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Variations on the act of listening

Twenty-one orchestra audience
development events in light of John Dewey's
'art as experience' metaphor

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Thesis submitted to the City University, London as part of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy.
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Declaration

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Abstract

Variations on the act of listening: Twenty-one orchestra audience development events in light of John Dewey's 'art as experience' metaphor

This thesis is a contribution to a critical debate about the role and impact of audience development theory on the organisation of orchestra concerts. It suggests that the conventional analysis of orchestra audience development, which is influenced by a marketing management tradition that favours the metaphor of 'customer comfort', is too reductive and that it gives the listening subject too limited a role in the process of music. In reaction to this, John Dewey's idea of 'art as experience' is introduced to open up the debate and explore the underlying assumptions of the prevailing arts marketing model of audience development. The thesis calls for a reform of the dominant audience development paradigm and the 'toolbox' conception of arts management.

This thesis is based on the pragmatist aesthetic reading and interpretation of 21 orchestra events, concerts and educational performances, involving eight symphony orchestras. The orchestras are: the Berlin Philharmonic, the BBC Concert Orchestra, the Iceland Symphony Orchestra, the London Philharmonic Orchestra, the London Symphony Orchestra, the Orchestre de Paris, the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra and the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra. The 21 musical events were chosen on the basis of their diversity and representation of the variety of audience development activity that the symphony orchestras promote. Furthermore, the events have critical potential since they raise issues that are important to the understanding of what changes to the concert structure might mean in terms of a different understanding of audience development.

The events are realisations of the fact that there are various ways of perceiving music through performance and listening. From the pragmatist perspective it is important that these variations on the classical concert form are not viewed or constructed as ideal, or more valuable in some abstract sense, but rather as alterations that create different ways of perceiving music for both performers and listeners. In conclusion, I suggest that audience development is a much broader subject than is usually recognised and far too important for the future of the art form to be theorised solely in terms of dominant marketing conceptions. A possible re-definition is proposed in which 'audience development' is understood in a more musical and pragmatist sense of a 'variation on the act of listening'.

1 Introduction

In his book *The Art Firm: Aesthetic Management and Metaphysical Marketing*, Pierre Guillet de Monthoux (2004) playfully envisions an art company called Dionysus Inc. This imaginary avant-garde firm is governed by the aesthetic values of famous historical thinkers and artists. In this scenario the philosopher Immanuel Kant is the company's Financial Director, the Romantic poet Friedrich Schiller is Management Consultant/Aesthetic Coach, the artist Joseph Beuys is the Head of Human Resources, and yet another philosopher, Friedrich Nietzsche, is Managing Director. The Head of Marketing is an American philosopher, John Dewey, whose work, according to Guillet de Monthoux, has roots in the Central European fine-art tradition on which Dionysus's company ethos is founded. What makes John Dewey a competent marketing manager, in this imaginative account, is that Dewey has the ability to talk to any kind of customer and Dewey's approach is democratic in the sense that he can't bear, as Guillet de Monthoux puts it, that customers 'take aesthetics the wrong way, thinking it is some sort of frightening or intimidating totalitarianism' (Guillet de Monthoux 2004: xi).

Dewey's role is to bridge the apparent gap between the 'mysterious metaphysical world of the artistic genius' and the market (the everyday world of the common person), by making the company's aesthetic principles less intimidating. According to Guillet de Monthoux, Dewey is also aware enough to avoid connecting the company's 'operations' (the business of metaphysical performance, interestingly unspecified) to some 'banal entertainment'. *Banality*, as maintained by Guillet de Monthoux in this book, is one of 'the two capital sins of an art-based economy' (the other being *totality*, or art in the service of dictators and fascists), and, with his 'non-banal yet democratic' approach to aesthetic management, Dewey is crucial to the success of the ideal organisation Dionysus Inc. What Guillet de Monthoux means by banality is that if the aesthetic experience is reduced to a crude marketing technique, the value of the artistic performance is lost and with it the performance's quality (Guillet de Monthoux 2004: 110). Art managers should be wary of simple business management solutions to their problems and unimaginative application of marketing textbooks.

It is evident that John Dewey was critical of any banal marketing approach to the aesthetic experience, but what is the potential of the democratic approach to aesthetics that Dewey advocates? Could it be a method of bridging the perceived gap between the ‘mysterious metaphysical world of art’ and the everyday audience?

In the thesis I ask if John Dewey’s approach to aesthetics is applicable to describe the audience development efforts of modern symphony orchestras. I also ask if his theory could replace the prevailing marketing paradigm that dominates thinking about audience development. For this purpose I use Dewey’s redefinition of art, the metaphor of ‘art as experience’ to provide critical insight into the aesthetics of orchestra audience development concerts. My conclusion is that while Dewey’s redefinition of art provides a useful insight into orchestra concerts and audience development practices that challenge the traditional concert form, the ‘art as experience’ metaphor is not a formula for what the listening experience should be. Dewey’s art as experience image is an analytical concept which puts into critical perspective not only the classical concert construct but any attempt to externally organise or predetermine the process of music. I doubt therefore that Dewey could be described as a conventional marketing manager for an arts organisation and I suggest that his attitude would be more similar to what Theodor Adorno says about the role of the cultural manager in the essay ‘Culture and Administration’: it is ‘in the difference itself – in divergence – that hope is concerned’ (Adorno 2001: 131). Dewey is first and foremost a critic of the prevailing ‘arts management’ paradigm and offers an interesting way to rethink the role of music and redefine listening.

In his 1934 publication *Art as Experience*, John Dewey criticised the modern organisation of art institutions for segregating art from other aspects of life (1980: 3). Dewey’s main argument was that the art product was isolated and that art had been institutionalised by the arts management discourses of the time and made out of reach for most people. He dubs this administrative condition ‘the museum conception of art’ (1980: 6), a rhetorical concept he contrasts with his own metaphor of ‘art as experience’. Dewey blames the rationalisation of modern life and the capitalist-institutional processes of classification, hierarchies and dispiriting organisational control for this state of affairs, and he also criticises aesthetic theories that ‘over-spiritualise’ art and make it transcendental and unearthly, stored away in a museum

glass case (1980: 7-11). His undertaking then becomes to describe art, which to him is an instance of human experience in possibly its most intensified form, relevant to more everyday modes of being.

As arts management theorists such as Derrick Chong (2002), John Pick and Malcolm Anderton (1996) have pointed out, the conventional analysis of audience development is influenced by a marketing management tradition that favours institutional market-transactional outcomes to aesthetical evaluation. In reaction to this situation, and to explore Dewey's 'experience' metaphor further, I attempt in the thesis to divert the term of reference and re-describe orchestra audience development events in terms of pragmatist aesthetic theory and by that to challenge current marketing conceptualisations of orchestra audience development.

Illustrations of such marketing accounts of audience development can be found in several sources, for instance: Bonita Kolb's (2000), *Marketing Cultural Organisations*; Elizabeth Hill, Terry O'Sullivan, and Catherine O'Sullivan's (1995), *Creative Arts Marketing*; the symphony orchestra journals, *Harmony* and *Symphony*, and the *International Journal of Arts Management*; Heather Maitland's (1997) widely referenced *A Guide to Audience Development*, and Tim Baker's (2000), *Stop Reinventing the Wheel*, published by the Association of British Orchestras. With a view to these and similar publications, I argue in the thesis that the reductive reasoning of audiences as 'customers' and their supposed 'development' offered by the prevailing arts management discourse (for instance by Phillip Kotler and Joanne Scheff (1997) in the arts marketing textbook, *Standing Room Only*) can be opened up through analysis and the idea of the listener being a creator or a participant in the process of making music.

Dewey's main contribution to aesthetics was the concept of the listener as an active creator. His idea is that the conventional comprehension of art as a 'work' or a product that is ready for consumption has made people unaware of the dynamic nature of art as an imaginative process. Given this situation, Dewey's task becomes to re-conceptualise the 'work of art' to create a fresh insight. It is important to remember that Dewey's re-definition of art should not be viewed as the last word on what art really is. It is more an attempt to change the terms of the discourse. As I explain in

more detail in chapter four on methodology, Dewey does not mean that art is literally experience but rather that 'art as experience' could serve as a *metaphor* that offers possibilities of re-describing the way people use art. As the organisation theorist Joep P. Cornelissen points out, to use a metaphor, or to say that something 'is like' something else, is not to say that they are the same thing (Cornelissen 2004: 705-726). And as the organisation theorist Gareth Morgan (1997) explores in his book *Images of Organization*, each metaphor can help us see a particular aspect of an organisation while at the same time obscuring others.

In the thesis, and in accordance with Dewey's project, I argue that the pragmatist perspective, the metaphor of 'art as experience', can provide a useful insight into the workings of the orchestra concert as a modern institution. It is particularly valuable when viewing audience development practices that challenge the traditional concert form and where the role of the artwork is destabilised. It is also a useful alternative to the marketing conception of audience development and it can open up questions concerning the listening subject and its relation to the process of music, the purpose and meanings of the artwork, and the complexities of music's existence in social time and space. The suggestion is also that John Dewey's 'experience' metaphor becomes helpful when it is linked with the aesthetic understanding of structures and the theoretical discourse on temporary organisation.

The focus of my research is on 21 audience development events promoted by eight symphony orchestras: the BBC Concert Orchestra, the Berlin Philharmonic, the Iceland Symphony Orchestra, the London Philharmonic Orchestra, the London Symphony Orchestra, the Orchestre de Paris, the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra and the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra. The events took place from 1999 to 2006 and seventeen of the interpretations are based on participant observation on the site of the actual musical performance. Four of the concerts were however only available in the course of the research on a DVD recording which provided the source of analysis for those events and offered a different perspective.

As I describe in chapter four on methodology, my method is interpretive and for the purpose of the research I employ the concept of 're-description'. Here the concept of re-description is used in the sense the philosopher Richard Rorty (1989) introduces it

in *Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity*, and in the way organisation theorist Mary Jo Hatch (1999) further develops it in, among other works, her article, 'Exploring the empty spaces of organizing: How improvisational jazz helps redescribe organizational structure'.

'Re-description' is defined as a re-reading in light of different context, or from a different perspective. If the metaphor of 'art as experience' is taken too literally as a theory about the true nature of art, it becomes too naïve and essentialist to fit the purpose. In line with Richard Rorty's (1982: 72-89) argument in *Consequences of Pragmatism* and Richard Shusterman's (2000: 83) *Pragmatist Aesthetics: Living Beauty, Rethinking Art*, I am sceptical of the use of Dewey's 'experience' concept too literally as a measure of all things important. My suggestion is rather that Dewey's metaphor of 'art as experience' can *open up* the discourse of the qualitative dimensions of orchestra audience development events. In that way the experience metaphor can assist in asking questions about the musical elements involved. Indeed, the events observed for this study provoke conflicting answers to the main question they prompt: 'What is it to listen?' Accordingly, I suggest in the thesis that at the same time as these musical events question and put into perspective the claims of universality and the transactional character of the rational-modern structure of the classical orchestra concert, they also question claims of any literal meaning of the true or ideal musical experience.

If Guillet de Monthoux's book is a signal of growing interest in John Dewey's aesthetic theory in recent years, there is also a discernable tendency to connect the experience metaphor with discourses of inclusion and more accessible high-art organisations (2000: 144). For example, Angela Marsh (2004), in her article, 'Pragmatist Aesthetics and New Visions of the Contemporary Art Museum', considers 'the current impetus toward "democratizing" contemporary art exhibition practice with regards to Deweyan/Shusterman pragmatist aesthetics' (Marsh 2004: 91). According to Marsh, John Dewey could play an ample role in guiding the process of democratising audiences' relationship with art. This challenge, Marsh argues, is no small assignment:

Dewey illustrates the segue between art and the perceiver, and his belief that within the profound art experience, lived dichotomies are healed: In art as an experience, actuality and possibility or ideality, the new and the old, objective material and personal response, the individual and the universal, surface and depth, sense and meaning, are integrated in an experience in which they are all transfigured from the significance that belongs to them when isolated in reflection.

(Marsh 2004: 91)

In this paragraph Marsh is referring to the philosopher Richard Shusterman's account of Dewey, who claims that pragmatist aesthetic theory aims at rethinking art 'in democratic terms' and reflecting on the social implications of prevailing art ideologies (Shusterman 2000: 62). Shusterman, for instance in the books *Pragmatist Aesthetics* and *Surface and Depth: Dialectics of Criticism and Culture*, professes to be following Dewey's programme of restoring continuity between the 'intensified forms of experience that are works of art' and people's everyday life experiences, and he proposes to 're-conceive art so as to enhance its role and appreciation' (Shusterman 2000: xv; Shusterman 2002: 130).

Both Shusterman and Marsh go too far, in interpreting Dewey's 'experience' literally and I think it is important here to view his pragmatist redefinition or re-description of the process of art, 'art as experience', in the creative sense of a new definition being produced. In my interpretation of Dewey's *Art as Experience* in this thesis I focus on its critical contribution to the debate on arts institutions. I tend not to dwell of other elements of Dewey's theory, such as his enthusiastic optimism about arts possibilities to improve peoples' lives and his sometimes detailed description of the universal essence and unity of aesthetic experience. These ideas were in his view at the beginning of the twentieth century, helpful to develop a more democratic or equalitarian conception of the institutional framework of the arts, but are perhaps not as helpful today.

In this thesis I suggest that Dewey's attitude is much more a creation of possibility, a development in the sense of a musical variation that offers a different perspective, rather than a 'better' experience or more 'involvement'. As I explain in the chapter on

methodology, 'experience' is best understood metaphorically and when conjoined with other theory and observations of events. Dewey should be read, in accordance with his own project of creative redefinition, critically and imaginatively. In line with Dewey's imaginative approach, I propose a redefinition of the term 'audience development' so that it is understood in a more pragmatist-musical sense of 'variation on the act of listening'. This meaning is offered as a contribution to further understanding of musical presentation and the relationship between institutions and musically engaged guests.

Shusterman is right, however, in that the pragmatist aesthetic view is more political in its approach than the more analytical or Kantian views in aesthetic theory. This political approach is demonstrated in that rather than being a system of definitions or classification of art objects, the pragmatist aesthetic perspective seeks to open up the purpose of arts institutions and the ways in which art could, and possibly should, be presented in more diverse ways. At the beginning of *Art as Experience*, Dewey states that the primary task of those who undertake to write about the philosophy of the fine arts is to restore continuity between the refined and intensified forms of art and everyday events, doings and sufferings (1980: 3). It is the institutional distinction, the organisational separation of life and art that Dewey wants to surpass. Importantly, the pragmatist aesthetics perspective focuses on the role of art in a modern industrialised society, and because of the insistence on viewing the audience as an active and creative participant in the process of experiencing and listening it has implications for cultural policy and the management and leadership of arts institutions.

This thesis is an arts management study and stems from reflection on the role of management theory and its possibilities. Management research, in the words of the organisational theorist Barbara Czarniawska, is the practice of 'writing management', not by dictating norms, but by reflecting and provoking (1999: 10). According to Czarniawska, the role of the researcher is to create knowledge by re-describing organisational reality through reflective observation and associations (Czarniawska 1999: 10). In this view the main role of creative 'institutional reflection' of management is to furnish a language of interpretation and reflection to practitioners and theoreticians alike.

Arts management as a field of inquiry is being shaped by various discourses but its most interesting questions deal with the reciprocal relation of the two nouns art and management. Organisational theorist Niina Koivunen, in her 2004 study *Leadership in Symphony Orchestras: Discursive and Aesthetic Practices*, states that arts management, as a new research field, deals with the 'challenging interplay' between art and business (Koivunen 2004: 13). Koivunen maintains that arts management research attempts to shed light on the specific conditions of arts organisations and typical questions within the field are whether 'art products differ from ordinary products' and if 'art allows itself to be managed' (Koivunen 2004: 14). Koivunen argues that while the arts have been associated with 'creativity, beauty, freedom, imagination and intuition', business management has been associated with 'commerce, control, effectiveness, structure and rationality' (Koivunen 2004: 13). Consequently, according to Koivunen, arts management as a research field, where 'art' and 'management' interplay, poses fundamental questions about the nature of knowledge and the dominant paradigms of management. These 'fundamental questions' about art and management link to another important influence on my research for this thesis, the sociologist and music philosopher Theodor Adorno.

In the 1960 essay 'Culture and Administration', Adorno argues that, despite the inherent contradictions between the two spheres of *organisation* (with its tendency to categorise, evaluate and control) and of *culture* (which cannot be tailored according to any tactical or technical consideration), they are destined to co-exist. As he states in the first sentence of the essay: 'Whoever speaks of culture speaks of administration as well, whether this is his intention or not' (Adorno 2001: 107). Adorno's analysis of the two spheres, organisation and culture, refers to Max Weber's theory of rational power and bureaucracy, the nature of administrative thinking, its mechanical tendencies, and the drive of rational institutions towards expansion. According to Weber, the technical superiority of the organisational type of administration, with its precision, speed, clarity, documentary ability and accountability, is destined to outmanoeuvre any older forms of organisation (M. Weber 1997). Weber then warned that under capitalism the rationalist order had become an iron cage in which humanity was, save for the possibility of prophetic revival, imprisoned (M. Weber 2001: 123; DiMaggio and Powell 1983: 147-160).

For when asceticism was carried out of monastic cells into everyday life, and began to dominate worldly morality, it did its part in building the tremendous cosmos of the modern economic order. This order is now bound to the technical and economic conditions of machine production which today determine the lives of all the individuals who are born into this mechanism, not only those directly concerned with economic acquisition, with irresistible force. Perhaps it will so determine them until the last ton of fossilized coal is burnt.

(M. Weber 2001: 123)

Weber's image of the iron cage of the rational order is an important reminder of the complexities of situating the concept of rationalization into a specific category. This complex metaphor calls into question the simple culture/management dichotomy, since rational structures are as much a cultural fact as they are organisational. Weber explored this concept further in his analysis of the rationalisation tendencies in Western art music and observed that Western culture is characterised by an ever-increasing tendency towards the rationalisation of all aspects of society and the domination of nature. As authors such as Max Paddison (1993) in *Adorno's Aesthetics of Music*, and Paul Honigsheim (1989), *Sociologists and Music* point out, Weber sees organisational bureaucratisation is only one aspect of this trend, and music was not exempt from the inclination towards the smoothest utilisation of all material. When Weber analysed Western music in the light of rationalisation, he found these tendencies in the relation of melody to harmony and in the comparison of Western and non-Western scale and tuning systems. He also believed them to be discernable in polyphony and the development of notational systems, and in the technology of musical instruments and systems of tuning them. Weber also contrasts the rigorous standardisation and co-ordination that regulates the modern Western symphony orchestra with the spontaneity and inventiveness of what he perceived as the more flexible musical systems of non-Western cultures (Paddison 1993: 138; Honigsheim 1989: 14).

These contradictions of rational-organisational tendencies in modern Western culture were a great inspiration to the writings of Adorno, Weber and Dewey. And in spite of the apparently pessimistic outlook of the rationalistic administration taking over every

aspect of humanity, Adorno's article 'Culture and Administration' ends on a relatively positive note. Adorno hopes that if cultural administrators do not view the categories of culture and administration as simply accepted and as historically given static blocks, we should still be in a position to alter the function of our institutions. His message is that if we are true to our 'spontaneous consciousness', and if we use it 'critically and unflinchingly', we can 'realise something which would be different from merely administrative culture' (Adorno 2001: 131). Accordingly, Adorno says about the role of the administrator: 'The minimal differences from the ever-constant which are open to him define for him – no matter how hopelessly – the difference concerning totality; it is, however, in the difference itself – in divergence – that hope is concerned' (Adorno 2001: 131).

Adorno's idea of 'divergence' from organisational structure and 'variation' on the given order is similar to an attitude in critical theorist Michael Foucault's and conductor/composer Pierre Boulez's discussion 'Contemporary Music and the Public'. In their published conversation (Foucault and Boulez 1988), the authors reflect on the status and the role of the audience and audience development in relation to Western contemporary music and Foucault makes the point that over-familiarity with a particular kind of listening, which is strengthened by the institutional risk-aversion of market mechanisms makes the perception of new or different music more difficult (Foucault and Boulez 1988). Familiarity with particular ways of listening, where the most frequent becomes the most acceptable, makes people averse to any effort to 'derail familiarities'. Foucault suggests that a certain rarity of relation to music 'could preserve an ability to choose what one hears'. He continues: 'It goes without saying that I am not in favor of a rarefaction of the relation to music, but it must be understood that the everydayness of this relation, with all the economic stakes that are riding on it, can have this paradoxical effect of rigidifying tradition (Foucault and Boulez 1988: 317)'. However, according to Foucault this is not a matter of making access to music more rare, but of 'making its frequent appearances less devoted to habits and familiarities' (Foucault and Boulez 1988: 317).

Yet, Adorno, Foucault and Dewey are all very different thinkers. Adorno's critique of rationality, for instance, goes much further than Dewey's analysis, and Dewey is generally more positive about the possibilities of reason to 'synthesise' oppositions.

Adorno seeks no form of synthesis and he seeks to illuminate difference and contradiction by applying negative dialectics which suspend any moments of final recognition or knowledge (DeNora 2003: 4-5). Foucault's questioning of subjectivity and agency is also different from Dewey's more natural humanism. Foucault would possibly even categorise much of Dewey's writing as metaphysical dabble and misguided humanism. However there are similarities between the three thinkers in their critique of institutions and existing, modern, categories of thought. And they would agree with the curator Nicolas Bourriaud who, concerned about the marketing standardisation of aesthetic experience and the increased focus of a particular practice within the visual arts in the 1990s, writes: 'The enemy we have to fight first and foremost is embodied in a social form: it is the spread of the supplier/client relations to every level of human life, from work to dwelling-place by way of all the tacit contracts which define our private life' (Bourriaud 2002: 83).

A similar idea to Foucault's and Adorno's of variation and divergence from the 'externally organised' institutional structures of the high-art system is to be found in Dewey's critical approach to aesthetics. Dewey's critique focuses on high culture's institutional mechanisms and how they are supported by the industrialisation of art and the surge of rational organisation. Dewey's main point is that the reason for the cultural isolation of high art, in this research orchestra music, is the way these things are organised and people use concepts such as 'art', 'listener' and 'listening' in a much too reductive and restrictive way. These concepts dictate thought about concerts and listening and they are in effect linked with the reductive conceptualisation of audiences as 'consumers' and music as a 'product'. The listening subject is defined as a passive receiver and left with a limited range of possibilities to actively hear or engage with the music. As I describe in this thesis, Dewey's idea of art as a process of creation by all participants encourages deviation from and variation on the prevailing structure.

