RESEARCH

P A P E R S

Beyond the Division of Attenders vs Non-attenders: a study into audience development in policy and practice

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Acknowledgements

Executive Summary

Audience development has been one of the most discussed topics in the UK cultural sector in recent years.   With resources specifically for audience development increasingly available, arts and cultural organisations have started various projects and schemes to increase the number of attenders, broaden their base or enrich their experiences.   The term of audience development however has been used in various ways, and this paper identifies four distinctive meanings: Cultural Inclusion, Extended Marketing, Taste Cultivation and Audience Education.   Across the definitions, there are some assumptions which need examination.   The paper argues that the policy of audience development has been based on the Liberal Humanistic idea of Culture for all.   This has been contrasted to the sociological theories on the relationship between culture and society.   Culture is in fact a powerful tool for marking divisions between groups of people, and often functions even if unconsciously to institutionalise social inequality.   Inequality in cultural participation and differences in taste come from the possession of 'cultural competence' acquired through family socialisation and formal schooling.   Whereas the policy of audience development believes in Culture for all and has the product-led approach, good practice accepts the sociological view and recommends the target-led approach.

Part 2 of this paper is a case study into a particular audience development project in contemporary music conducted in a relatively homogeneous rural area.   The paper sees it as a Taste Cultivation project, as it has attracted music lovers who are relatively well-educated and well-accustomed to classical music on which the kind of contemporary music the project introduced is based.   It reveals however a variety of views and responses the audiences had to the concert they attended and the music they listened to, which suggests the complexity involved in audience development.

The policy implications drawn from Parts 1 and 2 are twofold.   One is that audience development as an issue in cultural policy will require sustained efforts and resources for a long term to a much larger scale than is apparently assumed by government at the moment.   The other is that it is necessary for audience research of various kinds to be developed on a continuous and regular basis to inform both government policy and cultural management practice.   Specifically two broad topics of research are suggested.   One topic is the dynamics of audience creation and progression.   The other is to examine various aspects of the relationship between people and the arts, eg whether passion for or interest in music leads to efforts made to acquire musical knowledge and in what way concert attendance and participation in music making may affect each other.

Introduction

Recent years have seen an increase in the importance of 'audience development' in cultural policy in Britain as well as in many countries in Europe. The need for cultural organisations and projects to reach out into wider communities and involve a range of people in cultural activities now crops up both in the discourse of cultural policy and on the arts and cultural management agenda. On the one hand, this may seem to be a recent phenomenon in the post-war history of public funding for the arts in the UK which has often been concerned with the professional producers of culture rather than the consumers of the products. In fact until the rise and development of arts marketing over the last few decades, empirical information on audience participation had been limited amongst public policy makers and arts practitioners. On the other hand, however, it is also possible to argue that attention to audience, or broadening access, has been on the policy agenda in British cultural policy throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, albeit to varying degrees of seriousness. Indeed, the establishment of publicly-sponsored institutions of culture such as museums, a distinctive early development of cultural policy in the nineteenth century, aimed at making the wealth of knowledge and aesthetics of the middle and upper classes available to the working class (Pearson 1982; Taylor 1994). Since the post-war establishment of government funding for the cultural sector, providing access to the arts to as wide a population as possible has been, at least in theory, one of the major goals of arts and cultural funding bodies. Various measures to promote this policy have been implemented in pursuit of this goal.

Contradictory as the two accounts of the 'age' of audience development policy given above may seem, it is notable that the last few years have seen a particular re-focusing on access and arts participation. A large number of concrete schemes and projects have been realised to the extent that audience development is now seen to be an 'in-word' in the UK cultural sector. For example, in its new organisational structure the Arts Council of England has created the post of Director of Audience Development for the first time[1]. As another example, following its fifth annual conference the Arts Marketing Association has organised a month-long 'on-line debate' on the relationship between the arts and audiences during April 2000. It is expected that, based on the debate, 'a strategy that places the arts at the centre of people's lives' will be developed by the Arts Marketing Association together with three major professional bodies of the UK performing arts sector (ie the Theatrical Management Association, the Independent Theatre

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[1] The post has however not yet been filled over a year since it was advertised.

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Council and the Association of British Orchestras).   What individual arts organisations have developed in concrete terms can be seen in the summaries of the audience development projects which have received awards from the Arts Council of England.   Some organisations use the awards to develop websites with ticketing facilities, whilst others have used them to fund the cost of transport for audiences coming to arts events.   The grants have made it possible to extend arts activities beyond the current touring circuit or to go out into non-conventional spaces and contexts.

However, in parallel with such developments in practice, there seems to be a worry that 'audience development' is advancing too fast, without a solid understanding of the concept either in theory or in practice. Booth argued in 1991 that 'access', a concept to which audience development is closely related, had not been given in-depth consideration (Booth 1991), and not much seems to have changed since then.   There are some sceptics, particularly in the arts funding system, who wonder if it is ever possible to create a new audience and therefore if existing audience development projects work effectively.   Partly as a result of such concerns, but also because of the rapid increase in resources for audience development, a number of recent publications produced by the Arts Council have been concerned with audience development (eg Rogers 1998; Maitland 1997).   One of them, written by a leading arts marketing consultant, is a step-by-step guidebook to promoting better understanding and practice in audience development (Maitland 1997).   Although written positively to provide practical help, the book refers to problems in current practice.   A scan through the pages produces the following list of criticisms towards current practice:

- Unrealistic purposes of projects (p28)
- Unclear objectives and targets in project planning (p28)
- Lack of agreed objectives by different parties involved such as marketing and education (p5)
- Failure to evaluate and document finished projects (p4)
- Lack of shared information on projects between arts organisations (p4)
- Failure to continuously build up the relationship between arts organisations and audiences beyond a particular project (p6).

Given the range of these weaknesses in current practice, the concern that audience development is moving forward too fast may well be justified.   It is important therefore to at least start to review this area and consider the effectiveness of policy.   This paper is a modest attempt to respond to this need.   More specifically the paper first examines audience development as a concept and secondly as a practice.   It traces the changes which have occurred in the policy of

making arts accessible to a wider population and studies the application of the policy to arts management practice.

The paper will argue that the discourse on audience development has been based on several assumptions which are questionable when examined in a wider, societal context. The current cultural policy of encouraging audience development is still dominated by the tradition of Liberal Humanist ideology, based on a belief in the superiority and autonomy of the arts transcending class and other divisions in society. Such an idealistic view of culture is opposed by the sociological view that culture in practice is a means for marking and reproducing social distinction. These two views of culture and society compete within the field of audience development. Whilst the Liberal Humanist idea of cultural universalism takes the form of 'product-led' approach, the sociological idea of cultural separatism is closely related to the 'target-led' approach. A case study will illustrate the complexity involved in audience development and demonstrate the need for sustained, concerted efforts made over a long period of time. The paper will conclude with a call for a holistic approach to viewing the public and its diverse involvement in cultural life, and for audience research of various types to improve our knowledge of the motivation, needs and responses of people to the arts.

In order to put forward these propositions, the paper is laid out in the following way. Part 1 of the paper consists of theoretical examination of the concept 'audience development'. I will discuss the ways in which the term audience development has been used and delineate four different meanings. Subsequently I will outline the development of the concept and the practical solutions employed to tackle the problem of unequal participation in the arts. The first part will conclude by pointing out the theoretical problems involved in audience development. Part 2 of the paper will examine audience development in practice. It will be based on a case study of a specific project in the field of contemporary music. Generally speaking, this particular project has been regarded by arts professionals as well-constructed and 'successful'. However, a close examination will reveal the under-explored complexities involved in audience development and these will illustrate the main arguments of the paper. The final section will discuss the implications of the findings of the case study and draw conclusions from the preceding two parts.

It should be noted however that the paper does not aim to give an overall assessment of the policy of encouraging audience development in the arts. Such an evaluation would be almost impossible given the various definitions of the term, as will be discussed, and the lack of evaluation by project organisers of individual projects. It is also necessary to note that the case

study is of a limited nature.   It deals with a short-term, small-scale project of a particular kind in a specialist area of the arts which has been specifically chosen for examination.   I will make an analytic generalisation (Yin 1994: 30) of the study findings, but refrain from claiming that these specific findings are equally applicable to other genres of music or other art forms.   It is hoped that this paper will make a start at assessing the effectiveness and implications of audience development projects by presenting one detailed study.

At this point marketing is defined as a set of practical efforts to encourage people including both current attenders and non-attenders to build trust relationships with arts organisations and also as the philosophy and attitude of arts management which places customers at the core of their business.   Different meanings of audience development will be explained later, but for the time being it can be understood as being concerned with broadening the audience base in both quantitative and qualitative terms and enriching the experience of customers.   Participation in the arts by definition may refer to amateur production in the arts.   However, in this paper it refers mainly to the consumption as audience of the arts produced by professionals.

Research Methodology

The first part of the paper draws on archival research of various documents, including research reports, annual reports, policy documents and manuals published by cultural quangos such as the Arts Council of England. Market research reports and the business plans of marketing agencies were also reviewed. The second part of the paper is based on a case study I conducted on a particular audience development project undertaken by an ensemble specialising in contemporary, Western classical music. The case study employed the methods of archival search and qualitative interviews with arts professionals as well as with audiences who were involved in the project. Details on the methodology regarding the case study will be provided in Part 2. For both parts, website research and email correspondence were also used.

Part 1. 'Audience Development' in Theory—Definitions and Origins

As has been mentioned in the Introduction, audience development seems to be the political flavour of the month in the UK.   There is a New Audiences Fund, originally set up by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) in 1998 and administered by the Arts Council of England.   This has been built into the Arts Council's grant-in-aid as an ear-marked fund for this purpose.   With this fund the Arts Council has so far been able to make more than 100 awards worth five million pounds each year for the last two fiscal years (1998/9 and 1999/2000).   Early in 2000, DCMS launched another scheme particularly to benefit young people.   This new initiative is called the New Generation Audiences Project, and has two and a half million pounds, coming from the private and public sectors.   Arts organisations may agree to participate in the Project and thereby make free tickets for their events available to children.

With such resources being increasingly available, many marketing agencies around the country have implemented various projects and schemes themselves and encouraged their clients to also embark on similar activities.   As a result, a number of arts organisations plan to put on performances in unconventional venues such as corporate buildings, schools, open squares and shopping malls.   It is hoped that the public who accidentally or spontaneously come into contact with the arts events will find them interesting and start attending regular performances. Promotional discounts are often offered in these cases.   There are also a large number of projects involving artists working with young people and people with disabilities as well as projects which provide transport for attenders or make use of Information Technology to improve accessibility to the arts.

Given this current 'fever' for audience development and the wide variety of projects and schemes being implemented, it seems necessary to clarify what audience development is by identifying the different functions and purposes involved in it and reviewing some of the major ways of using this term in relation to other similar terms.   The conceptual distinctions of the term will then be followed by an examination of the origins of the concept of audience development.

1. Definitions

There seem to be at least four major aspects to 'audience development' which can be distinguished by paying attention to the products and audience groups to which each aspect is related. The four types of audience development will be called Cultural Inclusion, Extended Marketing, Taste Cultivation and Audience Education (Table 1). It must be noted however that these four definitions are delineated for the sake of discussion and are not necessarily mutually exclusive. In practice they overlap to a certain extent and may even work together.

Table 1. Different Types of Audience Development

	Target	Form	Purpose[1]
Cultural Inclusion	People least likely to attend, eg low-income	Outreach	Social
Extended Marketing	Potential attender, Lapsed attender	The same product offered, but with improvement to cater for the target	Financial, Artistic
Taste Cultivation	Existing audience	Introduction to different art forms and genres	Artistic, Financial (and educational)
Audience Education	Existing audience	The same product offered with extensive education	Educational (and financial)

Note: (1) only refers to the main one(s), but not excluding the others.

The first and second uses of the term audience development, ie Cultural Inclusion and Extended Marketing, are different from arts marketing as narrowly-defined in terms of the target customer group. According to McCann (1998: 8) arts marketing in a narrow sense and in the short term is about inducing people who are already interested in the arts to actually take action to visit a museum or come to an arts event. Audience development by contrast is persuading people outside of that core market into it. Whilst arts marketing tends to concentrate on existing audiences, audience development is seen to be different in that it targets not easily available audiences. 'Not easily available audiences' however range from those who have almost never attended any arts events to lapsed or infrequent attenders, and this is where the distinction between the first and second definitions emerge.

Audience development for Cultural Inclusion targets the group of people who for apparently social reasons are the least likely to attend the arts. The under-representation of some communities in arts audiences, be they ethnic minorities or low-income groups, has been a concern for cultural policy and management. Outreach projects, which take the arts into the community, have been undertaken to target such groups, even though they are not expected to

add significant monetary value to box office intake in the immediate future.   Similarly, in 'inreach' projects building-based institutions of culture may go out and try to bring people to their own buildings.

The other type of audience development, Extended Marketing, by contrast, focuses on people with high attendance potential but who are not yet in the customer group.   It is largely based on the basics of arts marketing, arousing the latent interest in the arts of potential audiences and persuading them to come to performances whilst improving aspects of the arts which deter their attendance.   Tactics used include arts marketing techniques such as special discounts.

The third version of audience development, Taste Cultivation, refers to efforts to cultivate the taste of the existing audience.   It seeks to introduce different art genres and forms to attenders of specific art forms.   It therefore differs from the previous versions in offering different products but to the same individuals.   For example, a project may encourage attenders of classical music concerts to experience the visual arts or to experiment with contemporary music. Such efforts are made increasingly possible by co-operation between arts organisations which swap their customer databases, and helped particularly by the work of the marketing agencies which exist in most regions in Britain.   The target pool of consumers is therefore for the most part the existing one, but by offering products that they do not currently consume this strategy aims to expand the arts attendance market as a whole.   This version of audience development should result in an increase in the total number of attendance/visits by cultural consumers, but not necessarily in an increase in the absolute number of arts attenders.   Thus it may provide financial rewards, but very often it is to achieve the organisation's artistic desire to deliver their works to as many people as possible.

The fourth definition of the term, Audience Education, is similar to Taste Cultivation in that it mainly targets the existing audience, but it tries to enhance the understanding and enjoyment of the arts which existing attenders currently consume.   If Cultural Inclusion and Extended Marketing are concerned with the quantitative aspect of arts attendance, this is more about the quality of the audience's experience.   On its own this does not lead directly to a market expansion, but it can be expected that with enriched experience the core audience will return to the arts events more frequently.   Examples include pre- or post-performance talks which aim to help the audience to have a better understanding of the event or a different perspective from which to appreciate the performance.   Such a version of audience development is very similar to life-long learning, an area that has also been expanding in recent years.   The difference which can be artificially made for the sake of conceptual distinction between life-long education

and Audience Education lies in the weight lent to the arts and education. Arts education may be for the virtue of education, or personal development, to which the arts contribute, whereas Audience Education in contrast has a clearer focus on audience, whether existing or potential, and education is an implicit means for making the arts accessible to audiences.

Taken together, the definitions and origins of the term audience development outlined so far show that it has at least four distinct aspects: financial, artistic, social, and educational in the sense of human development in general. The benefits of audience development are supposed to be greater financial security for the arts industry, an increase in artistic opportunities, 'social cohesion' and individual development and fulfilment.

As can been seen in the table above, Cultural Inclusion and Extended Marketing refer to the targeting of non-customers with the existing product, whilst Taste Cultivation and Audience Education relate to the existing customer. The product offered in Taste Cultivation is different from the one that the existing customer is in the habit of consuming, whereas Audience Education is about the depth and quality of experience for the existing customer of specific art products. Purposes of audience development are also very different from one definition to another. Cultural Inclusion is much concerned with social purposes in trying to rectify the under-representation of a particular group (or groups) through offering them good access to culture and by actively encouraging their participation in cultural life. Taste Cultivation however concentrates on the same customer who may well be from a higher socio-economic stratum and there is little concern over the demographic composition of the current audience. Conceptually, therefore, these four types of audience development have marked differences in the specific groups of people to be targeted and the 'products' offered to them. In practice, however, they are not mutually exclusive and the term audience development has been used as an umbrella term, which has sometimes been confusing.

Not only the term audience development itself but also the term 'new' has been used in various ways. The New Audiences programme run by the Arts Council of England used to be described as designed to 'bring new audiences to the arts and *to take new art to audiences'* (italics mine). The italicised part of the grant purpose was unclear and hence open to wide interpretation to include support for 'new' work. The logic here was that when some new work within the established categories of the arts or works in experimental and innovative styles are first produced, there is normally no audience and one must be created. If a grant application merely mentioned a plan for reaching a new audience, the *prima facie* case was made: a project primarily about creating a new work could qualify for audience development

funding.   After one year, interestingly, the latter part of this phrase has now been amended to 'to take art to new audiences' (Press Release, Arts Council, October 1999).   This change in the purpose of the grant itself suggests the confusion over the meaning of the term audience development[2].

2.   Audience Development: Origins

Such a variance in definition can be paralleled in the origins of the awareness of audience development.   Although it is difficult to pin down the origins with precision and to trace their chronological development in cultural policy, several strands of associated ideas and policy developments can at least be identified.   (Some of them have occurred in contexts beyond the narrowly-defined cultural sector).

First of all, as was mentioned in the Introduction to this paper, the concept of access and its perceived importance goes back at least to the Victorian era when the division between the middle and working classes which had developed during the Industrial Revolution was more firmly established in England.   This was the time when the state rapidly expanded its sphere of interest into what was formerly provided privately, such as education and social services. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century and in the early decades of the twentieth century early cultural policy, consisting mainly of ad hoc interventions in the field of culture, can be seen in the context of defining the identity of the nation state (or the Empire) vis-à-vis the rest of the world.   The establishment of museums and galleries and the public sponsorship of world exhibitions contributed to the social construction of a national public culture (Roche 1998).   At the same time, internally, cultural policy in this period can be characterised by middle-class articulation of its distinctiveness and class solidarity through the use of culture. This tendency was enhanced in the early decades of the twentieth century in the wake of reproducible mass culture such as broadcasting and film.   The dominant class monopolised the production of Culture but not necessarily that of consumption.   Instead the upper classes chose to grant access to Culture on its terms, at least to respectable working class people and in some cases to the mass as a whole, as it was considered to be effective for civilising these relatively uneducated people and thereby achieving social cohesion and harmony.   The establishment of publicly-funded cultural institutions (eg museums, art galleries, libraries and later the BBC) was thus often justified on the grounds of access.

