, mutual focus of attention, shared mood), including stereotypical formalities.

The individual developments observed because of the modifications have already been covered in detail. They are therefore not re-listed here. However, the study clearly showed that the perceptions particularly demonstrated age-specific differences. Therefore, these differences must be considered together in relation to the following objective:

To determine if modifying ritual ingredients for selected classical concerts can increase expressed levels of overall group solidarity, especially with respect to the concert goers' ages.

The effect of the changes on visitors aged over 54 years differed considerably from those seen in the younger concertgoers, as well as from the ALG members, making age-specific differences apparent. It was found, for example, that the raising of lighting in the audience room, the newly created possibility of social gathering after the concert and the introductory video with background information on the concert were more positively evaluated by older visitors, while younger concert visitors were more likely to reject these changes or evaluate them negatively. Conversely, visitors over 54 rated changes such as clapping after each movement or the integration of background information into the concert negatively, whereas the younger visitors tend to approve of these changes.

It could be expected that force of habit or the lived tradition is strong and therefore regular concert visitors would be generally closed to changes in the familiar concert format and performed rituals as a result. As the evaluations show, however, this is not the case. Examining the changes positively evaluated particularly by older concert visitors, it is evident that they are likely to be associated with

age-related discomforts (e.g., age-related vision- or hearing- impairment or increasing social seclusion). The changes made were an improvement, such that, for example, a programme could be read better in brighter light or social exchanges with friends after the concert were possible.

Knowing this, one must ask why ritualization to promote fulfilling the needs of these higher age groups has not already been changed, especially since they make up the largest share of the audience by far and thus should have the power to petition for such changes – but have not. The issue that is raised is who should initiate such an adaptation of ritualization, how should it be implemented and who must support and nurture it until an entire audience can finally accept it.

In this vein, it is helpful to recall how this process worked in the past.

In the 19th century, it was precisely the self-confident educated middle class that began to organize its own concerts (Salmen, 1988). This rigid and authoritarian social group thus effectively emulated the nobility for such events, yet simultaneously adapted its culture and habitus. The concert halls were built and furnished exclusively for the purpose of performing these concerts (Dalhaus, 1967) and built specifically to separate the audience from both the nobility and the mob (Salmen, 1988). It seems obvious that the negative image still associated with these buildings, their sumptuous furnishings, sublime ceiling painting and fixed seating (which does not allow much room for individual behaviour), is still inseparably linked to the locality. And as long as these memories (particularly those of the older concertgoers) still resonate, and the associated traditions are preserved, it will undoubtedly prove difficult, if not impossible, to direct fresh winds into these venerable halls. The findings of this study support this contention – as the newly developed concert format engendered more positive evaluations than the modification of the ritualization within a ‘traditional’ concert hall.

To examine the extent of sense of community as a ritual outcome, particularly with respect to audience members' ages.

As already mentioned, community feeling was given a central role in classical concerts within the context of this study due to the change in leisure activities (Stebbins, 2009) and developments in the digital sector (Bruggaier, 2016) that are pertinent to the younger target audience this research sought to address.

When comparing evaluations around ‘group assembly’ and ‘bodily co-presence’ a broad agreement among the younger visitors is evident. Changes that have a positive impact on the sense of community also have a positive impact on bodily co-presence. As was observed in the literature

review, the sense of community (so-called cohesion) can be achieved more easily if individuals identify with the same content or objectives. This process is undoubtedly enhanced by physical assembly. In principle, this association supports the theories of Goffman and Durkheim that institutions are ultimately dependent on the bodily components of interaction rituals (Barbalet, 2006).

Thus, to increase the sense of community, it seems central to promote those interaction rituals that take greater account of the physical component. It was further found in other studies that synchronous behaviour such as singing, dancing or marching promotes the sense of community (Gazzaniga, 2018). However, since opportunities for synchronous singing or clapping in classical concerts are extremely rare due to their formal structure (except for a few oeuvres such as the 'Radetzky March' by Johann Strauss or the 'Prisoner's Choir' from Verdi's Nabucco), such interaction rituals must be limited to the non-musical components of a concert visit (if the aforementioned formal structure of the music is to be maintained and not modified by modern elements such as electronic-bass or drums, as with the music group 'Rondo Veneziano' or the musician David Garrett).

This study showed positive developments generated by increased opportunities to applaud, increased contact with artists by having the artists stay on stage during the applause, increased contact with other visitors by brightening the lights in the auditorium during applause and by increasing social interaction in the concert-lounge after the concert.