The idea for this research came from my work as a marketing manager for the Iceland Symphony Orchestra where I experienced firsthand the contradictions of administration and music. The research subject relates to the problems and questions the orchestra faced in its concerns about artistic profile and programmes, the size and the age of the audiences, the purpose of the orchestra, and future development of the

art form. The questions were further emphasised during the course of a strategic review, for which, along with other colleagues, I was partly responsible. Over the winter months of 2003–2004, musicians, management and members of the board sat together and discussed the direction the Iceland Symphony Orchestra should be heading. What should be the main concerns in setting the course for the next five to ten years? Much of these discussions focused on the theme of audiences: what the orchestra could do to attract them and how it could serve the public better. An important question was what kind of activity was appropriate for the orchestra to engage in to attract audiences. What kind of concerts could, and importantly *should*, the orchestra promote and programme as it sought to attract new audiences, while still staying true to its nature as a respectable symphony orchestra? Alarming there seemed to be a kind of trade-off between artistic integrity and coarse or ‘banal’ audience development.

Some of the popular crossover projects of the orchestra for which I was working were at least questionable in terms of musical value, and I was surprised by the popularity of concerts that I myself would not pay to hear. Indeed, some of my friends would be happiest with presentation and music that I disliked. What did they hear that I didn’t? Were we all hearing different things? Then there was music I didn’t like or didn’t care about the first time, but after hearing it again, or after a few years, it sounded completely new. Was it different music? Was I different? Was that perhaps what audience development was about, to change our hearing, making us like what we didn’t like before? Or maybe it was more about offering possibilities to hear things again, or differently? In the same way a person who would not ‘enjoy’ a piece of music when performed on stage in a concert setting would ‘listen’ or hear that same music in a shorter form, with the ‘best bits’ extracted, or, in a different context, for instance in the cinema when it was part of a film screening. And when the traditions of classical orchestral music and more recent conventions of popular music are mixed together, what makes the music, or the orchestra, more intimate or accessible? In what way is it more accessible? Could our relationship with the music perhaps be poorer or reduced for the sake of a notion of comfort that was never intended to be part of it?

These are the sort of questions I thought orchestra audience development should be asking. The strategy committee with which I was involved realised that the subject of

restructuring something as well established as the institutions of the orchestra concert, to meet some of the supposed needs of new audiences for access and comfort, is a complicated and delicate matter. If we advocated the kind of bells-and-whistles changes suggested by the arts marketing literature we could risk degrading the art form. On the other hand, there were various instrumental benefits to bringing in larger and more diverse audiences, including direct financial gains for the orchestra by broadening its customer base. We also used the issues of education and access for the disadvantaged as examples of what audience development was supposed to bring about according to the rhetoric.

Furthermore, the audience development literature and arts management theory available seemed to be looking past the core issue, which was the aesthetical or musical dimension of organising concerts. What does it mean to alter the concert structure? What is lost and what is gained? In the end the main questions of audience development are: What is 'audience'? What does it mean to 'develop'?

The American composer John Cage famously said that music must be arranged 'so that people realize that they themselves are doing it, and not that something is being done to them' (Nyman 2004: 218-219). Through Dewey's conception of the participating listener, as set against the society of spectators and separations, we can perhaps come to terms with what audience development and relational concert aesthetics have come to mean. If the customer metaphor offers a limited view of the audience, however, what constitutes 'listening'? And if music is a participatory activity, what is the role of the audience? The listener as a modern subject is not a simple construct and perhaps music challenges the modern conception of subjectivity since musical involvement, listening and performance, crosses the boundaries between artwork and the subject. Where does the individual listener end and where does the music start? What is it to hear an orchestra? This point about *a proper way of listening* needs some elaboration.

In 1991, 200 years after Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's opera *The Magic Flute* was premièred at the Freihaus-Theater auf der Wieden in Vienna in 1791, I appeared on the stage of the Icelandic Opera in Reykjavik as the back half of a dancing camel. It is the scene in the second act, where Tamino plays his magic flute in the hope of

summoning Pamina and Papageno and attracts a group of spellbound beasts which dance to the sound of the magical instrument. I had other roles in that production, such as an enchanted slave and a singing priest, but being the back half of the camel was the most difficult since I couldn't see anything and had to synchronise my movements with my partner, the front half, and the other animals. In that position, listening becomes the only way of knowing what to do next, when to take the next step and where to go. I was 17 years old at the time, and in the following years I participated in many productions, both as an extra and a member of the chorus on stage (a servant in *La Traviata*, a soldier in *Othello* etc.), but also as a stage hand, and finally as a stage manager. All these roles gave me opportunities to hear the music in various ways and demanded different ways of listening for cues and synchronising my thoughts with the music. At the same time, I sang in choirs with an orchestra, for instance, in Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony* with the Finnish conductor Osmo Vänskä, and I performed my own compositions with a rock band. These listening/performing experiences were all different and the music was different, from one moment to the next, from one performance to the next, and from one person to the next.

My point is: *listening varies* and there is no one way of correct or truthful listening. Listening could not and should not be organised once and for all, rather, we should constantly be on the lookout for different ways to experience music. In my view, any finalised idea of the perfect listening should be met with scepticism, although this view of 'alternative ways of listening' is not without its complexities. Theodor Adorno for instance, argued that listening to Schoenberg's music demanded 'from the very beginning active and concentrated participation' and 'the renunciation of the customary crutches of a listening which always knows what to expect' (Adorno 2000: 282). Furthermore it required the listener 'to spontaneously compose its inner movement and demands of him not mere contemplation but praxis' (Adorno 2000: 282). This demand of Schoenberg's serious and 'autonomously oriented' music, according to Adorno, was in direct opposition to what modernity, with its administrative processing of popular music as entertainment, asks of the audience (Adorno 2001). In his essay 'On the fetish character of music and the regression of listening', Adorno maintains that it is naive in light of the expansion of rational structures to all areas of life and death in the twentieth century to view light music and casual listening as innocent. That moment has passed, he argues:

Until the end of prehistory, the musical balance between partial stimulus and totality, between expression and synthesis, between the surface and the underlying, remains as unstable as the moments of balance between supply and demand in the capitalist economy. *The Magic Flute*, in which the utopia of the Enlightenment and the pleasure of a light opera comic song precisely coincide, is a moment by itself. After *The Magic Flute* it was never again possible to force serious and light music together.

(Adorno 2001: 32)

I am, however, still living to a certain extent in *The Magic Flute* moment (even if I have climbed out of the camel) and I regard Adorno's idea of serious listening is too austere as a general principle. I agree with the music theorist Ola Stockfelt who has challenged Theodor Adorno's notion that decisive, expert listening is the only adequate and critical mode of listening (Stockfelt 2004). Stockfelt writes about 'soundscapes', background music and the circumstances of listening, and he argues that the situation in which one encounters music 'conditions the music itself':

To listen adequately hence does not mean any particular, better, or 'more musical', 'more intellectual', or 'culturally superior' way of listening. It means that one masters and develops the ability to listen for what is relevant to the genre in the music, for what is adequate to understanding according to the specific genre's comprehensible context.

(Stockfelt 2004: 91)

Reminiscent Adorno's view, I think orchestra concerts are often considered as a particular kind of serious moment which emphasises idealised form of listening. Yet we know that the listening experience varies greatly between individuals and even in the concert hall where the audience is given time and space to sit and to concentrate on the music without any external interruption. In E. M. Forster's novel *Howards End* there is a short description of an orchestra concert in Queen's Hall in London at the beginning of the twentieth century. Forster introduces the listening habits of a few of the characters and vividly illustrates how differently they engage with the music:

It will be generally admitted that Beethoven's Fifth Symphony is the most sublime noise that has ever penetrated into the ear of man. All sorts and conditions are satisfied by it. Whether you are like Mrs Munt, and tap surreptitiously when the tunes come – of course, not so as to disturb the others – or like Helen, who can see heroes and shipwrecks in the music's flood; or like Margaret, who can only see the music; or like Tibby, who is profoundly versed in counterpoint, and holds the full score open on his knee; or like their cousin, Fraulein Mosebach, who remembers all the time that Beethoven is echt Deutsch; or like Fraulein Mosebach's young man, who can remember nothing but Fraulein Mosebach: in any case, the passion of your life becomes more vivid, and you are bound to admit that such a noise is cheap at two shillings. It is cheap, even if you hear it in the Queen's Hall, dreariest music-room in London, though not as dreary as the Free Trade Hall, Manchester; and even if you sit on the extreme left of that hall, so that the brass bumps at you before the rest of the orchestra arrives, it is still cheap.

(Forster 2003: 30)

This fictional account reveals a few interesting things about the act of listening and orchestra concerts. First, the obvious difference in people's reaction to music, the difference in their interest and what grabs their attention (which for E. M. Forster seems to be to some extent decided by the listeners' sex): Mrs Munt's taps for the love of the tune, while the music inspires Helen's imagination, and fills Fraulein Mosebach with national pride. Second, how location, acoustics and surroundings can affect the way individual listeners experience concerts. Fraulein Mosebach's young man is, for instance, focused on a fellow listener, and even ticket prices and the prestige of the hall can also become important factors. Thirdly, we see how knowledge and musical skill can play a significant role, as with Tibby, 'who is profoundly versed in counterpoint, and holds the full score open on his knee'. Moreover, reflecting the general themes of *Howards End* of the complexities of relationships between members of different social classes, we see the role of classical music in both sustaining and creating social status as the concert guards the interests of a particular social group. As the music theorist Christopher Small says: 'A symphony concert is a celebration of the "sacred history" of the Western middle classes, and an affirmation of their values as the abiding stuff of life' (quoted in Nettl:

2005: 247). In the end, whatever we can say about the music, people's individual experience varies from one person to the next, and the individual perception possibly also varies from one moment to the next.

The discussions and debates about the nature of 'audience development' were the starting point of the research process. However, I can also refer back to my earlier critical management studies, for in this research, as in my earlier studies, I was interested in the Enlightenment heritage of social structure and order, the aesthetic ideas governing management and institutions. In my mind, the fault lay not exclusively with the ever expanding business management paradigm taking over most areas of social and cultural life (what Adorno called 'administration' or 'the culture industry'). Part of the problem, was the romantic and modernist metaphors of art, so integrated in the discourse that any attempt to break away from it ended in misunderstanding and a stalemate between two apparently mutually exclusive views. A situation that Robert Hewison and John Holden in *The Right to Art* call 'reductive and unhelpful conversations that concentrate on spurious dichotomies' (Hewison and Holden 2004: 12) and, I suggest, comes from the way the concepts of art and management are formulated in the discourse on arts management.

This was also Dewey's task when he set out to explore the concept of art through the metaphor of experience; to somehow imaginatively think beyond dualities that govern thinking about the matter of art and institutions. It was Dewey's view in 1934 that we needed to think critically about the metaphors that govern the modern institutional setting of art in society and it is only too evident that this holds true in the current theory of orchestra audience development.

The thesis is arranged into seven chapters. In chapter two, *Orchestra 'audience development', its critics, and Dewey's pragmatist metaphor of 'art as experience'*, the concept of 'audience development' and its possible impinging role in the shaping of the modern orchestra concert are discussed. Advocated as the attitude of audience-focus (Baker 2000: 7) *audience development theory* is a shaping discourse about the role and character of the orchestra concert as an institution and it has impacted the way people think about the presentation of orchestra music. However, as I present in the chapter, audience development research and theory has been criticised for being

too reductive, and for applying marketing and economic-transactional thinking to the study of musical engagement. The conception of the listening subject as a 'consumer' and the idea of a more 'comfortable' musical engagement seem to be the main doctrines of the prevailing audience development theory and the chapter offers a critical perspective on those discourses.

Chapter three, *Event of the Enlightenment*, discusses the classical symphony orchestra concert in light of the performances studied for this thesis. The construction of the concert is presented, its structure and norms, and it is linked to the aesthetic ideals of the Enlightenment period, which was the time when the classical public concert as it is known today was taking shape. Paradoxically, it is perhaps Kant's attempt to make aesthetics an integral part of his epistemology that historically has led to the exclusion of aesthetics from most fields, with the notable exception of art theory. Moreover, in the first half of the nineteenth century, an attitude which William Weber calls 'Art for art's sake' became the 'dominant organising principle of the musical world, ranking genres according to their supposed level of seriousness' (W. Weber 1975: 116). Classical music was considered more serious and more profound, and different from popular music of the era in that it was complex, all encompassing and self-sufficient. The third chapter of the thesis offers a critical discussion of some of the main features of the classical concert in connection with the aesthetics of order, the demarcation of the artwork, disciplining disposition, and the passive role of the listening subject. I argue that these Enlightenment ideas which are essential to the classical concert become the underpinnings of the 'comfort' notion of the current audience development theory.

Chapter four, *Method: review of events in the light of the 'art as experience' metaphor*, describes the method of theory informed observation, the criteria for selecting events, and the role of metaphor. The chapter presents the pragmatist interpretive approach for reading and reviewing the musical events and discusses the need for aesthetics in the context of organisation studies. The research is based on an observation of 21 musical events, concerts and educational performances, involving eight symphony orchestras. The events were selected on the bases of their critical potential, diversity and representation of the variety of audience development activity that the symphony orchestras promote. Based on organisational theorist Antonio

Strati's interpretive method of 'aesthetic understanding of organisational life', I underline what sets audience development events apart from regular concerts and in what way they differ from each other. An important part of the reading process is defining the musical event as a temporary organisation, and then to observe the event in its entirety as a nexus of interrelating associations and aesthetic processes.

Chapter five, *Events: traditional and alternative structures*, provides descriptions of the events studied for this thesis and the orchestras within the context of the policy rhetoric they present. The focus of this research is on events promoted by eight symphony orchestras: the BBC Concert Orchestra, the Berlin Philharmonic, the Iceland Symphony Orchestra, the London Philharmonic Orchestra, the London Symphony Orchestra, the Orchestre de Paris, the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra and the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra. The chapter provides background sketches of the orchestras and gives a background to the events studied. Rather than being an all-inclusive overview of the history of each institution, the aim is to give some idea of the different approaches symphony orchestras take when attracting new listeners and the range of experiences they aspire to provide. An impression of each of the events studied follows the description of the orchestra associated with the event. Each event is presented as a short 'case description', where the music performed is listed and the structure of the concert is put into context.

In chapter six, *Review: variations on the act of listening*, it is argued that the context of musical engagement, the 'audience development' practices presented in chapter four, indicate questions concerning music and subjectivity, consumers and listeners. Furthermore, it is claimed that the very organisational structure of the musical events can explain something about attitudes towards audience, the act of listening and development as a musical ideal. Some of the events have a critical conception of the musical work and differ from what we can call the standard approach of the classical performance. They perhaps represent a pragmatist attitude of questioning the established binary order, by involving the participants in more diverse ways, and a tendency to regard the musical work as part of a music making process. Examples of this are diverse ways of taking the music apart, creating it anew, involving the creators of music in the performance, integrating it with other activities and bringing in other musical genres which have different presumptions about the musical work.

These activities could be explained as a re-organisation of 'perceptual positions' within the music-making process, in accordance with terminology employed by the electronic musician and music theorist Brian Eno (2004). The conclusion is that while the taxonomy of dualities and distinctions between the two paradigms is useful to emphasise particular features, there is resistance within each musical event to being categorised. Even if the events are imagined on a continuum of varying degrees of 'difference' their place is never fixed but always dynamic or critical.

Chapter seven, *Conclusion*, is a summary of this study of the orchestra concert organisation and Dewey's aesthetics. The 21 musical events represent different approaches for processing and defining the musical work, variations in how knowledge is handled, differences in organisational structure and power sharing, and variations on body conduct and meanings associated with 'active' participation. The conclusion suggests that audience development is a much broader subject than is usually recognised and far too important for the future of the art form to be theorised solely in terms of dominant marketing conceptions. However, Dewey's suggested redefinition of 'art as experience' is more of a question or a critical reflection than a solution. The events are realisations of the fact that there are various ways of perceiving music through performance and listening. From the pragmatist perspective it is important that these variations on the act of listening are not viewed or constructed as ideal, or more valuable in some abstract sense, but rather as alterations that create different ways of perceiving music for both performers and listeners. A possible re-definition is proposed where 'audience development' is understood in a more musical and Deweyan sense of 'variation on the act of listening'.

2 Orchestra ‘audience development’, its critics, and Dewey’s pragmatist metaphor of ‘art as experience’

I have the impression that many of the elements that are supposed to provide access to music actually impoverish our relationship with it.

(Foucault 1988: 317)¹

The intention of this thesis is to investigate if the ‘art as experience’ metaphor can provide more valuable insight for understanding audience development than the prevailing marketing discourse, which is also explored in this chapter. In this chapter I present key texts on audience development and demonstrate their links with marketing discourse. I also investigate the views of critical arts management theorists, such as Derrick Chong in *Arts Management* and John Pick and Malcolm Anderton in *Arts Administration*, who have been disapproving of the prevailing ‘marketing’ approach to audience development (Pick and Anderton 1996; Chong 2002). And I introduce authors that have been even more disapproving, such as the composer Julian Johnson, who has criticised arts marketing for being too reductive and for applying a solely economic-transactional view to the study of musical engagement by primarily focusing on audience numbers, fiscal measures, and in general a commercial view of the musical experience (Johnson 2002). Johnson’s view is that the ‘commodification’ of music and its treatment as an object of consumption has marginalised any ‘aesthetic debate’ and any discussion of the value of musical listening (Johnson 2002: 10-15).

In the last section of the chapter, as an alternative to the marketing definition of audience development, I present John Dewey’s notion of ‘art as experience’ to explore the qualitative dimensions of symphony orchestra audience development events. The metaphorical-interpretative approach raises interesting epistemological questions about what kind of understanding or knowledge is being produced and for

¹ The quotation is from a discussion between Michel Foucault and Pierre Boulez about contemporary music and listening. It was first published in *CNAC magazine* no. 15 (May-June 1983) although this translation is from the chapter ‘Contemporary Music and the Public,’ in *Politics, Philosophy, Culture*, ed. Lawrence D. Kritzman, trans. John Rahn (London: Routledge, 1988), 317.

what purpose, and these considerations are explored in the next chapter on methodology. However it is in order to start this second chapter, on audience development theory, with an introduction of the term ‘audience development’ and what it means in the context of orchestra concerts.

Phillip Kotler and Joanne Scheff, in the 1997 marketing management textbook *Standing Room Only: Strategies for Marketing the Performing Arts*, recount an anecdote about what they call the ‘rebirth of the Sacramento Symphony’ (1997: 514-516). The story is part of the final chapter, ‘Audience for Now-Audiences for the Future’, and tells the tale of inventive programming that led to the revival of a symphony orchestra that had just filed for bankruptcy.² According to Kotler and Scheff, the musicians of the Sacramento Symphony had learnt that a ‘great performance’ of a Beethoven symphony was not enough to fill the hall, that they needed professional management and a ‘popular new music director’ to reorganise the orchestra. A new strategy of ‘commitment to inclusiveness, outreach, and education’ was implemented, with the acknowledgement that its success depended on its mission to serve the whole community (Kotler and Scheff 1997: 514). The ‘audience development’ approach of the Sacramento Symphony involved new programmes designed to increase the interest of and attract new groups of listeners (Kotler and Scheff 1997: 514). One such programme was the World-View Music Festival that celebrated the diverse African-American, Asian-American, Latin-American, Jewish, and Greek musical traditions of the area. The festival was so popular that it had to move to a bigger venue for its second season.

Another inventive programme was the ‘Jeans and Beer’ series, which mixed ‘familiar classics with pop, Broadway tunes, and folk music’ (Kotler and Scheff 1997: 514), and took place at an old cinema hall. Orchestra musicians, audiences, and guest artists performed dressed in blue jeans, ticket prices were kept low and the audience was

² The Sacramento Symphony was established in 1948 in Sacramento, California. Starting in 1986 and continuing through the mid-1990s, the Sacramento Symphony ran into significant operating deficits and repeatedly filed for bankruptcy. Despite several attempts to save the orchestra, the Sacramento Symphony officially ceased to exist in 1997, the year of the publication of *Standing Room Only*. The Sacramento Philharmonic Orchestra was established in its place. According to the Sacramento Philharmonic Orchestra’s own website, it was in the 1999-2000 season, with the arrival of Michael Morgan as Music Director, that the orchestra ‘began to realize its potential musically and as a successful non-profit organization’ (<http://www.sacphil.org/history.php>. Accessed 24 August 2007).

welcome to snack during the performance, as many do at the movies. Kotler and Scheff mention that the snacking was not distracting to other patrons since everyone tended to be 'quiet and considerate' (Kotler and Scheff 1997: 515). After the concert, Samuel Adams Boston Lager, one of the sponsors of the series, provided complimentary beer for the post-concert party where the orchestra and audiences mingled. Another series, Mocha and Mozart (based on a coffee theme and sponsored by a coffee company) offered classical chamber series and free coffee drinks. Dress was again informal, and 'unceremonious lectures' were given in connection with the concerts. There were also special ticket offers for the series and subscribers to the Sunday afternoon series could take their children with them for free (Kotler and Scheff 1997: 515).

In Philip Kotler's and Joan Scheff's account of a 'different approach' to the classical concert form, the transition from regular concert structure to these different concerts is remarkably smooth, simple and problem free. However, the reader of the Sacramento story is left with questions: What is the nature of those changes to the concert form in relation to the qualities and aesthetics of the musical performance? What are the implications and benefits to the listening experience? Who or what is being developed? To refer to Michel Foucault's comment at the beginning of the chapter: is it possible that some of the elements that are supposed to provide access to music actually impoverish our relationship with it?

It is important to note here that the Sacramento anecdote of a troubled symphony orchestra in search of new ways of representing itself is not unique. Similar tales can be found in audience development guide books such as Heather Maitland's (1997) *Guide to Audience Development* and the Association of British Orchestras' *Stop Reinventing the Wheel* by Tim Baker (2000); arts marketing books such as Bonita Kolb's (2000) *Marketing Cultural Organisations*; Elizabeth Hill, Terry O'Sullivan, and Catherine O'Sullivan's (1995) *Creative Arts Marketing*; orchestra trade journals such as *Harmony* and *Symphony*, and arts management publications such as the *International Journal of Arts Management*. Like the Sacramento Symphony story, the anecdotes and narratives offered in these publications are habitually management or marketing stories, and their success parameters are often an increase in audience numbers and higher generated income. Moreover we are informed, by the same

sources, that audience development and changes matter more and more for the survival and future development of orchestras and that orchestras need strategic changes to the way they approach audiences.