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[2] Maitland however gives me a critical view that it is not confusion but the manipulation of the system by artform departments of the Arts Council of England to divert resources for production away from consumption.

The post-war development of public arts funding, although remarkable, did not represent a radical departure from this tradition in ideological terms. It has institutionalised national and local funding of the arts and cultural organisations with public money. It has often been pointed out that the Arts Council of Great Britain was born as an élitist institution and the former commitment of the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts to amateur arts and arts participation was almost extinguished by the newly-born Arts Council. Thus, particular attention in the early years of the Council was given to the reconstruction of 'great' cultural institutions. Nevertheless, as enshrined in the Royal Charter on which the Arts Council of Great Britain was formed, making the arts accessible has been an important objective, at least in theory. Since the mid-1940s up until now, access has been on the agenda of the Council, albeit to varying degrees and with fluctuating enthusiasm.

It must be noted however that until recently the practical discourse on access has been largely based on an assumption that the people targeted by this policy are potentially interested in the arts but that they are prohibited from participation for pragmatic reasons. Thus, the development of improving access is dotted with the different barriers perceived at different points in history to be the problems for unequal cultural participation. It is instructive to refer to the Secretary-General's Report in the Annual Report of the Arts Council (Shaw 1979), which outlines the efforts of the Council in improving access. The first barrier to access to the arts, according to Shaw (1979), is inequity in cultural provision, particularly in geographical terms. As I have discussed elsewhere (Kawashima 1996), the measurement of (in)equality even in this narrowly-defined area is far more complex than it appears. British cultural policy has therefore chosen not to clarify what equality of cultural opportunities in geographic terms might be. In arguing for the need to pay more attention to cultural development in the regions it relied instead on the measurement of the distribution of public funding between London and the regions. In order to redress the geographic balance, the Arts Council operated regional offices in its early years, and then switched to the policy of touring arts performances and exhibitions around the country. Providing transport to arts venues was another measure. At the same time, regional 'centres of excellence' such as repertory theatres received investment funding so that they could boost regional productions.

Shaw also acknowledges that barriers to cultural opportunities may also be financial, physical and social. In the early years of the Arts Council of Great Britain in particular public funding for the arts was often justified on the grounds that subsidy could reduce the costs of attendance. It had been hoped that lower income groups could afford the indirectly subsidised tickets. Barriers to access could also be physical. Arts venues have been renovated so as to install

special facilities for disabled people.   To set aside the psychological barrier which is not mentioned by Shaw (1979) for the moment, making the arts as accessible as possible requires good dissemination of information on forthcoming events.   What was often called publicity and has been expanded and refined to become marketing has been encouraged through various measures and schemes funded by government and cultural funding bodies.

Thus, although the term audience development may not always have been used, its associated concept of access has at least been on the public policy agenda and addressed accordingly in practice.   Access has been an important issue, but the issue has been conceived as a matter of removing practical barriers to potential arts attenders who were 'out there'.

The history of the relationship between culture and people then goes into a difficult period in the 1960s and 1970s when community arts flourished.   This was an ideological movement which opposed what was seen as the establishment, arguing that cultural production and consumption should be community-led.   Some left-wing thinkers of cultural theory (eg Braden 1978) contended that the content of publicly-funded and -authorised culture, particularly by the Arts Council of Great Britain, had little relevance to the majority of the population; it is the substance of culture that prevents many people from attending the arts, and that the cultures of ordinary people should instead receive public money.   In a similar vein, Willis's (1993) work revealed that young people engage in music in creative and active ways and argued that public funding should pay more attention to these activities.

The 1980s saw another shift of focus in the relationship between culture and people.   What has been issued by central government in relation to cultural policy in this period up to now is characterised by increased public scrutiny and accountability, an emphasis on the roles played by consumers and the private sector and a heightened awareness of professional management in the cultural sector.   Government has encouraged schemes that promote business sponsorship and private giving to the arts.   For example, business development was much encouraged by a specific scheme made possible by the Office of Arts and Libraries (OAL) and administered by the Arts Council of Great Britain (called the Incentive Funding Scheme).   The then OAL made earmarked funds available for marketing development in the arts and the museum sectors (OAL 1990).   The Audit Commission (1991a;1991b) in the meantime recommended that museums, art galleries and arts venues which were supported by local authorities should focus more on customers by improving communications as well as by presenting the products in a more enjoyable way.   One configuration of these policy directions is seen in the development of marketing during the 1980s and 1990s.   Marketing meets the calls for business planning in the

arts as well as plural funding and consumerism in public services. The development of arts marketing has been well supported by the Arts Council which has contributed to making the necessary resources available, such as the network of regional marketing agencies, data on audience, practical handbooks and various training opportunities for arts marketeers.

From the mid-1990s, these imperatives of cultural policy have acquired an emphasis with a more social slant. The establishment of National Lottery funding for the arts and heritage in the early 1990s has contributed to this shift to the social aspect. Despite access being a criterion for awards, inequity has been the most discussed issue to arise from this new method of arts funding (Liddart 1995:125). It has been argued that it is inequitable that the proceeds of the National Lottery should go to support what the relatively well-to-do enjoy when a disproportionate amount of funds derive from the poorer groups in the community. Regional distribution was also accused of being inequitable, privileging London at the expense of the regions. Possibly in response to this public controversy and out of other concerns over the distribution of the Lottery proceeds, a new category called Arts for Everyone was launched in November 1996 as a pilot scheme meant to last until April 1998. It can be said that the establishment of this scheme has marked a major development in the Arts Council of England (henceforth the Arts Council unless otherwise specified) in its effort for widening access. This scheme has enabled revenue funding, as opposed to the capital funding of the main category, to 'develop the skills, talents and creative abilities of young people in particular, and to increase access to, and participation in, the arts for all' (Department of National Heritage [DNH] 1996a: iii). In effect, the selection of successful applications (in the main Arts for Everyone scheme) particularly favoured those which targeted 'culturally diverse work, disability arts and...new and young audiences' (Arts Council News, National Lottery Supplement, October 1997: 1). These criteria can thus be seen to have paved the way for the New Audiences Fund which was subsequently developed.

Central government has also made its policy of broadening access to culture explicit in recent years, particularly for young people. For example, the then Department of National Heritage (DNH 1996a) issued a pamphlet entitled 'People Taking Part', aimed at the whole cultural sector. Claiming itself to be 'a handbook of good practice' (p3), oddly, this booklet does not clearly spell out what area of good practice is collected. The only clue is found in the foreword by Virginia Bottomley, the then Minister for the Arts, who refers to her opening of an art exhibition in a railway station as 'an excellent example of what we mean when we talk about widening access' (p2). Although the precise message of the paper is hard to identify, the pamphlet seems to encourage cultural organisations across the sector to devise diverse ways of involving people

in their activities.   As Bottomley specifically mentions Lottery-funded projects, arguing that they should be enjoyed by 'as wide a range of people as possible' (DNH 1996a: 2), it is possible to detect the influence of the criticism over Lottery funding on the revitalised issue of access.

Another paper published by the DNH in the same year is focused specifically on education. Entitled 'Setting the Scene: The Arts and Young People', this paper states that its aim is 'to renew its (DNH's) commitment to making the arts more open to all and giving everyone the chance to enjoy them at every level' (DNH 1996b: 1).   The bulk of the paper is however concerned with the place of the arts in the formal education sector.

Since 1997 the tone of the policy set by the former Government has been continued by the Labour Government.   A major debate on access took place over admission charges at national museums towards the end of that year (see Museums and Galleries Commission 1997) reviving a perennial issue for this sector (see, eg House of Commons 1990).   The year 1998 saw a major improvement for cultural funding: an extra £290 million were pledged over the next three years.   The renamed Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) insisted that free admission policies at national museums should be retained in return for this enhanced funding for the museum sector.   A Museums and Galleries Access Fund of nine million pounds was set up at the same time to enable this and also to encourage more touring of exhibitions.   In the Consultative Document published with the announcement of an increase in cultural funding as a result of the Comprehensive Spending Review of government, the DCMS put 'the promotion of access for the many not just the few' at the top of four new departmental objectives (DCMS 1998: np).

The culmination of this move within the DCMS was the announcement made by Chris Smith, the Culture Secretary, in April 1998 that a New Audiences Fund was to be set up with an investment of five million pounds.   The fund has been distributed through the Arts Council of England, and one hundred project proposals submitted by individual arts organisations, the Regional Arts Boards, arts marketing agencies and local authorities in the first round, and twenty-nine projects in the second round have benefited.   This extra grant provided to the Arts Council has been 'built into [its] annual grant-in-aid [from the DCMS]' (Arts Council News, January 1999: 1) so that this particular scheme is expected to continue at least for the time being.

So far my discussion has focused on the initiatives of central government as if the Arts Council of England was simply the administrator of the schemes, but the Arts Council has played a

much more substantial role than that in the development of this policy. Together with the Paul Hamlyn Foundation, for example, the Arts Council hosted a seminar on 'Developing New Audiences: the way forward' in 1992. It also produced a handbook on audience development in 1997 (Maitland 1997). Education and young people in the arts have also received policy attention at the Council. A major national research project on youth and the arts was undertaken by the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER), partly funded by the Arts Council (NFER 1995). A research report was written by the Council's research department itself on the same topic but with particular reference to a different age group (Arts Council of England 1996).

In conjunction with the DNH (DNH 1996b), the Arts Council embarked on a project called Education Research and Development Initiative (ERDI) in 1995. This initiative aimed to encourage the arts organisations it subsidised to develop educational activities and provided funds to selected projects which broadly meet such an aim. The ERDI produced another report (NFER 1997) surveying the state of educational activities currently undertaken by arts organisations, whilst the Council published a policy document on education (Arts Council of England 1997) and a progress report of ERDI (Rogers 1997). As already mentioned, the Arts for Everyone scheme and the New Audiences Fund which have more direct relevance to audience development have been run by the Arts Council, and this emphasis has spread across artform-specific departments. Even more symbolic is the recent creation at the Arts Council of England of a new department dedicated to audience development, the Director of which will be at the same level as those of art form departments[3].

The foregoing discussion has identified access and education as issues contributing to the rise of the need for audience development. Audience development comes not only from within the field of cultural policy but also from the wider context of public social policy, often called Social Exclusion or Social Inclusion[4]. Despite the widespread use of the term, the meaning of Social Exclusion is not yet well-understood, and clarification of it would need a discussion of some length. Briefly for the purposes of the present paper, it is a term that refers to perceived, combined inequalities in income, job opportunities, education and housing. The term is

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[3] As was noted in an earlier footnote, the post has not been filled.

[4] Social Exclusion, which sounds somewhat strange in English, is a concept that originates from continental European philosophy and political ideas. There, particularly in France, society is seen to be a collectivity of different groups rooted in some moral order. Social Exclusion happens when some members of the society are detached from this order. This makes a contrast with the Anglo-Saxon, liberalist idea of society and the role of the state in relation to individualism (Room 1995).

comprehensive and can refer to the dynamics in which such inequalities are created (Berghman 1995)[5]. As European Integration has progressed not only in economic but also in social policy areas since the 1980s, the European Commission and its member countries started to prefer the term Social Exclusion to poverty or deprivation. In Britain, too, the term has become widespread and at the heart of the current Government there is now a Social Exclusion Unit established by the Prime Minister in December 1997.

The social policy discourse on Social Exclusion in a wider context (eg, see Cm 4045) has drawn attention to unequal participation in the arts, namely, the disproportionately over-represented middle-class Whites and the under-represented others. For example, the phrase 'widening access to the arts and museums, so that more people from a wider variety of backgrounds can enjoy them' is found as one of the policy goals for the next few years (Cm 4011: 12).

In recent years the relationship between culture and Social Exclusion has been furthered in a belief that cultural participation is a means to combat social exclusion. It is said that participation in the arts, sport and cultural and recreational activity can help to develop individual potential and self-confidence and thereby build community identity (Matarasso 1997). In this way arts and sport can 'contribute to neighbourhood renewal and make a real difference to health, crime, employment and education in deprived communities' (DCMS 1999:8). If it was the economic contribution of the arts that was used to justify public funding for the arts during the 1980s, it is now their social effects that have a higher profile as a rationale for public support.

Finally, it is important to note that arts marketing as it has developed in the last two decades in the UK has made two particular contributions to the rise of audience development. Firstly, the sophistication of arts marketing and business management in the arts in general has sharpened the feeling of competition in the wider leisure market. The realisation that audiences are ageing and the pool of attenders needs constant replenishment, something which has long been recognised, is now felt as an imminent issue for the arts industry. Coupled with pessimism about the future of public funding of the arts, the danger of relying on existing customers and only paying occasional attention to access has become an acute problem for arts professionals. Audience development has been conceived as an immediate measure for confronting this problem.

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[5] Ratcliff (1999) criticises such inclusiveness of the term Social Exclusion for causing confusion and obscuring key theoretical issues in social policy.

Secondly, arts marketing has facilitated the rise of audience development by statistically proving that audience composition is not representative of the whole population and also by throwing light upon the psychological barrier to attendance which had not really been noticed in the previous debate over access. Very often the results of national surveys were used to demonstrate that arts participation was wide-spread (eg Annual Reports of the ACGB/ACE), but it also became clear that the composition of arts audience was skewed towards the relatively well-to-do. The results of research into non-attenders has been shocking to arts professionals who may have naïvely believed that if only practical barriers were removed people would come to the arts. Qualitative interviews with focus groups as opposed to quantitative, postal (or face-to-face) surveys have revealed the significance of the psychological barrier. It has been found that non-attenders have disdain over what they see as snobbish or irrelevant activities such as the arts, whereas some are deterred from attending by the worry that they might not understand the arts. Quite a few are concerned about the appropriate manners and protocol associated with attendance and prefer to avoid unnecessary embarrassment. The psychological barrier is not only to attending events but also to the buildings where they take place. The designs and 'culture' of museums, art galleries, theatres and concert halls can be intimidating and seem irrelevant to a large number of people. Cultural organisations in recent years have made efforts to dismantle this barrier. Considerable investment has gone into customer care training for staff so as not to alienate anyone who approaches the venue and make arts events and venues more friendly and welcoming to everyone, as well as more culturally-sensitive. To be more proactive, cultural organisations have started to reach out into communities whose members do not yet come to the arts.

So far I have delineated the different meanings of the term 'audience development' and sketched out the historical origins of the concept. I have shown that audience development has been developed within the framework of British cultural policy with the ideal that culture should be made accessible to everybody. A major task towards achieving this ideal is to remove practical and psychological barriers. Arts marketing which has developed over the last few decades has offered quantitative and qualitative data, which substantiates the need to tackle the issue of inequality in cultural participation. This long-standing need has been brought to public attention again by the introduction of the National Lottery and the concern with Social Exclusion. Arts marketing has helped realise various practical projects and schemes connected with audience development.

3. Audience Development: Underlying Assumptions

Now it is important to examine the theoretical problems involved in the assumptions and assertions made so far in this area of policy, particularly in relation to Cultural Inclusion.   The assumptions to be examined include the following.

1. That culture should and can be made accessible to all people.

2. That if only we remove the physical, geographical, economic and psychological barriers, culture will become accessible and currently under-represented segments of the population will have a higher profile in the audience.

3. That culture can contribute to the combating of Social Exclusion.

Implicit in the first assumption, which is consistently prominent in the discourse on audience development, is the ideology of culture as having universal value.   This belief is consistent despite different versions of the terms and elements contained in policy development.   This mirrors the Liberal Humanist tradition of British and European cultural policy, which insists on the rights and potential of all individuals to benefit from culture and places a faith in a common culture that transcends the social, political and cultural divisions of the nation.   Whilst this way of thinking has an immediate and yet profound appeal, the problem is that this concept of culture draws on the intellectual tradition of Enlightenment where the contents of Culture are taken for granted (Bennett 1997: 68; Vestheim 1994: 60).   The report by Shaw (1979) mentioned earlier epitomises this problem.   After all the years of community arts projects and their emphasis on the culture of ordinary people during the 1960s and 1970s, he still contended that 'the great democratic task of the twentieth century is to initiate more people into an awareness that the culture which they felt was 'not for us' really *is* 'their culture''.   (italics original, Shaw 1979: 9).   However, that the Great Art in question has largely been that of middle-class White men is ignored.   As Jordan and Weedon (1995: 63) explain, 'the idea that art and literature transcend political interests legitimates the practice of defining the culture of particular social groups as representative of the nation as a whole'.

The notion of one monolithic culture has already been fiercely contested and the priorities of cultural policy have been changed, whilst the definition of 'culture' worthy of public support has been expanded (Bennett 1997: 68).   However, the re-definition of what is worthy of public support has not meant a paradigm shift in cultural policy.   It might be argued that today's cultural policy is much more open-minded and postmodernistic, but the Liberal Humanist theory of culture is in fact highly capable of accommodating or co-opting different cultures into its mainstream (Jordan and Weedon 1995; Harris 1994).   So-called ethnic arts are good

examples of co-optation, being exotic kinds of Culture appropriated, or 'domesticated', by the dominant culture. Under such circumstances the key to improving access to the arts is, as Shaw (1987: 117-128) extensively explains, seen to be education. Although he does not specify what he means by education, it seems to refer to lectures and workshops to help potential audiences to understand what is otherwise intellectually inaccessible.

During the 1970s cultural theorists argued for cultural democracy (eg Simpson 1976), or the importance of not regarding one culture as superior to others. Over the years, however, the struggle for cultural democracy has seemingly waned, and in the current debate the focus is not on the content of culture that should be made more accessible but on the advantages of making Culture more accessible; improved access to the arts will bring more money to arts organisations to enable them to fulfil their artistic or social ambitions; or the arts consumed by the social underclass may contribute to the moral improvement of these people and result in social cohesion. In this way the frequent conflict over resources between marketing and artistic ambition and between marketing and education is resolved. For Rogers (1998), audience development is effective when programming and education are consolidated. However the content of Culture which these three areas are to serve is not identified as an issue.