The positive development can be increased significantly by also changing other parameters, such as the concert venue, the seating order, the duration of the concert or the musical programme. The sense of community engendered by the newly created concert format was increased many times more than that achieved by changing the ritualization at the regular concert. This may mean either that ritualization plays only a minor role here or that the significantly better result is due to an interweaving of various influencing factors. It is here assumed that it is more the latter. This could be further explored by moving a regular concert in its unaltered form and ritualization to another concert hall and then re-evaluating the change in sense of community.

That said, this study shows that the physical component of ritualization fulfils an important function, namely, to increase the sense of community, which is why it must be assigned a central role in further research and development of the concert format.

To compare experiences of ritual outcomes from the classical concert with the concert audience's experience of other common cultural actions or events having ritual ingredients.

In this study, special attention was paid to the sense of community because of jointly performed rituals at the classical concert. This was due to developments in leisure time activities, which are engaged in not so much as recreation from physically demanding work, but rather for further education and entertainment (Stebbins, 2009). The literature review already addressed the question of what a sense of community is and what factors trigger this sense of community in a group. According to an individual psychology approach, a sense of community (cohesion) arises, in particular, when individuals sing, dance or walk synchronously (Gazzaniga, 2018). Therefore, a physical component seems to be foregrounded. Accordingly, it is assumed that experiencing the rhythm of music together at pop, rock and jazz concerts or the joint singing and shouting (or rather screaming) of slogans with which the teams are stimulated at football games, primarily promote this sense of community.

The question of why the classical audience in this study has a greater sense of community than they feel in pop- and rock-concerts or in football matches, even though the physical components, e.g., joint rocking to the beat of music or singing, are absent, arises. This study seems to provide indications that assuming the sense of community originates primarily through rituals performed physically is inappropriate. However, it should be critically noted that this study was conducted exclusively with classical music audiences. Further research should investigate this observation with audiences from the public sphere of art and entertainment such as theatre, cinema or art exhibition, where primarily non-physical rituals are practised.

The question of what other (non-physical) causes promote the sense of community in classical concerts remains, however. According to Alfred Adler (1930), a sense of community can arise if the individuals identify with the same content or goals. A classical concert can thus create a sense of community if concertgoers identify themselves based on their shared enthusiasm and passion for the emerging emotions triggered by classical music, which claims to be an intellectual and spiritual achievement (Small, 1998). In addition, the sense of community can also be increased by other joint rituals, such as, for example, dressing up, sitting and enjoying music together, a conversation with a glass of champagne.

Equally, it can be suggested that the rituals of the newly developed concert format are less formal and more aligned with the everyday, familiar behaviour of the visitors, so that identification and thus synchronization within the audience is easier and more pronounced. It should be remembered that this newly created concert format was developed primarily for families with small children.

This created and made visible an additional common feature (the presence of young children) within the audience, which may well have contributed to identification between audience members and thus to the strengthening of the sense of community.

The question of how the sense of community would have developed had this additional factor of the presence of young children not been present cannot be answered on the basis of the data available in this study. However, in the newly developed concert format, the central element, the music, its rhythm and performance practice were not modified. Thus, the increased of the sense of community cannot be attributed to joint singing, dancing or marching. The assumption that the changed ritualization, as well as the additional common focus 'the presence of young children' raised the sense of community are substantiated. Still, the question of what exactly promotes the sense of community at classical concerts (especially in the younger age groups) remains. This question would have to be explored in further research.

Evaluation of study limitations

One of the primary constraints on this study was the limited time available, as well as the limited possibility or incentive for the audience to participate in the study within the framework of regular classical concerts.

Since it was expected that repeated interventions would disturb the audience's usual concert experience, the study had to be limited to one-off changes of a ritual. When implementing such a one-off change, it might be expected that the changed ritual will feel strange to the audience. This may well influence assessments. However, this could only be verified if the study were extended to additional concerts with changed rituals, perhaps with the audience attending these concerts itself also having direct influence on the changes.

Due to the limited resources explained above, this study focused exclusively on ritualization of classical concerts. It was established that such ritualization is influenced by various elements, such as programme design (music selection), duration of a concert, starting time, characteristics of spatial conditions and other factors. While the study's focus was on ritualization of classical concerts, it would make sense to examine this in relation to other issues. That said, audience assessments of the newly created concert format were significantly more positive than those from initial surveys. This demonstrates that the chosen method led to an improvement.