Indeed 'organisational change' seems to be one of the central ideas of the arts marketing message, as Kotler and Scheff accentuate: 'Arts organisations must continually change to retain their effectiveness. They must change their internal structures, their ways of doing business, sometimes even their missions' (Kotler and Scheff 1997: 537). Importantly, however, although the authors of the arts marketing and arts management literature referred to above highlight the need for change and the assumption that arts organisations need to adjust their offerings to cultivate audiences, they seem reluctant to consider the aesthetical or 'experience' merits of those changes. This is in spite of the fact that audience development is not by any means value neutral, or purely technical in its assumptions about the 'aesthetic experience'. Since 'audience development' is defined as the activity of breaking down barriers and 'building a relationship between an individual and the arts' (Maitland 2000: 10) there is by implication an assumed understanding of what the nature of the experience should be.

As a theory discourse, audience development offers suggestions about changes to arts organisations, such as the orchestra concert, but the same time these proposals are rather ambiguous about the underlying aesthetical ideals. However, when we read closely, ideas of the listening subject as a consumer who demands more accessibility and more comfortable musical engagement appear to be the main doctrines of the prevailing audience development theory.

The comfort concept is promoted by audience development theorists such as Heather Maitland, who defines audience development activity to include 'helping people to feel comfortable with the conventions shaping the presentation of the arts and changing those conventions in order for more people to feel comfortable' (Maitland 2000: 10). In a similar way Tim Baker explains that 'the "value" of concerts as perceived by potential attenders is undermined by what they see as areas of "risk"' (Baker 2000: 49). Consequently, the question arises if the classical music listener concepts of a 'consumer' or a 'customer', which are favoured by the market-

transaction conception of musical experience, necessarily lead us to think of audience development in terms of comfort and risk aversion.

2.1 Defining 'audience development'

The 250-year-old concert tradition going back to the days of Bach and Handel is dying, it is morosely predicted, because the young are not interested in sitting still for two hours listening to serious music played live. And heavens! Would the Game Boy generation even know how to sit still for that long without little figures on screens to zap and blap – and even if they could, would orchestral managers know how to find them and persuade them to attend concerts?

(Reynolds 2003: 74)

According to the arts marketing theorists Kotler and Scheff, a 'customer-centred mind-set' is the essence of the modern approach to marketing management; it is this customer orientation that is the guiding philosophy for arts marketing theory (1997: 29-46). Moreover, Kotler and Scheff claim that marketing has evolved from being 'product orientated', i.e. focused on the quality of the product and the selling of the product, towards a more all-encompassing experience offering (Kotler and Scheff 1997: 34).

The cultural policy researcher Hye-Kyung Lee (2005) has investigated changes in British cultural policy in recent decades and their implications for arts marketing. She points out that arts' marketing developed as an organisational strategy in the UK within the context of the Conservative regime's 'marketisation' policy in the 1980s. The market was proposed as 'the most efficient mechanism for handling resources in society and for nurturing entrepreneurship', and arts organisations were forced to (re)discover the market as their organising logic, and to become more efficient, business oriented and prone to self-help (Lee 2005: 151). This change, Lee says, is what is generally conceptualised as 'marketisation' of the arts and within that context government policy had a decisive role in shaping the environment of the non-profit

arts. However, with the current cultural policy, 'social impacts' of the arts are highly emphasised as state intervention intensifies (Lee 2005). According to Lee, non-profit arts organisations are adapting to the new environment by rapidly expanding programmes for educational and social purposes while implicitly resisting top-down political pressure. Lee also raises the question of whether the arts marketing framework can reflect this new reality of arts management. She criticises simplistic accounts of 'three historical periods of business management (from production and sales-led to market-led ones), consolidating the idea that marketing is a consequence of a "natural" progress of organisational management' (Lee, 2005: 151). Moreover, Lee claims that the decisive role of the state, the main supporter of non-profit arts organisations in the 'marketisation' process, tends to be unseen and, more importantly, the dynamics of cultural policy itself are sometimes ignored. Historically, the performance of orchestra music is a relatively costly affair and there has always been a need to attract audiences who are willing to pay for admission. However, in many places orchestras have been relying more and more on state support and it seems that the discourses of marketing has developed as an strategic-aesthetic idea, a 'natural' answer to the need of arts organisations to appear accessible.

Marketing has not only influenced the way concerts are organised and presented, there has also been a tendency to blur the dividing line between marketing and the educational role of arts organisations. In the report *Audience Development: Collaborations between Education and Marketing*, published by the Arts Council of England, Rick Rogers (1998) concludes that 'effective audience development involves uniting the artistic, educational and marketing elements of the arts organisation to achieve a series of short-, medium- and long-term objectives which increase, broaden and enrich targeted groups' (Rogers 1998: 16).

The arts marketing guru Keith Diggle, points out on his website audience-development.net (n.d. Accessed August 2006) how the definition of arts marketing, for most purposes, embraces the philosophy of audience development: 'given that Arts Marketing contains the fundamental idea of Audience Development within it I think it could be said that Audience Development is much more an orientation, or degree of emphasis in the practice of arts marketing than an activity that is separate

from it' (Diggle n.d.) In Diggle's view audience development doesn't need to be separated from arts marketing and he sees it as more of a leaning towards what he calls 'educational public relation' (Diggle n.d.).

Moreover, arts education can also take the form of institutional marketing-directive. According to Sue Knussen's (2003) chapter 'Educational programmes' in *The Cambridge Companion to the Orchestra*, the rise of education departments within symphony orchestras was caused by the need to teach 'high culture' to children, and also, the fear that the orchestra's regular audience was becoming 'too old' (Knussen 2003: 241). And Debi Hayes (2003) points out that throughout the years, educational programmes have become ways of fulfilling orchestras' government funding contracts and obligations of demographic inclusion.

Heather Maitland's much quoted (Tim Baker 2000; Hill, O'Sullivan and O'Sullivan 2003) source text, *A Guide to Audience Development*, defines audience development as: 'a planned process which involves building a relationship between an individual and the arts' (Maitland 2000: 6).³ In Maitland's terminology, audience development is a 'process' that is in accordance with some long-term organisational programme or conscious strategy to develop audiences. In an effort to highlight the need to merge art, marketing and education, Maitland suggests that three perspectives she identifies as marketing, education and artistic, should collaborate on audience development: 'Projects can only work if they are part of a long term strategy for audience development which is developed jointly by the artistic, education and marketing functions of an organisation' (2000: 6). The fourth group, 'individuals' who experience the arts, are in a particular position since the above mentioned functions of organisations have a duty towards them founded on 'belief' about their experience of the arts: 'Artist, educational workers and marketers share a belief that audience development is a planned process which enhances and broadens specific individuals' experiences of the arts' (2000: 5).

It should therefore be obvious that individual's experience must become particularly important when discussing possible changes to artistic presentation and conventions,

³ Heather Maitland's *A Guide to Audience Development* was first published in 1997 by the Arts Council of England and updated in 2000.

but aesthetic issues are not explained much in Maitland's text. And while the emphasis on collaboration between marketing, educational and the artistic functions has also been highlighted by Tim Baker (2000) in *Stop reinventing the wheel* and Hill, O'Sullivan and O'Sullivan (2003) in *Creative arts marketing*, these authors do not specify what the artistic function should do and how the three different functions should collaborate. Maitland, however, hints at issues of representation when she writes:

Audience development also involves improving both existing attenders' and non-attenders' understanding, knowledge and appreciation of particular art forms. This includes helping people to feel comfortable with the conventions shaping the presentation of the arts and changing those conventions in order for more people to feel comfortable.

(Maitland 2000: 10)

This passage is interesting since it is one of few explicit statements in the audience development literature about what the aesthetical values of audience development might be. For instance, 'comfortable' is a key word in Maitland's ideas about reshaping conventions, suggesting perhaps that conventional listening is not comfortable enough.

The comfort theme is developed in *Stop Reinventing the Wheel: A guide to what we already know about developing audiences for classical music*, published in 2000 by the Association of British Orchestras. Its author, Tim Baker, discusses various sources and summarises what he sees as the main factors in preventing people from attending orchestra concerts. Baker states that 'much of the research into potential attenders suggests that there are many more people – many more than currently attend concerts – who are interested in classical music and don't reject the idea of going to concerts, but for whom concerts don't appear on the "menu" of choices for their leisure time' (Baker 2000: 49). Baker maintains that it is not for the lack of awareness or money that people do not attend classical concerts but rather that 'the "value" of concerts as perceived by potential attenders is undermined by what they see as areas of "risk" in investing scarce resources of money and, especially, time' (Baker 2000: 49).

Baker identifies four main areas of risk against value that build up perceptual barriers in people's minds: 1) the nature of the art form, 2) social factors, 3) lack of knowledge, and 4) competition from other activity. The first area is the nature of the *art form*. In Baker's view, western classical music is a rather abstract and non-representational art form, compared to cinema or theatre, and offers little content, or meaning, that people can relate to socially or discuss. The concert's aural experience, according to Baker, relies on the individual's interpretation and response that is hard to verbalise without detailed knowledge of the music. All the meaning, excitement and drama is 'in the music' and to appreciate those elements one often has to have prior experience of the music or be able to understand its language. In relation to this, people mention the lack of visual stimulation or any dramatic build-up that is not 'inside' the music, like it is in opera or musicals. Combined with the idea of introspective listening and solitary experience, the question 'why not enjoy the music in the comfort of one's home?' arises (Baker 2000: 49). According to Baker, the sound quality of electronic media gets better every year and flexibility, ease of choice and access to fine performances on recordings makes the appeal of attending live concerts less obvious.

Social factors, Baker explains, can add to the risk areas that undermine the value of concerts in the minds of potential audience. Not only is the concept of 'sit and listen' of orchestra concerts less social than many other forms of musical performances, the formal social rituals and the attitude of regular attenders can also be perceived as uninviting. The questions of 'what to wear' and 'when to clap' may not seem difficult to the seasoned concertgoer but to the newcomer those uncertainties add to the perceived risk weighted against the value of attending. According to Baker, orchestra concerts are perceived as elitist and exclusive and the fact that protocols and formalities are considered important might seem pompous and superficial to the outsider and can add to a feeling of 'this is not for us'.

Furthermore, Baker continues, audiences do not like to take chances and risk can be defined as the *lack of relevant knowledge*. This is important since decisions to allocate precious leisure time and money on something unfamiliar like attending an orchestra concert is risky. There are plenty of things that people need to know before they decide on going to orchestra concerts: What music? Whose music? Who performs?

Which venue? Which area to sit in? What to pay? For the regular attendee these questions always need answering but for the novice they add to the risk that is weighted against the unknown value of concert going. Even if a seasoned guest might recognise the performer or the composer beforehand; each concert is generally only held once and therefore people seldom hear of a good concert that 'must be heard' in the near future as we do with plays in the theatre. Baker adds that most orchestra market communication is directed towards those who already 'in the loop', with leaflets and direct mail, thus making it even more difficult for the newcomer to find information.

Finally, the fourth factor is the *availability of substitutes*. Baker maintains that movies may perhaps be more easily accessible, popular music concerts more thrilling, theatres more broadly a social event and opera more of an occasion. In addition, if one misses an orchestra concert one can always buy a CD with the music and listen to it in one's own time without all the hassle and time investment of the concert situation. The risk of making a wrong decision becomes less attractive when presented with the safe and known and when deciding to go to concert one takes a chance. According to Baker, no matter how good and tested the music is, the event in its entirety is part of the equation. The whole air and image of the classical concert is evaluated, often tacitly, and for majority of people the conclusion is reached without second thought that it is not worth the inconvenience (Baker 2000).

Risk aversion is a useful term when we try to explain the aesthetic values of Baker's theory of orchestra audience development. Apparently, many people who listen to classical music in their daily lives at home and in the car would like to experience it in a live setting, yet they do not attend concerts and when asked, provide numerous different reasons for their absence (Baker 2000). Baker is adamant that there are things that may seem foreign and repellent about the concert situation and that it is worthwhile to explore what it is that hinders people in taking the step of attending one (Baker 2000: 49). According to The National Survey of Culture, Leisure and Sport for the years 2005-2006, among those who had not attended an arts event during the past 12 months in Britain, 'not really interested' was the main reason for non-attendance, followed by 'difficulty in finding the time' (31% and 29% respectively) (Bunting et al. 2007: 64).

The answer, Baker claims, is to make concerts more familiar to those people using familiar settings, familiar music and familiar performers. The focus point of Baker's proposals is on a marketing strategy and building a brand that will help the orchestra attract new audiences and develop them into repeat buyers (Baker 2000: 100). Baker suggests that symphony orchestras must develop a bond of trust with the customer in order to overcome the perceived risk by changing the style of presentation. He points out that 'currently, the leading exponent of alternative presentation styles is the concert promoter, Raymond Gubbay' (Baker 2000: 80).

It is interesting in this context that the Classical Spectacular, one of the events observed for this study, is a classical music show promoted by Gubbay in which over 250 performers perform classical hits and all-time favourites, including 'O Fortuna' from *Carmina Burana*, 'Nessun Dorma' from *Turandot*, and Ravel's *Bolero*. The distinguishing features of this event are that the hall is lit up with lights and lasers and the audience at the Royal Albert Hall sing along to the sound of 'Rule, Britannia' and 'Land of Hope and Glory'. The evening ends with thundering cannons, muskets and indoor fireworks accompanying Tchaikovsky's '*1812*' Overture. In a later chapter, more events and performances will be presented to demonstrate the variety of audience development events and we will see that Gubbay's Classical Spectacular is only one way of altering the presentation of classical music.

The risk argument has found some of its basis in research findings which seems to suggest that young people are not too keen on orchestra concerts. From reading orchestra audience development literature, such as Tim Baker's *Stop reinventing the wheel*, it is evident that the decline in attendance by younger audiences for classical concerts, and the homogeneity of the audience group, is of special concern to orchestra management. Research and statistics seem to indicate that audiences for symphony orchestra concerts do not adequately represent the general population and in particular there seems to be a lack of interest by younger people (Kolb 2001, Baker 2000, Harland and Kinder 1999). Figures from the Social Survey Division of the Office for National Statistics for the years 2005-2006 affirm this and show that, in Britain during the years surveyed, 3.3% of people aged of 16-24 and 5.2% of those aged 25-34 attended classical music concerts while 13.8% of those aged 65-74 year

old attended concerts (Bunting et al. 2007: 56-74). Comparatively, the level of attendance for 'cultural events' was 66% and 70.6% for the first two groups respectively and 60.8% for the 65-74 age bracket. Furthermore, 19.1% of people in the 16-24 age group and 22.2% in the 25-34 age group attended play or drama events, while 20.4% and 20.6% respectively attended carnivals (Bunting et al. 2007: 63). In the US, research suggests that young people between the ages of 18–34 do not frequent classical music concerts, and the level of attendance in this age group fell in the period between 1982 and 1992 (Kolb 2001) and again in the period 1992 to 2002 (Nichols 2003).

These statistics could give a general idea of which age groups are most likely to attend an orchestra performance and they tell us that that young people go out more and attend cultural events more often than the older generations, but that the former prefer other events to classical music events. The figures show that even though people between the ages of 16 and 34 frequent cultural events, orchestra concerts are not high on their agendas. At the same time, the numbers referred to here tell little since they do not specify what kind of concert attendance researchers are referring to. The category 'classical music concert' might include church music, children's choir ensembles and string quartets, while 'attending' can also mean different things to different people, like 'listening to classical music' must mean different things to different people at different times.

More qualitative research approaches, however, show a similar picture to the one indicated by the surveys. For example, in a study by John Harland and Kay Kinder (1999) of young people's views of cultural venues, an interviewee aged between 14-18 said 'I don't think classical music is aimed at our age group' (Harland and Kinder 1999: 71). The authors collected the views of young people, aged 14-18, and the interviewees had some interesting comments on their perception of classical music concerts: 'it's people that are dressed up in tuxedos with their opera glasses.' The young people also felt the concerts were excessively long and not for them: 'it's just sitting there for hours listening to some woman whining on' (Harland and Kinder 1999: 71). It is worth noting that the comments were made by people who generally had not experienced orchestra concerts themselves and, importantly, were not about to

rush off to buy tickets. According to their comments, the young people do not feel wanted or welcome at classical music concerts (Harland and Kinder 1999).

Here, however, we find the core of the 'risk' argument which Baker demonstrated: If the orchestra wants to broaden its audience base, would it not be worthwhile to try other approaches for the representation and the live performance of orchestra music that better suits the experiential background of different audiences? The research is telling and marketing theory is only too happy to step up with the answer: 'change the concert!' According to the arts marketing theorist Bonita M. Kolb these are the sort of issues that orchestras should address:

Evidence from the UK suggests that the decline in attendance is not due to dislike of classical music, but to the concert setting itself. The formality and elitism of concerts, and their association with personal improvement, have principally been experienced in live performances. This has not stopped younger generations enjoying classical music on the radio – with nearly 40% of 18-24 year olds currently tuning in. [...] Classical music is in danger of becoming a fly trapped in amber – highly decorative but of interest only to an ageing part of society. [...] It has become trapped in the sterile confines of the concert hall, and needs to rediscover its social purpose in order to recapture the imagination of the young.

(Kolb quoted by the Policy Studies Institute 2002)

'Structural changes' are also suggested by the authors of a study by the Knight Foundation of the classical music audience in the US (25,000 interviews across 15 cities). The research showed that roughly 10-15% of Americans 'have what might be termed a close or moderately close relationship with classical music', but only half of those who expressed the 'very highest levels of preference' for attending classical music concerts actually attended, even infrequently (Brown et al. 2002). The authors proposed suggestions for orchestras on what they could do to enlarge their audience base:

From a strategic standpoint, increasing attendance – or at least staving off a decline in attendance – may require a loosening of the definitional boundaries

around 'classical music' and structural changes to the concert experience that recognize the underlying values and benefits that consumers seek from listening to classical music and attending live concerts.

(Brown et al. 2002: 2)

In the same way as Kolb, Brown et al question the current structure of classical concerts. They recommend a 'loosening of definitional boundaries' and suggest an examination of the underlying values and benefits of listening to classical music and of attending concerts (Brown et al. 2002). As with Kolb and Baker, Brown et al. prefer the notions of 'products' and 'markets', listeners are 'consumers' and 'customers' and, while comments and opinions that are gathered from visitors, artistic merits or aesthetic qualities are not explicitly examined.

But if the answer is to broaden the audience base by changing the classical concert, what do those changes mean in terms of the artistic integrity of the orchestra? Without exploring the aesthetical meanings and creative merits changes to presentation and to the 'concert experience', how can changes to the classical concert be a straightforward enterprise?

Some evidence suggests that traditionally, changes can be met with scepticism by some of those who care about the symphony orchestra's artistic integrity and that alterations of the concert settings to attract new audiences are seen by some as dangerous, compromising with lower levels of culture which offer instant gratification and shallow experiences (see for instance Lebrecht 1997). A case in point is Michael Steinberg, critic of the *Boston Globe*, who is quoted by music critic Heidi Waleson (1985) to comment on the 'Boston pops' concerts:

It goes counter to everything that musicians are trained to do. [...] They are used to playing with finesse, care, and concern for detail to an audience that cares about those things. In pops, all those things are cancelled out. Circumstances work against them – the concerts are slammed together and often take place in acoustically frustrating venues.

(Waleson 1985: 79)

The symphony orchestra has a strong tradition of etiquette and concert procedures and there can be negative sentiment about any compromises to that tradition. In the end, questions such as 'what should the institution do differently' and 'for what ends', are questions of artistic value that are aesthetical in nature.

To sum up this first section of chapter two: it seems evident from orchestra audience development literature that in a reaction to an apparent lack of interest by large segments of society, orchestra managers would like more people, of different ages and backgrounds, to attend concerts and experience live performances. Consequently, orchestras have tried to attract and raise the interest of audiences through management of audience development events and concerts aimed at different audiences. These events include school concerts with various levels of audience participation, special gatherings and discounts for younger people, explorations in visual presentation, programmes of film music, concerts of 'lights-spectacles' and popular music arranged for symphony orchestras. However, though numerous authors have discussed audience development projects and events, the focus of attention has been on their narrow instrumental institutional aspects; little research has been conducted into what the qualitative differences are between these diverse activities and what the orchestra is used to doing. The 'project' is considered and evaluated in terms of organisational interests and reduced to a discourse of marketing rather than in terms of development of the art form or the personal aesthetic experience. This has opened the door for a reductive and 'manageable' notion of the listening subject as a consuming customer.

2.2 Criticism of the marketing discourse and the 'customer' metaphor

The endless work of subjectivity involves the constant renegotiations of the boundaries between self and world, with the world and history continuously reappearing in the texture of the self in the form of language, other cultural practices, and received ideas and ideologies. Subjectivity is a matter not only of and for philosophy, but of politics, psychology, and art. In fact it makes most sense to me to think of subjectivity as an art, and therefore as a mode of being most knowable through art.

(Steinberg 2004: 7-8)

The music historian Michael P. Steinberg (2004), in *Listening to Reason: Culture, Subjectivity, and Nineteenth-Century Music*, examined the different conceptions of subjectivity in the time of the Enlightenment and how they are played out in the realm of music. Steinberg characterises 'subjectivity' as a 'mode of first-person experience resistant to the articulation or representation implied by the category of the subject', a type of subjectivity that is opposite the prevailing conception of the consumer, or the observing-subject of Descartes' thinking I, privileged by Enlightenment epistemology (Steinberg 2004: 5). It follows that any ideal of listening or theory of reception is an idea or a reflection upon the nature of subjectivity, the question of 'what it is to be me' and the validity of that question. Steinberg points to Rousseau's role in founding the modern discourses of subjectivity, 'with the cultivation of the subjectivity the goal of his educational as well as political theory', but argues that the presence and urgency of the musical correlative have tended to drop out of the discussion. From the late eighteenth century, music has not only reflected, but also embodied, modern subjectivity as it increasingly engaged and criticised older power structures, belief systems and representation.