The assumption of one Culture for all also underlies the third assumption mentioned above, namely, that involvement with cultural activities can help community building and hence be effective for tackling the problem of Social Exclusion. However, the relationship between culture and social inequality is far more complicated than is assumed here. Jordan and Weedon (1995) argue that it is actually one of the functions of culture to legitimise and enhance social inequality. Cultural institutions such as museums and art galleries are, it has been argued by numerous cultural studies researchers, far from being neutral in value judgement. What they choose to preserve and the ways in which selected objects and art works are displayed are the very site for cultural politics (eg Macdonald [ed] 1998). According to Small (1997: 56), people learn to have partial and biased perspectives on race through the still 'racialised' representation of Black people in exhibitions in many museums in Britain. He sees that this forms a basis for the psychological attack and abuse experienced by Black people. As another example, children become aware of which people are thought to be great artists and thinkers and learn 'the legitimate history' through a national curriculum for school. Today the curriculum may well be more sensitive to the complaints made by feminists and other critics of the Liberal Humanist tradition than (say) it would have been twenty years ago. However, it is clear that the logic of Social Exclusion and cultural participation is not as sustainable as it may appear to be.

On the second assumption, ie the belief that the heart of the matter is the removal of barriers, a better understanding can be obtained through reference to theories on the relationship between culture and social stratification. There is a body of academic literature which has argued that unequal participation in the arts has a more deep-rooted origin and that *theoretically* removing the barriers would not be effective. In essence, sociologists such as Bourdieu in his numerous works and cultural economists such as Scitovsky (1976) have argued that cultural consumption is a trained capacity. In order to enjoy the arts and be enthusiastic consumers of the arts, one needs consumption skills with which to decode the messages inscribed in artistic products. Decoding is taught informally by parents and formally in education particularly in higher education. It can be fun for those who already have understood how to do it, and the more one gets used to it, the easier and the more pleasurable it becomes (Colbert et al 1998: 14; Throsby 1994:3-4). In addition access to information on arts events through social networks is an influential factor in determining attendance patterns. People in a particular social class may be more exposed to a variety of information on the arts than their counterparts in a different class who inhabit a different sphere, or what Bourdieu calls habitus (DiMaggio and Useem 1978: 151).

The theory seems to be powerful at least in explaining the mechanism through which arts attenders are dominated by well-educated, well-to-do people. The Audience Education projects where pre- or post-performance talks are provided certainly to improve the appreciation skills of those who already possess some. In the case of Taste Cultivation, merely exposing people to other art forms may make them aware of the range of the arts on offer. Furthermore, a Taste Cultivation project should help the existing audience to acquire consumption skills in specific art areas and to apply them to other areas. However the acquisition and cumulation of cultural competence by those without any of it in the first place is such a long-term enterprise that only a small number of Cultural Inclusion projects have managed to tackle the root of this issue.

An even more challenging argument against the assumption that audience development is about barrier removal puts forward the view that even the provision of life-long learning opportunities in cultural appreciation would be ineffective because people do not want to share the same culture with 'others' (DiMaggio and Useem 1978). People from different groups use culture as a tool in an effort to enhance individual and group identities. Culture, it can be argued, is a social construct which mirrors 'Us' in opposition to 'Others'. A national culture that unites the whole nation is possible only in opposition to other nations. To pronounce that cultural

opportunities and choices should be open to all is thus to deny an essential function of culture in society. Distinction by culture is an inevitable social force, and when a new group catches up with the culture which has so far been the domain of the established class, the previous owners of that culture move on to generate another culture so as to freshen up its identity and solidarity (Bouder-Pailler 1999: 8). The prospect of social cohesion through the use of culture works insofar as it is a disguised form of social control which promises access to the culture of the ruling class. But the permit is always half-hearted and tokenistic, and by the time the access becomes substantial, the privileged class will have established another culture with which to identify themselves and exclude others.

The discussion on the use of culture for the maintenance of group identity needs to go back to Bourdieu's theory mentioned before. As was explained, the acquisition of aesthetic knowledge and appreciation capacity is very time-consuming and needs to be started at an early stage of life. Thus, acquired aesthetics can be seen as a form of capital which is passed on from generation to generation through family socialisation and schooling. The dominant class uses such cultural capital as a criterion for membership and also for maintaining its identify and excluding others. Those who aspire to climb the social ladder are well advised to familiarise themselves with the high culture of the dominant class and to be present at arts events and to continue refining their taste by reading and discussing the arts in general.

This theory has been criticised on various grounds, not least for the argument that class-based aesthetic capabilities are strategically used by the higher classes in their dominance within capitalism. Crompton (1998: Chapter 6) maintains that the importance of culture, symbolic capital and life-style in contemporary society should not obscure the significance of economic factors in the structuring and reproducing of social inequality. Lamont (1992) finds that morality has more importance than aesthetics in the boundary-making by the upper-middle class, particularly in the US. Halle (1992) argues that the ways in which paintings are viewed by different taste publics are not as different as Bourdieu implies them to be. Peterson (1992), in examining national statistics in the US on cultural participation, concludes that what distinguishes social élites in contemporary American society is more the width of cultural repertoire than the exclusive attention to and sophisticated knowledge of high arts. Ostrower (1998) modifies Bourdieu's theory by proposing that it is through the élite's involvement with arts organisations, through board membership and various philanthropic events (such as gala parties and charity balls), that high culture contributes to class solidarity rather than aesthetic knowledge, at least in the American context. As these commentators argue, the extent to which cultural capital can be converted into economic capital may well be questionable.

However, the problems that they point out with Bourdieu's theory seem to derive from the emphasis placed on high arts in the definition of culture. When culture is defined in a broader sense to include language, manners, values, general knowledge and intellectual competence, the theory still seems formidable.

What is more important and relevant to the focus of the present paper is the policy implications of the theory. Cultural economists who have recognised the inequality in cultural consumption have long contended that enabling the public to acquire cultural competence provides a convincing rationale for public spending on the arts and culture (see Peacock 1992). As has been noted, it is known that the acquisition of cultural competence is very time-consuming. However, the DCMS which has encouraged the practice of audience development by providing specific funds does not appear to have understood this aspect or has ignored it. As a politician, the Culture Secretary Chris Smith seems to prefer instant, media-appealing results expressed in quantitative terms: in a public speech he urged the cultural sector to increase UK participation in the arts and museums from half of the population to two-thirds in ten years' time (Press Release, DCMS, 22 July 1999). When the New Audiences Scheme was first announced, there was a very short period of time for arts organisations to prepare a plan and deliver it if they received an award. It is now expected that the Scheme will continue to exist, but initially the arrangement lacked a long-term commitment.

Thus audience development, which on the whole is based on the Liberal Humanist idea of culture, is incongruent with sociological views on culture and society. This is not just a conflict between audience development and an external, sociological perspective, but the tension is also internal. In order to explain the internal clash, it is firstly necessary to refer to the two theories on marketing. One method is to make a product first and then find the segment of the population that would be interested in it. The other is to determine a segmented target and find the right products for the group. When the main organisational objective of marketing is financial, the current attender group tends to be the best target and the organisation may continue to offer the same product. Despite different starting points, the first and second approaches of marketing coincide in this instance. However, when a social objective is stronger, the two approaches diverge. Whilst the 'product-led' approach may well continue to offer the same product to people unknown to the organisation, the 'target-led' approach tries to find out the kinds of benefit the target group is seeking and to match the product to it. It is not that the organisation needs to compromise on artistic quality in the 'target-led' approach, but that it has to identify the kinds of benefit these non-regular attenders seek and to determine if it can offer them. Kolb suggests however that in practice this strategy has been seen much less

often than the product-led approach:

> Cultural organisations could begin by choosing a market segment to target and then designing a product to provide the desired benefits to this segment.   But cultural organisations have usually not done this, as they have felt that they should not change their cultural product to meet the desires of the public.   Cultural organisations have usually used the segmentation process to find a market segment to which their existing cultural product will appeal. (Kolb 2000: 183)

To what extent the suggestion of 'designing a product' sounds acceptable to an arts organisation may depend upon the definition of product.   The definition of product for an opera company, for example, could range from the whole season's programme, each individual production, education projects, the quality of facilities such as bars and toilets, to the ambience of the opera theatre.   Although the latter is listed here it is more likely to be recognised as 'product surround' as opposed to 'core product'.

Whilst a company with the product-led approach to marketing would be most concerned with wider definitions of product leaving the narrowly-defined product intact, a company with the target-led approach might try not only to find a product from their product range that matches a target segment but also to change even the core product in order to respond to the needs of the target group.   In essence, arts marketing that is target-led is based on the premise that people have different amounts of the 'cultural capital' explained earlier and different attitudes to the products of and communications from arts organisations. Such marketing therefore even defies the belief of cultural universalism.   In practical terms Kolb (2000: Chapter 7) suggests that

large arts organisations should devise different products tailored to different attender groups with different tastes, for example, a 'serious' music series and a 'popular, user-friendly' series of orchestral concerts for different groups.   The gist of her argument is that arts organisations should not stick to offering the same kind of product (and effectively to the same group of people all the time) and believe that everybody should take it.   This suggestion can be more easily applied to arts organisations such as symphony orchestras and opera companies (an example she quotes) which in mounting a large number of productions per season choose what to present from a vast number of available titles.   The choice of the title may not be as unconstrained as it may seem but subject to what their audiences know and like as well as to the expectations of the funders (Pierce 2000).   However there is still room for product differentiation by 'mix and match' as Kolb suggests.   This principle is seen at work in arts centres which cater for different taste publics (Kawashima 1998).

The above has focused on arts marketing, but the same can also be said about audience development. There seems to be a need for the 'target-led' approach, but projects based on it are few. The majority have taken the 'product-led' approach where missing groups of people may well have been identified but the Culture which many arts organisations are keen to deliver overshadows the cultures of the under-represented groups. If 'product-led' marketing is about how best to communicate with the market, 'product-led' audience development is about barrier removal. In 'product-led' marketing and audience development, changes may well be made in product surround bur rarely in core product. In such audience development it is understood that individuals possess different degrees of cultural competence but it is assumed that they have the same potential for cultural consumption and that cultural products offered will be relevant to most people.

It is now possible to rephrase my argument that audience development has on the whole been based on Liberal Humanist idea of culture by saying that audience development has largely employed the product-led approach. Here the technique of segmentation is mainly used to identify which groups are absent from the current audience base. The orientation is ideological, and audience development tends to concentrate on barrier removal. At the margin of audience development in theory and in practice, however, there exists a target-driven approach which is congruent with the sociological theories on culture, society and people. Such an approach acknowledges that people have different amounts of consumption skills often correlated to socio-economic backgrounds. In this perspective it is known that the barrier removal alone would not be effective but different products must be packaged or devised—possibly involving core product change in addition to product surround change—to appeal to the different segments.

Audience development is thus wrought with conflicting views. Given that the idealistic ideology that Culture is for all is incompatible with the principle and methods with which this ideal can be most effectively realised, we will have to wait and see to what extent audience development can move forward after the initial growth of projects and schemes in recent years.

Summary and Conclusion

Audience development has been high on the cultural policy and management agenda in recent years in the UK. It has been encouraged by government which has made resources available and various projects and schemes possible. Part 1 has first of all identified four different meanings of audience development, including Cultural Inclusion, Extended Marketing, Taste

Cultivation and Audience Education. The purposes of audience development in these definitions range from artistic, social, financial to educational. The groups of people who are held as targets in these definitions also differ. Whilst Cultural Inclusion tends to be for those who have very limited experience in the arts and are often socially excluded, Taste Cultivation and Audience Education are often meant for existing attenders. Extended Marketing in the meantime targets lapsed or infrequent attenders.

The origins of this policy development is varied, but the concept of access, which is very close to audience development, has been a concern in British cultural policy throughout the course of its history. Without questioning who is determining its content, it has often been assumed that Culture should be appreciated by all crossing over the political, economic and cultural divisions of society. Various barriers such as high ticket prices, geographic distance and the atmosphere of arts venues which can be off-putting to those who are not accustomed to them have been seen as the reason for unequal participation in the arts. Cultural policy and management have attempted to dismantle these barriers, albeit unsystematically and sometimes only rhetorically. In recent years it has been considered necessary for the arts to be much more proactive in involving non-attenders in their activities. The need for audience development has also been highlighted by recent social policy which sees that arts participation can contribute to ameliorating the problem of Social Exclusion. The social impacts of the arts are now often used as a justification for public funding of the arts, reminiscent of the way in which the economic importance of the arts was a major rationale for cultural policy during the 1980s.

The above summary leads us to three major assumptions that underlie the current discourse on audience development: the Liberal Humanist ideal of Culture for all, barrier removal as the key to audience development, cultural participation contributing to the problem of Social Exclusion. In the light of sociological theories on culture and society, however, it has been argued that these assumptions are questionable. It is a major function of culture to distinguish between different groups of people and thereby enhance social inequality. People, particularly those in higher socio-economic strata, use culture strategically to confirm their identity and solidarity and to exclude others. Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital may challenge the efforts made in audience development projects by arguing that competence in receiving various messages inscribed in cultural products derives from early family socialisation and schooling, and that this is how the dominance of culture by a certain class is reproduced. This sociological view is reflected in a 'target-led' type of audience development where different lines of products (or the product mixes) based on identified needs are offered to different groups of people, including frequent customers as well as infrequent ones. In its radical form, the

target-driven approach may require change not only in product surround but also in core product.   In practice such an approach, because it could be threatening to the artistic staff of arts organisations, is not widely seen, despite its importance which is recognised by 'good' marketeers.

The next part will present a case study of a particular audience development project.   As we will see, it will illustrate the Liberal Humanistic, ideological, 'product-led' approach to audience development.   The paper will examine what occurs in a project of this kind and what is achieved by employing such an approach.

Part 2.   Audience Development in Action—A Case Study

This section gives a detailed account of the case study I conducted into one audience development project undertaken by a contemporary music company.   It is based on qualitative interviews with those who were involved with the project such as musicians, board members, officers from funding organisations and composers.   Much more emphasis, however, is given to the audiences who attended some of the concerts given within the framework of this audience development project.

The purpose of the case study is twofold.   One purpose is to describe the way in which the project was formulated, implemented and evaluated.   There have been some prescriptions for how a project should be designed and implemented (eg Maitland 1997), but little is known of how a project develops in practice.   This case study aims to contribute to filling this gap.   The second purpose is to examine the responses and experiences of audiences, particularly in the light of the assumptions and perceptions which the arts professionals involved in the project had about their audiences.   The interviews were conducted to explore if there were any perception gaps between the arts organisation and the audiences and to examine the implications for audience development.

It would have been interesting in its own right to make an assessment of the project by comparing its aims and outcome.   This would however be very difficult because it is hard to determine against what to measure outcome and it is unknown whether there is any measurable outcome at this point.   Moreover, as I will explain later, the objectives of the project were not very clearly-defined.   In the light of this, I have chosen a different research strategy in the present paper and have examined the perception gap mentioned before.   It is important to note, however, that this case study is very much of an exploratory and experimental nature.   As will be described shortly, the sample of the interviewees could be criticised for being small and skewed in composition.   Also it must be noted that this case study is from a rather specialist genre in the arts, which affects the applicability of the findings elsewhere.   The interpretations of the findings are also suggestive rather than authoritative, whilst the findings raise some interesting questions which cannot be dealt with within the scope of this study.   It is my hope that this study will serve as a pilot study which future research may challenge and which can provide a basis for theory development.

Introduction

Case Study

Before going on to discuss the findings of the case study, it is necessary to give a brief account of the organisation studied and its audience development project. The arts organisation in focus is called the Birmingham Contemporary Music Group (henceforth BCMG or the Group), a small-scale orchestra specialising in contemporary Western classical music formed in 1987. The BCMG is an 'off-shoot' of the City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra (CBSO), and both organisations are based in Birmingham in the Midlands of England. Constitutionally separate from the orchestra, the BCMG can draw on CBSO players and has a close working relationship with the orchestra. Its turnover is about £500,000 a year (2000/2001, projected), and the number of public performances is about thirty, including self-promoted concerts as well as engagements. About 60% of the total income comes from public grants and donations. The rest is dependent on fees from engagements (eg festivals). The proportion of box office income is very marginal, only 6% of the total (2000/2001). This percentage is unusually low for a performing arts company in the UK, which may be partly explained by the small size and the specialism of the arts organisation.

The audience development project that will be closely examined is an extension of another project that the Group has been carrying out for some years. The original project had taken musical performances into urban, yet local, communities in Birmingham by playing in non-concert venues such as churches, community halls and schools. The concerts were free, and attenders could ask for free tickets to one of the main concerts. The concert format followed was such that the administrator of the BCMG gave a short introduction to the Group and the composer featured, followed by one or two short pieces of music (lasting about ten minutes each). Another administrator then made an announcement that audiences could fill in a form to ask for free admission to a concert at its main venue in Birmingham where tickets normally cost eight pounds. Tea was served after the performance and audiences could meet the composer and the musicians. The whole atmosphere was fairly informal and friendly. The musicians were in casual dress, and children were encouraged to come. The current programme has three series of concerts of this kind per season, and has reached people who may not know of the BCMG or may not otherwise consider coming to its concerts in Birmingham city centre.

After giving these urban concerts, which the BCMG generally felt to have been very successful,

it was decided to expand the geographical area whilst continuing Urban Tours at the same time. There was one tour to a county in the Cotswolds in November 1998, which the BCMG did not find satisfactory. After that it was decided to tour to Shropshire, a predominantly rural neighbouring county. The organisation and format of each concert was exactly the same as before. There were three tours of this kind in November 1998, January 1999 and March 1999, which took the BCMG to different towns and villages in Shropshire.

On average, Urban Tour concerts have been attended by fifty people and the Rural Tours by one hundred and ten, although the number varies depending on the size of the venue, the time of day and the day of the week of the concert, and the amount of publicity for the event. According to the BCMG, usually about twenty attenders take up the offer of free tickets. Since the main venue has been moved to a smaller capacity hall, however, the BCMG has changed the offer from 'free' to half price.

A Tour is organised by the BCMG approaching a prospective venue. The Group offers a free package of a concert and publicity material (eg posters and fliers) for local distribution. In return the venue hires out the space for free, provides refreshment after the performance and helps to publicise the event as much as possible. Thus there is a considerable amount of mutual collaboration between the BCMG and the venue. One concert costs the BCMG about £5,000, mostly consisting of artists fees, which is covered by grants, particularly by an Arts Council New Audiences Award in 1998/9 for the Rural Tours.