When considering how strongly a visitor feels connected with other visitors in the audience at other cultural events, it needs to be recognized that the assessment was given by those at a classical concert. Pop concertgoers would probably assess their attachment to the other visitors at a pop concert differently. Analogous surveys would therefore have to be carried out at such cultural events to obtain reliable comparisons.

This study was also limited exclusively to the classical concert audiences in Zurich. However, expectations of classical concerts can vary significantly by geographic location because of cultural differences; cultural and consumer behaviour show regional variations. Therefore, literature concerning audiences specifically in England, America, Asia or even the French or Italian-speaking part of Switzerland, for example, was not included in the literature review. The findings were therefore focused exclusively on Swiss-German speaking Zurich. Hence, they may have limited transferability to parts of Switzerland that do not speak German. Outside this region, these findings should be considered only as a basis for analysing and comparing local audience behaviour. Any generalization of the insights gained here is therefore potentially limited.

Finally, it should be borne in mind that, by choosing an action research study, managed predominantly by the ALG, I attempted to give over the direction and control of the research to the ALG group to ensure that any preconceptions or preferences I might have did not dominate. However, it cannot be disputed that my years of professional experience may have influenced these ALG decisions unintentionally and will certainly have played a role in the interpretation of the findings. Being aware of this in itself helps to mitigate the issues through sensitization but cannot be assumed to entirely remove my influence on the research. It is also important to note that my experience may also be perceived as helpful – particularly when considering managerial implications and issues for future research.

Outlook for future research

One clear need is to investigate the influence of other elements that directly influence the experience of classical concerts. This includes, for instance, musical programme design, design of the concert hall, duration of a concert, starting time of a concert.

The literature identified that the 19th century educated bourgeoisie introduced ritualization to actively differentiate itself from other social strata. Because this mechanism still influences the image of the classical concert today, it has a deterrent effect on potential visitors in some cases. The

question is: how can certain social strata or groups, historically concert attenders but now passively excluded by the concerts' image, be induced to attend concerts once again?

Concert organizers must increasingly respond to the expectations and wishes, or rather to changes in cultural and consumer behaviour, to make the format of the classical concert more attractive. This implies that the audience is granted some power to influence the course or content of such events. If one assumes that most of the audience tend to prefer entertaining (so-called light) classical music, the question of how to fulfil the education mandate, i.e., the presentation of 'not so light', unknown or contemporary music, arises.

Modern cultural consumers (cultural flaneurs) unsettle cultural institutions with their changing and unpredictable consumption behaviour. Assuming that these consumers could again be attracted to this cultural institution by increasing its brand value because they believe they will thereby be infused with such qualities as stability, familiarity and connoisseurship, raises the question of which factors influence the brand value of an orchestra or soloist for an audience (consumers) and how can this be increased.

Given consumer price sensitivity and a potential decline in willingness to pay on the part of future cultural consumers already able today to obtain many music services free of charge via various platforms such as YouTube or Spotify, as well as changes in sponsorship, patronage or state subsidies, it is necessary to identify new forms of financing for ensuring the live presentation of classical music. The complexity of this situation could also be influenced by changes in sponsoring, patronage or state subsidies.

Based on this study, it can be concluded that not only the younger but also the older concertgoers are only moderately satisfied with the current concert formats and its associated audience rituals. To be able to meet the expectations and needs of this audience segment as well as possible, and to better understand their motivation, further research should be conducted in this area. To this end, it would be conceivable to adapt, or continue, the present study accordingly by forming an ALG of older people who (analogous to the procedure of this study) like to listen to classical music but do not or very rarely attend classical concerts. It would be imperative to share these findings with the current audience since most of this regular audience comes from this age segment and should therefore not be disturbed in their usual behaviour. From an economic point of view, opportunities for modifying the concert format to retain the audience for even longer would certainly be very valuable for the organizers of classical concerts (especially against the background discussed here).

The discussion concerning state subsidies plays a significant role since the presentation of arts serves wider purposes, unlike entertainment, which is merely intended to trigger positive emotions. Arts presentation are not often a magnet for the public. They are part of cultural education, their function being to lead people to self-responsibility and give them a personal and social perspective. The shifting boundary between art and entertainment and the aestheticization of our everyday lives, as noted in the literature review, will eliminate this function, either partially or completely. Research is needed into future financing models enabling cultural institutions to 'afford' to sell art not normally supported by the free market, without simultaneously shielding them from market mechanisms. Such models should promote innovation and openness to the needs of the public.

Younger cultural consumers, in particular, are characterized by multimedia cultural and consumer behaviour. Further research investigating which forms of multimedia event technology could augment the experience value of a classical concert for this consumer group should also be conducted.