In Steinberg's rendition, 'the experience' is a key concept in post-Enlightenment discourses. Experience, rather than the position of the 'I', 'displaces the paradigm of an autonomous subject facing an outside world in favour of a lived experience that is inherently contingent on culture [...] subjectivity resides at the borders of autonomy

and integration, and must be allowed culturally, politically, and discursively to live there' (Steinberg 2004: 7).

In the context of musical engagement the 'audience development' theory presented above indicates certain ideals concerning music and subjectivity, consumers and listeners. There is a clear tendency to view the listening subject as a consumer of a musical object, as a customer of sorts, rather than an active participant in the making of the music. Moreover, the ontological reduction implied in the terminology of customers and consumers is not only common in the language of arts and cultural management; it also seems to be integral to the related discourses of creative industries (see for instance Caves, 2000), the creative economy (Howkins, 2001), and the experience economy (Pine and Gilmore 1999, 2007).

In the book *Experience Economy* by B. Joseph Pine II and James H. Gilmore (1999) the new experience economy, is described as the next economic paradigm following the agrarian economy, the industrial economy and the most recent service economy (1999: 6). According to the authors, the successful business in the new environment of the experience economy differentiates itself from the competition by focusing 'first on increasing customer satisfaction, then on eliminating customer sacrifice, and finally on creating customer surprise' (Pine and Gilmore 1999: 99). In the follow-up publication *Authenticity*, Pine and Gilmore (2007) develop the arguments put forward in *Experience Economy* by emphasising the issue of 'authenticity'. There they argue that in the experience economy, the savvy consumers of experiences are highly sensitive to issues concerning what is 'real' and what is 'fake' (Pine and Gilmore 2007: 1). Accordingly, companies (to 'trounce rivals') must grasp, manage, and excel at rendering 'authenticity' to capture the attention of customers through the 'appeal of real' (Pine and Gilmore 2007: 3). What is important here is that for Pine and Gilmore 'experience' means an arranged environment in which customers are first and foremost entertained, and then educational, aesthetic and escapist aspects play a role in designing the 'sweet spot' of 'rich, compelling, and engaging experience' (Pine and Gilmore 1999: 39). As Albert Boswijk, Thomas Thijssen and Ed Peelen (2007) have pointed out, with Pine and Gilmore, the perspective of the company remains at the forefront and the 'customer' is secondary, as the consumer (Boswijk, Thijssen and Peelen 2007: 150). The role of managers is to stage the customer's experience as

spectacularly as possible so that the consumer connects in a different way with the business.

Certainly the concept of 'experience' means different things and can be interpreted in different ways, but the view of the 'experiencing subject' as a customer and a consumer is by far the most popular perspective at the start of the twentieth century. As the marketing theorist James G. Hutton (2005) described in *The Feel-Good Society: How the 'Customer' Metaphor Is Undermining American Education, Religion, Media and Healthcare*, the customer metaphor has expanded into the realm of most social institutions. Schools, houses of worship, hospitals, and the media all now think in terms of 'segmentation' and 'market share' while the 'customer' has become an important conception within the legal system and government (Hutton 2005: 2). How this is also true for orchestras can be seen by the terminology used to describe audience development activities, and is obvious in a description of an audience development study at the Melbourne Symphony Orchestra:

This case study looks at the actions taken by Melbourne Symphony Orchestra (MSO) to build new audiences and satisfy existing clients through innovative marketing practices and skilful application of established marketing theory. The case study focuses on the launch of the Classic Attitude program, which targeted younger audiences. Elements of the marketing mix were tailored specifically to meet the needs of the youth market, so this case study demonstrates how innovative use of the marketing mix can be used to broaden audiences to include previously untapped segments.

(McDonald 1999: 48)

Within the marketing paradigm, 'customer' is the label given to listeners at orchestra concerts. This relates to Baker's conception of audience development as the aesthetics of comfort since it supposes a certain transactional relationship between audiences and the arts institution. The orchestra provides a service or product while the audience receives, and at the time of the concert there is a division between the two parties on the opposite site of the transaction. This is a position taken in economic management accounts of arts and culture and its philosophical connection with mechanical theories

of society are perhaps taken to the extreme in a creative way by Ian Robertson in his 2005 publication *Understanding International Arts Markets and Management*:

We argue, using Hobbes's resolute-compositive method, that because art is determined by institutions with a monopoly of taste, art is only art when it has passed through certain mechanisms. Since money is the accepted medium of exchange for the transfer of power, of which taste is one manifestation, art is only art when it has been exchanged for money. Transactions will, by definition, take place within the system. Art has by extension, therefore, latent art potential when it rests in a conduit before sale, and is therefore not art if it fails to appear in an art market conduit.

(Robertson 2005: 4)

In Robertson's argument, there is no 'art' without 'exchange' and there is no sense in discussing 'experience' or the situation of the listening subject. In his model, the 'audience' means 'customers' and 'development' means 'quantitative augmentation' or measurably 'more'. As a metaphorical reduction, this approach saves the marketing person the trouble of thinking about the aesthetic value or intent of the artistic activity he or she is inviting the guest to participate in. All that is involved for the 'audience developer' is to simplify the process and take out as much 'market risk' as possible to minimise the transaction cost.

The real hazard for concerts and orchestras using this approach is that the assumption implied takes the form of ontological truth about what listening consists of and what it means for musical participation. At the risk of oversimplifying, the market-transactional perspective of audience development, with the metaphors of audiences as customers and the orchestra as a provider of the musical product, reduces the relationship between the listener and the orchestra into a contract or simple market exchange.

Concerns about the language and metaphors of audience development have been voiced by numerous researchers and practitioners of arts management. For instance, arts management theorist Derrick Chong writes in his textbook *Arts Management*: 'There can be an uneasy relationship between artistic programming and audiences.

For too long, audience development has been constrained within the confines of a marketing discourse' (Chong 2002: 14). Chong is apprehensive about the kind of discourse arts managers use to formulate their thoughts on how to make the arts relevant to more people. Others, for instance Fitzgibbon (1997: 53-54), voice concern that if arts management theory looks only to the marketing or business conception of audience development, and in terms of institutional instrumentality, it might lose something that is essential to the integrity of the various art forms and what might be important to the arts.

The issue is also related to the conceptions of an artistic-economic dichotomy within arts organisations (Auvinen 2000), and generally the difficulty of finding ways to handle conflicting ideologies and world views within the operational reality of arts institution. Thomas Auvinen (2000) explored the phenomenon of artistic-economic dichotomy within the opera companies and other authors have described how that conflict seems to exist within the symphony orchestra (DiMaggio 1987; Castañer 1997; Stenström 2000; Koivunen 2003). As Patrick Mason, Artistic Director of the Abbey Theatre in Dublin explains, after telling the interviewer that he has an 'allergy' to the vocabulary of business studies and management:

I like to talk about audiences – not clients or consumers. I prefer to talk about productions or plays, not about product. I think the danger which I feel very alert to in the vocabulary of the business world is there is a kind of reductive tendency in that vocabulary that refuses to deal with the complexities of creativity.

(Mason quoted in Fitzgibbon 1997: 53-54)

Partly as a reflection of this dualistic reality, a large element in current arts management literature is a critique of an unreflective application of business management language in arts management. Debi Hayes, in a paper titled 'Audience development: towards a strategic mindset', defines audience development 'an amorphous concept that describes a wide range of activities with varied outcomes' (Hayes 2003: 23) Hayes criticises what she calls the traditional 'transactional perspective' of 'hit-and-run strategies' aimed at ticket sales and fulfilment of government quotas, and suggests a more holistic management of the 'aesthetic

contract' (Hayes 2003: 23). In line with Hayes's argument, some arts management authors have attempted to find a different vocabulary for arts management than the transactional one, and perhaps a different 'way of seeing and thinking about the world' as Alvesson and Deetz argue in *Doing Critical Management Research* (2000: 37).

It is in this battle over language, metaphors, definitions and analogies, where many of the most interesting questions about arts management are being asked. Arts management textbooks such as for instance Chong's (2002) *Arts Management* Pick and Anderton's (1996) *Arts Administration* discuss what they see as conflicting philosophies of business and art, and they are interested in looking for new ways of seeing qualified or modified management theory work for arts institutions. Pick and Anderton describe the seductive powers of describing art with mechanical metaphors such as a 'service industry' and 'product line' and warn of the bureaucracy that might follow the quantitative ways of conventional management (Pick and Anderton 1996: 3-4). They emphasise the need to be aware of quantitative terms such as 'products' and 'performance indicators' and suggest that the arts administrator has a deep commitment to both arts and audiences and uses his skills to make the best available 'aesthetic contract' between the two (Pick and Anderton 1996: 13-16). Nevertheless, Pick and Anderton do not explore what the aesthetical is or what the contract should constitute, other than it needs to be 'in such a way that the largest possible number of people receive the maximum pleasure and benefit from the art' (Pick and Anderton 1996: 13).

Dag Björkegren's (1996) *The Culture Business: Management Strategies for the Art-Related Business* is the only arts management textbook with a chapter dedicated to the issue of aesthetics and the value of 'cultural commodities', although his focus is primarily on placing popular culture in historical context and a description of the relation between art and commerce (Björkegren 1996: 5-36).

Yet the dualities between marketing language and the functional realities of the arts are perhaps not as simple as they are sometimes portrayed. Arts marketing theorist Paul O'Sullivan (1997) argues in 'Marketing the Arts: From Paradigm to Plan' that the romantic myth of arts and marketing as mutually exclusive domains is false and

that they can well co-exist without undue tension (O'Sullivan 1997: 137). And while Philip Kotler and Joanne Scheff recognise that 'some arts professionals, especially artistic directors, refuse to join with administrators in marketing-oriented activities and to include them in decisions about programming' (Kotler and Scheff 1997: 24), the authors refuse the claim that there is something inherently wrong with marketing in the arts. They believe that marketing 'is a sound, effective technology for creating exchanges and influencing behaviour that, when properly applied, *must be beneficial to both parties* involved in the exchange' (Kotler and Scheff 1997: 30, emphasis in the original). Kotler and Scheff also admit that marketing can be distorted since: 'in the wrong hands (i.e., the hands of those without the proper mind-set), what is called "marketing" can be manipulative and intrusive, and an embarrassment to those of us who use marketing as it ought to be used' (Kotler and Scheff 1997: 30).

In the end, what both the arts marketing literature and the textbooks by Pick and Anderton, Björkgren, and Chong draw attention to is the importance of the language, the concepts and metaphors, that are used to shape the discourse of arts management. Chong gives this aspect particular thought in relation to arts marketing and audience development (2002: 85-98) and Pick and Anderton say that 'cultural history and language is everything' (1996: 5).

Language is also not only limiting, it is imaginative and creative. The customer metaphor opens up certain possibilities of defining the orchestra's audience development activities in number of tickets sold or income generated. The orchestra can also benefit from viewing the process of music making and its representation from the point of view of the customer, by anticipating his or her needs. Perhaps market exchanges do not need to be seen in a reductive, mechanical, risk-averse way. As Nicolas Bourriaud has argued, 'commerce', 'trading' and the 'market' could be much more forceful metaphors for art than they are given credit for:

In early civilization, the trader or the merchant was always bringing things from outside culture, from other cultures, into the market at the center of the city. Traders disrupted things, they brought disharmony, difference, new objects and ideas.

(Nicolas Bourriaud, quoted in Simpson 2001)

‘Marketing’, ‘customer’, and ‘risk’ are all powerful metaphor within the audience development discourse. As organisation theorist Gareth Morgan (1997) explores in his book *Images of Organization*, each metaphor can help us see a particular aspect of an organisation while at the same time obscuring others. Through creative reading and writing, a metaphor can reveal particular aspects of organisations that perhaps we had not seen before or not noticed (Chong 2002: 134) and as Morgan points out, a metaphor can create powerful insights that also become distortions, as the way of seeing created through a metaphor becomes a way of not seeing (Morgan 1997: 5). In a similar way, John Berger (1972) points out in *Ways of Seeing*, that the way we see things is the effect of where we stand, what we know or what we believe (Berger 1972: 8). Bourriaud’s point is that the market metaphor is useful if we use it appropriately and in accordance with our desired outcomes. As explored in more detail in chapter three, critical thinking about language and metaphors can help understanding that what is ‘known’ is based on a particular viewpoint and can help pose questions about what is taken for granted.

The drawback of the ‘consumer’ metaphor is that it views people’s role as merely transactional in certain types of social context, as George Cheney, Jill J. McMillan and Roy Schwartzman (1996) point out in their article ‘The Student as Consumer: The Implications and Limitations of a Metaphor’. The authors warn against the ‘measurement mania’ accompanying the rise of the consumer metaphor, and in the context of education, point out that in practice, ‘market-driven, customer-oriented response mechanisms’ often represent a type of ‘pseudo-democracy’ that create the illusion of engagement and empowerment when actually reducing the relationship between individuals (Cheney et al. 1996).

In a different way, the quotation at the beginning of the chapter, from Michael Foucault’s and Pierre Boulez’ discussion ‘Contemporary Music and the Public’, is an instance of a critic of the consumer view, a reflection on ‘risk’ and the role of the audience and audience development. In the discussion, Foucault makes the point that familiarity with a particular kind of listening, which is helped by ‘market mechanisms’ and institutional setting, makes the perception of new or different music more difficult:

It goes without saying that I am not in favor of a rarefaction of the relation to music, but it must be understood that the everydayness of this relation, with all the economic stakes that are riding on it, can have this paradoxical effect of rigidifying tradition.

(Foucault and Boulez 1988: 317)

Familiarity with particular ways of listening, where the most frequent becomes the most acceptable, makes people averse to any effort to 'derail familiarities' and Foucault suggests that a certain rarity of relation to music 'could preserve an ability to choose what one hears.' However, according to Foucault, this is not a matter of making access to music more difficult, but of 'making its frequent appearances less devoted to habits and familiarities' (Foucault and Boulez 1988: 317).

Working with a similar metaphor of 'market mechanisms', the composer Julian Johnson (2002), in *Who Needs Classical Music: Cultural Choice and Musical Value*, argued that much can be lost in the translation of contemporary business management fads to the experiences of art. Managers could, for example, confuse the provision of momentary customer satisfaction with providing a meaningful musical involvement (2002: 44-45). According to Johnson, we might risk the alienation of the listener from the very musical process that he or she has been invited to join and part of the aesthetic value of coming to a concert could be lost in reducing it to a mere market transaction (Johnson 2002).

Johnson's analysis is influenced by Theodor Adorno's critique of over-familiarisation with music. One of the main contributions of the music-sociologist Adorno was his critical examination of the relationship between the mechanical effects of marketing on musical listening. One of Adorno's greatest insights, for instance in the essay 'On the Fetish-Character in Music and the Regression of Listening' (Adorno 2002: 288-317) was his perception of music as a way of thinking about the world, a critical force at its best when it worked, but dangerously mind-numbing when the music was merely a tool to make people behave in accordance with the wishes of authoritarian society, which is parallel to the authority of commercial success:

The delight in the moment of and the gay façade becomes an excuse for absolving the listener from the thought of the whole, whose claim is comprised in proper listening. The listener is converted, along his line of least resistance, into the acquiescent purchaser. No longer do the partial moments serve as a critique of that whole; instead, they suspend the critique which the successful aesthetic totality exerts against the flawed one of society.

(Adorno 2002: 291)

Much of Adorno's criticism of the reductive listening and the commoditisation of music is focused on the unsuitable introduction of market economic thinking in popular music. A characteristic of good music, according to Adorno, was that it could break up any preconditions or supposed administered or mechanical listening. This relationship is explored in more detail in chapters five and six below, but now it is important to recall the role of music in both thinking about and subverting the familiar or mechanical routes of the comfort approach.

John Dewey's pragmatist critique of the organisation of art, on the other hand, is focused on 'high' culture's institutional mechanisms and how they are supported by industrialisation of art and the surge of rational organisation. Dewey's point is that the reason for the cultural isolation of art, in this case classical music, is the way concepts such as 'art', 'listener' and 'listening' are reduced and abused. This is important since these concepts may dictate the way people think about concerts and listening and these conceptions are in effect linked with the reductive conceptualisation of audiences as consumers and music as a product. The listening subject is defined a consuming receiver with a limited range of possibilities to hear or engage with the music and the 'consumer' metaphor only makes this situation more rigid.

2.3 Art as experience, pragmatist aesthetics and the political project of re-describing

‘Pragmatist aesthetics’ is a term used in this study to describe a certain view towards philosophy of art and aesthetics in general. Rethinking the role of the work of art, redefining knowledge processes and structures, and emphasising the centrality of the body in the process of music, are all pragmatist themes that become important when reflecting on orchestra audience development. Rather than being another system of definitions or classification of art objects, pragmatist aesthetic perspective looks to the purpose of arts institutions and the ways in which art could, and should, be presented in more diverse ways. Being more political than many analytical or Kantian approaches to aesthetic theory, pragmatist aesthetics focuses on the role of art in a modern industrialised society and has direct implications for cultural policy and the direction and leadership of arts institutions. However, the pragmatist view is not without problems and to develop the discourse it is necessary to look beyond Dewey’s metaphysical essentialism (Rorty 1982: 72-89). For that purpose, the metaphor of ‘art as experience’ is best understood as a ‘cognitive and heuristic device’ for ‘schematizing theoretical perspective’ (Cornelissen 2006: 1580), as is explained in the chapter on methodology below. First, however, it is vital to explore Dewey’s pragmatist aesthetics in more detail.

According to the philosopher Peter Kivy, defining ‘art’ has dominated much of the traditional discourse on aesthetics, and the demand for ‘the definition’ became even more important with the Enlightenment and modern attitudes towards what is now considered the fine arts (Kivy 1997: 1). The objective of defining art was to find a dominator or a criterion from which the art theorist could derive statements and judgements about art and subsequently to use these as starting points for further reasoning about the value of the arts. By defining ‘art music’, according to this Enlightenment project of categorisation, connoisseurs would be able to distinguish between music that is ‘art’ and other kinds of organised noises and sounds that somehow would not live up to their universal aesthetical standards. Dewey however explains that these standards have proven hard to define and the classifications, criteria and axioms generated in the process have been misleading and generally not very useful (Dewey 1980: 20-21). In fact the whole project of defining art has been

problematic since the art works under discussion, especially new works and works from other musical cultures than the classical 'Western' or European have defied categorisation.

It might therefore be argued that to replace the term 'music' with Dewey's 'experience' (as in 'art as experience') may seem more confusing than clarifying. As Martin Jay (2005) has demonstrated in his book *Songs of Experience*, the concept of 'experience' has been used by a range of authors at different times and in dissimilar contexts and 'it will quickly become apparent to anyone seeking a meta-narrative of this idea's history that no such single story can be told' (Jay 2005: 2). Furthermore, the philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer (2004) affirms in his book *Truth and Method* that the concept of 'experience' is 'one of the most obscure we have', pointing out as an example the difference between the epistemological schematisation of the British empiricist, and the 'inner historicity' of the hermeneutic meaning (Gadamer: 2004: 341).

Leaving aside the differences between scientific vs. aesthetic experience (and the English language difficulties of translating the German concepts of *Erlebnis* and *Erfahrung* (Jay 2005)) there is perhaps just something old-fashioned about describing things in terms of experience in late modernity. The critical questioning of 'presence' of and the unified conscious 'I', have put the whole concept of experience into disrepute and lessons from history indicate that any naturalistic or essentialist account of experience should always be put into critical perspective.⁴

It is therefore important to keep in mind that rather than being a definite account of what constitutes experience, Dewey's idea of 'experience' is much more an attempt to

⁴Jean-François Lyotard dismissively describes experience as 'a modern figure': 'It needs a subject first of all, the instance of an "I", someone who speaks in the first person. It needs a temporal arrangement of the type: Augustine Confessions, book XI (a modern work if ever there was one), where the view of the past, the present and the future is always taken from the point of an ungraspable present consciousness. With these two axioms, one can already engender the essential form of experience: I am no longer what I am, and I am not yet what I am. Life signifies the death of what one is, and this death certifies that life has a meaning, that one is not a stone. A third axiom gives experience its full scope: the world is not an entity external to the subject, it is the common name for the objects in which the subject alienates himself (loses himself, dies to himself) in order to arrive at himself, to live.' Jean-François Lyotard, *The Assassination of Experience by Painting, Monory = L'assassinat de l'expérience par la peinture, Monory*. Revisions. (London: Black Dog, 1998). French text translated into English by Rachel Bowlby; English text translated into French by Jeanne Bouniort.. Quoted in Martin Jay, *Songs of Experience*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 361.

change or unsettle the terms of debate. It is a political project or a plea for variation since the metaphor of 'art as experience', for Dewey, challenges the 'high-art' conceptualisation by shifting attention to the aesthetic experience in life and in commonplace experiences. As Martin Jay points out, Dewey's version of the aesthetic experience is not as much a foundational concept as a 'normative goal, a desideratum rather than a given of the human condition' (Jay 2005:166).

In fact, what the aesthetic experience means for Dewey exactly is not at all clear. Dewey amends his terminology throughout his career, explaining experience both in terms of 'culture' and 'transaction' which suggest an indefinable quality of the idea. As Jay explains, the 'experience' aspiration forever recedes and the only thing we know is that setting off on the journey is still very much worth the effort. The aesthetic experience is somehow unreachable, like the 'moving horizon' Alfred Tennyson describes in *Ulysses* and which Dewey approvingly quotes in *Art as Experience*:

Yet all experience is an arch where thro'
Gleams that untravell'd world, whose margin fades
Forever and forever when I move.

(Tennyson quoted in Dewey 1980: 193)

The redefinition is however not a pointless exercise since any attempt at viewing and describing part of reality in new or different terms is a political pursuit, set against the dominant view and aimed at challenging the status quo. As Jay maintains, John Dewey's pragmatist re-description of art and aesthetics should be understood as a plea 'with explicit political implications' (Jay 2005: 167). Dewey was concerned about the institution of art and his aim was to change the modern conception of art representation and open up what he saw as conventional discourse, something he dubbed 'the museum conception of art'.

The museum conception of art entails creating a category of fine art as objects to be stored away and appreciated in a safe environment, preferably secured in a glass box, at a location people have to get permission to enter. To Dewey, this model also applies in the theatre and the concert hall where important works of art are segregated

from ordinary people and everyday life. For instance, performances of classical music take place in an environment with a particular kind of exposure and customs that shape the air and the feel of the concert experience. Concerts have a distinguished set of rules about what is appropriate and what is not. These rules are as much a part of the musical experience as any prior knowledge of the music or knowledge of the performer, and these things should not be defined as arbitrary or 'extra'. These rules and customs frame the aesthetic experience and create the means of contact between the audience and the music in the concert situation.