So far no audience research has been conducted by the BCMG specifically for these projects, but the administrators have always made the point of attending every concert and talking to audiences. Musicians have also talked to attenders over tea. These observations and conversations, although not systematic, have contributed to the positive perceptions about the Tours on the part of the Group. Consequently it is their perceptions rather than the findings of formally-conducted research, which form the basis for comparison with the findings from my own audience research.

Contemporary Music

At this point, some notes should be made about contemporary Western classical music. There is no particular definition for this term. Without getting into musicological terminology, it is understood as a kind of music composed today and in recent decades but based on the classical Western tradition. The number of decades included in the definition varies: Some may say

only after the Second World War, whilst others include music of the twentieth century as a whole.   This type of music is sometimes called contemporary art music by commentators to distinguish it from popular, commercially-made music.

As noted in the consultative document for new music (Arts Council of England 1996a: 16), the problem of contemporary music is its lack of popularity among the public.   Orchestras and ensembles are well aware of the difficulty of selling contemporary music to the public and of the costs of rehearsals required for new music.   They therefore tend to programme established, largely nineteenth-century, classics.   Available data for 1991/2 shows that about half of the repertoire in British orchestras, excepting those of the BBC were works of pre-1900 periods, and the next largest chunk of the repertoire came from the period between 1900 and 1945. What remains is ten to twenty per cent at most for music composed after 1946.   Ten per cent may not seem very low, but the contemporary works played tend to be short in duration, often sandwiched between more established works, a programme format that keeps public funders happy and is financially viable.

Generally speaking contemporary music of Western classical tradition is a minor, specialist art form.   Unlike contemporary dance or art which are also minority interests but at least recognised as specific disciplines, contemporary music suffers from the lack even of awareness. Those who have some vague idea about it often see it as esoteric and élitist, and this view is not entirely wrong.   With limited public funding going to the genre and the lack of the commercial viability of the market, composers of 'non-commercial' music rely to a great extent on their earnings from teaching at universities (Arts Council of England 1996a; Allen and Shaw 1993), thereby enhancing the status of contemporary music as quasi-academic research which is protected regardless of immediate use.   Born (1995: 4) argues that avant-garde visual arts have managed to be assimilated into wider contemporary culture; the boundaries between commercial art such as product design and advertising and fine, non-commercial art are increasingly blurred and meaningless (Crow 1996).   By contrast avant-garde, modern music has insulated itself from the lay public throughout the course of the twentieth century both in practice and in consciousness (Born 1995: 4).   The wide range of new music available today, which includes jazz, pop, rock, world music, ambient music, electronic music and their ubiquitous presence in our daily life work to obscure contemporary music, whilst the fact that these kinds of music are influencing the style of contemporary music is less well-known.   With this in mind, the consultative document quoted above (Arts Council of England 1996a) expresses the misgivings of music promoters and other professionals in the industry that composers of contemporary music may be alienating themselves from the general public.

The general profile of audiences for contemporary music is not well-known, because in research it is usually subsumed under classical music. The information that is available tends to be sketchy, but a core audience is said to be the relatively young male, committed to the genre but with eclectic taste in the arts, knowledgeable, motivated, energetic and enquiring about contemporary music listening (Richard Hadley Marketing 1997: np).

Research Methodology

The case study has included two strands of interviews. One of them was with arts professionals involved in the BCMG. They include four players, two composers, two members of the Board and three members of the staff including the Artistic Director of the BCMG. The interviews were conducted by the author between March and November 1999. The length of interviews was on average seventy minutes, and the total was twelve interviews lasting fourteen hours. All the interviews except one were tape-recorded. These interviews were conducted in order to understand the experience of these arts professionals in getting involved in audience development, their perceptions about the audiences and the responses to music made by them. The individual players and the composers were chosen by the administrators who helped me with making appointments to reflect a range of views on this particular audience development project. In addition two interviews with public funders of the BCMG, one from the Regional Arts Board and the other from Birmingham City Council, were undertaken with the purpose of having some external views on the BCMG's audience development project.

In parallel, it was important that I attended the audience development concerts and interviewed the audiences. As a preliminary study for an upcoming tour to Shropshire, I attended a concert in a community in Birmingham as part of the Urban Tours. This concert was held at 4pm, on Thursday, 18 March 1999, and presented two pieces of work by the composer Thomas Adès. This experience enabled me to make observations about the venue, audiences and players. I understood the typical concert format of the Tour. I also experienced the ambience of this concert, which was relaxed and informal.

I subsequently attended three concerts of a Tour to Shropshire made on one day, Monday, 29 March 1999. This Tour was the third of its kind to Shropshire, following the ones in November 1998 and January 1999. Since January 1999 each Tour has consisted of concerts at three different places in one day repeating the same programme. There is much overlap between the three Tours as regards the locations (see Table 2, overleaf) and venues as well (eg the school in Cleobury Mortimer hosting the BCMG three times). On 29 March 1999, the day when I followed the BCMG to Shropshire, the first concert was held at 1pm in Much Wenlock, the second at 4pm in Cleobury Mortimer and the last at 7pm in Edgton. The pieces of music played were by Thomas Adès, the same throughout the day and the same ones that I had heard in Birmingham on 18 March, except that the second piece was not played in Much Wenlock. I estimated that each concert was attended by fifty to eighty people.

Table 2. Concert Locations and Programmes

	November 1998	January 1999	March 1999 [2]
	Hidden Variables by Colin Matthews	*Corrente* by Magnus Lindberg	*Concerto Conciso* and *Chamber Symphony* by Thomas Adès
Much Wenlock		*	*
Cleobury Mortimer	*	*	*
Edgton [1]			*
Clun		*	

Notes   [1] Edgton and Clun are very close to each other.

[2] My own attendance is limited to the three concerts on 29 March 1999.

At these concerts I tried to collect as many names and contact numbers of attenders as possible, without disturbing the BCMG administrators or the event as a whole.   I also wanted to avoid giving the impression to the audiences that any market research was being conducted.   I did not therefore approach people in a systematic or scientifically rigorous way.   Instead, before and after the performance, I approached people at random, explained myself and my research project briefly and asked if they could help by talking to me about their experience of the concert.   I called my research project 'Music in the Community', which was imprecise in describing its purpose, in order not to draw their attention to the fact that the BCMG was trying to develop its audience.   When they agreed, I asked them to fill in a form (Appendix A) to give me their name, address and telephone number.   Very often they were couples from the same households.   I gave them a letter with more detail (Appendix B), which they took away with them.   Only one person of those I spoke to was evasive, and although he promised that he would fill in the form and post it to me later he did not do so.   All the others agreed and were happy to fill in the form on the spot.   In total, thirty-three names were obtained in the three venues in this way.

The selection of prospective interviewees was simply at random.   However, seeing that a substantial proportion of the audiences were elderly, I tried to include some younger members as well.   I also tried to include those who seemed to be in pairs or groups as well as those who appeared to be there on their own.

The sample is not representative of the whole audience in any way, and the total number of the people I could approach in a limited time could not be very large.   The method of obtaining names might have led to a slight over-representation of those who were positively predisposed about the concerts: I could only catch those people who came early to the performance and those who stayed in the venue for a while afterwards, but not those who walked out during the

interval or during the performance.   Moreover, reflecting that two of the concerts were during the day (one at lunchtime and the other in the afternoon), the retired, the middle-aged to elderly people were perhaps over-represented in the audiences and affected the sample.   However, this method was the best I could manage in my own capacity.   Compared with a face-to-face interview on the spot or the distribution of questionnaires at the venue, the advantage of my method was that it enabled me to establish some trust relationship at the point of the initial contact, and that I could interview people in depth at their homes at a later stage.

About three weeks later, I telephoned and arranged meetings.   I then wrote to them confirming the appointment and sent them a double-sided questionnaire, asking them about their leisure interests and musical activities in general (Appendix C) which I collected when I met them. The interviews took place in five rounds: on 20 March (only one interview with two persons who were the organisers of the concert in Edgton, and the meeting had been arranged prior to the concert), from 8 to 15 May, on 27 and 28 of May, on 11 and 12 of June, and finally on 25 of July, 1999.   All but two of the people whom I had met at the concerts were interviewed, mostly in their homes unless they specified somewhere else.   Eleven new individuals from five households were introduced to me by some of the interviewees and interviewed subsequently. Out of these eleven, eight people attended the previous concert in Clun, which was very close to Edgton, and the programme of the concert they experienced was a different one, featuring the Finnish composer Lindberg.   The content of the concert in Clun was however the same throughout the day in January 1999 in Much Wenlock and Cleobury Mortimer (see Table 2). In the following the focus is on the three concerts in March with music by Thomas Adès conducted by himself which I attended, but some of the comments made by the interviewees will refer to the Magnus Lindberg concert in January in their respective venues as well.

In the interviews I asked the audiences about their BCMG concert experiences as well as their arts consumption in general.   Each interview lasted on average for seventy-five to ninety minutes, sometimes for as long as two hours.   On some occasions, 'groups' (of married couples, partners living together and friends getting together) were interviewed together.   In total forty-nine individuals in thirty groups were interviewed by the author alone.   This included five individuals who were local organisers of the concerts and two who organised the January concert in Edgton.   The organisers were asked some questions about the kind of help they gave, but generally they were interviewed in the same way as other audiences.   All the interviews, totaling forty-two hours, were tape-recorded.

The interviews were supported by a guide (Appendix D), but were primarily meant to be of an

open-ended nature. I asked various questions and let the conversation flow freely with the purpose of understanding the following issues relating to the interviewees' experiences, observations and views:

- experiences of going to the BCMG concerts (awareness of the event, awareness of the BCMG, reasons for going)
- reactions and responses to the concert format and to the pieces of music they heard
- levels of commitment to music listening and playing
- consumption of the arts in general
- knowledge about classical and contemporary music
- memory of the pieces of music they heard
- observations and guesses about other audiences
- views and opinions about the general state of contemporary culture and music
- suggested improvements the BMCG could make to its concerts in future visits

The profiles of the interviewees are given in Appendix E where all the names are pseudonyms. The summaries of Appendix E are given in Tables 3 to 9.

Table 3.   The places where interviewees were approached.

Location of the Concert	Number
Much Wenlock	13
Cleobury Mortimer [1]	11
Edgton or Clun [2]	25
Total	49

Notes: [1] includes one who also attended the subsequent concert in Edgton as well.

[2] includes ten whom I did not meet at the concert but were introduced to me by some interviewees.

Table 4.   Age Groups of the Interviewees

Age Group	Number
65+	22
55-64	9
45-54	9
35-44	8
25-34	1
Total	49

Table 5. Educational Attainment of the Interviewees (At what age did you complete your full-time education?)

Age	Number
19+	32
17-8	6
16 or under	10
Not specified	1
Total	49

Table 6. Occupation of the Interviewees, Current or Pre-retirement

Occupation	Number
Cultural Worker [1]	16
Non-Cultural, Professional/Managerial	6
Public Sector Worker [2]	14
Religion (Minister)	3
Manual	4
Housewife	2
Secretary	1
Not Specific	3
Total	49

Notes: [1] includes professional artists, university and college lecturers in the arts and arts-related school teachers.

[2] mostly in health and education.

Table 7. Status of Employment

Status of Employment	Number
In Full-Time Employment	9
In Part-Time Employment	9
Self-Employed	8
Retired	20
Other	3
Total	49

Table 8. Experiences of BCMG concerts (How many times have you ever attended concerts by the BCMG, including the one on March 29, 1999?)

Frequency	Number
Once	25
Twice	21
Three times	2
Four times	1
Total	49

Table 9. Attendance at Classical Music Concerts per Year

Frequency	Number
0-1	6
2-5	16
6-10	12
11-15	5
16-20	4
21-25	3
26+	1
Not Specific	2
Total	49

Findings of the Case Study

This section describes and explains the findings of the case study. It starts with the examination of the project formulation. It moves to the description of the audience survey, outlining who the audiences were, why they came and what they felt about the concerts.

1.   Project Formulation

According to Maitland (1997: 13-22) in her guidebook on audience development, what should come first of all in the process of audience development is to choose the target group such as people on income support, families with at least one child under twelve years old or people who live within a particular geographical community. What should then follow is to collect information about the target group and identify the barriers to attendance, choose the right product for the target and work out what messages to deliver and in what way. In essence, therefore, she takes the 'target-led' approach explained in Part 1: the specifically-defined target group should be pivotal to the whole process.

The way in which the project studied developed in practice, however, is quite different from the prescribed model in having had no specific target. The project has been based on a simple desire to deliver the music that the BCMG believes in to its non-attenders. This desire is not particularly different from, or more specific than, the general mission of the organisation, although the implementation of this project has had practical implications (eg resources). As a result of no specific target group leading the project, the communities of people who have attended the Urban and Rural concerts have varied depending on the chosen location.

In practical terms, the embryo of the project was a self-promoted concert back in 1995 of Stravinsky's Mass with a chorus part composed by John Tavener. It occurred to the BCMG that it would be nice to take the players and Tavener out from a concert hall to a church and place the performance as part of the morning service. The administrator recalls:

> So we just drove around (laugh) looking for a church, and we arrived at [the name of the place] one day.... We found a vicar there...he was interested in music, and another clergy...had also a great idea....That worked really well.

The BCMG decided to do more of this, as it succeeded in bringing their music to people who had never heard of the BCMG or contemporary music. The contact with this kind of informal venue in the urban communities of Birmingham was gradually expanded through consultation with the City Council, its Regional Arts Board, BCMG board members and performers.

Among the Urban Tour concerts there have been less successful ones in terms of audience numbers and of the whole atmosphere of the event, and the BCMG has come to understand that the key to success is to get local organisers involved who would champion the event in their communities and to have a mutually supportive relationship with them.   In an effort to build up audience in the same community and also to enhance the relationship with the local organizers, the BCMG started to return to the same key venues whilst exploring other, new, places as well.

This is not to suggest that the project in due course became venue-led or collaborator-dependent. It would be more appropriate to understand that the project by not specifying the target has not followed what Maitland would call the golden rule.   The objective of the project has simply been to expand beyond the existing audience base by touring to local, both urban and rural, communities.   In fact, the BCMG refuses the practice of segmentation and targeting as it believes that these techniques 'make assumptions about the music the Group plays and who would benefit from hearing each different piece' (a BCMG administrator).   This project thus represents the Liberal Humanist ideology of Culture for all as explained in Part 1.   The BCMG of course is aware that not everybody will like contemporary music, but it does not believe that any specific segment of people as a whole rejects its music altogether on the ground that the music does not belong to the culture of the group.   The specific pieces played have been extracted from its seasonal programme, and changes have only been made in presentation.   In sum, this audience development project is based on cultural universalism and the approach has been product-led.

What happens in an audience development project of this kind will be an issue explored later in this paper.   At this point it is interesting to note that it has brought various side-effects or by-products to the Group itself.   For example, the Artistic Director of the BCMG feels that these Tour concerts have benefited the Group in this way:

> [They have given] our players an experience of performing directly to people in a non-musical context...which is a challenge in itself...[because] concert halls on the whole are less interesting. They are an institution, the same all over the world....It's not a determination to do something different, but...it increases dimension [of the musical capacity of the Group].

The idea of placing musicians in unconventional contexts had been on his mind since 1985 when he heard a lecture recommending such practice, or what he and I came to call in the discussion 'non-contextual performance'.   He also mentions that this has enabled team building, helping the bonding between players and administrators.   The above description on the benefit of the Tours talking about the artistic quality of the BCMG is enhanced by a comment by a board member on subsequent concerts.   She sees that the Tours have helped the Group to enhance its artistic capacity and reputation within the national arts establishment:

> Somehow we could not get any money from the Arts Council for touring for years and years. It is important that we go on tour so as to give stimulus to the players and raise our profile. [The Tours in urban and rural communities] were a very practical solution to that.

The former Chair of the Board also draws attention to a better profile of the BCMG socially and locally as a result of the project. Since the local authority of Birmingham, one of the Group's public funders, was very concerned with the issues of cultural diversity and Social Exclusion, it was increasingly important that the BCMG was not seen to be Eurocentric or élitist. It had therefore been necessary for the BCMG to address the issue of audience make-up and to be seen playing not just in concert halls but also in a wider context.

As regards the Tours in Shropshire, again, it was accidental in the sense that it was a time when the New Audiences Scheme was announced, which made funds available, and the Regional Arts Board, which identified a lack of arts infrastructure in Shropshire, suggested that the BCMG could go there[1]. This suggestion was welcomed, as this county was near enough for no overnight expenses to be incurred, and it was a very pleasant place and popular tourist destination. Most musicians like this tour:

> It is a very nice day-out. I do not mind spending a whole day for three concerts in Shropshire. I enjoy finding a nice, cosy pub or tea room and spend the gap time between the concerts.

Artistically as well, it has been 'successful' because the BCMG felt that the numbers and the responses of the audiences have turned out to be surprisingly good. For individual musicians, too, it has been rewarding. For example, through this tour, a cellist has made a contact with a professional musician living in Shropshire which might lead to a collaboration project separately from the BCMG activity.

As to the concert venue in Shropshire, churches and schools are increasingly expected to demonstrate that they are for community use as well as serving their primary purposes (ie religious events and education). The arts teacher at the school which has received the BCMG three times has been keen that her students experience live performances by professionals, but there are few opportunities available given the tight budgets of the school. This concern was a motive for her to collaborate with the BCMG, although the concerts were not particularly designed for the students. More importantly, however, it is the school's motto that it is open to the community. Local residents regularly use the halls and classrooms of the school for meetings even when they are not at all connected to the school. For her, therefore, the Rural Tour concerts given out of the blue for free were a 'gift from heaven'.

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[1] See the Arts Council of England (1995a: 8-12; 1995b) for the arts funding system's concern with the regional distribution of orchestral music.

The church which has been the venue for the BCMG twice has also been keen to have diverse relationships with the local community. The religious sector is not yet wholly positive about holding secular events within church buildings, but at least in theory the church nowadays should be accessible to the local community in a variety of ways. Hence, in applying for a grant from English Heritage a church must show the extent to which it is in 'community use'. The church which has received the BCMG Tour twice thus holds non-religious events such as photographic exhibitions, craft fairs and drama performances. Therefore, the vicar welcomed the request to be a venue for concerts at the church, and was delighted to see many of the church-goers at the events. He indeed was praised by the church attendants for the fact that the church had this community service.