Closing statement

The ritualization examined shows that older and younger concertgoers perceive and assess the current concert format differently. The findings also confirm the view that younger concertgoers find the concert format and audience outdated and therefore unattractive. As a result, they stay away from the classical concert, which leads, in turn, to the obvious issue of the obsolescence of the classic music concert in the future if action is not taken. The study shows that these younger people do not identify enough with the behaviour patterns and rituals currently practised, as they are disturbed by them and do not feel comfortable.

As this study shows, the social aspect of a classical concert is a vital component of the experience, in addition to the aesthetic enjoyment of the music itself. Stagnating or declining sales figures can therefore be largely attributed to the manner in which classical music concert is 'packaged', currently in a way that does not corresponding to the lifestyles and preferences of younger consumers. These findings, and the fact that the concert format explicitly developed for a younger audience within the scope of this study enjoyed above-average capacity utilization (compared to a regular classical concert), confirms not only that there actually is demand within the target group, but also that this demand might be sustained with offers that meet expectations. Thus, I do not subscribe to the scenario predicting the demise of the classical concert.

Technological progress, in particular the Internet, is expected to pose a significant risk of increasing social or societal isolation (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In contrast to earlier times, it is relatively easy today to have food and other items delivered to one's home without any human contact, or to listen at will to music in almost live classical concert quality. The need to enter society to listen to a concert, for example, is therefore greatly reduced because consumers have easy access to alternative formats from the comfort of their homes, workplaces or in the numerous other locations throughout their wider environment. However, since people are fundamentally social beings, social opportunities fostering a sense of community – such as a classical concert – are considered important. Given the expectations of younger concertgoers, cultural managers are strongly advised to give sufficient attention to the social aspect when developing new concert formats. Even if what this might entail will be influenced by the evolving landscape of post-pandemic social interaction.

This study also found that modern cultural consumers, so-called cultural flâneurs, very often remain faithful neither to a cultural institution nor to an art movement - and thus also to a musical style. They spontaneously consume what interests them at that moment. Also noted was that our everyday lives are subject to a process of aestheticization and that our society has a constantly growing hunger for experiences. The classical concert, as part of everyday life, cannot escape this development. Organizers of classical concerts must deal with the question of how these developments can be countered to obviate dwindling visitor numbers.

This could be achieved, for example, by changing the ritualization, by changing the design of the concert space (including the seating arrangement), by changing the musical programme or by involving the visitors more strongly and actively in the course of the concert. Based on these observations, it is possible the classical concert is about to develop in the direction of the pre-1850 format, in which entertaining and social interaction was in the foreground and the music performed was secondary. Perhaps we must expect the orchestra to play in the background in the future, while the audience talks, eats and drinks for several hours at a time. Perhaps – to the horror of purist lovers of classical music – there are (younger?) consumer groups who will demand such a concert format.

Because today's consumers expect their individual wishes to be taken into account, cultural managers must pay attention to the wishes of their (regionally different) audiences, must engage them and, last but not least, must develop forms of financing to sustain classical music concerts – in all their possible forms.