Dewey's life and career shaped his philosophy. He was born in Burlington, Vermont, in 1859 and died in 1952. During his professional life he wrote prolifically and when he died in his ninety-third year, he left behind 40 books and around 700 articles covering issues such as education, democracy, logic, ethics, metaphysics, epistemology, and aesthetics. Dewey founded the University of Chicago Laboratory Schools where he was able to rehearse some of his pedagogical philosophy. Dewey was a part of an intellectual tradition known as *pragmatism*, or *instrumentalism* as he preferred to call it. Dewey was widely read and influential during his lifetime, especially in North America. However, in the latter half of the twentieth century he fell out of favour with the American intellectual establishment, perhaps largely because of misunderstanding of his philosophical output.

Dewey's texts, even though they give the impression of straightforwardness and deal with common issues such as democracy and education, can be confusing and hard to grasp if taken out of context. Furthermore, the prevailing Cold War mentality interpreted his critique of capitalism as too left leaning, and Dewey's philosophy of education was misplaced in the debate over educational policy as being too progressive (Menand 2001). In an era when the race to space and scientific and technological effectiveness were the focus points, the personal growth and inner wellbeing of the child took second place. Dewey was seen as contributing to the decline in standards that was costing America its competitive edge and the conservative hardliners demanded a back-to-basics approach to teaching and instruction.

Since the 1980s, with postmodern and post-structural theory, John Dewey's contribution to philosophy, along with other pragmatists such as William James and Charles Sanders Peirce, are in a process of re-evaluation (Hickman and Alexander 1998). Richard Rorty has been instrumental in this revival and others have found in pragmatism a way to approach the pluralistic worldview of the postmodern condition. Dewey's ideas have also been influential, if indirectly, in shaping the theories of various European philosophers, and some of the ideas attributed to the critical theorists of the Frankfurt School can be found in an earlier form in the writings of John Dewey. However, the purpose of this thesis is not to reclaim any supposed authenticity for pragmatist theories, but rather to use Dewey's ideas about art and aesthetics to inform thinking about symphony orchestras and audience development.

In this context 'pragmatic' does not mean short-sighted materialism or a Machiavellian way of thinking. Rather than being a rigid doctrine or a set of principles, pragmatism, both now and in its early days, is an attitude towards the tradition of philosophy and how philosophy is to be practised. Lois Menand, for example, says that pragmatists do not have a problem with the way people think; rather, they believe there is a problem with 'the way people think they think' which can lead to brutal unhappiness and repressive modes of being (Menand 2001). According to the pragmatists, thinking you think in a certain way would perhaps not be too harmful if it were only the isolated intellectuals of academia who pondered theoretical conceptions of the world, but to the pragmatists, the problems of theory are usually more widespread than that. Theories about the world have an influence on practical life and the way other theories are formulated. Moreover, before we know it, we have built up theory structures and systems that in the end serve no other purpose than to sustain oppressive powers and authority. The general assumption of the pragmatist was that, instead of focusing on abstract concepts and intellectual gymnastics, philosophy should be concerned with the effects ideas have in practice. As the pragmatist Jaime Nubiola explains: 'The pragmatists think that a philosophy that separates itself from genuine human problems is a luxury that we cannot afford – as it is with the greater part of contemporary philosophy' (Nubiola 2007).

The philosopher William James, who has been both acclaimed and denounced for making the term 'pragmatism' recognised, argues that pragmatists are more

interested in the consequences of an idea being true than in any metaphysical reality that would necessarily make it true:

Pragmatism asks its usual question. 'Grant an idea or belief to be true,' it says, 'what concrete difference will its being true make in anyone's actual life? How will the truth be realized? What experiences will be different from those which would obtain if the belief were false? What, in short, is the truth's cash-value in experiential terms?'

(James 1981: 92)

James, like Dewey, stresses that any worthwhile philosophy must be practical and take its point of departure from the problems of human activity. Successful theory develops responses to the problems of real people and the evaluation of any philosophy should be guided by its value to the life of human beings. The metaphor of 'cash-value' is telling, but it is important to note that 'value' in this context means beneficial in a broader or global sense, as good for life and human growth. It is not referring to 'mere material efficiency' or short-term gains that could be stated as a set of objectives or measurable targets.

However, the pragmatists were not the only ones to worry about alienation of the audience from the creative process, commercialisation of art products, and the division of labour in the industrial-technical society. Other theorists, often of a Marxist leaning, such as Theodor Adorno, and artists in the twentieth century also imagined different conceptions of cultural institutions. Writing partly about music in his paper, 'The Author as Producer', published the same year as *Art as Experience* in 1934, the German critic Walter Benjamin suggests that music institutions have a duty to 'transform the concert form' in a way which must fulfil two conditions: 'it must supersede both the opposition between the musicians and the listeners, and that between technical performance and content' (Benjamin 1970). Benjamin quotes the composer and musical theorist Hans Eisler, who worked extensively with Berthold Brecht on numerous theatre productions:

Even in the development of music, both in its production and in its reproduction, we must learn to recognize an increasingly strong process of

rationalization ...records, sound films, and gramophones can present exceptional musical performances in a canned form as a product. This process of rationalization has the result that the production of music will be limited to ever smaller, but also more highly qualified groups of specialists. This crisis of the concert business is the crisis of a form of production which has been made obsolete and anachronistic by new technical discoveries.

(Eisler quoted in Benjamin 1970)

It is the 'music as product' and the specialisation of the performance that Eisler warns against and Dewey's critique is akin to Eisler's even though Dewey's intellectual background is not Marxism. Dewey's aesthetic theory is based on his view of man as a natural being in the world and his aim is to explore the aesthetic experience in terms of an ordinary process of living. He sees this naturalism as a reaction to the increased compartmentalisation and mechanisation of life in general in an industrialised and increasingly rational society. Dewey's view is that the separation of cultural activity and, in effect, any aspect of human life into categories and classes, hierarchies and dichotomies, makes thought poorer and more limited than it has to be:

The institutional life of mankind is marked by disorganization. This disorder is often disguised by the fact that it takes the form of static division into classes, and this static separation is accepted as the very essence of order as long as it is so fixed and so accepted as not to generate open conflict. Life is compartmentalized and the institutionalized compartments are classified as high and as low; their values as profane and spiritual, as material and ideal. Interests are related to one another externally and mechanically, through systems of checks and balances. Since religion, morals, politics, business has each its own compartment, within which it is fitting each should remain, art, too, must have its peculiar and private realm. Compartmentalization of occupations and interests brings about separation of that mode of activity commonly called 'practice' from insight, of imagination from executive doing, of significant purpose from work, of emotion from thought and doing. Those who write the anatomy of experience then suppose that these divisions inherent in the very constitution of human nature. [...] Of much of our

experience as it is actually lived under present economic and legal institutional conditions, it is only too true that these separations hold.

(Dewey 1980: 20-21)

Dewey's point is that because of how people treat the subject of high art, how they talk about it as a sacred thing and put it on a pedestal, they have alienated themselves from valuable experiences. By putting art into temples of quiet, remote contemplation, society has cut art from the very thing it should be a part of, the everyday lives of all people. Society has created, in effect, 'the beauty parlor of civilization' (Dewey 1980: 339), where art 'is remitted to a separate realm, where it is cut off from that association with the materials and aims of every other form of human effort, undergoing, and achievement' (Dewey 1980: 3).

The solution to this crisis, according to Dewey, is not to reduce the relationship between 'the audience' and 'art' to a transaction of product consumption. Dewey's answer is much more radical, since his proposal is a kind of de-sanctification and rethinking of the duality between art and life. Art should be accessible to people, not simply because it is right and proper from a democratic or egalitarian point of view, but because it is vital for living. Importantly, it is not the inherent qualities of the artworks that make them inaccessible. It is rather the institutional framework, the sanctification, the theorising, fetish and sheer admiration, which has cut it off from life.

Dewey's main target is the Enlightenment conception of art, its categories and divisions, which again form the basis of the consumer view. The dichotomies of artwork and experience, of creation and interpretation, body and mind, means and end, are all examples of distinctions that obscure art and are symptomatic of the classification system which Dewey refers to as 'compartmentalisation'. The main effect of this system of distinctions is that it hides the underlying life and dynamics of the things that are being classified. The segregation is then accepted as the natural state of the world and thought and action are conditioned so that this condition does not have to be confronted. Within this dualistic thought-system, society organises things into hierarchies that classifies objects as higher or lower, closer or further. Moreover, the system compartmentalisation, according to Dewey, devaluates things

such as hands-on work, emotions and practice, in favour of pure-thought, insight, and contemplated imagination. The bodily or physical is ranked lower than the mental or spiritual, another aspect of the system of categorisation and dualistic thinking that Dewey criticised.

Dewey suggests that those distinctions and classifications are suspended and that we try to link the things that are seen as separate. Then people would understand that the aesthetic experience is not as atomised as the 'museum' setting suggests:

A primary task is thus imposed upon one who undertakes to write upon the philosophy of the fine arts. This task is to restore continuity between the refined and intensified forms of experience that are works of art and the everyday events, doings, and sufferings that are universally recognized to constitute experience.

(Dewey 1980: 3)

Dewey was concerned that the meaning and significance of art would diminish if society would continue to build barriers around them. To him, arts framework is more than just the edge, border or surrounding of the performance, it is a wall that is built around works of art 'that renders almost opaque their general significance' (Dewey 1980: 3). As a way out of the institutional distinction between art and people's lives, the role of the orchestra manager is to find ways to link the music with its audiences. The aim becomes to overstep the distance created by the institutional setting of passive reception and to create a platform for audiences and artists to experience orchestra music.

Dewey's idea about the role of art and the relevance of his theory becomes clearer when we review actual events. Chapter five outlines various ways eight symphony orchestras 'develop audiences' and these examples indicate that prevailing audience development theory is too simple and reductive in its conception of events and activities. The shortcomings of the predominant marketing paradigm, the customer-comfort idea, are most obvious when we look at actual audience development events and the variety of musical engagement they offer. Chapter six considers those same events in light of Dewey's pragmatist aesthetic.

2.4 Thinking with music: Dewey and Adorno

Only subjective reactions to artworks can be observed, measured, and generalized. As a result, the actual object of aesthetics escapes study. [...] That empiricism recoils from art – of which in general it has hardly ever taken notice (with the exception of the unique and truly free John Dewey) other than insofar as it attributes all knowledge that does not agree with its rules to be poetry – can be explained by the fact that art constitutively dismisses these rules of the game, because art is an entity that is not identical with its empiria. What is essential to art is that which is it is not the case, that which is incommensurable with the empirical measures of all things. The compulsion to aesthetics is the need to think this empirical incommensurability.

(Adorno 2002: 335)

In light of what has been said in the Introduction about the links between theories of Theodor Adorno and John Dewey and their criticisms of positivist reduction of experience and thought, it is appropriate here to reflect on the connection between them. For this purpose the quotation above from Adorno's 1970 book *Aesthetic Theory* is important, both for Adorno's mention of Dewey, and because Adorno points out a particular problem with the perception of art which Adorno and Dewey deal with in different ways.

As Tia DeNora explains in *After Adorno: Rethinking Music Sociology*, Adorno uses music, somewhat positively, to engage critically with the world and to 'think with', and he devoted his music aesthetics to describe how music could transform consciousness and work on the mind as an empowering force for the imagination and critical thinking (DeNora 2003: 3). Adorno warns that music is used to control and hold power over people in a direct relation to the social and political forces in the local history of consciousness working on people. For Adorno, these social forces are often connected with rational order, fascism and capitalism (as we see for instance in his essays 'What National Socialism Has Done to the Arts' and 'On the Social Situation of Music' (Adorno 2002)). Music shapes thinking and is a powerful force in the interplays of the episteme of the epoch, and as the philosopher Lambert

Zuidervaart (1991) explains, when Adorno writes on art he 'tends to develop tensions within particular works that echo tensions in society as a whole' (Zuidervaart 1991: 219).

For Adorno, music has an active role as a critical force that develops the conscience of the society through creative interchange, serious listening and musical engagement. However, there are no clear rules or conclusions about the world to be drawn from music. While for instance Max Weber's analysis of music strives for a causal explanation of broad social movements that can be discerned in musical practice like other social phenomena, Adorno argues that art cannot be measured and generalised in the same way as other empirical things. We should look instead to the incommensurable in our observations. The talk of 'incommensurability' and 'what is not the case' is in line with Adorno's view of true art as a critical element and intellectual counter-force. Music is more than 'itself' and it transgresses its own cultural boundaries. Weber and Adorno also differ greatly in their attitudes towards the creation of knowledge and epistemological inclinations. Weber's analysis the researcher is, ideally, distant from the subject material, rational or value-free (*wertfrei*), and does not conflict his or her values with the subject material (see Honigsheim 1989:15). This separation from the subject material is poles apart from Adorno's more personal and passionate approach, and it is also different from Dewey's method.

Both Dewey and Adorno view the aesthetic experience as a part of the way Western post-Enlightenment society organises its institutions. For both of them, the study of art and aesthetics provides valuable insight into the structure and function of organisations. Like Adorno, Dewey maintains that the experience of the aesthetical says more about the way people think than the epistemology of Western modernity admits. This is the meaning of the metaphor 'art as experience', when music is a holistic reality, both social and personal. But while Adorno's idea of 'proper' aesthetic experience of music inhabits the conceptual realm of negative dialectics (Menke 1999: 239)⁵, Dewey interprets art as a way of seeing and thinking about the

⁵ See Christoph Menke, *The Sovereignty of Art*, transl. Neil Solomon (Cambridge: The MIT Press 1999). Menke draws on the similarities of the negativity of Jacques Derrida's deconstruction and

world in the practical continuity of everyday life. That is, instead of seeing art and aesthetic experience as inhabiting a separate realm, beyond reason or beyond life, Dewey views art as a natural thing and as a part of the struggle of everyday life.

It is important here to notice that both Dewey and Adorno see the role of art and aesthetics in society as more fundamental than what is the common currency in contemporary debates about arts management, such as in Tim Baker's aesthetics of comfort or risk aversion. In Baker's account the need to provide 'access' to music is a question of 'how' to fill the hall and the guide aims to provide an answer to the question what orchestra managers should do to make the musical experience more appealing to new audiences. 'Access' is thus instrumental to the aims of the institution but access is also subservient to the audience's needs of 'a good night out' or to become more 'creative' in their listening habits.

Dewey and Adorno differ in their attitudes toward any solution to the separation between art and life and their different viewpoints could perhaps be explained in terms of their attitudes towards 'access' and 'instrumentality'. Neither Dewey nor Adorno see music or access to it as 'instrumental' in this sense of it being a means to some other end than the personal aesthetic experience. In Adorno's vocabulary the 'instrumental' is connected to the rationalist project and the Enlightenment heritage. His point is that instrumental rationality is primarily a way of finding the most efficient or cost-effective means to achieve a specific end, but not in itself reflecting on the value of that end. Contrary to Baker's view of the comfort seeking musical consumer, for Adorno music is an end in itself and is a part of our life as meaning creating and critical beings. Art is a mode of being and at its best it is a mode of being critical.

Dewey sees art and aesthetic experience as 'instrumental' to life. In his mind, art is but an instance of creative practice and living that helps people deal with existence and create a more meaningful life. It is interesting that 'experience' is the word Dewey uses to indicate this, since it is somehow closer to the subject and more personal than the words 'culture' or 'society' imply. According to Dewey, the

Adorno's negative dialectic and explains them as the consequence of 'the aesthetical'. The negative dialectic is not analogous or a translation of the aesthetical, but rather its impact.

thinking subject is engaged in his or her surrounding environment and through the process of experience, or living in culture, knowledge is transformed. This of course sets Dewey's conception of experience apart from the reductive language of for instance Pine and Gilmore's (1999) 'experience economy' discussed above, but they see experience as a manageable offering for customers.

For both Dewey and Adorno, the divisions between aesthetical comprehension and other modes of understanding are not as clear-cut as the modern organisation of knowledge implies. Moreover, they both warn against the reduction of the aesthetical to basic rational-administrational language. They would much rather see art and aesthetics having a role in questioning the supposed universal validity of rational bureaucratic processes of measurement, categorisation and control.

It is in that spirit of Dewey's and Adorno's humanistic and critical approach to aesthetics and arts management that I approached the events included in this research, which I explain in more detail in chapter four on methodology.

2.5 Summary

From studying the audience development and arts marketing literature, it seems evident that the decline in attendance by younger audience for classical concerts, and the homogeneity of the audience group, is a special concern for orchestra managers (Baker 2000). It also seems that orchestra managers would like more people of different ages and backgrounds to attend concerts and experience live performances that are 'comfortable' (Maitland 2000). Accordingly, audience development theorists have suggested 'structural changes' to the concert experience (Brown et al. 2002). These concerns are presented in this chapter in relation to the idea of the 'aesthetics of comfort' and the consumer metaphor. These ideas seem to fit perfectly within the marketing model of the concert.

Critics of the 'marketing' philosophy point out that it is often too reductive and important elements might be lost if the aesthetic experience is excluded from the

discourse (Pick and Anderton 1996). Others warn against ‘measurement mania’ accompanying the omnipresence of the ‘consumer’ metaphor, and argue that ‘market-driven, customer-oriented response mechanisms’ signify in practice a type of ‘pseudo-democracy’ that creates the illusion of engagement and empowerment when actually reducing the relationship between individuals (Cheney et al. 1996).

Into this debate this chapter introduces John Dewey’s metaphor of ‘art as experience’, a critical concept that the pragmatist philosopher uses to identify what he perceives as the dominant thinking about art at the beginning of the twentieth century. Dewey’s main target is the Enlightenment notion of art, its categories and divisions, which again form the basis of the marginalisation of aesthetics in modern society, creating ‘the beauty parlour of modern civilisation’ (Dewey 1980: 339). And it is against the ‘external’ organisation of the aesthetic experience that he offers the notion of ‘art as experience’, a subversion of the prevailing product paradigm. It is therefore necessary for the purpose of this thesis to explore the underlying ideals of the traditional orchestra concert and the aesthetic ideas of the Enlightenment, ideas that pave the way for the ‘listener as consumer’ notion.

3 The Event of Enlightenment

It is to indicate that theories which isolate art and its appreciation by placing them in realm of their own, disconnected from other modes of experiencing, are not inherent in the subject-matter but arise because of specifiable extraneous conditions. Embedded as they are in institutions and in habits of life, these conditions operate effectively because they work so unconsciously. Then the theorists assume they are embedded in the nature of things. Nevertheless, the influence of these conditions is not confined to theory. As I have already indicated, it deeply affects the practice of living, driving away esthetic perceptions that are necessary ingredients of happiness, or reducing them to the level of compensating transient pleasurable excitations.

(Dewey 1980: 10, emphasis in the original)

Any analysis of changes to the orchestra concerts needs to consider the impact of the aesthetic ideals of the Enlightenment epoch on the traditional structure. The significance of the ideological discourses of the Enlightenment period on the development of Western art music, have been explored in length by musicologists, for instance in Rose Rosengard Subotnik's two publications *Developing Variations: Style and Ideology in Western Music* (1991) and *Deconstructive Variations: Music and Reason in Western Society* (1995) and Lydia Goehr's *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works* (1994). Yet the rational organisation of the classical concert has not been given the same attention. During the Enlightenment, when classical music was becoming considered a separate category of music, the attitudes and aesthetic beliefs that are still considered the norm for the structure and processes of the classical orchestra concert were generated, as music historian William Weber (1975; 2007) has explained.

In a similar way the ideas of the listener as a comfort seeking consumer advocated by orchestra audience development theory, reducing the listening experience to the level of 'compensating transient pleasurable excitations' according to the quote above, originates within the Enlightenment ideal of the listening subject. The categorisation of the aesthetical promoted by the Enlightenment philosopher Immanuel Kant and the

management principle of division of work idealised by Adam Smith, another Enlightenment thinker, were stepping stones on the way to the modern idea of the remote listener, as will be explored in this chapter. The paradox is that the classical concert is in a way an ideal place for a kind of dialogue, an act of concentrated listening, while at the same time demanding of members, in Immanuel Kant's terminology, to 'conduct themselves in an entirely passive manner' (Kant 2005: 121).

Kant's ideas about the role of art and its connection with the ideological assumptions that underpin the classical concert system are introduced in this chapter, but first a qualification needs to be made about the concept of Enlightenment. The Enlightenment is not a simple concept or a single event. It is a set of complex ideas and as a historical construct it does not survive much scrutiny when we dig into it. As the musicologist Stephen Rumph (2008) in the review article 'Music and Philosophy: The Enlightenment and Beyond' the Age of Reason thrives on a certain critical distance: 'The more closely one peers into the eighteenth century, the more it begins to resemble any other age, with its own complexities and contradictions. The monolithic Enlightenment quickly resolves into multiple enlightenments – French, German and Scottish, rationalist and empiricist, early and late, Catholic and Protestant' (Rumph 2008: 128). Still the Enlightenment epoch prevails as an image or a reflective space for thinking about modernity and its institutions. As Rumph explains the Enlightenment is the 'Classical age' of modernity, where modernity seeks its origin and heritage: 'It provides the mirror for modernity, just as Greco-Roman antiquity did for the eighteenth century. Whether studied as a past epoch or enlisted in an ongoing narrative, the Enlightenment crackles with live issues of modern (and postmodern) identity (Rumph 2008: 128).

John Dewey's critique of the institutional mechanisms of art and its organisation stems from his belief that since the Enlightenment, aesthetic experience has been taken out of its proper context of community and the collective life of people. Within the high-art system, only specialists and professionals are qualified to handle the work of art and the community of ordinary people is only invited to listen. It is through this kind of passive listening that the listener feels himself separated from the music and not a participant in the musical experience. This in turn creates a situation, in Dewey's view, where the event is reduced to the level of 'compensating transient pleasurable

excitations' (Dewey 1980: 10). The risk and 'discomfort' is taken out of the musical engagement and the listener is given the position of a passive consumer at a spectacle. What shapes the organisation of musical listening, according to Dewey, it is not primarily economic conditions or rational division of work, but the philosophical, or aesthetical, conceptualisation of artistic objects as classical or otherworldly.