The village hall in Edgton used in one concert has a slightly different story as it is a space for community use first and foremost. The motive of this hall in becoming the venue is related to its recent renovation funded by the European Commission. Whilst the village was delighted to have a beautiful, new building, the hall has been put under pressure to increase its use, not only to pay for the maintenance bills, but also in order to fill the space the community has created. Thus the BCMG's approach was much welcomed, particularly by one of the voluntary members of the board who had had some connection with new music in work.

As we have seen, the initial formulation of the Tours owed much to the general mission of the BCMG but did not derive from identified targets or specified goals. The project, which has largely been artistically-driven, has benefited not only those people who had opportunities to attend but also the organisation internally. The benefit for the latter may be a by-product but has made a considerable contribution to the capacity-building of the BCMG artistically and organisationally. The project met the non-musical needs of the venues very well.

Within the scope of this study it is unknown whether this case is exceptional in diverging from the normative model of audience development. However, at least with regard to the project's side-effects benefiting the arts organisation concerned, it is not unique. A similar case is found in the description of an audience development project geared towards the presentation of a play by local people with the involvement of professionals (*Prompt*, 1998, Issue 15: 12). In explaining the reason why this particular project called MAD was undertaken, the Chief Executive of the Poole Arts Centre, which organised the project, mentions not only 'audience development', but also staff development as an equally important objective. The impact on the staff included unusual collaboration between different departments of the Centre and the

breakdown of organisational hierarchy and the line of command in project preparation and implementation (*Prompt* 1998, Issue 15: 12).

The way in which Shropshire was chosen can also be said to be accidental: it was led partly by the wishes of the funding body, rather than based on research into the character of the area, for example, whether potential needs for contemporary music exists or not. Again this is not exceptional for tour planning. Radbourne (1998) finds a case where the decision to grant public funding for a national opera company to tour to the regions, a very important activity from both financial and political perspectives in Australia, was made politically without marketing research: 'market planning began with a political agenda and a theorized image of regional audience and their needs and wants' (70-71).

This is not the place to criticise the BCMG project, and the benefits the project brought to the artistic or financial concerns of the BCMG as a result are not 'wrong' themselves. What is at issue are the absence of clearly-defined objectives and targets of the project as well as the lack of information on people and the arts in Shropshire. What are the implications of these? As was mentioned at the beginning of this part of the paper, what follows is not an evaluation of the project as such but an examination of the success as perceived by the BCMG in comparison with the findings from my audience survey.

2. Audiences

The second area of the findings involves a number of different aspects about audiences: who they were, why they came and what they felt about the concert and the music. On all these aspects, it will be shown that the general observations and thoughts held by the BCMG (ie its staff members, musicians and board members) are not entirely wrong, but largely impressionistic and simplistic. My findings from face-to-face interviews with audiences will reveal that the picture is far more complicated than had been assumed by the BCMG.

2.1 Professional Perceptions

Generally speaking, the BCMG had very little pre-conception about the potential audience. What was known was that Shropshire was not well-served by artistic provision and should have the capacity to absorb arts of good quality. Apart from this, however, the Group knew virtually nothing about the kind of potential audiences in terms of their occupation, age and the attitude and behaviour in arts consumption, whether people would come and whether audiences would

stay on till the end of the performance.   The Group might have had an idyllic image of tightly-knit, rural communities in which people knew each other very well and where there was little crime and disorder.   Or it might have thought of traditional communities largely of elderly people with conservative values who had been born there and lived there for a long time.

According to the interviewees from the Group, some of the things they found out about the audiences were as follows: First, people were diverse in terms of age.   There were school parties, young children with parents as well as elderly people.   The Group was impressed by this in particular as this was a sharp contrast with audiences to its regular concerts, the majority of whom were between fifteen and fifty-four years old.   Second, the number of people who turned up fluctuated depending on the time and the day of the concerts, but overall it was found to be satisfactory and surprisingly large.   Third, there were quite a few who had traveled distances that were long by urban standards.   For example, one of the administrators was surprised to find that one person who rang for tickets had to drive one and a half hours from his home to the concert venue.   This was not an exceptional case: the Group became aware of the relatively longer travel-time involved for many attenders, and supposed that the people in the remote areas were prepared to drive relatively long distances.   Finally, the majority of the audiences were apparently middle-class, well-educated and already music enthusiasts.   This contrasts with the Urban Tour concerts in Birmingham some of which, depending on the location, had had people from economically-deprived areas.   Thus the Rural concerts were unconventional largely in terms of the physical context, but music was played to people who were familiar with orchestral and classical music works, on whose tradition the BCMG repertoire is based.

The Group also generally felt that there was enormous warmth and intimacy.   Many audiences remained for tea, and were keen to have chats with the musicians.   The school where the Group has performed three times showed their hospitality by voluntarily offering special cream tea or sandwich lunches to the Group.   At the Edgton village hall, there was a mini exhibition of posters related to new music.   It turned out that the posters were the work of the venue organiser who had previously worked as a graphic designer for some orchestras.   He prepared the exhibition especially to welcome the BCMG and to provide something interesting for the audience to look at.   So there were some special, welcoming, unexpected additionalities attached to the concert organisation by the receiving venues.

Naturally the Group was delighted and felt rewarded.   Over tea, audiences often commented on how much they enjoyed the concerts and asked when the Group would come back.   Quite a

few said, as a pleasant surprise for the Group, how grateful they were to the Group for taking the trouble of coming to Shropshire.   Occasionally there were people who commented that they did not particularly like the music they heard but that they found the events interesting. The Group did not mind the negative response to the music itself at all, and rather appreciated the frankness.   The only disappointment and unexpected response had been that most audiences, with the exception of a few individuals who took up the promotional offers, made it clear that they did not want to come to Birmingham for concerts as they found the driving too tedious.   But, they said, they would like to come again even if they had to pay attendance fees if the Group came to Shropshire.   This has led the Group to think that 'proper' fee-charging concerts might be feasible in some major towns in Shropshire in the future.

The reason why the BCMG has not undertaken any intensive audience survey for these concerts, although the idea of market research occurred to the administrators a couple of times, is that they did not want to bother attenders with questionnaires but wanted to keep the concert simple. Because of its longer experience of the Urban concerts, the BCMG has more to say about this project and could be more specific about the attenders.   However, all I could get from any of the interviewees from the BCMG as to the rural concerts under examination here is the above, which is only general.

It is however quite possible that a quantitative survey into audiences, asking standard questions about their motives of attendance, experiences of the events and future intentions whether to attend BCMG concerts in Birmingham or in Shropshire, would confirm the above findings of the Group.   Indeed, if I summarise my interview results in a quantitative way, ie simplifying the comments and coding them into manageable categories, I would probably come up with an interpretation that the majority came because they liked music anyway and the concerts were close to their homes, and that they were satisfied overall.   They would be reluctant to come to Birmingham for more concerts, but would love to come to more of these events, even if paying nominal fees, if held within their neighbourhood.

Anything more interesting and insightful can only be obtained through an examination of in-depth interviews with the audiences from a different perspective.   There are a number of more complicated motives of attendance as well as responses.   They do not necessarily contradict the simple answers mentioned already, but are important to note, as they do not fit in with the categories a quantitative analysis would employ.   They form the topics for the discussion below.

2.2   Audience Composition

Firstly, what one might be tempted to romanticise as village people who belong to intimate communities are in fact more diverse, not in terms of ethnicity but in a different way.   In Shropshire there are three kinds of people: indigenous, local people including farmers, 'newcomers' who have retired and come to live in Shropshire and relatively young professionals who live in Shropshire but work elsewhere.   Occasionally the potential of the latter two groups of people as arts attenders has attracted the attention of marketeers (eg Northern Arts Marketing 1993).   As this marketing research mentions (Northern Arts Marketing 1993: i), little is generally known about rural residents and their arts consumption.

As to the composition of the audiences, most interviewees, including the audiences themselves and the administrators, unanimously maintain that they were mostly middle-class, drawing heavily on the second and third categories of people, but very little from the indigenous segment of the population.   The biographical information of my interviewees which should be looked at with care conforms to their observation (see Tables 4 to 7).   The majority were either retired newcomers into Shropshire or those who have worked in a professional occupation.   None works in the agricultural sector.   Their educational attainment is high, particularly so when we consider the relative lack of access to higher education for the generations they belong to.   Most importantly, the interviewees confidently contended that the audiences were the kind of people who would be seen at any concert of classical music, although there were few who had any idea about contemporary classical music.   They also said that they were often among the same minority in their immediate communities who go to arts events.

It is important to stress that there was absolutely no barrier to concert attendance in this case, physical or economic.   The venues were familiar and accessible places such as village halls, schools and churches which virtually all local people would have no fear of visiting.   The designs of the posters and leaflets were plain, easy to read and not at all off-putting by being 'too artistic'[2].   The time of the concerts was difficult for some people, but this seemed not to have been the contributing factor marking a difference between the indigenous and the newcomers.   In short, despite the absence of any barrier to concert attendance, the concerts attracted the kind of people who would be seen at any concert of classical music.   This begs the question of what kind of audience development this project may be categorised into, and

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[2] Experienced arts marketeers might argue that a plain leaflet can appeal only to those who are already accustomed to arts attendance, but not to those who do not know what to expect, thereby creating a psychological barrier to attendance in effect.

raises a doubt as to what way the project could ever reach those who did not come to the concerts even though there were no barriers at all.

Another interesting feature of the audiences is the high proportion of cultural workers in the broadest sense, including professional musicians. I need to exclude one family of four interviewees here, because they were recruited for their musical presence in the village and recommended by several people whom I met at the concerts. Nonetheless, the remaining sample of forty-five people still has as many as ten cultural workers, and I was constantly surprised during the interview work to discover that those whom I had randomly approached included professional artists. The ten cultural workers range from a graphic designer, a crafts person, a retired arts administrator, a retired architect, a retired music teacher, a design teacher who is a keen amateur musician, two visual arts academics, a furniture designer, to a professional pianist, all of whom were recruited without any knowledge about their occupations.

Indeed, for those in the know, it is a known fact that Shropshire has a large number of artist residents. This rural county is not particularly well-endowed with cultural facilities, but since the 1970s artists such as writers, potters, crafts people, musicians and so on have been attracted to this area by the relatively low prices of property and the beauty of the natural landscape. There are a number of towns in Shropshire, therefore, which somehow have an artistic atmosphere in a curious, old-fashioned way. They have interesting establishments such as second-hand bookshops, cafés exhibiting art works for sale, jazz bars and not least shops of artists supplies. One of the interviewees who is a professional cellist living in Shropshire has told me that whenever he holds chamber music concerts locally he finds no problem attracting audiences even at very short notice. It is because he can draw on these artists, numbering fifty or so in his estimate, who would come from within a twenty-mile radius. They are frequent concert and other arts attenders anyway and would not miss such an unusual opportunity as the BCMG concert in Shropshire. The choice of the towns and the county was not made because the group knew of this, but it was a lucky coincidence for the BCMG.

Whilst this paper deals with one specific case of audience development, it is suggestive to refer to a report (Arts Council of England 2000) on the participants in eighteen audience development projects of a specific type awarded by the New Audiences Fund. This report, commissioned by the Arts Council of England, surveys over one thousand people who attended these arts events, placed at unconventional venues such as nightclubs. Because of the nature of the settings, the majority of the respondents were relatively young, under forty-four years old. It finds that whilst the examined audience development projects drew in culturally diverse

audiences a high proportion of the respondents had a university-level education (and we would guess perhaps a middle-class background). More interesting is their extraordinarily high frequency of arts attendance in general. For example, about fifteen per cent of them attend plays once a month or more whilst the national average is less than one per cent. Ten per cent of the respondents go to jazz or world music concerts once a week or more, and eighteen per cent go to classical music concerts or recitals two to six times per year. They frequently go to cinema and art galleries and exhibitions as well. On the whole, it seems that what the projects achieved was not so much to expose young people who had limited artistic experiences to the arts casually as to attract culturally-active people to the events and the venues. The majority of the respondents expressed that the events 'added a lot' to their night outs, but it can be interpreted that the unusual context of the events gave an added value to the arts they enjoy on a regular basis.

So what do we make out of the BCMG audience development project based on the make-up of the audience? Which of the four types of audience development can we identify this project with? With our focus on the project goal, the project could be seen as that of Cultural Inclusion, since it was firstly for people in Shropshire who for geographical reasons were relatively deprived of artistic opportunities. Secondly, there is often severe economic hardship in rural areas which persists but tends to be masked by the idyllic image of the country and by the recent influx of the well-off. Both aspects of 'deprivation' however need more examination.

On the one hand it is true that Shropshire is short of musical provision. Lacking in purpose-built concert halls, the area has very few orchestral concerts. On the other hand, however, the number of concerts the interviewees attend (see Table 9) is generally large, and they do not always travel a distance to get to live music. The high level of frequency comes from their attendance at locally held festivals and small-scale concerts of chamber music. There are also towns in Shropshire with vibrant jazz and other music clubs. The interviewees do not deny the general lack of arts provision in their areas but at the same time emphasise the existence of available opportunities as well. For example, Martin and Elaine, a couple who moved to the area on retirement after twenty-three years of living in North London, do not miss London with its abundance of arts events:

> [While living in London] we used to go to the Barbican Arts Centre a lot for Shakespeare and also for Wilde and Shaw. We also went to Kenwood in Hampstead in the summer for open air music. When we moved [to the south of our current residence where we previously lived immediately after retirement] we naturally went to Stratford [upon Avon for the Royal Shakespeare Company because it was not too far]. However, we did not like the atmosphere at all. We did not like traveling....We

felt out of place.   It was not just for us, and we thought 'Never again!'

They are satisfied with the wealth of interesting events available in their neighbourhood:

> [We felt that way in Stratford] partly because at that time we were beginning to discover that you don't need the magnificence of Straftord....I have been amazed at the quality of small professional theatres [we have seen locally].   There was an interesting Hamlet production in [the name of a town] in April....it was superb.   The performance was good...very well, very well, indeed....There are lots of festivals here and we get very good people (artists)....[At the arts centre not very far from here] we have good films, way-out theatres and little exhibitions.

There were also some interviewees who occasionally go to London and Birmingham for arts events.   Mary in the 65+ age group has a sister who is an artist living in London.   This sister picks up a few interesting art exhibitions in London and plans a day for the two of them.   For such twice or thrice-yearly day-outs Mary catches a train before 7am on the day.   She goes to Birmingham for seven ballet performances and three to four plays a year as well.

People who are younger and busier with family commitments or older and less mobile have their own ways of enjoying music.   For Roy and Gillian, their twelve-year son is at the centre of their lives.   The family often goes to school concerts as well as to Birmingham for professional concerts.   It has also been a family tradition to go as audience to a musical competition held in Shropshire, as it is interesting to hear the comments on the performances made by the juries.   Maureen, a widow over sixty-five years old, is a member of a Theatre Club, which is how she manages to get to arts events.   This Theatre Club is often mentioned by the interviewees as an excellent service for an annual membership of six pounds per household. It sends out information on forthcoming events to members, who choose which one(s) to join. The Club then books tickets, picks up people at different villages and takes them by coach to arts venues in various locations, including London.   In the meantime, Robert, a retired minister over sixty-five years old, is keen to build up his own collection of recorded music.   He subscribes to the specialist magazine of recorded music Gramophone for buying CDs and marks out performances which interest him in the Radio Times so that he can record live performances transmitted on Radio 3.

It is certainly true that contemporary music performances given by professional musicians are few in the vicinity.   However, the range and frequency of arts experiences that my interviewees at least enjoy does not seem to be particularly different from that of a keen arts attender in a metropolitan area.   The Tour was not targeted at a particular audience group, but was meant to be all-inclusive for the local communities by removing every conceivable barrier to concert attendance and by the local organisers making strenuous efforts to persuade everybody to come.

Nonetheless, it has turned out that the audiences were the same kind of people who would turn up at classical music concerts everywhere. In economic terms, the audiences were mostly well-heeled, enjoyed comfortable lives, and the project did not reach the people in rural poverty. In short, if seen as a Cultural Inclusion project, the concerts were not particularly successful. If seen as Extended Marketing aiming for an increase in audience figures in the season concerts in Birmingham, the fact that the majority firmly refuse to go there may be disappointing. This however is not really the case as an expansion of the audience in Birmingham was of secondary importance. The Group instead started to think of the project as an effort to build demand for its music in Shropshire. It is now hoped that a full, ticketed concert might be held in the county in the season of 2000/2001. This now leads us to evaluate the project for Taste Cultivation as it introduced new music to general arts lovers and classical music listeners who however knew little about contemporary music, and to question whether the concerts managed to arouse a new interest among them. In doing this, it is necessary first of all to pay close attention to the motives for attending.

2.3   Motives of Attendance

The reasons, motivations and goals of arts attendance are an important area of marketing research. In a short visitor survey, this aspect would be asked in a question along the lines of 'what were your reason(s) for today's visit?'. The options to choose from in this case would include 'because it is local', 'because it is free' and 'I like music'. The findings from my interviews suggest that at one level all of these do in fact constitute the reasons for attendance, seen in such comments as 'Because it was just there! '(Colin and Elizabeth), 'Frankly because it was free of charge.' (Daniel), and 'it was only a short walk away and free' (Peter).