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Appendices

Figure 96: Example of ALG mode of operation

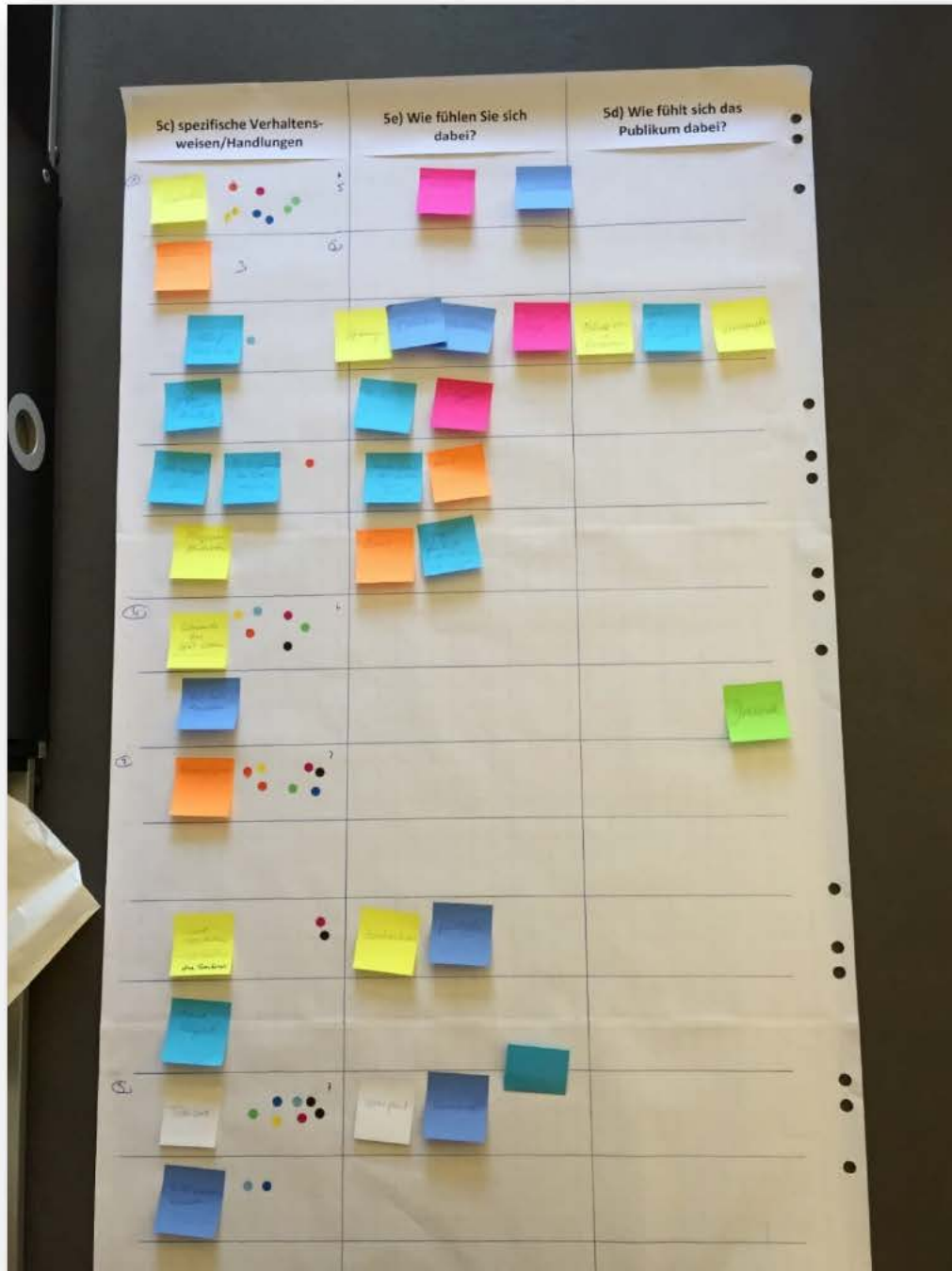


Figure 97: Major Domus



Figure 98: Video-example Major Domus



'Major Domus' introduction for the concert of 23.06.2018
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rgroIE3yT88&t=13s>)

Figure 99: audience survey 19 May 2015

Audience Survey 19.5.2015

Participation in the survey takes about 3 minutes and is anonymous.
The data will be treated strictly confidential.

I Personal assessment

1. How do you rate today's concert experience?
(For each statement, please select the assessment that most applies to you)



Principal Conductor
Sir Roger Norrington

The CONCERT (event) has the following effect on me ...

	weder / noch							
modern	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	antiquated
enjoyable	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tiring
entertaining	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	dull
varied	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	repetitive
dynamic	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	static
striking	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	ordinary

The AUDIENCE (event) has the following effect on me ...

easy-going	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	formal
open-minded	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	closed-minded
sociable	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	reserved
enriching	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tiring
energetic	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	serene
contemporary	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	antiquated

II Interaction Rituals

The following ritual was changed at today's concert:
The audience can also applaud spontaneously between the sentences.

2. The ritual seems outdated in its original form

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I strongly agree	I agree	I agree a little	neither nor	I disagree a little	I disagree	I strongly disagree

3. The modification of the ritual has changed the concert atmosphere

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I strongly agree	I agree	I agree a little	neither nor	I disagree a little	I disagree	I strongly disagree

4. I liked the change of the ritual.

- | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| I strongly agree | I agree | I agree a little | neither nor | I disagree a little | I disagree | I strongly disagree |

4a. Please give reasons for your assessment?

Please note the most important observations for you in keywords

.....

.....

.....

5. the change of the ritual has strengthened the feeling of community in the audience

- | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| I strongly agree | I agree | I agree a little | neither nor | I disagree a little | I disagree | I strongly disagree |

6. Is there anything else you would change in the classical concert?

.....

.....

.....