The classical concert is in many ways the archetypal rational structure as envisioned by the Enlightenment age. It was not only the structure of the concert that took shape in the intellectual climate of the late eighteenth century, but also the very notions of *who* listened and *how to* listen: the influential idea of the work as a given autonomous object; the notion of the star musician, particularly the composer who was positioned above the audience and separated from the public; and finally the idea of the audience as passive receiver or a consumer at a public gathering (W. Weber 1975). These attitudes and beliefs that once were radical and opened new possibilities have remained with us since (the orchestra concert can also be interpreted as a dream of an ideal social order, as can be seen in Daniel Barenboim's West-Eastern Divan youth orchestra, consisting of young musicians from countries in the Middle East).

Dewey's point is that they have shaped the customs and institutions in a way that they seem natural and unchangeable. However, as is clear from some of the events reviewed in chapter five and six, there are interesting variations being made upon what could seem at first glance a fixed structure. In this context audience could mean 'the act of listening' and development perhaps understood in the musical sense of a 'variation'. In a sense each event poses the question 'what it is to listen?' and each of them also suggests a different answer. But before we explore these, we should examine the origins of the classical orchestra concert.

3.1 Autonomous music

Now in many affairs conducted in the interests of a community, a certain mechanism is required by means of which some of its members must conduct themselves in an entirely passive manner so that through an artificial unanimity the government may guide them toward public ends, or at least prevent them from destroying such ends. Here one certainly must not argue, instead one must obey.

(Kant 2005: 121)

While orchestra music has changed and evolved a great deal since the first opera and aristocratic chamber ensembles were gaining popularity around 1600, the construction of the orchestra concert has not changed much since the turn of the 19th century (Spitzer and Zaslaw 2004). The proposition of this chapter is that to understand the orchestra concert and the consumer metaphor we need to view the concert in light of how it came about and understand the cultural climate of the times when they were forming. This thesis considers the formation of the classical concert construct with particular attention to aesthetic ideals of the Enlightenment era, where Immanuel Kant's influence has been lasting. In the 1784 essay 'An Answer to the Question: What is Enlightenment?' Kant declared that Enlightenment signified the ability to use one's understanding 'without guidance from another' – and to have the courage to know without referring to dogmas or religion (Kant 2005: 119). However, as can be seen from Kant's quote above, there are certain areas of Enlightened-life where critical thinking and the questioning of authority are not endorsed. In these circumstances there is no room for dialogue or dispute since order and the passive manner of obeying subjects is preferable. Kant envisions a just society, a sort of rational structure or bureaucracy (in a positive sense), which automates relations and hinders the misuse of power by the monarch. But it is also a mechanical model of society, in which people and power have their place and belong to structured categories in a hierarchical system.

The question of 'what is Enlightenment?' can perhaps be paraphrased with reference to one of the events listed in chapter three, the performance of Josef Haydn's *The*

Creation on 28 February 2004 at the Royal Festival Hall by the London Philharmonic Orchestra and Choir, conducted by Frans Brüggen.

Haydn's *The Creation* was first performed in 1798 in Vienna and, by using the first chapters of Genesis with sections of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, tells the story of how God created the world. The text was originally put together with Handel in mind, but for unknown reasons he never set it to music, and Haydn got the impetus to write the music when he was in London (von Westerman 1963: 92). *The Creation* is in three parts and begins with an overture, *Chaos*, where darkness reigns before the first day. Then Archangel Raphael arrives and tells of the creation of light and the gloomy C minor modulates into a brilliant C major *fortissimo* chord. The story is told by three archangels, Raphael (bass), Gabriel (soprano) and Uriel (tenor), in recitatives and arias, intermingled with choral annotations. The massive chorus 'The heavens are telling the glory of God', wraps up the first part. The second part tells the story of the creation of life and man, with imitations of birdsong. Raphael tells of lions, horses and other animals. The chorus finishes the part by praising the work of the Creator and declares it 'fully achieved'. The piece's third section depicts the pleasant harmony of Paradise and Adam and Eve sing praise to God in a beautiful duet.

Haydn's work represents the beauty and power of the Creator but it is by no means a simplistic or one dimensional account. Like in any great music, there is danger in the beauty and sadness in the representation of the perfect. Thus, even if Haydn's work does not tell the story of the Adam and Eve's exclusion from Paradise, the danger lurks, as Leonard Bernstein pointed out when he recorded the oratorio for Unitel and the Bavarian Television in 1986: 'It was inevitable that they [Adam and Eve] would seek knowledge, as our Faustian tradition repeatedly informs us; we can't help it – we've got to taste that apple!' (Bernstein quoted in Roger Clement 2004). The imagery is further complicated for somewhere in the C major is the Enlightenment hope of salvation through knowledge, from darkness into light, as the television presenter Roger Clements states: 'Haydn was perhaps seeking to offer consolation to a continent torn by strife. For in the mid 1790s, when Haydn was writing *The Creation*, Europe was in a state of chaos, with Napoleon's troops overrunning the continent.' the Enlightenment ideals shine through the music since the proverbial light offers hope of deliverance from the shadows of ignorance, and the timeless order of

knowledge and harmony is brought to the darkness of confusion and chaos: 'But after chaos comes light, and at the words "And there was light", an overwhelming flood of light blazes forth from the chorus and the entire orchestra, a burst of unforgettable C major that is both primeval and eternal' (Clement 2004). As these words imply, it is as if the C major is from somewhere else, from a different or transcendental world, as is the word of God. According to James H. Johnson's (1995) book *Listening in Paris*, Haydn is reported to have explained to an associate about the chaotic tonal material at the beginning of *The Creation* 'You have doubtless noticed how I avoided the resolution which one would have most expected [...] the reason is that nothing has yet assumed form' (Haydn quoted in Johnson 1995: 208). Haydn's *The Creation* will return later in this chapter but first Immanuel Kant needs to be introduced. For any presentation of Enlightenment aesthetics, Kant is essential.

While Plato dealt with the essence of beauty and the role of art in society in *Ion* and *The Republic*, and Aristotle had laid the foundations of literary criticism and drama studies in *Poetics*, there is no other work in the history of aesthetics that has the status of Immanuel Kant's 1790 publication *Critique of Judgement* (*Kritik der Urteilkraft*). According to some sources, for instance George Dickie's (1997) *Introduction to Aesthetics: An Analytical Approach*, Colin Lyas' (1997) *Aesthetics*, and Peter Osborne's (2000) *From an Aesthetic Point of View: Philosophy, Art and the Senses*, it could even be regarded as the groundwork of modern philosophical aesthetics. Kant's contribution and systematic integration of aesthetics into a far-reaching philosophical construction has been enormously influential in Western philosophy's aesthetic discourse over the two centuries since its publication. However, *Critique of Judgement* has also been a source of much debate and has divided theorists into factions that either seek support in Kant's ideas or argue against them. The matter is further complicated by the various interpretations of what the real meaning of the treatise is and disputes over the applicability of the ideas to areas not envisaged by Kant himself.

The *Critique of Judgement* is the third of the 'grand critiques' that make up Kant's philosophical system, the others being the *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781) which deals with epistemology and the *Critique of Practical Reason* (1788) which investigates the possibility and principles of moral action. In the *Critique of Pure*

Reason Kant attempts to bridge the gap between a rationalist idea of a world dependent on thought (the world is, in principle, entirely knowable by logic and reason), associated with Descartes and Leibniz, and empiricism (the doctrine that all our knowledge arises only from our perceptions of the world), of which Locke and Hume were the strongest advocates. Kant's argument was that although all knowledge begins with experience, experience is not *all* knowledge is, and in fact experience and the structure of the world are two sides of the same coin (Cazeaux 2000: 4).

Perception is not possible without the *a priori* condition of space and time, and all knowledge is dependent on causality as a conceptual principle (Pluhar 1987: xxxvi). It is this intrinsic 'hard-wiring' of the human subject that shapes all knowledge and which necessarily defines the relations between mind and reality. This revelation is what Kant dubbed his 'Copernican Revolution'. We need both reason and perception, and it is in this sense that we can talk of objective *a posteriori* knowledge, for it is only possible through the condition of our experience, given beforehand and not dependent on perception of the world. These conditions are universal, given to all people, thus we can say about the laws of nature that they are universal since they are given by reason. According to Kant, some truths, such as logical truths, are derived directly from innate reason since logical knowledge is not dependent on experience.

In his second critique, the *Critique of Practical Reason*, Kant argues that some moral truths are universal since they can be derived directly from reasoning and are not dependent on experience. Thus the 'categorical imperative' to act in such a way that the maxim of our will could always hold as a principle laying down universal law, is a principle of reason itself and true for every human being (Kant 1993: 84). Such 'synthetic propositions' hold true for both the world of objects and are facts of reason and are 'objective reality' (Pluhar 1987: xliii). According to Kant, the main challenge for any theory of our powers to claim that something is beautiful is to establish what would make such judgements not merely subjective but universal. He therefore sets out to analyse judgements of taste in order to discover what is required for calling an object beautiful.

Kant finds that judgements of taste are not made by understanding and are not logical, but are rather aesthetic and made by the imagination, which in turn is linked with

sensibility which connects with understanding (Kant 1987: 44). Kant's epistemology and metaphysics of mind are based on a distinction between sensibility and understanding (Crawford 2001: 51). Sensibility is the passive ability to receive sensations and be affected by things, but this is not enough for meaningful thought. For thinking we need understanding, which is active and works with general concepts such as causality and existence to transform sensations into thinking. Experience comes about through the synthesis of these two faculties of mind in which the sensations become processed and organised by the concepts. Kant calls this process judgement (*Urteilkraft*), i.e. thoughts and assertions that claim that something is the case, 'this is a book', or 'this is true'. However, crucially, it is the judgement 'this is beautiful', the judgement of taste, which Kant sets out to examine in the *Critique of Judgement* (Kant 1987: 44; Crawford 2001: 51).

Paradoxically, it is perhaps Kant's attempt to make 'aesthetics' an integral part of his epistemology that historically has led to the exclusion of aesthetics from most fields, with the exception of art theory. Beauty and art began to form a separate category and were isolated from other aspects of reality and life and some art theorists blame Kant for this development. The pragmatist Richard Shusterman, for instance, criticises Kant's categorisation as a project of: 'occidental rationalization, secularization, and differentiation, which disenchanting the traditional religious world view and carved up its organic domain into three separate and autonomous spheres of secular culture: science, art, morality, each governed by its own inner logic of theoretical, aesthetic, or moral-practical judgements' (Shusterman 2000: 211). This 'tripartite division was of course powerfully reflected and reinforced by Kant's critical analysis of human thinking in terms of pure reason, practical reason, and aesthetic judgement' (Shusterman 2000: 211).

However, Kant's emphasis on distinguishing aesthetic sensibilities from reason and at the same time giving them universal value was of course not all his invention. These categorisations were more likely a product of the intellectual atmosphere of the time. The Scottish philosopher and economist Adam Smith (1811) recapitulates some of the aspects of the Enlightenment attitude in an essay from 1795 called 'Of the Nature of that Imitation which takes place in what are called The Imitative Arts', in which he describes classical music as complete and pure without any reference outside itself:

A well-composed concerto of instrumental music, by the number and variety of the instruments, by the variety of the parts which are performed by them, and the perfect concord or correspondence of all these different parts; by the exact harmony or coincidence of all the different sounds which are heard at the same time, and by that happy variety of measure which regulates the succession of those which are heard at different times, presents an object so agreeable, so great, so various, and so interesting, that alone, and without suggesting any other object, either by imitation or otherwise, it can occupy, and as it were fill up completely the whole capacity of the mind, so as to leave no part of its attention vacant for thinking of anything else.

(Smith 1811: 299-300)

In Adam Smith's account the purity of instrumental classical music was of at least two kinds: it was free from imitation or reference to other objects in the world, and it did not need any accompaniments of other things, such as singing and dancing. Smith goes on to say: 'A full concerto of such instrumental music, not only does not require, but does not admit of any accompaniment' (Smith 1811: 300). It is as if the artwork exists in a separate realm, where its eternal and universal qualities are free from social context and surroundings.

In similar way, an important part of Kant's conception of the beautiful is that it is devoid of all interest. Music, as an aesthetic object, is clear and unspoiled of any contact with other things and the artwork is free from any association with its environment. Indeed, the environment and external things, such as unfitting frame for a painting, may actually ruin real beauty, as Kant explains:

Even what we call *ornaments* (*parerga*), i.e., what does not belong to the whole presentation of the object as an intrinsic constituent, but [is] only an extrinsic addition, does indeed increase our taste's liking, and yet it too does so only by its form, as in the case of picture frames, or drapery on statues, or colonnades around magnificent buildings. On the other hand, if the ornament itself does not consist in beautiful form but is merely attached, as a gold frame

is to a painting so that its charm may commend the painting for our approval, then it impairs genuine beauty and is called *finery*.

(Kant 1987: 72, emphasis in the original)

Extrinsic properties, such as surroundings and frames, are not part of the artwork but can help us appreciate it through its form, which is of lesser value. Kant goes on to describe how emotion is not part of the conception of beauty. In his terminology: 'Emotion, a sensation where agreeableness is brought about only by means of a momentary inhibition of the vital force followed by a stronger outpouring of it, does not belong to beauty at all.' For Kant it follows from the principle of disinterestedness that any judgement about the beautiful is not context bound; it holds in any situation and for everyone:

This explication of the beautiful can be inferred from the proceeding explication of it as object of a liking devoid of all interest. For if someone likes something and is conscious that he himself does so without any interest, then he cannot help judging that it must contain a basis for being liked [that holds] for everyone.

(Kant 1987: 53-54)

It is as 'art' and 'beauty' needs to be somehow saved from 'interest' and the lower faculties of feeling and perception. This state of affairs has evolved through complex historical processes but the idea of artistic judgement as either 'high' or 'low' seems to be influential. The German philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer, maintains that in the upsurge in interest in beauty, art and taste in the eighteenth century, with works such as Alexander Baumgarten's *Aesthetica* (1750/1758) and Kant's *Critique of Judgement* (1790), German Enlightenment philosophers 'considered judgment not among the higher but among the lower powers of the mind' (Gadamer 2004: 28). Baumgarten, who is concerned with the distinction between knowledge and perception as higher and lower faculties, underlines the Greek 'aisthesis' when he says: '*Things known*, then, those known by their superior faculty; they come within the ambit of logic. *Things perceived* come within the ambit of the science of perception and are the object of the lower faculty. These may be termed aesthetic' (quoted in le Beard and Gloag 2005: 5, emphasis in the original). Kant's philosophy of mind is shaped by

similar conceptual constructs as Baumgarten's of 'high' and 'low', and it is through analysing the connection between the perception and the 'superior faculty' of understanding that Kant established 'aesthetics' as one of the major subjects of philosophy.

But how can we secure the place of music among the things worthy of contemplation and rescue it from the world of feelings, pleasure and sense perception? Kant attempts to do this by insisting on the universal quality of beautiful music: 'A melody is, as it were, a universal language of sensations intelligible to every man [...]'. However, it complicates things that according to the Kantian system, because music 'merely plays with sensations', and more so than any of the other arts, it has 'the lowest place among them' (Kant 1989: 199). Still Kant equates the language of music with mathematics, which he believes to be a universal language, even though mathematics lacks most of the 'charm and mental movement' of music. And this link with mathematics is important since if beautiful music were universally valid, like science and mathematics, it could be neither context nor environment specific. This link between music and mathematics is also clear from Adam Smith, who draws a parallel between classical music and the universal character of the scientific thought of the day:

In the contemplation of that immense variety of agreeable and melodious sounds, arranged and digested, both in their coincidence and in their succession, into so complete and regular system, the mind in reality enjoys not only a very great sensual, but a very high intellectual, pleasure, not unlike that which it derives from the contemplation of a great system in any other science.

(Smith 1811: 300)

This aspiration towards the universal 'shows how far classical music is a child of the Enlightenment', according to Ivan Hewett (2003) in his *Music: Healing the Rift* says (Hewett 2003: 23). Hewett points out that the importance of 'music-as-text' was one reason why the improvising Franz Liszt was not welcome in the canon, as his music was too obviously a vehicle for his own virtuous performances, although he became renowned throughout Europe for his great skill as a performer (Hewett 2003: 23-24). Without undermining the importance of inspiration and improvisation in classical

music, we can sense a general trend that has led, since the Romantic period and parallel to the modernisation of most aspects of Western organisational reality, to a standardisation of most aspects of the classical performance and the orchestra concert.

An important clue to understanding the rationale of the classical concert is the function of the musical score, which is integral to its organisation. The score epitomises western Enlightenment thought's preference for documented and systematic knowledge. In a similar way as the Enlightenment period preferred explicit and written information, Enlightenment aesthetic ideals accentuated the importance of texts, scores and documented music. The classical work is a piece of music that can be performed everywhere and anytime in the same form, reproduced in a standardised format. The score can be reprinted and sold as a consumer good, stored or moved around to every corner of the world, and importantly, has survived the passing of time. The music became independent, autonomous, unbound by its original social context. The claim to universal status not only means that classical music is supposed to be available to everyone, with a bit of training or experience, but also means that it is suitable everywhere, to any culture, anytime. Classical music, like many other aspects of Western science and culture of the time, was supposed to be superior to all other music created at different times with different rules (for example folk music or the popular opera). Of course not everyone was 'sophisticated' enough to understand that, so the universal became a principle of equality among those who knew and understood the value of the 'universal truths'.

In chapters five and six, I will demonstrate that some of the concerts and events observed challenge the discriminatory and restricted notions of the universal value of a certain type of music. Those practices fall more within the sphere of Dewey's notion of an open field of participation and involvement and the audience is given a different role opposite the musical work. But before I present those practices we need to understand the ideological underpinnings of the traditional concert: why it is the way it is and why it is so accommodating of the customer concept. The Enlightenment idea of separation of the artwork from social or historical context, confirmed by the texts of Kant and Smith, are one explanation. And an additional explanation is the division of labour that came with the modern concert construct, separating the active musicians from the passive audience.

3.2 The modernisation of the orchestra concert

Orchestra concerts are an occasion where a symphony orchestra performs for an audience. However, 'the audience' or 'the public' rarely feature in accounts of the development of the symphony orchestra, since the history of the orchestra commonly centres on musical works, composers, musical instruments and, occasionally, conductors and performers (Bloom 2000: 253). The public is generally perceived as an undefined mass whose function is to listen to and appreciate what the composer has to offer. The composer Hector Berlioz points out that any serious study of 'the public' would be complicated: 'It would require a book and more to encompass a truly scientific study of the strange multitudinous creature, half just and half unjust, half rational and half freakish, ingenuous and cunning, enthusiastic and cynical, profoundly susceptible yet sometimes surprisingly independent which goes by that name.' (Berlioz 2002: 445).

Moreover, if the audience is acknowledged at all, for example as an amusing anecdote in programme notes, it is in the context of the story of the ignorant crowd that didn't understand the genius of the work at its first performance. For instance, the nineteenth-century musicologist E. T. A. Hoffman has nothing good to say about listeners who he thought did not grasp the genius of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony (Bonds 2006). Mark Evan Bonds describes how such deprecatory comments 'reinforced the largely erroneous but seemingly ineradicable notion that Beethoven's music was not appreciated during the composer's lifetime' (Bonds 2006: 9). However, as William Weber (1975; 2007) explains, the composition of the concert audience, along with their knowledge, expectations and interests, nevertheless have a great influence on the development of orchestral music and the construction of the classical concert.

The idea of the classical orchestra concert in Western society at the beginning of the twenty-first century is that of musicians on stage, with the music as the centre of attention, and the sitting public with established rules or etiquette to follow. However, this has not always been the way to experience classical music; in the worlds of

Beethoven and Haydn, for example, the concert occasion could mean a piano duel where two pianists would show off their abilities and battle each other. In his letters, Mozart often wrote of a 'Konzert' to describe evenings of informal, domestic music-making where all those who were present were performers (W. Weber 2007). The word 'orchestra' in ancient Greek meant the place in front of the main stage area where the choir stood or danced. The term 'orchestra' meaning not a 'place' but an 'ensemble' of playing musicians started to take root before 1700 with the modern orchestra taking shape in the late eighteenth century (Weaver 2000: 7). The modern definition of a symphony orchestra could be an ensemble of musicians, who perform musical works written out to suit its instruments and sections. The purpose of the orchestra is thus sometimes said to be the execution of externally produced and prearranged music that is written in a tradition often referred to as 'classical'. The structure of the orchestra is also, for the most part, pre-arranged, since the number and types of instruments is written and determined by the musical score.

The evolution into the modern orchestra took place mainly in northern Europe. There were many orchestras in the eighteenth century in Italy but they were primarily connected with opera houses and are considered to have been of inferior quality to the orchestras in Vienna, Paris and London (Broyles 2000: 104). There were also significant developments in Germany at the time, but unstable political circumstances and a dependence of the court orchestras on the patronage of battling princes and dictators limited their resources. In the late eighteenth century, Mozart and Haydn both wrote music for an orchestra divided into four main sections of strings, woodwinds, brass and percussion, and Beethoven worked with the same 'classical orchestra' in his first symphonies. Since then, the complex organisation of musicians into balanced sections of instruments has been stable although later composers, such as Berlioz, Wagner, Strauss and Mahler, enlarged the orchestra considerably.

Today the orchestra is remarkably similar to what it looked like in the latter half of the nineteenth century, with the exception of the percussion section which is, for the performance of some modern and contemporary music, often much larger than in the classical orchestra. A modern full-sized symphony orchestra consists of more than 100 musicians who play anywhere from 18 to 25 different kinds of instruments. The instruments are divided into four overall sections, which are the strings, woodwinds,

brass, and percussion. Furthermore, within these sections there are groups of instruments that are also called sections: the viola section is part of the string section, for instance, and the trumpet section is part of the brass section.

Until the eighteenth century, classical music provided sophisticated entertainment for a small, privileged, and aristocratic class whose members were the 'great patrons' of the arts (Bloom 2000: 254). The patronage system offered the possibility of an intimate and prolonged relationship between the artist and his masters and their friends. In this way, Franz Joseph Haydn was employed for almost half a century by one of the richest families in Europe, the Esterházy. Haydn could count on the knowledge and understanding of his audience, many of whom played an instrument themselves and knew the basic elements of his musical language. It also meant that he continually had to create new and elaborate musical works for a uniform group of people, who he knew, and valued originality and musical development (Bloom 2000: 254). The musical relationship of the audience and the artist thus developed over time and inspired creativity and artistic production with the security of knowledgeable reception and funding.