Overall, however, rather than explaining why people went to the concerts, it would be more appropriate to say that *there was no reason why they did not want to*. As was mentioned, the majority of the audiences were middle-class and for them there was no serious barrier, the psychological one in particular, to going to a concert of classical music. They were not bombarded with a range of musical opportunities in their vicinity. Critically they did not know what contemporary classical music was like, having no pre-conception of it. The barrier which has been most effectively removed was actually the admission charge. Some interviewees mentioned that they suspected many other people came because it was free. This is not to say that they were economically disadvantaged people. Had there been a charge, they would have had to think carefully if they would be happy to take a risk even if the ticket had been, say, only a pound or so. Also as people have had some experience of arts attendance, they have systems

for judging arts events whereby they assess the price according to such factors as the duration of the performance, the size of the performing group and who the performers are. People would thus have had to think hard if the concert as presented in the given information seemed to be value for money. This is reflected in the replies to my question whether they would be happy to return to a BCMG concert in the future even if there was a charge next time. Many of the interviewees, even those who were enthusiastic about the concerts, spoke carefully and with qualification:

> 'Yes, six to seven pounds *for an hour concert* would be fine.' (my emphasis, Larry)

> 'Well, then, it (the concert) would have to have several pieces by both known and unknown composers. [Then] you can [enjoy what you know you like and] risk others.' (Colin, who did not like the music played)

> 'Yes, definitely. [I would pay] eight to ten pounds? It would depend on who's performing, the venue and the length, though.' (Graham, a professional pianist)

In a free-floating conversation less direct and immediate concerns which affected the decision-making process also emerged. One of these is general interest in contemporary culture, expressed in such comments as '[we went so as] to catch up with what's happening....I'd like to be able to find out what's going on...how it's changing [in contemporary culture].' (Daniel). A number of interviewees also mentioned the 'need' for them to be open-minded and expose themselves to unfamiliar things: 'Generally we are interested in more mainstream kind of classical music, but we're happy to go to experiment something new.' (Andy).

Another may be a peculiar thing about this remote area. What can be called politeness or a sense of gratitude motivated some people to attendance:

> We went, because it was supposed to be a prestigious group of musicians from Birmingham and the concert was just local. It would have been impolite not to bother to go. (Colin)

In a similar vein, the willingness to support local events was another major motivation for many people. This may not have depended much on the content of the event, but people in the rural area are supportive of 'villagey' things, paying regular attention to village notice boards. Thus, Linda says, if there had been a children's party at the same time as the concert, people would have gone to that. As was mentioned, the then vicar of the church in Much Wenlock where the concert was held recounted that he had had a number of feedback comments in both written and verbal form from attenders, congratulating him on making the church more accessible to the local community. However they did not particularly mention the content of the concert. Thus in a sense people came to the concerts out of curiosity related to the music, but the degree of the musical curiosity should not be overestimated.

2.4   Responses of the Audiences

If a questionnaire had asked them whether they enjoyed the concert, they would have most probably said 'Yes', because most people liked the informality and friendliness of the concert format.   In order for us to have more insights into the audiences' experiences, it is necessary to make a distinction between their views on the organisational arrangements for the concerts (product surround) and their responses to the musical contents (core product).

As to the first, almost all the interviewees were very positive.   They all liked the informality of the concerts, and found the events very friendly and welcoming.   They found the introductory talk excellent, neither too long nor too short, not patronising or too technical but informative. Many liked the opportunity to meet the musicians, as the event did not create a clear division between 'them and us'.   If this confirms the overall impression about the success of the events held by the BCMG, people start to differ from the Group's impression and show a variety of views in their responses to the music they heard.

Roughly four major types of responses can be identified in the interviews.   There were several 'Enthusiasts' amongst the forty-nine interviewees who were very enthusiastic about the music: 'Absolutely brilliant' (Gerry), 'exhilarating!' (Chris), 'I was delighted by the piece....I was able to listen to and absorb it.   It was an excellent experience' (John), 'I really really enjoyed it' (Graham) and 'I enjoyed it.   It was very spectacular' (Stuart).

In contrast, there were about eight 'Rejectors' who were completely negative about the music. Sue, who claims a general fondness of music, 'did not enjoy it, not at all'.   She found the music 'disoriented and awful' and left the venue feeling that she would not go to that type of music again.   Imogen, Jane and Mary, who are much involved with the church in Much Wenlock and hence attended the concerts, thought the music was 'too noisy' 'too loud' and 'discordant'.   Their rejection was so strong that they even misunderstood that the first BCMG concert in January was primarily educational (since the Group demonstrated different instruments to the children attending) and the subsequent concert in March was a kind of rehearsal for a large-scale concert.   There were the second-time BCMG attenders at the same church in Much Wenlock or in Edgton and Clun who found the first experience fantastic but the second one disappointing.   Colin and Elizabeth were among them: 'I was wishing I was not there!   It was not repeating the [pleasant] experience [of the last time with the BCMG]' (Elizabeth), and 'It (the music by Adès) was very hard to focus or categorise.   It kept going to

different directions and I was lost' (Colin).   Maureen felt the same way: 'At the first concert (featuring Lindberg), from the very beginning I liked it....It was so good that it was not long enough for me....I like music with bite, and with that piece my feet were nearly tapping the floor. But with the second one (with Adès), I could not key in'.   There were more informed or music-loving audiences who still disliked the music by Adès: 'The noise level was unpleasant' (Emma), 'I was anxious to hear Adès as I knew of his name...as a respected, world-famous young composer....[But] he has yet to impress me....At my age, I know what I like.   I don't want to spend the rest of my life listening to music not congenial to me'(Robert).   They moaned that they did not understand the music, finding it unstructured.   While there was little hostility, there was a feeling of frustration.

Between these two extremes two types of mild responses emerge.   One type includes the 'Non-Committals' who said that they *enjoyed the concert* but did not say that they *liked the music*.   Overall, they were favourable but tended to speak of the music only in non-committal ways without elaboration, and whether their definition of 'the concert' included the music or not was unclear.   Typically they would say 'It was nice', 'I liked it', but there was little substance added to these comments apart from the point that they thought it was good that children were there.   The second type in this category refers to those who were largely positive but the responses were only intellectual as opposed to emotional, centred around 'understanding', or lack of it.   The most frequently used word in their comments on the music was 'interesting', but they were not decisive about whether they liked the music or not.   These people used the words to describe their responses such as 'intrigued', 'curious' 'puzzled' and 'mystified', but often mentioned that they had no language to understand the music which was hard to follow. Some said that they would like to hear it again to see whether they would be able to see the structure of the pieces.

Looking at the four types of responses, on the one hand, there were emotionally derived responses, positive and negative.   On the other were the intellectual responses that found the music interesting, or frustrating because the respondents lacked the intellectual competence which they thought was specifically required for the music they had listened to.   The two dimensions that characterise response, ie emotional excitement and intellectual interest, are in line with the findings in a piece of qualitative research into contemporary music audiences (Unit 2 1984: 7).   It is not easy to break down the total responses into numerical groups.   The distinction between the first type, the Enthusiasts, and the third type, the Non-Committals, may be only whether the interviewee was expressive or reserved.   Similarly, the boundary between the Intellectuals and the second type, the Rejectors, may well be only a matter of politeness

whilst what people in each group were feeling was more or less the same. For the purposes of indication only, however, it would be useful to give a rough estimation of the proportion each type occupies. Roughly speaking, 15% of the respondents fall into the categories of the Enthusiasts and the Non-Committals respectively, and the remaining 70% is almost evenly divided between the Intellectuals and the Rejectors.

At the risk of over-simplification and mis-representation, it may be useful to give some descriptions of the people who are at either end of the like-dislike spectrum. The correlation between the positive and negative responses to avant-garde music and socio-economic status can largely be seen to be in line with what the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1984) has described. He has suggested, based on his empirical research into the Parisian populace in the 1960s, that the socially and economically powerful, eg business executives, tend to like high art as they inherit 'cultural capital' passed down through family socialisation and school education. This cultural capital helps the future upper and upper-middle classes to maintain their status, for which traditional, mainstream culture such as eighteenth and nineteenth-century Western music would be most appropriate. Working-class people, in contrast, suffer from limited exposure to and experience in various art forms and genres, some of which require 'consumption skills' in order to enjoy them. They therefore tend to like popular culture and the popular end of what as a whole might be called high culture. In the case of classical music, according to Bourdieu, they prefer musical pieces whose melodies they can easily hum. The most interesting is the culturally high status group which includes artists, arts professionals and academics who tend to have relatively less economic wealth. As a strategy to seek a different kind of status, they try to convert cultural knowledge obtained through education and professional training into symbolic capital and pursue esoteric artistic expressions. In this way they create a different, exclusive world of culture which it is difficult for lay people, who cannot invest in obtaining extensive knowledge of current practice and vogue in the arts, to enter.

In our case, confirming the above theory, the Enthusiast group is made up solely of workers and professionals in the broadly-defined cultural sector. They include professional artists (ie musicians, visual artists and crafts people) and teachers and academics in fine arts. It is not that all the cultural workers in the sample liked the music. There was a crafts person who did not like the music at all. This crafts person, or the potter Peter, however seemed to be a cultural critic and claimed that he was happy to try new things and liked many composers of classical music. But the music he heard, although he knew that it had something to say and was technically adept, did not appeal to his aesthetics. He only had a vague idea about

contemporary music, and the concert confirmed his understanding. He found the music 'self-indulgent if not pretentious'.

The Rejector group is double the size of the Enthusiasts and more diverse, but it is noticeable that all the interviewees who seemed to me to be distinctively working class invariably fell into this category. However some distinctively middle class persons who are in this group disapproved of the music altogether too. For example, Hilary, a keen amateur singer, did not like it because she found no reference point in it, even though she struggled to relate to the music.

In the Intellectuals group we have a large number of (retired and working) professionals and managers of various kinds who are mostly middle-class, who said they were interested or made positive comments without referring to their emotional responses. What is distinctive about the Non-Committals, half the size of the Rejector group and that of the Intellectuals, is that it is predominantly female. Women, whose husbands often commented on the lack of 'literacy' in working the music out, said they liked the music without knowledge or understanding. Relatively more talkative respondents in this group even insisted that one has to let music speak for itself and knowledge is unnecessary. Listening to live music with one's eyes closed would be an ideal way of apprehension, as it would then cut out other stimuli and make the experience purer. It seems that the Non-Committals consist of those who were most concerned with the product surround and those who make emotional responses to the core product of music. Overall, it can be said that the correlation between the cultural and socio-economic status of the interviewees and the responses to the music was very clear.

What is more interesting than the above finding which basically follows Bourdieu's powerful sociological theory is the fact that despite such variance in the responses a lot of people in each group believed that all the other audiences at the concerts felt the same way as they did. To my question 'What do you think other audiences felt about the music?', most people at the risk of making fools of themselves by talking on behalf of the others whose feelings they could not know elaborated with considerable confidence on the shared feelings:

> [In the concert of January, Lindberg's music] appealed to the majority of the audience....It was a nice afternoon. We were all together....But in the second one [with Adès]...the temperature got 58F whereas the first one had 75F (Maureen).

Regarding the same March concert on Adès, Larry, who was enthralled by the music, declared without reservation that 'Generally audiences enjoyed it'. To my comment that there were some who disliked it, he was simply incredulous. When I made the same comment to Margaret (an Enthusiast), she also found it unbelievable: 'How could anyone say such a

thing...the music 'unstructured'?', whilst Gillian as a relatively expressive member of the Non-Committals exclaimed, 'How strange [it is that anyone can dislike it]!'

A possible explanation could be that the audiences, particularly those who had strong emotions about the music either negatively or positively were so immersed in their own feelings that they could not imagine other people were feeling differently.   A more interesting interpretation would be that people want to have some collective feelings on such occasions.   Arts consumption at concerts is collective, as opposed to listening to music at home, which is individual.   The existence of other people who directly and indirectly share one's reaction to and feelings about the piece of work heard is an important aspect of going to concerts.   The importance of 'social interaction' as a major reason for taking part in leisure activities has been a feature in marketing research (Bouder-Pailler 1999: 8).   The social interaction in this marketing context in Bouder-Pailler (1999) seems to refer to physical and spacious situations such as chatting and drinking during intervals with one's friends and sharing the space with the kind of people one wishes to be identified with.

Cultural studies research has drawn attention to the important role of the 'interpretative community' in the reception of culture in a more abstract sense, and this seems to be more applicable to our case study.   For example, even for mass television audiences who do not know each other and are geographically spread out, Bielby and Harrington (1994) report the activeness of the virtual community of fans, or what can be called an 'idioculture'.   They reveal the process in which viewers in the US interact with each other through the use of electronic bulletin boards, exchanging opinions, speculation and gossip about a particular TV programme and by sending feedback to television producers and network executives.

This suggests that for the arts it is crucial that planned occasions of any kind, be they concerts or workshops, arouse a sense of belonging and community where one finds similar feelings and excitement in others.   This may well be an immediate goal every audience development project should aim for, and the key to immediate success.   However, audience development projects in the longer term must aspire to dismantle this sense of closeness and inclusiveness as it can easily turn into exclusiveness.   In a research report on museums and their audience development activities, the author Mathers (1996) finds that even where individual projects of working with non-visitors on exhibition planning in their communities are successful, it does not follow that the project participants start to visit the main building of the institution.   What can be deduced from Mather's finding is that an audience development project can be successful in bringing non-attenders into contact with the arts outside the regular performance or building

but making them regular attendants in the same way as the existing audiences would be a different story. The new attenders know beforehand or find out on the first visit that they do not share the culture of the existing attenders. Moreover, if the persuaded attenders start to come to regular performances, a sphere normally inhabited by those in the circle, it could be problematic. Not only would the usual pattern of behaviour and culture of the audience change but also the sense of interpretative community would be destroyed among the current attenders. Arts marketeers are already aware of the potential danger which successful audience development can ironically bring with it, but tend to ignore it for a while when success in an audience development project could bring so much satisfaction to them.

2.5   Audience Development—Complex Process

If what I have described above is disheartening to the well-meaning members of the BCMG, it might be something quite obvious to an experienced arts marketeer. People can be categorised into strata that form a pyramid-shaped hierarchy of arts consumption. At the base of the pyramid are total rejectors who have no interest in the arts, whereas at the top there are frequent and keen attenders. What audience development should aim is to move people from lower strata upward. My research however has found that this progress principle and linearity is not as straightforward as is implied by the model.

As was mentioned earlier, the majority of the interviewees came to the concerts without clearly knowing what contemporary music was like. There were only a handful who had been aware of the BCMG despite the overall strength of their musical interests and knowledge. There were a few who had heard of the composer before. These people naturally had some interest in contemporary and classical music, and they are the people who provide interesting examples to us.

Among them is Mark, a man in the age group 55-64, who is now 'semi-retired' and enjoys cultural pursuits, for example, studying for an MA in Film Studies at the Open University for personal pleasure. He was looking forward to the concert very much as he had been much impressed with a symphony written by Adès before. He attended the live performance by the City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra and took an immediate liking to the piece, finding it 'absolutely brilliant'. Having learned that the performance was recorded by BBC's Radio 3, he later made the point of tape-recording the transmission on the radio. He realised that the recording could not reveal the whole range of instruments and the texture of the sounds which moved him so much in the concert hall. Such was his enthusiasm about the piece and the

composer, that his neighbours who heard all about the story gave him a CD of Adès's works as a Christmas present. The neighbours came with him to the concerts out of curiosity. He was now holding the CD to get an autograph of Adès on it. Naturally excitement and expectations had mounted, and it was going to be a very intimate setting where he could meet the composer.

However, it turned out that the pieces that were played this time did not appeal to him at all. They were interesting, according to him, in that they seemed to be designed to stretch the musicians to the limits of their abilities. However, he could not make any sense out of the pieces at all whereas he could see a clear message in the symphony he had heard before. One could of course like or dislike one piece of music and later on change his/her mind. One could also like one piece of music and dislike another written by the same composer. Nonetheless, it seemed to me that he has made up his mind to reject it.

Another example is a little more encouraging to the BCMG. Unlike Mark, the interviewee in question loved the pieces. John, a Trade Union official in the age group 55-64, is another example in my sample of someone who possessed a CD of the composer featured in the concert beforehand. He attended two concerts held on the same day by virtually following the Group as it moved between the towns in Shropshire. As this description suggests, he had a strong interest in contemporary music and made efforts to explore it. What is different from the case of Mark is that it took John decades to come to the point where he described himself, perhaps with some degree of modesty, as a student of contemporary music, meaning a beginner.

He clearly recalled the first time he became aware of living composers, which was some thirty years ago. He was watching an arts programme on television and saw an interview with the composer Maxwell-Davies. He realised that there were living composers and began to take an interest in music they composed. Since then he had read the interviews with living composers and become familiar with the great names mentioned by them such as Boulez, Berio and Stockhausen. In this way he started to pay attention to contemporary music, largely on the radio, but also tried to listen to it live wherever possible. It has taken him this long but he is now 'cracking' the world of contemporary music and it is now 'gradually shaping up'.

The reason for the long time span and his not particularly impressive knowledge and experience in this area is that contemporary music is not easily available, and he only has limited spare time and energy to invest in the exploration of the field. He had over the years led a busy life with many other interests to pursue. However, another major reason, according to him, is the lack of available information, which the professionals in the music sector are to blame for. He

became agitated on this point, saying 'They (music professionals) are the middle-class, mostly university graduates, aren't they? They don't like to go out and talk to bus drivers'. For many people including himself, there is a need for a guide to contemporary music and it has to be a populist one.   According to him, the world is full of information and we are all too busy to be left on our own to explore intellectual and aesthetic interests.   He argued strongly that it is arrogant and lazy of arts professionals not to provide an authoritative, user-friendly guide to the world of contemporary music: 'If they are privileged to work in the arts, they should do this'. He denied my suggestion that contemporary music is a vast field with all sorts of music and that there should not be one hierarchy of classification.   He firmly believes that there are good pieces and good musicians as well as bad ones, and we need to have that basic information so that we could then start and form our own judgements.   If the arts do not respond to such a need, he asserts, they would lose out.

Another piece of evidence in my argument that audience development is a complex and time-consuming process is the fact that most of those in the sample who were favourable to the music hardly explored the composer's other works or the genre as a whole.   There was a few months' gap between the concerts and the interview dates.   Larry, one of the Enthusiasts, made comments to suggest that he was almost enlightened by his first encounter with contemporary music.   However he replied to my question if he has investigated other works in the genre of contemporary music at all with a simple No.   This particular respondent is an arts academic who should know where to look for information, if he wanted to.

Similarly other members of the Enthusiasts have done very little, or nothing at all, since their exciting moments during the concerts.   They have not added any names of living composers to the list of artists they are aware of.   They have not bought any CDs or listened to any live performances of contemporary music.   They still do not even know of Here and Now, for example, which is one of the few radio programmes dedicated to contemporary music and is transmitted on Radio 3 late every Friday night.   A few months may be too short for them to take any further action, but as time goes by their excitement will naturally fade away, making it more unlikely that they will explore the newly-found field.   At the point of the performance, they were new audiences of contemporary music created through the project, but there is no guarantee that they will remain one.   No further exploration of contemporary music has been made either by other groups such as the Non-Committals and the Intellectuals.