III Personal data (for statistical purposes)

- | | | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| I am | ☐ 18 – 24 years | ☐ 35 – 44 years | ☐ 55 – 64 years | ☐ older than 75 |
| | ☐ 25 – 34 years | ☐ 45 – 54 years | ☐ 65 – 74 years | |

- | | | |
|------|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| I am | ☐ female | ☐ male |
|------|------------------------------|----------------------------|

How often do you go to a classical concert each year?

- | | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| ☐ that was the first time | ☐ 1 – 2 times | ☐ 3 – 5 times | ☐ more than 5 times |
|---|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|

Competition

If you wish to take part in the competition, please enter your e-mail address. The completed questionnaires of all surveys take part in the draw of 1x2 elective subscriptions of the first category as well as 10x2 free tickets for a concert of the ZKO of your choice. The winners will be notified by us at the beginning of July. Legal recourse is excluded.

Name/first name (optional):

E-Mail Tel.

Thank you very much for your participation.

Figure 100: audience survey 2 June 2015

Audience Survey 2.6.2015

Participation in the survey takes about 3 minutes and is anonymous.
The data will be treated strictly confidential.



Principal Conductor
Sir Roger Norrington

1) how do you feel connected with other people in the audience?

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
very strong	strong	little	neither nor	rather not	not	not at all

The following rituals were changed at today's concert:
During the applause the artists stay on stage and it gets brighter in the auditorium.

I Artists remain on stage during applause

2) I liked that the artists stayed on stage during the applause.

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I strongly agree	I agree	I agree a little	neither nor	I disagree a little	I disagree	I strongly disagree

2a) Please give reasons for your assessment?
Please note the most important observations for you in keywords

.....

.....

.....

II Auditorium light becomes brighter during applause

3) I liked that the light in the hall became brighter during the applause.

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I strongly agree	I agree	I agree a little	neither nor	I disagree a little	I disagree	I strongly disagree

3a) Please give reasons for your assessment?
Please note the most important observations for you in keywords

.....

.....

.....

4) The brighter light in the hall made me feel more connected to other concert visitors.

- ☐ I strongly agree ☐ I agree ☐ I agree a little ☐ neither nor ☐ I disagree a little ☐ I disagree ☐ I strongly disagree

5) The brighter hall light has changed the social atmosphere at tonight's concert in the audience

- ☐ I strongly agree ☐ I agree ☐ I agree a little ☐ neither nor ☐ I disagree a little ☐ I disagree ☐ I strongly disagree

5a) Please give reasons for your assessment?

Please note the most important observations for you in keywords

.....

.....

.....

6) Is there anything else you would change in the classical concert?

.....

.....

.....

III Personal data (for statistical purposes)

I am ☐ 18 – 24 years ☐ 35 – 44 years ☐ 55 – 64 years ☐ older than 75
 ☐ 25 – 34 years ☐ 45 – 54 years ☐ 65 – 74 years

I am ☐ female ☐ male

How often do you go to a classical concert each year?

☐ that was the first time ☐ 1 – 2 times ☐ 3 – 5 times ☐ more than 5 times

Competition

If you wish to take part in the competition, please enter your e-mail address. The completed questionnaires of all surveys take part in the draw of 1x2 elective subscriptions of the first category as well as 10x2 free tickets for a concert of the ZKO of your choice. The winners will be notified by us at the beginning of July. Legal recourse is excluded.

Name/first name (optional):

E-Mail Tel.

Thank you very much for your participation.

4) The brighter light in the hall made me feel more connected to other concert visitors.

☐

I strongly agree

☐

I agree

☐

I agree a little

☐

neither nor

☐

I disagree a little

☐

I disagree

☐

I strongly disagree

5) The brighter hall light has changed the general mood in the audience.

☐

I strongly agree

☐

I agree

☐

I agree a little

☐

neither nor

☐

I disagree a little

☐

I disagree

☐

I strongly disagree

5a) Please give reasons for your assessment?

Please note the most important observations for you in keywords

.....

.....

.....

6) Is there anything else you would change in the classical concert?

.....

.....

.....

III Personal data (for statistical purposes)

I am ☐ 18 – 24 years ☐ 35 – 44 years ☐ 55 – 64 years ☐ older than 75
 ☐ 25 – 34 years ☐ 45 – 54 years ☐ 65 – 74 years

I am ☐ female ☐ male

How often do you go to a classical concert each year?

☐ that was the first time ☐ 1 – 2 times ☐ 3 – 5 times ☐ more than 5 times

Competition

If you wish to take part in the competition, please enter your e-mail address. The completed questionnaires of all surveys take part in the draw of 1x2 elective subscriptions of the first category as well as 10x2 free tickets for a concert of the ZKO of your choice. The winners will be notified by us at the beginning of July. Legal recourse is excluded.