This was not always such a rosy reality in terms of later romantic and modern ideas of artistic freedom. More often than not, the purpose of composers and musicians was to provide pleasant background to various social activities such as card playing and dancing. The orchestra was also a vital part of the staging of any opera and often had an important role as a music provider in the theatre. Although the performances at the large halls could be called concerts, in the sense that they were not linked with any other activity than playing for listening audiences and not as support or ambience for a stage performance, the circumstances were somewhat different from what today is called classical concert settings. In his autobiography, the composer and violinist Ludwig Spohr describes the conditions of the court musician in concert in 1807:

After the court had seated itself at the card tables, the concert began with an overture, followed by an aria ... the card players called out their 'I bid,' 'I pass!' so loudly that nothing much could be heard of the music. [...] As soon as the King had finished his game, he pushed his chair back and the concert was

broken off in the middle of an aria by Madame Graft, the poor lady having to stop with the last note of her cadenza still in her throat.

At the theatre, applause was forbidden unless the King himself applauded. The royal family however, because of the winter cold, kept their hands in muffs, and brought them out only when they felt the urge to take a pinch of snuff. At such moments, they also applauded, regardless of what was going in the theatre.

(Spohr 1961: 68)

By 1798, when Haydn's *The Creation* premiered, times were starting to change for public and private music-making. In Vienna, the musical performance was stepping out of the aristocratic private home and into the middle-class public via theatres and concert halls. The first performance was at the palace of Prince Schwarzenberg and even though it was only a semi-private affair, it succeeded in creating such a demand for the work that by the time of the first full public performance in 1799, it was sold out. The etiquette and appreciation for the artist's work was also different from the card playing court concert that Spohr describes. Johan Berwald, a musician attending the first public performance of *The Creation*, reported that:

Between the sections of the work, tumultuous applause; during each section, however, it was still as the grave. When it was over, there were calls, 'Father Haydn to the front!' [...] Finally the old man came forward and was greeted with a tumultuous 'Applaudissement' and with cries 'Long live Father Haydn! Long live music!' Their imperial majesties were all present and joined in the 'bravo' calls [...].

(Berwald quoted in Landon and Jones 1988)

One significant aspect about the change of venue, from the private to the public, is the size of the orchestra. At the concert room at Eisenstadt, an orchestra of 20 was sufficient. However, the Festival Hall of the University of Vienna required an orchestra of 50, the Burgtheater needed over 100 and the Théâtre des Arts in Paris almost 150. The expansion of the orchestra was due to acoustic requirements and so was the setting and the seating plan. The orchestra was placed on risers that were arranged in a kind of a curved amphitheatre so the musicians could be heard and

could see each other. Haydn had used this plan for his first Salomon concert in 1791 and he used it again for the first public performance of *The Creation* at the Burgtheater in 1799.

As Spitzer and Zaslaw explain in *The Birth of the Orchestra*, the amphitheatre seating achieved the central focus and good ensemble of on-the-floor seating plans while maintaining the visual effect and social distance of onstage seating. Onstage seating of the concert hall differed from the on-the-floor seating of the private home in that the latter was less formal and there was not the great distinction between performers and audiences. We can see that these are societal gatherings, for the main sources for this knowledge are pictures painted of orchestra ensembles in the eighteenth century, as Spitzer and Zaslaw explain:

Pictures of eighteenth-century orchestras 'on-the-floor' are usually set indoors: in a room of a house, a 'chamber' in a palace, or a public assembly room. Most of them depict music-making in an atmosphere of sociability. Instrumentalists, singers, and audience are placed on the same level as one another, some sitting, some standing, and there is no barrier between orchestra and audience. Audience members sit among the performers or stand where they can see the music.

(Spitzer and Zaslaw 2004: 353)

In this open-plan seating, the musical communication is noticeably different from the more formal communication of the concert hall. Even though not all the people present at the performance play an instrument, they sit on the same level as the musicians and can, if they choose to, follow the score or join in. Sitting on the same level offers possibilities for involvement and active participation on behalf of the listener but, from the point of view of the performing musician, the onstage seating clearly had some benefits, as musician Carl Ludwig Junker explained in 1782:

These stages merit our hearty approval, not only because of their superior acoustic, but also because they afford greater freedom and independence to the orchestra musicians and especially to the soloist, who is protected from the

noble amateurs, who can scrape and noodle a little bit and think this gives them license to stand behind the soloist, look at his music, and get in his way.

(Junker quoted in Spitzer and Zaslav 2004: 359-360)

This quotation is descriptive of the changes at a time when the classical concert was moving towards increased specialisation and professionalism, with the musicians 'running the show.' The changes happened at a similar time as the middle classes became the main patrons of the classical concert life. According to Bloom, 'as a result of social reform, industrial development, international trade, and increased economical wellbeing, the middle classes, or bourgeoisie, increased in numbers, power, prestige, and influence.' Subscription concerts offered a different kind of organisation in which professionals, who were not aristocrats but had a taste for fine music, could become a part of the classical music elite. These different circumstances meant that the musicians began organising performances themselves. Mozart was among the first great composers to challenge the patronage system and go public with his musical performances and he put on a subscription series in Vienna when he left Salzburg.

Under similar circumstances of economic pressure and sense of freedom, Theodor Adorno claims that for the first time composers were confronted with the anonymous marketplace (Bloom 2000: 256). The composer was no longer directly linked as a servant to his masters but had to cater to the needs of the undefined public. The concert became a professional affair in which the public paid an entrance fee or a subscription. The moment the composer stepped out of the private house of the aristocrats, a line was drawn between him and his audiences, which gave greater artistic freedom or at least a different sort of freedom (Bloom 2000: 256).

The grander scale and the acoustic necessity of the raised stage also created distance for the performing musician, who could go about his business of playing music without the disturbing 'scrape and noodle' of the noble amateur. With this division of labour, the distinction between the artist and the public was clearly defined and was further underlined by the structure of the concert hall (W. Weber 1975). The role of the audience was to sit still and listen, the role of the composer was to provide an interesting composition, and the role of the performer was to give an accurate

rendition of the music. Music historian William Weber describes the development process of the classical concert into its current system as *modernisation*, which he defines as 'thorough-going rationalization of social and economic relationships and institutions.' Somewhere between 1830 and 1848, an important change had occurred:

Traditions and customs have given way to organizational norms which determine the roles individuals play and the manner in which they get them. Society now codifies what it formerly just did, and the nature of all social activities has changed in the process. As job relationships have become more functional than personal, much social interaction has lost its polymorphous character and become highly segmented and specialized.

(W. Weber 1975: 115)

Weber's argument is that the classical concert had at that time become a professional affair and 'the performance of professionals and amateurs together was now only confined to the home' (W. Weber 1975: 115). Before, classical music events had been private occasions at the homes of the aristocracy, where the hosts and their guests took an active part in the music making. The change reflected the change in economic ties of the parties involved, the musicians and their patrons, but it also reflected the aesthetic temperament of the era.

Under these circumstances, in the first half of the nineteenth century, an attitude which William Weber dubs 'Art for art's sake' became the 'dominant organizing principle of the musical world, ranking genres according to their supposed level of seriousness' (W. Weber 1997: 116). Classical music was considered serious and profound, and different from popular music of the era in that it was complex, all encompassing and self-sufficient. Since the public paid for the performance, a certain consistency in behaviour was demanded of the orchestra as well as from other members of the audience. The composer became important as the star of the show, and the composition, in the physical absence of the composer, became a guarantee of quality. According to William Weber, the composition, the work of art, took on a life of its own and gained a classical status that then shaped any valuation of any new work. And with increased professional organisation, the artwork took on a higher

status, similar to that of rational-scientific knowledge, upon which the structure of the concert both depended and maintained.

When observing orchestra concerts, it is important to understand the rational ideal of classical music as free from all contexts, such as social, historical and political reality. This neutrality and ideally rational structure of the concert has been a source of inspiration for many authors. The philosopher Jürgen Habermas (1989) maintains in his influential book *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* that this new perception of the musical work, along with the newly found 'public concert' discussed below, posed significant changes in the intellectual life of the Western European bourgeois:

The shift produced not merely a change in the composition of the public but amounted to the very generation of the 'public' as such, can be categorically grasped with even more rigor in the case of the concert-going public than in the case of the reading and theater-going public. For until the final years of the eighteenth century all music remained bound to the functions of the kind of the kind of publicity involved in representation – that today we call occasional music. Judged according to its social function, it served to enhance the sanctity and dignity of worship, the glamour of the festivities at court, and the overall splendour of ceremony. Composers were appointed as court, church, or council musicians, and they worked on what was commissioned, just like writers in the service of patrons and court actors in the service of princes. The average person scarcely had any opportunity to hear music except in church or in a noble society. [...] Admission for a payment turned the musical performance into a commodity; simultaneously, however, there arose something like music not tied to a purpose. For the first time an audience gathered to listen to music as such — a public of music lovers to which anyone who was propertied and educated was admitted.

(Habermas 1989: 39)

Habermas sees this development generally in a positive light while critics see a kind of an inherent contradiction in the idea of humanity's enlightenment and how it plays out in the realm of music. This ambiguity is perhaps best characterised by Theodor

Adorno. As Mark Evan Bonds (2006) explains in *Music as Thought: Listening to the Symphony in the Age of Beethoven*, Adorno believed music has a critical role to play in the discourse of modernity, which is ongoing while the artwork has the ability to resist reconciliation (Bonds 2006: 61). In the introduction to *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, which Adorno wrote with Max Horkheimer, they explain their project as a dialogue set in the midst of a heritage that needs continually to be re-assessed:

The dilemma that faced us in our work proved to be the first phenomenon for investigation: the self-destruction of the Enlightenment. We are wholly convinced – and therein lies our *petitio principii* – that social freedom is inseparable from enlightened thought. Nevertheless, we believe that we have just as clearly recognized that the notion of this very way of thinking, no less than the actual historic forms – the social institutions – with which it is interwoven, already contains the seed of the reversal universally apparent today. If enlightenment does not accommodate reflection on this recidivist element, then it seals its own fate.

(Adorno and Horkheimer 1997: xiii)

Foucault's observation quoted at the beginning of chapter two, in which he warns against overuse of marketing rational within the field of musical listening, echoes to some extent these critical views. In a different text, Foucault (1984) also warns against oversimplifying the issues of the Enlightenment and rationalisation, and reminds his readers in the 1984 article 'What is Enlightenment' (1984: 32-50) that:

We must never forget that the Enlightenment is an event, or a set of events and complex historical processes, that is located at a certain point in the development of European societies. As such, it includes elements of social transformation, types of political institution, forms of knowledge, projects of rationalization of knowledge and practices, and technological mutations that are very difficult to sum up in a word, even if many of these phenomena remain important today.

(Foucault 1984: 32)

In his book *Relational Aesthetics*, the art theorist Nicolas Bourriaud maintains that all social form is either 'less' or 'more' democratic and he asserts that all works of art produce a model of sociability, which transposes reality or might be conveyed in it. According to Bourriaud there is a question we are entitled to ask in front of any aesthetic production: 'Does this work permit me to enter into dialogue? Could I exist, and how, in the space it defines?' (Bourriaud 2002: 109). He consequently defines his own theory of relational aesthetics as 'aesthetic theory consisting in judging artworks on the basis of the inter-human relations which they represent, produce or prompt' (Bourriaud 2002: 9).

In line with Bourriaud's questions and within the context of this research project we are left with the subject: what form of inter-human relations does the classical concert represent, produce or prompt? In Kant's terminology: is the classical concert an occasion to argue or to obey? What is the role of the listening subject and what is his relationship with the artwork? Does the listening permit *me* to enter into a dialogue? Could I exist? (Bourriaud 2002: 109) Is that perhaps where the key concept of the audience development discourse 'the consumer' fits, as a logical implication of the aesthetical structure of the Enlightenment? Moreover, no matter how sceptical many people have become in the twenty-first century of 'universal music', if we listen we can perhaps perceive a faint echo of that ideal in Haydn's brilliant C major fortissimo chord.

That is one of the paradoxes of the Enlightenment and neither Adorno nor Dewey would describe that heritage as a simple construct. As Foucault says, the Enlightenment is an 'event or a set of events' and complex historical processes that are 'difficult to sum up in a word, even if many of these phenomena remain important today' (Foucault 1984: 32).

Nevertheless, the modernisation of the orchestra concert instigated a division between the orchestra and its audiences that characterises the traditional concert. And this well-defined division of labour, hierarchy of positions and other elements of power control are also what characterises modern arts management which suggests that it has its origin in similar ideals as the concert structure. That means that challenges to the way we conceptualise the concert could also mean that we could rethink arts

management. It was obvious to many twentieth-century thinkers, such as Dewey, Adorno, and Foucault, that the institutional mechanism of measurable outcomes and rational organisation were fundamental elements of modernity, part of the Enlightenment heritage, which they warned against. They also warned against the tendency of applying the mechanical perspective to every aspect of life, treating knowledge and value judgments as given or 'universal', fitting the human 'subject' within predetermined categories. Since the period of Enlightenment, much of the discourse about modernity and Enlightenment heritage has revolved around questions of where rational organisation of social relations is appropriate, who should draw the lines, and where we should be looking for different models of sociability.

3.3 Artwork aesthetics: The musical museum and the canon

The musical work's canonical status is an important feature of the classical concert. The canon is not only just a selection of important works, but also a hierarchy which excludes and dictates what is considered proper music. Observing this in the article 'The History of Musical Canon', William Weber argues that the ideology of the musical canon was manipulated to social and political ends, wielding the authority of 'cultural supremacy' (W. Weber 2001: 354). According to Weber, canonical ideology brought about the ideas of popular and classical music and formidable systemised hierarchy of genres, which puts selected musical works on a pedestal while ignoring others.

In a similar way, musicologist Peter Burkholder, in his essay 'The Twentieth Century and the Orchestra as Museum', states that the modern concert hall 'may be likened to a museum, where natural wonders and man-made artefacts are taken from their native habitats and mounted for display to an admiring and curious public. [...] Museum music is music as pure art, art for its own sake' (Burkholder 2000: 410). Burkholder's point is that the modern concert hall as an institution, or 'museum', adopts new purposes for music that were, for instance, part of a religious ceremony (e.g. Bach's *St. Matthews Passion*) or part of a staged work (opera overtures and ballet music). In fact, the music is stripped of all 'extra-musical' associations and social context, and is

heard as autonomous entity of which the individual audience member can have a direct experience:

In the concert-hall museum, no matter how many others may be in the room, each of us encounters the music alone, seeking an individual aesthetic experience. The museum intensifies our experience of a work of art, visual or musical, by directing all our attention to it, away from ourselves and our fellow viewers and listeners. The museum is a place in which we take our art very seriously indeed.

(Burkholder 2000: 411)

The subject of Burkholder's article is how individual pieces of art become part of a permanent collection. Ever since the middle of nineteenth century, when the music of Haydn and Mozart had gained canonical status in the orchestra repertoire, it has been difficult for any new arrival to be accepted into the canon. Most orchestra concerts today consist of tried and tested music by the old masters. Late arrivals will always be measured against the classics, and this fact may have shaped the creative output of every orchestra composer for the last 150 years (Burkholder 2000: 409). In a survey by the Association of British Orchestras (2006) of 47 symphony orchestras in Britain for the 2004-2005 season, the ten most popular composers were:

Composer	Dates	Period	Nationality	No. of Works Performed
1. Mozart	1756-1791	Classical	Austrian	197
2. Beethoven	1770-1827	Classical	German	147
3. Tchaikovsky	1840-1893	Romantic	Russian	117
4. Brahms	1833-1897	Romantic	German	80
5. Elgar	1857-1934	Romantic	British	62
6. Dvorak	1841-1904	Romantic	Czech	60
7. Handel	1685-1759	Baroque	German	57
8. Haydn	1732-1809	Classical	Austrian	54
9. Mendelssohn	1809-1847	Romantic	German	51
10. Bach	1685-1750	Baroque	German	48
				= 873

Table 1 Ten composers comprised 33% of the total 2682 works performed by 47 British orchestras in the 2004-2005 season (Association of British Orchestras n.d.). The orchestra canon sanctifies the names of the composers that are 'in' and excludes others.

Another aspect of the canon-museum practice is that each musical work that is composed by an individual composer is explicitly associated with his name. During a

typical orchestra concert there are usually two or three works performed and the work can be a symphony, a concert, a suite or an overture; it is arranged to be performed as a whole or a complete unit. The units are listed in the concert programme as separate entities and each unit is notated in an individual musical score on musicians' podiums. During the course of the concert, each work is demarcated by applause, which happens only at the beginning and at the end of the performance of the particular 'piece'. Here are examples of three 'traditional' orchestra concerts observed during the course of the research:

Event	Composer	Works performed
Philharmonia Orchestra Royal Festival Hall 19 June 2003 Conductor/piano: András Schiff	Schubert Schumann Beethoven	Overture, Rosamunde Piano Concerto in A minor, Op.54 Symphony No.6 in F, Op.68 (Pastoral)
Royal Concertgebouw Orchestra Royal Albert Hall 2 September 2005 Conductor: Mariss Jansons	Lutoslawski Brahms	Concerto for Orchestra Symphony No.1
Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra Royal Albert Hall 7 September 2005 Conductor: Zubin Mehta Soprano: Katarina Dalayman	Haydn Berg Stravinsky	Symphony No.103 in E-flat major ('Drumroll') Three Fragments from 'Wozzeck' The Rite of Spring

Table 2 Musical works and composers: the main organising elements of the orchestra concert as they are presented at the concert.

Three things are worth mentioning about table two in the context of concert organisation. The first is the order and simplicity of the number of musical units; two and three seems to be dominant for the typical classical concert. This is also the case for many of the concerts included in this study. However, in tables three and four below it is obvious that the number of works performed is much higher for some of the audience development events.

The second point to notice with table two above, is that the eight musical works listed in the table all form part of the orchestra music canon. The most recent to enter the

canon of the composers, with Symphony No. 1 (composed in 1941-1947), is the Polish composer Witold Lutosławski (1913-1994).

Thirdly, the listing in table two above indicates the musical works as main elements of the orchestra concert as they are presented in programme notes and other publications: the musical work is an individual entity connected to a single composer. Paradoxically, it is also evident that two of the works are parts of 'something else': the overture to Rosamunde Op. 26 (D. 797) composed by Franz Schubert for an 1823 play by Helmina von Chézy, and Alban Berg's Three Fragments from 'Wozzeck' (Drei Bruchstücke aus 'Wozzeck') is originally music from Berg's opera. In these works have been extracted from their original contexts and are presented as independent musical units.

Below are tables three and four which list the main organising units of 36 concerts and the number of works performed.

Table 3 List of the events observed for this study

Date	Event	Orchestra	No. of works perfor med	Venue
21 April 1999	S&M Metallica	San Francisco Symphony Orchestra	21	Berkeley Community Theatre, California
21 November 2002	The Water	Iceland Symphony Orchestra	11	Haskolabio, Reykjavik
28 January 2003	The Rite of Spring B.Phil	Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra	1	Arena Berlin in Treptow, Berlin
3 December 2003	Music Makers Workshop	London Symphony Orchestra	1	LSO's St. Luke's, London
11 December 2003	Dancing with Stars	Open Ear Orchestra / LPO	16	St Peter's Vauxhall, London
19 February 2004	Century Rolls	Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra	1	Berliner Philharmonie, Berlin
23 February 2004	Daphnis et Chloé Ballet	Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra	1	Arena Berlin in Treptow, Berlin
28 February 2004	The Creation Joseph Haydn	London Philharmonic Orchestra	1	Royal Festival Hall, London
3 March 2004	Berlioz, Dutilleux, Stravinsky	London Philharmonic Orchestra	3	Royal Festival Hall, London
28 March 2004	Classical Spectacular	Royal Philharmonic Orchestra	19	Royal Albert Hall, London
21 April 2004	La Damnation de Faust	London Philharmonic Orchestra	1	Royal Festival Hall, London
18 July 2004	Songs for Summer	Open Ear Orchestra / LPO	20	St Peter's Church, London
29 July 2004	Open-air concert	London Symphony Orchestra	21	Canada Square Park, London
24 September 2004	Malcolm Arnold	London Philharmonic Orchestra	6	Royal Festival Hall, London
14 October 2004	The Rite of Spring LSO	London Symphony Orchestra	1	Barbican Hall, London
5 November 2004	Sensation	Iceland Symphony Orchestra	12	Haskolabio, Reykjavik
8 December 2004	Turnage: When I Woke	London Philharmonic Orchestra	3	Royal Festival Hall, London
26 January 2005	Turnage: Scherzoid	London Philharmonic Orchestra	3	Royal Festival Hall, London
23 April 2005	Jonny Greenwood	BBC Concert Orchestra	11	St. Luke's, London
11 June 2005	Orchestre sans frontière	Orchestre de Paris	11	Théâtre Mogador, Paris
17 March 2006	Nightmare Romance	BBC Concert Orchestra	11	Barbican Hall, London
Average			8.33	

Table 4 List of 15 ‘regular’ concerts attended in 2002-2006

Date	Conductor	Orchestra	No. of works performed	Venue
11 April 2002	Vladimir Ashkenazy	Iceland Symphony Orchestra	1	Haskolabio, Reykjavik
5 October 2002	Pierre Boulez	London Symphony Orchestra	4	Barbican Hall, London
13 March 2003	Justin Brown	Iceland Symphony Orchestra	3	Haskolabio, Reykjavik
13 April 2003	Mariss Jansons	Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra	2	Barbican Hall, London
17 June 2003	André Previn	London Symphony Orchestra	3	Barbican Hall, London
19 June 2003	András Schiff	Philharmonia Orchestra	3	Royal Festival Hall, London
19 June 2003	Garry Walker	Philharmonia Orchestra	3	Royal Festival Hall, London
19 February 2004	Simon Rattle	Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra	2	Berlin Philharmonie, Berlin
20 February 2004	Eliahu Inbal	Berlin Symphony Orchestra	1	Konzerthaus Berlin, Berlin
28 April 2004	Emmanuel Krivine	London Philharmonic Orchestra	4	Royal Festival Hall, London
2 September 2005	Mariss Jansons	Royal Concertgebouw Orchestra	2	Royal Albert Hall, London
7 September 2005	Zubin Mehta	Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra	3	Royal Albert Hall, London
4 November 2005	Gabriele Ferro	Orchestra Toscana	1	Teatro Verdi di Firenze, Florence
9 February 2006	Rumon Gamba	Iceland Symphony Orchestra	4	Haskolabio, Reykjavik
26 November 2006	Jesús López Cobos	Barcelona Symphony Orchestra	2	L'Auditori, Barcelona
Average			2.53	

The practice of 'extracting' from a larger composition perhaps puts into perspective the proposition that the western classical tradition treats 'the music' as a work of art as autonomous unified whole or a 'musical unity' (Maus 2001). Indeed this focus on 'the work' as a distinct and defining factor of Western canonical performance tradition has led to it being called 'opus music' as a derogatory term.⁶ Even so, according to the ethnomusicologist Bruno Nettle (2005) there is little controversy among music historians and Western academic musicians regarding what constitutes a unit in the Western classical system: 'it is something we call "the piece," and it usually has a name (distinctive, as in *Parsifal*, or more general, as in "Symphony no. 7 in A major, Opus 92") that is further associated with a composer' (Nettle 2005: 113-114). Even a collection of 'pieces' such as Mozart's *Don Giovanni* or Elgar's *Variations on an Original Theme* ('Enigma') is a unity and referred to as such in discussions and in concert programmes. In other musical traditions, such as in European folk music, this classification system becomes problematic since the 'same piece' may be different each time it is performed. A tune is composed or passed down from one person to the next and each one of them sings the same song in a different way (Nettle 2005: 114). From the point of view of classical concert management, 'the work' or 'the opus' is one of the organising units upon which the symphony concert is build (other important elements are time and place of the concert, the orchestra, composers, and main characters such as conductor and soloists).