A phenomenon similar to this case was found by Eastern Touring Agency (1996).   The Agency reports that 80% of the audiences who bought tickets for contemporary opera and music theatre

at the particular venues examined did not return in the subsequent years although they continued to come to the same venues for other art forms. The interpretation given to this is that the audiences have expanded the menu of their cultural pursuits, but that does not always mean that contemporary opera has become a staple in their cultural consumption. A similar conclusion is found in a report of a tracking study into contemporary dance audiences (Eastern Touring Agency 1994). The report investigated 328 audiences who attended contemporary dance at three venues in 1993 but did not reattend in the subsequent eighteen months. The study concluded that they were not necessarily 'lapsed' audiences who consciously rejected the art form, but general art lovers for whom dance was an addition to a broad repertoire of cultural interests.

These cases may look disappointing if we believe that audience development is successful when a project creates an enthusiastic, loyal attender. However, once we start to see audience development as an effort to enable people to make informed choices when opportunities come along to them, none of the cases cited here is a failure. Mark may have changed his view on a particular composer from positive to negative ironically through the audience development project, but the way he puts a full stop to his story is not all depressing; what he has learned is the diversity of contemporary music:

> The best that can be said is that it [the previous symphony experience] opened my eyes and made me realise that some (with emphasis) contemporary music can be good.

Larry may not have been as inquisitive about the genre he has discovered as a typical contemporary music lover should be, but he is of the attender type willing to experiment with different artistic experiences. He will be most likely to attend another contemporary music concert as it comes across him, or perhaps anything contemporary and 'different'. By profession he is an arts academic, but as an audience his response was emotional. He does not seem to be particularly interested to find out more about contemporary music, the composer or the BCMG, but this audience development project if seen from the viewpoint of contemporary arts in general has created an audience.

Another interesting incident in relation to the pyramid model of audience development derives not from the concerts studied but from a different scheme the BCMG runs. The scheme aims to solicit charitable donations, or 'investments' as they are called, from individuals, specifically for the purpose of commissioning new works from living composers. In return the investor is involved in the whole process of creation, invited to rehearsals to meet the composer and also to the final performance. Their names are mentioned in the programme and they are invited to rehearsals and concerts. Since its inception in 1991, the Group has advertised the scheme in a

national newspaper and made announcements through its concert programmes and fliers. The investment unit has been set at £100 per annum, a price which far exceeds the total of BCMG concert tickets for one person per season. The Group has been successful in getting about a hundred and fifty investors for the scheme who have provided some £55,000 and has built up intimate, individual relationships with them.

So what sort of people are these investors? One obvious guess is that they must have a strong interest in contemporary music. Another may be that they must be well-to-do or the cultural élite, as Bourdieu would suggest. Another guess would be that they are musicians or the relatives and friends of musicians in the way that concerts attenders at contemporary music are often made up of such people.

Interestingly, according to a rough survey of the investors conducted by the BCMG, none of the above guesses is true. The investors are not necessarily knowledgeable about contemporary music. On the contrary, there are quite a few who came across the advertisement and immediately decided to join in the scheme even though they had not even been aware of the genre till then. They felt excited about getting involved with the creation of new music, and the scheme was the vehicle to introduce them to the repertoire of new music. Thus becoming an investor has been the very first step in becoming aware and gaining experience in contemporary music, contradicting our (perhaps naïve) assumption that people gradually move the pyramid from down upwards.

In theory what should be done to develop audiences seems simple: arouse interest, persuade people to taste and gradually take them along the path to ultimately make them frequent attenders. In practice, however, such linearity is not always seen. I have shown that progression upwards from one level to another is not one-way but that people move back and forth between different levels. Alternatively people may jump all the low levels of interest and action to get to the top if given strong incentives and attraction. I have also shown that progression can occur only over a very long period of time. The extent to which these examples are anomalies cannot be known within the limited scope of this study. However, at least two implications can be suggested, one for policy and the other for academic research.

The policy implication is that it is important for a public policy that places a high value on audience development to sustain its efforts over a long period and not to seek quick outcomes. The point which has already been made in Part 1 in connection with the theory on cultural competence is now illustrated with some empirical evidence. My case study also demonstrates

non-linearity and complexity as distinctive aspects of audience development in addition to the long time-scale already mentioned.

The second implication of these examples is the need for a longitudinal study into the dynamics of audience creation and progression, an area which applied and academic research into audiences has rarely investigated. Instead research has tended to see audiences (and non-audiences) as static and study them cross-sectionally (in terms of age, occupation etc and also across different art forms) at one particular point in time. In applied research each arts organisation may be able to track attendance history of specific customers, but the data is often limited to organisational level or to regional level at best. To accumulate knowledge and build theories there is a need for a larger-scale study that goes beyond information gathering. A sociological, longitudinal study is necessary to examine whether a sample of audiences move into different strata of the arts consumption pyramid over a long period of time and what mechanisms are at work in the dynamics (Griswold et al 1999: 287).

2.6   Memory, Music and Impact

As I mentioned, many of the audiences believed that the way in which they felt about the music was widely shared in the concert venue. This was a common feature among many of my interviewees, regardless of their feelings about the music they heard and irrespective of their background. Another common feature exhibited by quite a few across the four groups if not the majority is the ability to remember and describe the pieces fairly well. Interestingly, there was little correlation between the fondness towards the music and the amount of details and the correctness of memories. Also the descriptive ability seemed to have little to do with educational and occupational backgrounds. All the comments below were obtained in the interviews conducted in late May 1999, about eight weeks after the concerts they attended.

For example, Colin, a retired marketing manager who did not like the music at all, told me that he described the music to his friends some days after the concert as 'Stockhausen meeting Bernstein with bits of jazz', a description which I personally find succinct and appropriate. James, a retired doctor who did not dislike the music but found it difficult to follow because he did not understand the logic of the music, also quite accurately pointed out that the music had some element of Tango rhythm. Daniel remembers the existence of 'nice textures' and 'percussive moments' in the second piece played at the concert. John still knows which piece was advertised and the other one was a 'bonus', and remembers that the second piece had 'three movements squashed in one'. Martin recalls the administrator saying in the introductory talk

that at one point different instruments would shout about each other and then they would cohere together, for which he longed. Two Rejectors, Robert who is a keen music lover but disliked the music, and Sue, a total Rejector who was an apparently lower middle class or working-class woman, highlighted one particular point in the music. Both hated the moment when there was a lovely melody played by a violin for a very brief period immediately destroyed by a flux of crushing 'noises'. Again this is quite accurate to a surprising extent when we consider that Sue in particular disliked the music altogether and felt a bit out of place in the concert venue surrounded by what she thought was the 'culturally-aware' (implying 'arty') and 'individually-minded' segment of the local population.

The above and other kinds of memories gained through interviews are similar to the kinds of responses which current viewers of contemporary art showed in a piece of marketing research conducted by Research Practice (1992). This interesting report, based on focus group interviews after taking the interviewees to specific exhibitions of contemporary art, skillfully deconstructs the diverse nature of art appreciation. According to this report, appreciation of a contemporary work of art could 'involve any combination of ...various modes' such as 'an emotional response, a stimulus to the imagination and the excitement of new ideas, an appreciation of materials in their own right, and a sense of inspiration that made the viewer want to create similar works' (Research Practice 1992: 17).

In my case study of contemporary music, similarly, interviewees who do not expand on the musical style and structure of the pieces could instead talk extensively about the technical side of the performance. Musicians in particular appreciated the superb quality of the players, and made comments on the effects made by specific instruments. Very often the use of the mute over the tuba as well as the composer's plucking of the piano strings were vividly recalled. The instrumentalisation and the locations of different instruments seemed unusual for the audiences and were another area that attracted their attention. The enthusiasm of the players was also often mentioned. The interviewees with negative reactions to the music mentioned that it was the players rather than the audiences who were enjoying themselves. Overall, however, the commitment and passion of the players towards what they were doing was visible and much recalled with admiration across the positive-negative spectrum of the audiences. Interestingly, the Enthusiasts who should be willing to talk about the music and should possess a strong vocabulary to express their feelings as well as the structure of the music were not as eloquent as one might expect.

It is quite possible that the respondents were drawing upon their memories of what they heard in the introductory talk at the concerts and also of what they read in the programme notes. There were even some respondents who had the concert programme to hand when I visited them and who may have had a glance at it.   Nevertheless, this is in itself surprising considering that it was a few months after the concert and the programme consisted of a plain white A4 sheet of paper, which was easy to lose.   In contrast the Enthusiasts perhaps did not see any point in being very technical with the interviewer who was obviously not a professional musician, or else they avoided making mistakes in front of me.

However, my own observation is that there was very little, if any, pretension in any of the interviewees.   I did not tell them in advance that I was going to pose an open question 'Could you tell me what you remember about the music or the performance?'   I would argue that they responded spontaneously to my request and fell back on their memory both of the music and of what they read and the results were extraordinary regardless of the emotional responses to the music they expressed to me.   This suggests that overall the audiences were engaged with the music to a considerable extent.   They were not passive, mindless consumers of music, but active interpreters of what was going on in front of and around them.   It was a very intense experience for many people who went to the concerts and the impact on them was substantial. In this sense whether they liked the music or not matters less.   Such an aspect of music experience is hard to specify other than by the term impact which is multi-faceted and hence difficult to measure.   However, it is certainly one of the most important and significant qualities of the arts, and audience development projects should perhaps aim to bring this out.

2.7   Relevance

The final aspect of the audiences' responses to the concerts to be discussed here is what improvements the audiences would like to see if the BCMG were to come back to their areas in the future.   On this issue, there were three kinds of requests.   One was about programming, hoping for a mixed programme.   Some would like a combination of new, avant-garde music and something better-known, in the modern repertoire eg Gershwin, Bernstein and Stravinsky so as not to alienate the majority of the audience (Gerry and Linda).   Some would like a combination of different living composers to show the range and contrast (Larry) or so as to spread the risk of not enjoying the concert (Colin).   Members of the Intellectuals want more demonstration and illustration (Robert, Martin and James).   An open discussion or seminar after the performance would also be welcomed (Ellen and Hilary).   Quite a few mentioned that they would have liked to hear the same pieces played twice in a concert, perhaps with a short

talk in between.   Beaumont (1998) reports on the experiment of exposing people to a new work by Jonathan Harvey and asking them how they felt.   It is useful to quote his finding, as in this experimental concert the work was played twice and the composer's programme notes which were distributed after the first performance was the only information of any kind on the work that the audiences were given:

> ...most listeners, even some of the most hostile ones, evidently found reasons to enjoy the second performance more than the first.   Some found the overall structure clearer and more coherent: some dwelt on details that they had missed the first item while others just seemed happy to confirm that their first impressions held good the next time round. (101)

The second type of requests was related to the length of the concerts.   Whilst many were happy with the half an hour format and did not think their concentration could have stood a longer one, the Enthusiasts naturally wanted it longer.   Linda, one of the local organisers who is a professional musician, expressed a critical view about the effectiveness of the project in commenting on the possible improvements the BCMG could make.   She thought it would be nicer if the BCMG could have spent a longer time in a village rather than moving along to different locations in a day and this could be done in a modest way: 'I thought it was very, very expensive and extravagant to bring a piano and a lot of musicians for—sixteen minutes each?—short pieces....It was an excellent show.   Well-introduced and good performance and they're gone!...You could see them exhausted, wanting to go home, and we could not really keep them any longer.'   She even suspected that to increase the number of the concerts in this audience development project would appeal better to the funders than to have the project more intensively with one specific community.   Her point is that if the development of interest in contemporary music in a rural area is the purpose of the project, which is what we call Taste Cultivation in this paper, there are more effective and less expensive ways of doing it.

The third type of recommendations on the concert format are more diverse as the contents of the comments made by the interviewees originate from their individual circumstances relating to music.   Gillian, a mother of a young son learning the cello, would like the BCMG to play with children or at least let them touch the musical instruments although she was aware that the musicians needed to protect them.   Alternatively a master class would be nice.   Gerry, a secondary school teacher in the arts, would like to be able to do some preliminary work at school before the concert.   Lisa, an active player in a local amateur orchestra, would like an open rehearsal so that she would better understand the interpretation and the techniques involved in a piece.   She eagerly suggested a half-day workshop with local musicians culminating in a public performance.

Whilst all the ideas above have some point and could be interesting if put in practice, it is clear that they derive largely from narrow circumstances and specific needs of the respondents. In the literature on arts marketing and audience development, it is often argued that making the event relevant to the target group is of paramount importance. However, the literature often fails to elaborate on what relevance means. As Shaw (1987) noted, making a play on the life of miners to target miners is now seen to be a naïve idea. To bring Asian music to what seems to be a unitary Asian community is also too simplistic as the community is often more diverse than is imagined and could be offensive if done in a wrong way to the wrong people.

This study suggests the difficulty of offering relevance which is multiple and individualistic even to a music appreciation society in a rural county which is relatively homogeneous. It is possible to criticise my argument on the grounds that the examples are too specific and too pragmatically-interpreted and the term relevance is something far more abstract and universally-applied. However, even at that level 'relevance' still seems to be of a diverse nature. This point becomes clearer by looking at the ways in which some of the respondents tried to understand the music. Hilary for example tried to find similarity between contemporary music and early music as she has extensive knowledge about the latter but little on the former. As she succeeded in finding some connection between the two in the BCMG concert of January which she attended, she was immersed in the piece. Failing to do this in the concert of March, she did not enjoy it. The way in which Alison, a contemporary crafts person, enjoys contemporary music is again to seek in music some similarity to the visual arts she is professionally familiar with. She tries to 'visualise' music she listens to by imagining the colour and texture of music, and finds monotonous, repetitive patterns of melody in minimalist music very similar to weaving, a basic skill in her artistic work.

The above suggests that relevance works at different levels. At one level, it is a question of making an event meaningful in a practical sense to one's life. At another, it is precisely about learning something new, which takes place on the basis of one's existing knowledge: Learning is an act of building blocks. It is easy to accuse classical music audience of being conservative and inflexible. However, the pleasure of music listening has a great deal to do with the memories attached to particular pieces people have heard at specific times in their lives. It is also known historically that there has been a time lag between what is composed and what the audience accepts. Whilst in the short term it would be impossible and unnecessary to respond to every situation and every individual request, in the long run, audience development projects of any kind need to address this issue. This however would require sustained and concerted efforts, backed up by more resources than currently available.

Summary and Conclusion

To sum up what I have discussed so far, the audience development project in question has attracted the same kind of people who go to concerts of classical music and made some success in introducing contemporary music to the people who knew very little about it. People were grateful for the efforts of the BCMG to bring musicians of high quality into the countryside, an opportunity rarely available. They had no reason to miss this opportunity particularly because there was no attendance fee which freed them from the need to think whether to take a risk or not. Audiences loved the whole ambience of the concerts, ie informality, the opportunity to meet the musicians, the short introductory talk which involved school children by demonstrating musical instruments and the encouragement to bring children.

There was a range of views on the pieces of music they heard, in the two dimensions of intellectual interest and emotional response to them. Part of the audiences felt excited and loved the music, the same proportion of the people said they liked the music in a polite, non-committal way. A larger part of the audience group found the music interesting but did not understand it and could not respond emotionally. The same proportion of the people disliked the music, leading some to believe contemporary music tuneless and unstructured. The relationship between the attitude to the music and the social class the respondents came from was largely predictable. The Enthusiasts were mostly cultural workers, the Rejectors working class people and in between were the middle classes in non-cultural occupations.

Despite the variety of responses, three interesting features were shared across the response groups. The first of these is related to some examples which defied the linear progression from a non-attender with latent interest to a frequent, loyal attender, a model generally assumed in arts marketing. I have argued that the extent to which people follow such a theoretical model is very questionable. The second feature that was seen across the group was the strong belief that all the people in the venues were feeling more or less the same way, whether positive or negative. I have discussed the strength of communal feelings which audiences have, even when they are not favourable to the music they are listening to, and drawn attention to the potential threat of introducing new people to the current audience community. The third feature seen in the audiences regardless of their responses to the music is the remarkable ability of some respondents to remember what the event and the music were like. Many interviewees also talked much about the instrumentalisation, the use of musical instruments, some specific performers and the overall commitment exhibited by the BCMG. This aspect is seen regardless of whether an interviewee liked or disliked the music, and suggests that overall the

audiences were actively engaged with the event.   People also made a variety of suggestions on the ways in which the BCMG could improve its future tours to Shropshire, many of them pushing their personal needs forward.   I have discussed the difficulty of making a specific genre of the arts or a specific arts event relevant to a large number of people.

On the whole, based on the fact that the audiences would not bother to come to Birmingham for BCMG's regular concerts the project may not have been particularly successful from an Extended Marketing point of view.   I have also mentioned that this project would not qualify as one of Cultural Inclusion.   It is most likely to have aimed at Taste Cultivation.   It takes time however to evaluate whether the concerts have managed to cultivate the taste of the music lovers or not.   This is because, as I have argued, the process by which people develop interests in contemporary music is very complex and time-consuming, and we still do not know enough about the dynamics of audience progression to make any sound judgement.   It is true that the cultural pursuers in the sample expanded their repertoire for once but for how long the momentum will stay alive or how it can be revitalised if it becomes dormant is not known.   To shed more light on this process is a task left not only for arts marketeers of contemporary music but also for music professionals in general including radio programmers and record producers.

Conclusion

Summary of Part 1 and Part 2

Audience development has been one of the most discussed topics in the UK cultural sector in recent years. There should be a genuine desire in arts and cultural organisations to build up trust relationships with people. A more cynical interpretation is that after years of arguing for public support of the arts and culture on the basis of the economic contributions it can make the UK cultural sector is increasingly engaged with audience development to make another case for the justification of public funding for the arts and culture. The accumulated expertise in cultural marketing has further raised the need for a broader perspective and a way of thinking in the longer term. The quantitative and qualitative data on arts attendance has also led to the development of the government policy that cultural organisations should try to reach as wide a range of the population as possible. With resources specifically for audience development increasingly available, arts and cultural organisations have started various projects and schemes to increase the number of attenders, broaden their base or enrich the experiences of existing audiences.