Name/first name (optional):

E-Mail Tel.

Thank you very much for your participation.

Figure 101: audience survey 23 June 2015



Principal Conductor
Sir Roger Norrington

Audience Survey 23.6.2015

Participation in the survey takes about 3 minutes and is anonymous.
The data will be treated strictly confidential.

I «ZKO-Lounge»

1. I like the «ZKO-Lounge» after the concert in the foyer						
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I strongly agree	I agree	I agree a little	neither nor	I disagree a little	I disagree	I strongly disagree

2. In the «ZKO-Lounge» I feel more connected with other people						
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I strongly agree	I agree	I agree a little	neither nor	I disagree a little	I disagree	I strongly disagree

II Change Ritual

The following ritual was changed at today's concert:
The introduction becomes a performative component of the concert.

3. I liked the introduction of the work as part of the concert						
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I strongly agree	I agree	I agree a little	neither nor	I disagree a little	I disagree	I strongly disagree

4. The introduction as part of the concert has changed the concert atmosphere						
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I strongly agree	I agree	I agree a little	neither nor	I disagree a little	I disagree	I strongly disagree

4a. Please give reasons for your assessment?
 Please note the most important observations for you in keywords

.....

.....

5. The introduction of the work as part of the concert makes me feel more connected with other people in the audience.						
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I strongly agree	I agree	I agree a little	neither nor	I disagree a little	I disagree	I strongly disagree

bitte wenden

III Introduction by «Majordomus»

6. I like the way «Majordomus» introduces the works							
yes ☐				no ☐			
7. If you've seen it: How do you find the concert preview in the form of the online video with «Majordomus»?							
(Distribution via electronic newsletter, YouTube, www. zko. ch and Facebook)							
Please only give an opinion if you have seen the video.							
entertaining	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	boring
informative	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	meaningless

IV Sense of community in the audience

8. How do you feel connected at the following events with other people in the audience?							
Please only make an assessment where you have had personal experience.							
	very strong	strong	little	neither nor	rather not	not	not at all
classical concert	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
oper / ballet	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Pop/Rock-concert	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Jazz-concert	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Theatre	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
exhibition / museum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
cinema	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
football match	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

V Personal data (for statistical purposes)

I am years old
I am ☐ female ☐ male
How often do you go to a classical concert each year?
☐ that was the first time ☐ 1 – 2 times ☐ 3 – 5 times ☐ more than 5 times

IV Competition

If you wish to take part in the competition, please enter your e-mail address. The completed questionnaires of all surveys take part in the draw of 1x2 elective subscriptions of the first category as well as 10x2 free tickets for a concert of the ZKO of your choice. The winners will be notified by us at the beginning of July. Legal recourse is excluded.

Name/first name (optional):

E-Mail Tel.

Thank you very much for your participation.

Figure 102: audience survey 16 September 2018

Audience Survey 16.9.2018

Participation in the survey takes about 3 minutes and is anonymous.
The data will be treated strictly confidential.

I Personal assessment

1. How do you rate today's concert experience?

(For each statement, please select the assessment that most applies to you)

The CONCERT (event) has the following effect on me ...

	neither / nor						
modern	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	antiquated
enjoyable	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tiring
entertaining	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	dull
varied	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	repetitive
dynamic	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	static
striking	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	ordinary

The AUDIENCE (event) has the following effect on me ...

easy-going	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	formal
open-minded	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	closed-minded
sociable	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	reserved
enriching	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tiring
energetic	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	serene
contemporary	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	antiquated

2. I liked the fact that you can applaud spontaneously after each piece.

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I strongly agree	I agree	I agree a little	neither nor	I disagree a little	I disagree	I strongly disagree

3. Because you can applaud spontaneously, I feel more connected with other visitors (than at a normal classical concert).

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I strongly agree	I agree	I agree a little	neither nor	I disagree a little	I disagree	I strongly disagree

4. The convivial gathering at the family concert strengthens the sense of community in the audience.

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I strongly agree	I agree	I agree a little	neither nor	I disagree a little	I disagree	I strongly disagree

5. The (brighter) lighting makes me feel more connected to other people in the audience (than at an ordinary classical concert).