The term of audience development however has been used in various ways, and this paper has identified four distinctive meanings: Cultural Inclusion, Extended Marketing, Taste Cultivation and Audience Education. These subdivisions of audience development have served as useful concepts in the evaluation of a case study in Part 2.

Across the definitions, there are some assumptions which need examination. I have argued that the policy of audience development has been based on the Liberal Humanistic idea of Culture for all and the tradition of British cultural policy relying on this principle. This has been contrasted to sociological theories on the relationship between culture and society. Culture is in fact a powerful tool for marking divisions between groups of people, and often functions even if unconsciously to institutionalise social inequality. This challenges the current thinking that the arts and culture can help Social Inclusion. A major method of audience development has been to remove barriers to cultural participation, or to improve access, but the problem of unequal participation in the arts is more deep-rooted. Inequality in cultural participation and differences in taste come from the possession of cultural competence, or the ability to decode the meanings of cultural products as a trained capacity. This ability is part of 'capital' because its initial acquisition is through family inheritance. Enhanced by the experience of formal schooling, the cultural power of the family executes a decisive influence

on one's predisposition in relation to cultural apprehension.

I have also demonstrated that whilst the policy of audience development is based on the ideal of Culture for all practical recommendations are closer to the sociological views of cultural separatism accepting that different segments of the public have different amounts of cultural competence. Audience development which involves these mutually conflicting, assumptions and principles may well work for the time being and insofar as there is little evaluation of the effectiveness of the projects and schemes implemented. It may be pleasing for politicians to confirm an increase in first-time attenders in a performance as a result of a specific project. However, finding out their experiences and feelings and keeping in contact with them will be more important.

Partly to respond to this need Part 2 of this paper has been a case study. It has studied a particular audience development project carried out by a contemporary, Western classical music group. The group has taken its music into urban and rural communities by holding free concerts in non-concert venues and offered free tickets to its regular performances. I have aimed to explore the experiences of the audiences in depth and to ask in what way we can call a project a success.

The case study has described the way in which this particular project developed. Not following what is normatively argued in guidebooks on audience development, the project has had no specific target groups. It has made no change in core product but changed its presentation, representing the product-led as opposed to target-led approach. The findings of the interviews with people from the arts organisation and those with the event participants were contrasted. I have demonstrated that the views of the arts professionals on the audience composition, the motives of attendance and the responses were not entirely wrong, but simplistic. The in-depth interviews with the audiences have revealed more diverse and complex facts and responses.

Whilst the relationship between the responses to music and the social class respondents come from has been largely as predicted, there have been some interesting findings which cut across the various responses and the social background of the interviewees. The pyramid model of audience, with the total rejector at the base and the frequent attender at the top, should be seen without an assumption on one-way progression. The same people transcend the divisions assumed in this model quite easily, and some may jump to the top skipping the lower strata. Furthermore, despite various responses to the music they heard, overall, the interviewees

showed a remarkable degree of engagement with the music and the event.   The quality of this engagement is multiple and hard to describe other than by the word impact, but this seems to suggest an important element in the aims of audience development.

The policy implications drawn from Parts 1 and 2 have been firstly that audience development as an issue in cultural policy will require sustained efforts and resources for a longer term and on a much larger scale than is apparently assumed by the DCMS at the moment.   The implementation of audience development policy may sometimes produce disappointing results and many lessons to learn, but it needs to be built up.   Secondly it is necessary for audience research of various kinds—applied and academic, national and local, quantitative and qualitative—to be developed on a continuous and regular basis to inform both government policy and cultural management practice.   As has been repeated, my own case study is only a limited one on an audience development project in a specialist genre that attracted a homogeneous population in a rural area.   Research into a participatory project in a more popular genre for an urban public may well show different patterns of relationship between people and the arts.

Issues for Future Research

In the limited space left in this paper, it may be useful to suggest issues for future research specifically for classical music, the example chosen in this paper.   What emerges by drawing the findings together is a doubt about whether it is appropriate to divide people by attendance frequency alone or by the level of inclination towards attendance.   My case study suggests that the boundary between attender and non-attender is not as clear as we usually assume.   The same people move back and forth between two spheres that are definitely separate from a box office viewpoint.   Also the boundary between these two categories becomes less meaningful if what we are concerned with is to enrich people's lives through offering the joy and appreciation of music rather than with the number of audiences and their composition.   Related to this point, there have from time to time been calls for more attention to be given to active participation in the arts such as music-making and painting (eg Everitt 1997).   However, this aspect of music consumption tends to be neglected in policy as it is basically not a priority in the British arts funding system.   The exception is arts creation by young people on which research is more abundant (eg Willis 1993) than on young people as spectators (Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation 1999: 19).

Even less known than participatory activities in the arts is the degree to which people enjoy music of a reproduced nature. Statistics such as the sales of CDs and the number of hours people spend listening to the radio are available, but knowledge on the qualitative aspect of such activities, for example, the ways in which non-live music is consumed is limited. DeNora (1999) in her study based on fifty-two interviews with women argues that music works as a tool for a project of self-making. She also finds that music is often used by respondents for their emotional control and manipulation. Her paper however is largely concerned with music played in the background in everyday life, and more intensive ways of listening at home are not discussed. Waterman et al (1991) have argued that the experience of recorded music can be a substitute for live music for certain age groups (most notably families with young children), and functions to keep their interest in the arts alive. This can later be tapped into by arts marketeers when they have more available time and mobility. A marketing report by the Arts Council of England (1993) touches upon 'domestic listening' of infrequent and non-attenders, but the reference is only marginal to concert attendance which is the main topic of the research. After all, the relationship between domestic listening and concert attendance is still unclear. They could be complementary, substitutable, mutually exclusive, or supplementary to each other.

If, therefore, research shows that a non-attender is more inclined towards participatory activities than towards concert attendance, an audience development project would have to change direction to pick this up. This is, according to Jackson (1999: 52), more likely to be the case with people from social class D and E:

> …much of my work (as the Artistic Director of Cardboard Citizens) suggest that in some social groups there is an overlap between participation and attendance,....It's my perception that Ds and Es are more likely to be willing to participate than…As and Bs. I think [the entry point in the arts] is likely to be through participation at that end of the social spectrum.

In practice, such a strategy of tailoring projects to encourage various ways of involvement with music will require considerable resources to enable individual assessment and programme-making, and may not be realistic in the short term.

Unfortunately further elaboration on this topic would go beyond the scope of my study. Although my interviews included some discussion on people's apprehension of music in broad terms, the data collected is not substantial enough to allow rigorous analysis. What we have is not so much discernible patterns as fragmented pieces of information. As this has been an exploratory study, however, it is worth taking a risk and discussing what they seem to suggest so as to raise an issue for future research. It is related to the audiences' claimed love for music and their knowledge of classical music. So far I have discussed the audiences at the BCMG

concerts as music lovers who are familiar with classical music in general and have no fear of embarrassment or ignorance at concerts.   The sample also included very active amateur musicians as well as serious listeners to recorded music.

Nonetheless, few of the people struck me as music afficionados, and overall there was a lack of consistency and density in the knowledge of classical music gleaned from the interviewees. As to listening to music on the radio, the majority mentioned Radio 3 and to a much lesser extent Classic FM as their favourite stations.   Whilst there were some who said that Classic FM is irritating with too many adverts, only a few spoke of Radio 3 with any degree of enthusiasm or elaboration even at my prompt.   These may be minor symptoms, but the interviewees often got specific names of their music-related favourites wrong.   John said White Tower a couple of times in talking of Tower Records, a mega music shop and other media goods, and Larry could not remember correctly the name of his favourite programme on Radio 3, featuring interviews with world-class musicians (which was called the Artist of the Week). Anthony told me of a few anecdotes and jokes about classical music composers, but they often failed to make sense as he made factual errors.

Many interviewees, in saying that they loved classical music, mentioned the BBC Proms in particular, from which their (limited) knowledge on modern music came.   James and Mary make the point of listening to broadcast concerts during the season in their sitting room, but at other times of the year their house is rather quiet.   One of the composers interviewed suggests that this is typical: 'Where do the Prommers go in the winter?' (laugh).   In a similar vein there were only two in the sample who mentioned any music magazine such as the Gramophone and the BBC Music Magazine, and only Daniel and Diana said they were avid readers of arts reviews in the newspaper.   Few people, it seemed to me, possessed huge collections of CDs or LPs either.   Natalie, a member of the typical Non-Commitals, presents another puzzle.   She attends at least one concert of classical music per month which requires considerable driving to the venue, but did not impress me as somebody with extensive knowledge and a strong interest in music.

As was mentioned, it has not been a major purpose of my case study to test the level of musical knowledge and the efforts made to accumulate such knowledge, and I did not ask relevant questions in a systematic way.   Listening to classical music on the radio as background music may not be something enthusiastic music lovers approve of.   Many of the interviewees also argued that recorded music never beats listening to music live.   Another factor we need to be aware of is the relatively old ages of the sample group.   Being mature, independently-minded

and confident, they know how to be selective and want to keep their interest alive and intensive by not allowing themselves to be saturated with music and information about it. We also need to remember that many people attend arts events for socialisation, which explains the case of Natalie above. Although the interviewees emphasised the primacy of concert attendance on the grounds of artistic quality, it is quite possible that the real reason for this preference is group identification explained in Part 1: they enjoy seeing friends on the occasion and being among people like themselves.

The present paper has no basis on which to make a further judgement on the validity of these data and the competing accounts of them. In fact one of the commentators on the draft of this paper who is an arts marketing professional suggests that lack of detailed knowledge by attenders is common at least in other art forms such as drama. What I can conclude about classical music at best is that knowledge, the love for music and the actual habit of music consumption are related to each other in very complex ways. A keen concert attender does not always read reviews and information on the music scene on a regular basis. A keen Radio 3 listener does not always possess a large collection of CDs or go to live concerts frequently. A similar finding to this suggestion has been noted by Mann (nd) in his study of over 14,000 audiences in Britain undertaken in 1970. His sample was obtained from ten particular concerts given by five major orchestras. An interesting finding of Mann's report which is relevant to my discussion here is that the concert attenders are inactive outside the concert halls:

> ...concertgoers appear to have limited interests in music. Generally speaking they do not attend other forms of musical entertainment very much, they own a fair number of serious L.P.s (but large record collections are rare), they do not borrow many records from local lending libraries and they do very little reading about music or recordings. It would seem that those people who listen to music at concerts rarely have wider or deeper interests in serious music. (20)

Mann offers no explanation to this phenomenon that contradicts conventional wisdom about keen concert attenders, a consumer behaviour which perhaps needs more research to confirm and build up a theory. Similarly, an audience survey of Sinfonia 21 finds that a significant proportion (41%) of contemporary music audiences rarely purchase CDs while the other half (59%) buy regularly or often at least six per year (quoted by Richard Hadley Marketing 1997: np). Existing research, however, is often concerned with a certain form of music apprehension, be they concert attendance or instrument-playing, depending upon *who is funding the research*. Practical marketing research may ask questions about musical literature readership, but it appears to have the purpose of knowing where to advertise. I would argue that for audience development policy to be successful it will be increasingly important to cross bureaucratic boundaries between agencies and organisations related to music in one way or another to facilitate collaboration in research and in practice. It is by going back to people who may or may not relate to music in a variety of ways and understanding their motives and responses to

different genres of music delivered in diverse media that our knowledge of the relationship between people and the arts will be extended and the desire to bring more joy to people through the arts will be realised.

Appendix A

Your name＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

Address:＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

Telephone:＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

Thank you for your cooperation. Please return this form to:

Nobuko Kawashima
Centre for Cultural Policy Studies
Theatre Studies
University of Warwick
Coventry CV4 7AL

Telephone: 024 76 532020
Fax: 024 76 524446

29 March 1999

Dear concert attender

I am a lecturer in cultural policy at the University of Warwick and currently carrying out a research project called 'Music in the Community'.   I find this concert you have attended a very interesting case for me to explore.

I would like to know how you found about the concert, what you felt about the music, and your music listening activity in general.

I wonder if you could talk to me for about 45 minutes or so on the above issues.   I will come and see you at your home if that is convenient for you.   If you feel you could help, would you mind giving me your name, address and telephone number?   I am going to be out of the country and will contact you in late April to arrange a meeting.

This is an independent, academic research project, and your information will be kept confidential.   It is not related to the BCMG's mailing list at all, and your name and address will not be passed on to the BCMG.

Thank you for your consideration.   I look forward to talking to you.

Yours sincerely

Nobuko Kawashima

Appendix C

Could you please fill in this form and hand it to me when we meet?   Thank you.

****
Name:

Address:

Telephone:

(Please correct if any of the above is inaccurate, or please add any missing information.)
****
Date of Interview:

What is your age? (Please circle your age group.)

20-24	25-34	35-44
45-54	55-64	65+

Are you:
In full-time employment	[ ]
In part-time employment	[ ]
Unemployed	[ ]
Retired	[ ]
Other	[Please specify]

What is (or was) your occupation?
(   )

Are you:
single	[ ]
married	[ ]
living with a partner	[ ]
divorced/separated	[ ]
widowed	[ ]

At what age did you complete your full-time education?

16 or under	[ ]
17-18	[ ]
19 or over	[ ]

(Continued, P.T.O)

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Do you have children?
Yes   [   ]   (Their ages:)
No   [   ]

How many times in your life have you attended concerts by the Birmingham Contemporary Music Group (including the one in Edgton in March 1999)?

About how many times per year do you attend concerts? (Please specify the type of music, eg. classical music, jazz, rock, etc)

Do you listen to the radio for music?   If yes, what station?

What other arts and leisure activities are you interested in?

About how long did you travel from home to come to the concert of the Birmingham Contemporary Music Group in March 1999?

Within walking distance   [   ]
Driving up to 30 minutes (each way)   [   ]
Driving between 31 and 60 minutes (each way) [   ]
Driving more than one hour (each way)   [   ]

Thank you for your time.

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Appendix D

Musical Experiences

How many times a year do you go to concerts?

Do you listen to the radio for music?   (Classic FM and Radio 3)?

Do you listen to music cassettes and CDs?

Other Leisure and Arts

What other leisure (and arts) activities are you interested in?

Rural Tour

In what way did you find about the concert?

Why did you decide to come?

Did you enjoy the concert?   Why?

What did you like about the concert?

Would you like to have more of these concerts if possible?

Did you get your name on the mailing list of BCMG?   Why and why not?

Contemporary Western Music

How do you find contemporary music?

How would you explain the music at the concert to a friend who did not come?

What did you expect to hear at the concert?   Were your expectations largely met?

What did you imagine from the music?   What do you remember about the music?

Do you think that one has to have some knowledge about contemporary music in order to enjoy it?

Appendix E   Profile of the Interviewees

Name[1]	Sex	Age	Education[2]	Occupation [3]	Number of Concerts / year[4]
Adam	M	65+	16-	ex-Marketing executive	2
Adrian	M	35-44	19+	Musician, furniture designer	7.5 (various)
Alison*	F	45-54	19+	Crafts person	3 (+1 jazz)
Andy	M	45-54	17-8	Self-employed	15 (incl jazz etc)
Anthony	M	65+	19+	ex-Various	6
Bridget	F	65+	16-	ex-Secretary	4
Catherine	F	55-64	16-	Cleaner	1 pop
Chris	M	45-54	19+	Design teacher	2
Christine	F	35-44	19+	Museum educator	5
Colin	M	65+	16-	ex-Marketing executive	12.5
Daniel	M	65+	19+	ex-Architect	20
David*	M	35-44	19+	Professional cellist	20 (plus 10 jazz)
Diana	F	65+	19+	ex-Music teacher	20 (+2 jazz)
Elaine	F	65+	19+	Housewife	4
Elizabeth	F	65+	16-	Housewife	12.5
Ellen	F	35-44	19+	Housewife, qualified nurse	5
Emma	F	65+	?	ex-Nurse	15
Gerry*	F	45-54	19+	Arts teacher	8
Gillian	F	45-54	17-8 +OU	School assistant	3
Graham	M	35-44	19+	Professional pianist	50
Heather*	F	65+	19+	Music teacher	variable
Hilary*	F	55-64	19+	ex-Social work teacher	6 (incl jazz)
Imogen	F	45-54	16-	ex-Pub manager	0
James	M	65+	19+	ex-Doctor	3
Jane	F	65+	16-	Dinner lady	0
Jay*	M	55-64	19+	Graphic designer	3 (+1 jazz)
John	M	55-64	16-	Trade union official	24
Judith	F	45-54	17-8	Self-employed	15 (incl jazz etc)
Larry	M	55-64	19+, PhD	College lecturer	10 (+5 jazz)
Linda*	F	35-44	19+	Professional flautist	6
Lucy	F	45-54	19+	Graphic designer	8
Magda	F	65+	16-	ex-Library assistant	0

Margaret	F	35-44	19+		Artist, Visual arts lecturer	7.5 (various)
Mark	M	55-64	19+		ex-?	8
Martin	M	65+	19+		ex-Minister	4
Mary	F	65+	17-8		ex-Health visitor	2
Maureen	F	65+	17-8		ex-Health manager	2
Melanie	F	65+	16-		ex-Nurse	6
Nancy	F	65+	19+		ex-School teacher	4
Natalie	F	65+	19+		ex-School teacher	20
Peter	M	55-64	19+, OU		Potter	0.25
Robert	M	65+	19+		ex-Minister	20+
Roger*	M	65+	19+		ex-Minister	6 (incl jazz)
Roy	M	45-54	19+		Headmaster, secondary school	3
Ruth	F	55-64	19+, PhD		ex-Arts administrator,	25
Simon*	M	65+	19+		ex-Teacher	several
Stuart	M	25-34	19+		Scientist	3
Sue	F	55-64	17-8		ex-caterer	0
Tom	M	35-44	19+		School teacher	7 (jazz etc)

Notes: [1] All the names are pseudonyms.   Those with * are the local organisers of the concerts.

[2] The age at which the respondent finished formal education.   OU refers to Open University degress.

[3] Includes current and pre-retirement occupations.

[4] Not all the interviewees separated non-classical music concerts.

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