☐ I strongly agree
 ☐ I agree
 ☐ I agree a little
 ☐ neither nor
 ☐ I disagree a little
 ☐ I disagree
 ☐ I strongly disagree

6. How do you feel connected at the following events with other people in the audience?

Please only make an assessment where you have had personal experience.

	very strong	strong	little	neither nor	rather not	not	not at all
«ZKO-Family concert»	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
classical concert	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
opera / ballet	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Pop/Rock-concert	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Jazz-concert	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
theatre	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
cinema	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
football match	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

7. I liked the fact that you can also move around during the concert. (and doesn't have to sit still like at an ordinary classical concert)

☐ I strongly agree
 ☐ I agree
 ☐ I agree a little
 ☐ neither nor
 ☐ I disagree a little
 ☐ I disagree
 ☐ I strongly disagree

2. Personal data (for statistical purposes)

I am years

I am ☐ female ☐ male

How often do you go to a classical concert each year?

☐ that was the first time
 ☐ 1 – 2 times
 ☐ 3 – 5 times
 ☐ more than 5 times

IV Competition

If you wish to take part in the competition, please enter your e-mail address. The completed questionnaires of all surveys take part in the draw of 1x2 elective subscriptions of the first category as well as 10x2 free tickets for a concert of the ZKO of your choice. The winners will be notified by us at the beginning of July. Legal recourse is excluded.

Name/first name (optional):

E-Mail Tel.

Thank you very much for your participation.

Figure 103: Concert Programme 16 September 2018

ZÜRCHER KAMMERORCHESTER

SO, 16. 09. 2018 | 11:00 UHR

ZKO-HAUS

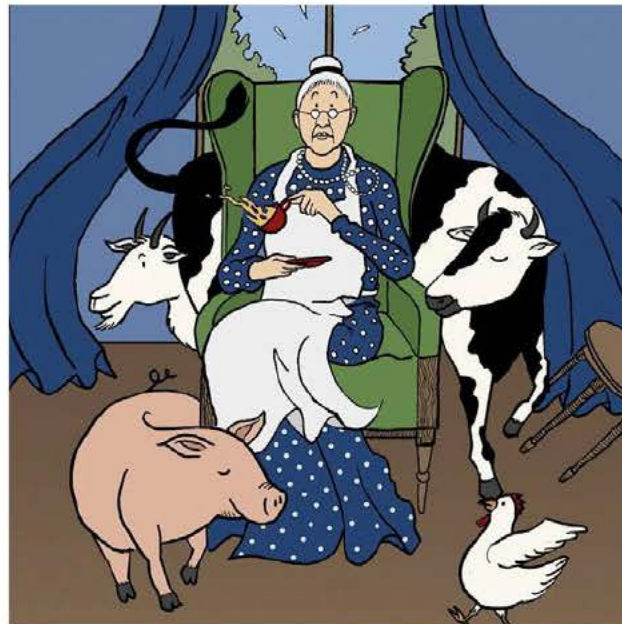
SEEFELDSTRASSE 305 | ZÜRICH

Erwachsene CHF 25, Kinder von 1-3 Jahren CHF 5, inkl. Sirup und Znacht/Zvieri

TICKET



Krabbel-Konzert «Mein Haus ist zu eng und zu klein»



«Mein Haus ist zu eng und zu klein»

Oma Agathe seufzt und klagt tagein und tagaus, denn in ihr Haus passt nichts hinein, es ist zu eng und zu klein. Ein weiser Mann hat einen Plan: «Dein Huhn muss ins Haus!» Zum Huhn nimmt sie auch noch die Ziege, das Schwein und die Kuh bei sich auf. Und das Haus platzt nun wirklich aus allen Nähten. Doch dann rat ihr der weise Mann, alle Tiere hinauszuschmeissen und das Haus scheint plötzlich zu wachsen. Oma Agathe ist überglücklich: «Hurral! Für mich ganz allein ist es ja gar nicht zu eng und zu klein.»

«A Squash and a Squeeze»

A little old lady lives all by herself in her house but she's not happy – it's just too small, even for one. Whatever can she do? The wise old man knows: bring in a lappy, scratchy, greedy, noisy crowd of farmyard animals. When she pushes them all out again, she'll be amazed at how big her house feels!

Die Vorstellung um 14:00 Uhr wird in Englisch durchgeführt.

zur Website des Veranstalters/der Veranstaltung

INFORMATIONEN

DATEN UND TICKETS

Ticketinformationen
ZKO Beratung & Verkauf
Seefeldstrasse 305
8008 Zürich
Mo-Fr 11.00 – 17.00 Uhr
044 552 59 00
tickets@zko.ch
Weitere externe Vorverkaufsstellen siehe www.zko.ch