3.4 Summary

This chapter presented the origin of the classical symphony orchestra concert, its construction, structure and norms. I have suggested links to the aesthetic ideals of the Enlightenment period, the time when the classical public concert was taking shape. This discussion prompts questions about some of the main features of the classical concert in connection with its aesthetics of order, the demarcation of the artwork, disciplining disposition, and the role of the listener. Since the Enlightenment much of the discourse about modernity and Enlightenment heritage has revolved around questions of where rational organisation of social relations is

⁶ As discussed in Gerhart von Westerman's 1951 *Concert Guide: Handbook for music lovers*: 'In Germany, at the time when wireless transmission introduced serious music to hundreds of thousands of people, the phrase 'opus music' became current as a joking and rather a derogatory designation of art music. *Opus* is Latin for 'a work', and almost all composers since Beethoven have used this word to number their works in order of composition. 'Opus music' aptly expresses that horror of the many strange words, like a sort or a secret language, that surround the foreign world of great music, so difficult to understand.' (1951: 457)

appropriate, who should draw the lines, and where we should be looking for different models of sociability. An instance of this debate is John Dewey's critique of the mechanical structure of arts institutions. Immanuel Kant's contribution to the discourse was highlighted in the chapter and so were questions of social organisation and the Enlightenment, which offer a perspective on the aesthetics of the orchestra concert.

As was demonstrated in the chapter, it was not only the structure of the concert that took shape in the intellectual climate of the late eighteenth century, but also the modern notions of *who* performs and *how to* listen. The work was perceived as a given autonomous object, the composer was positioned above the audience and separated from the public, and the idea of the audience as passive receiver or a consumer at a public gathering was instigated. And it is not hard to see that ideas of the listener as a comfort seeking consumer advocated by orchestra audience development theory derive from this 200 year old ideal of the passive listening subject. The categorisation of music as a product promoted by Kant and the management principle of division of work idealised by Adam Smith, paved the way to the modern idea of the remote listener.

4 Method: Review of events in light of the ‘art as experience’ metaphor

Art is a mode of prediction not found in charts and statistics, and it insinuates possibilities of human relations not to be found in rule and precept, admonition and administration.

(Dewey 1980: 349)

In this chapter on methodology the process of observation is presented, the criteria for selecting events and the role of theory. It also introduces the pragmatist interpretive approach for reading and reviewing the musical events in light of metaphor and it discusses the need for aesthetic reading in the context of organisation studies. In a context of organisational theorist Antonio Strati’s interpretive method of aesthetic understanding of organisational life, I apply Dewey’s ‘experience’ metaphor to draw out what sets audience development events apart from regular concerts and in what ways they differ. The approach is ‘textual’, for in the research I use Dewey’s metaphor to explore the qualitative dimensions of symphony orchestra audience development events. The objective of this section of the thesis is to investigate whether the ‘art as experience’ metaphor can provide valuable insight for understanding audience development and the aesthetics of concert organisation.

As is explained below, the approach to the research is personal, even subjective, in that theory is used to direct the point of view and inform how I, the researcher, see things. This approach allows me to gain insight into the aesthetic-organisational processes involved at the time of concert and ask questions that complicate the reception model offered by more mainstream audience development theories, presented in chapter two. An important part of the textual approach is defining the musical event as a temporary organisation, and then to review the event in its entirety as a nexus of interrelating associations and aesthetic processes.

The main analysis is based on the observation and interpretation of 21 musical events, concerts and other performances, involving eight symphony orchestras. The orchestras are: the Berlin Philharmonic, the BBC Concert Orchestra, the Iceland Symphony Orchestra, the London Philharmonic Orchestra, the London Symphony Orchestra, the Orchestre de Paris, the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra and the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra. The 21 musical

events were chosen on the basis of their diversity and representation of the variety of audience development activity that the symphony orchestras promote. Furthermore, the events have 'critical potential' since they raise issues that are important to the understanding of what changes to the concert structure might mean in terms of audience development and how 'audience development' in turn affects the aesthetic ideals of the concert organisation.

4.1 Defining the concert frame: The event as a temporal aesthetic organisation

The methodological approach falls within the tradition of 'organisational aesthetics', also known as 'aesthetic understanding of organisational life', which has become an important dimension of the literature on organisational research methodology in recent years. Instances of this discourse include Antonio Strati and Pierre Guillet de Monthoux's (2002) 'Introduction: Organizing aesthetics' in a special issue of *Human Relations*, Antonio Strati's (1999) *Organization and Aesthetics*, and Stephen Linstead and Heather Höpfl's (2000) *The aesthetic of organization*. Within the context of organisational aesthetics, these authors have posed questions about the uncritical construction of management knowledge, the supposed universal application of techniques, and the normative character of the way management theories are presented. Organisational aesthetics researchers often combine their interest in qualitative-hermeneutic interpretation with classical philosophical aesthetics, critical theory, and post-structural or post-modern theory (see, for instance, Adrian Carr and Philip Hancock's (2003) book *Art and Aesthetics at work*). However, apart from Pierre Guillet de Monthoux's *The Art Firm: Aesthetic Management and Metaphysical Marketing*, and passing references to John Dewey's aesthetic theory in a few other publications (Gagliardi 1999: 320; Strati 1999: 7, 79; Nissley, Taylor and Butler 2002: 53; Koivunen 2003: 179), there have been no attempts to use pragmatist aesthetic theory productively as an approach to organisational aesthetics.

In the introduction to his book *Organization and Aesthetics*, Antonio Strati argues that the aesthetic understanding of organisational life is an 'epistemological metaphor' which 'problematizes the rational and analytic analysis of organizations'. Furthermore, he states that 'aesthetic analysis raises theoretical and methodological issues' concerning how knowledge is produced by organisation studies. Yet the theme of most organisational aesthetics research is

not the outright confutation of the rational explanation of organisational life, but rather an attempt show that the aesthetic perspective is valuable and possible (see for example Strati and Guillet de Monthoux 2002). Born out of the study of organisational culture, rituals and symbols, organisational aesthetics generally seeks to find meanings and interpretations that can enrich knowledge of everyday organisational life by means of analogies with aesthetic judgments, aesthetic practice and art theory (Strati 1999: 6-7). According to Strati, the understanding and observation of organisations, demands reading and interpretation of 'empathic analysis of intentional action' (Strati 1999: 49). It is a process where the researchers 'immerse themselves in organizational life, activating their perceptive faculties and aesthetic judgement, employing their intuitive and analogical capacities' (Strati 1999: 190). The individual researcher also needs to observe him/herself in this knowledge-gathering process, letting past experience re-emerge.

Strati also suggests that the researcher should also prepare an 'open text' which 'describes the active process of reconstructing lived experience and re-evokes this experience according to the aesthetic canons of writing which govern the architecture of the arguments developed' (Strati 1999: 190).

The term 'aesthetics' has a number of different connotations, but the philosopher Clive Cazeaux, in his introduction to *The Continental Aesthetics Reader* (2000), proposes three meanings which are indicative of some of the most common conceptions: sense perception, the study of fine art, and the dynamic state of conceptual reappraisal (Cazeaux 2000: xv).

The first of the three meanings, sense perception, refers to a concept of ancient Greek philosophy, 'aisthesis' which meant a lived, felt experience, and 'knowledge as it is obtained through the senses' (Cazeaux 2000: xv). The opposite of 'aisthesis' is 'eidos' which is 'knowledge derived from reason and intellection' and a product of our minds vis-à-vis the more embodied knowledge of the aisthesis.

Cazeaux's second sense, the study of beauty and fine art, originates in the eighteenth century with the Cartesian conception of the thinking subject, the modern individual and the rise of interest in 'harmonious form', science, the and 'absolute laws' of and social and economic life (Cazeaux 2000: xv). This is the understanding of the Enlightenment period and in this sense aesthetics is the study of what constitutes art and the properties of beauty. The Enlightenment

thinker and encyclopaedist Denis Diderot for instance, writes in the *General Principles of the Science of Sound* (1748): ‘Of all relationships the simplest is that of equality; it was thus natural for the human mind to seek to introduce it everywhere that it might occur’ (quoted in Fubini 1994).

The third of Cazeaux’s meanings, the dynamic state of conceptual re-appraisal, is a more contemporary conceptualisation which Cazeaux connects with Kant, and appears as a reaction to the previous ‘appreciation of beauty’ concept (Cazeaux 2000: xvi). Understood in this sense, the aesthetical is not limited to the enjoyment of beauty or the definition of aesthetic value of art objects, but is fundamental to any aspect of living and thinking. The aesthetical becomes ‘constitutive of our attempts to deal with any new situation’ (Cazeaux 2000: xvi) and it is in this sense that John Dewey generally uses the term. Dewey’s position is that the aesthetical is perhaps the most important and at the same time the most neglected aspect of culture and in all our attempts to either rationalise or to naturalise our ideas of human life we tend constantly to be blind to how the aesthetical influence almost everything we do.

The meaning used in this thesis is more akin to Cazeaux’s third one of aesthetics as fundamental to every aspect of life. That meaning is also the underpinning of Antonio Strati’s interpretive method of aesthetic understanding of organizational life. However, even if we start with such a neat categorisation, it is often difficult to distinguish between these different categorisations or meanings and Cazeaux’s distinction becomes problematic as soon as we start applying it to individual theorist or texts. In fact, Kant can be and has been associated with all three meanings of the term ‘aesthetics’: sense perception, the study of fine art, and the dynamic state of conceptual reappraisal. Yet as was demonstrated in the previous chapter, following the Enlightenment it is the second one, the categorisation of fine art, which became the primary or dominant meaning of the term ‘aesthetics’ and has had major influence on the organisational aesthetics of the orchestra concert.

I will explain in more detail the reviewing process, the writing and the role of metaphor below, but first I will describe the characteristics of the event as temporal organisation, how the events were selected and what the observation entails.

This thesis’s unit of an analysis is a concert, a musical event, defined as a temporal aesthetic organisation or a frame. In his analysis of the modern concert construct, Christopher Small

(1996) employs the concept of a 'concert frame' with a poignant definition of the symphony orchestra performance as a celebration of the 'sacred history' of the Western middle classes, and an affirmation of their values as the abiding 'stuff of life' (Small 1996; see also Nettl 2005: 247). Small points out that the concert frame has two principal meanings: a demarcation of the concert from other things, and a structuring principle. The former draws a line and guards off the event from everyday life and marks the 'zone' people enter when they go to a concert. The latter has more to do with the inner workings of the concert, its ideals and rituals, as an aesthetical and social construct.

Following Small, and to understand better the nature of the events under investigation in the research, the concert is defined as a temporal organization with structural elements, boundaries and timeframes, behavioural patterns and history. The concert organisation thus exists for the duration of the concert, when people (orchestra, audience, etc.) come together for music making. The advantages of seeing the event as a temporal organisation rather than as an instance of a performer/producer-audience/consumer relationship, or other types of contract-bound transactional activity, are that it offers the chance of re-arranging the relationships and understanding them in a different way. The notion of a 'temporal organisation' provides a reason to look for additional ways of explaining musical events, since the dual transaction categories of performers and listeners do not always account for what is going on, for instance, where the audience take an active part in the performance. It is a holistic model that includes all the participants that are present for the event and forces the researcher to take notice of the audience as an active group. In addition, categories such as 'client' and 'customer' lose their appeal where there are no obvious monetary transactions involved on the site (as with free outdoor concerts and school concerts). Therefore, the institution of an orchestra event as an organisation is examined, with many different parties involved and included, rather than as a transaction between two unrelated groups, as is the conventional method of audience development research.

As organisation theorists Stewart R. Clegg and Cynthia Hardy (1999) have explained, organisation can be understood both as an empirical object, to be found and examined, and also as the social practice of organising. As an empirical object, the concert is an organisation with specific resources and rules, history and boundaries that can be used to define it. The concert has its actors, employees, management, participants and other interested stakeholders, and a specific location and behavioural patterns that distinguish it from other organisations

and phenomena. Organisation is also a social practice is to act out the rules and define the boundaries through work and interpretative activity. The organisational actors provide the history, resources and meaning from one moment to the next, so in effect the organisation is constantly being created and recreated (Clegg and Hardy 1999: 3).

4.2 Event selection

The events in this study were selected broadly with three things in mind. First, the events were selected on the basis of their diversity and representation of a variety of audience development conceptions, as an instance or an illustration, of how a symphony orchestra makes connections and seeks to communicate with audiences in a 'different' way. Secondly, the events are organised or promoted as a part of symphony orchestra activity, even if they are not all 'public concerts', or involve all of the orchestra's musicians. Thirdly, the orchestras which promote the activities are all recognised and respected organisations in the classical music world.

The events are realisations of the fact that there are various ways of perceiving music through performance and listening. They also represent a broad spectrum of practices that are interesting from a managerial perspective, since they give an idea of the possibilities of rethinking the orchestra concert and the role of the audience within the musical event. They do however not allow for generalisations about all the different activities that are taking place in concert halls around the world, or even all the interesting projects the eight symphony orchestras included in the research promote. Their primary purpose for the research is to offer insight into what orchestra audience development means and might mean.

Borrowing the phrase 'theoretical sampling' from social scientist Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss' *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research* (1967), the selection process was based on the idea of an ongoing journey, in which each new observation became the instigation leg. Steven J. Taylor and Robert Bogdan have explained that qualitative researchers 'typically define their samples on an ongoing basis as the study progresses' (Taylor and Bogdan 1998: 26) and they refer to 'a procedure whereby researchers consciously select additional cases to be studied according to the potential for developing new

insights or expanding and refining those already gained' (Taylor and Bogdan 1998: 26). They also believe the researcher should 'maximise variation in additional cases selected in order to broaden the applicability of theoretical insights' (Taylor and Bogdan 1998: 27).

In accordance with the logic of theoretical or purposeful sampling, the selection criteria developed throughout the research. For instance, in the initial stages of the study, the focus was on events for younger audiences, since much of the activity for new audiences seemed targeted at young people. However, as the research progressed and I wanted to explore in more detail the applicability of the pragmatist experience perspective, the age of the audience or other demographics mattered less and it was no more of a concern than the age or the background of the orchestra musicians.

What the events observed have in common is an effort by the relevant orchestra to interest new or different audiences to come and experience music. The events all have an element of invitation or an enticement, in most cases a tangible one, such as lower ticket prices or distinctive programming, targeted towards a group of people who were not part of the orchestra's core audience group (often young people). When I started I did not have a previously defined or definite notion of what 'audience development event' could be or should be. When I started conversing with practitioners in different orchestras and different countries I realised it was even more complex than I initially thought. I understood how different these events were from the description given by the prevailing orchestra audience development theory and that the kind of insight I was after did not confine itself in a too narrowly defined category. I would have to allow myself a more explorative approach in which theory and observation would inform and mirror each other.

It should be obvious that the purpose of this research is not to make statistical generalisations about the types of events studied. Rather, the intention is to explore their individual qualities, to analyse, critique and evaluate in light of pertinent aesthetic ideas. I attended many concerts and musical events throughout the research period, many of which I became aware of through keeping track of orchestras' publications, marketing material and websites, and the ones I chose to explore further were the ones that captivated my attention. At the various events there was often some material such as brochures or posters, telling visitors when the next similar event would take place. The orchestras' own websites also provided important information that could be used to prepare for the visit, such as facts about the music, lists of

performers and other people involved, the nature of the project or the programme, and similar or comparable events that the orchestra had promoted in the past. The Berlin Philharmonic website was particularly rich in this respect, with case studies, images and description of many projects in German and English, dating back to 2002. Some projects, like the London Symphony Orchestra's *The Rite of Spring* event, had an individual website with background information about the event and the music. For the LPO-Noise events, promotional emails from the orchestra were the main source of information.

4.3 Event involvement: The familiar and the strange

The events fall into two main categories: live events and events recorded and published on DVD format to view on screen. For the 17 live events, evidence was gathered by participant observation on site at the musical performance. After the observation, a review was composed based on personal field notes, programme notes and other factual and promotional material. At the events I had a notebook and wrote down my observations, and afterwards I wrote a more comprehensive description of the experience. On site, at the event, I was a member of the audience and generally I bought a ticket, waited in the foyer, then sat down and listened. I kept a lookout for any unusual activities or happenings that would make the event different from a traditional orchestra concert. The four events observed on DVD recordings were studied in a more private setting but reviewed in a similar way. The benefit of having the recordings was that I could stop and rewind any time I needed to note a particular aspect of the performance, but the detriment was that I was always looking through someone else's lens. A commercial DVD is an edited version of events and therefore a different sort of experience than participant observation at a live concert.

According to Strati, the student of 'organisational aesthetics' needs to immerse him/herself in the organisational life by activating perceptive faculties and aesthetic judgement and in that process the 'prior experience is central' (Strati 1999: 14). However, it is difficult to be conscious of the preconceptions and ideas the researcher may take with him/her to a musical event and the personal knowledge that is involved. In some instances the venues were known to me from earlier visits, and the orchestras I also knew from recordings and their history and their status within the classical music world. I had heard them on the radio or seen them on

television. However, perhaps the most important knowledge I took with me was a preconception of what an orchestra concert should look like. The conventional model followed me and became the standard everything else was measured against. Throughout the research I attended 'traditional' orchestra concerts at London venues such as the Barbican, the Royal Festival Hall and the Royal Albert Hall, and in other locations such as Salle Pleyel in Paris, Haskolabio in Reykjavik, the Philharmonie and Konzerthaus in Berlin, Teatro Verdi di Firenze in Florence and L'Auditori in Barcelona. These events, along with my experience of working with an orchestra, and everything I had heard and read about orchestra concerts, became the point of reference for 'traditional' orchestra concerts and guided my search for variation.

Since observing a musical event as a qualitative, audible and meaningful occurrence, is an evaluative process, there is always something particular on which to focus. As musicologist Jonathan P. J. Stock (2004) explains in the article 'Documenting the Musical Event: Observation, Participation, Representation', what to look for and listen to is grounded in the nature of the art form (2004: 15-34). It is a process that follows from understanding what is going on, something the musical-ethnographer Paul Atkinson calls 'performative and interpretive frames' that the observer must comprehend (Atkinson 2004: 105). In my studies, I often knew the music beforehand, but in some instances the music or part of it was new to me, either because it was being premiered or just because I had not heard it before. It is a different experience to listen to music that is as familiar as *Bolero* or *The Rite of Spring*, from hearing the première of *Popcorn Superhet Receiver*, a specially commissioned composition by Radiohead's lead guitarist Jonny Greenwood. However, familiarity and strangeness is not a simple duality, and in many respects I was more familiar with Greenwood's composition through his work with the band Radiohead, than I was with the premiered works of, for instance, Mark-Anthony Turnage, even though the latter is more established within the tradition of orchestra music. Despite their less orthodox composers, the Greenwood and Turnage events were 'traditional' orchestra performances and in a sense more 'familiar' than a performance of their own composition based on the 'familiar' *Spring* from Vivaldi's *The Four Seasons* by the children at LSO's St Luke's. Out of these paradoxes of familiarity and strangeness, the logic of comparing the 'audience development event' with the 'traditional event', seemed natural to me. It emerged out of my observation since the most important question at any visit was 'how is this musical event different to what the orchestras

traditionally do?’ My strategy became to use a process of reviewing to underline what I found to be significant or important aspects of the musical events I observed.

4.4 Reviewing scheme

To support my description of the process of my musical engagement I used a model, or a kind of a checklist, to construct an account of the observation. It is based on an indicative scheme called ‘the Musical Event’, developed by Tia DeNora (2003) in *After Adorno – Rethinking Music Sociology*, as a means to ‘situate music as it is mobilised’ and is ‘associated with social effects’ (DeNora 2003: 49). The scheme consists of a specific act of engagement with music that DeNora lists in five components from A to E (listed on next page and my version on the following page). These components make up the central part of my review, although the model also lists the preconditions of the event and its outcome, the time before and after the event.

I selected this explanatory scheme with regard to the aim of the research, which is to explore and seek to understand the musical event as a meaningful collective activity in terms of its structure, social activity and uses of music. The indicative scheme was originally developed to understand how people engage with music and the adaptation of DeNora’s model is a conscious attempt to integrate important aesthetical themes into an account of the observed event. This is similar to Christopher Small’s approach to the study of the traditional concert (Small 1998) but the important questions for me were: What is the structure and time-frame of the concert? Is the music different from the classical repertoire? How is the musical work handled? Is the music performed based on extracts or entire compositions? With reference to structure, the questions asked were: What is the status of the music in the musical engagement? Who is in control? Another important area is communication and the form and distribution of knowledge: What kind of written material/documents, verbal communication, and musical communication is used in engaging with the music? Is there a different attitude towards knowledge and its use at this event than what one would find at a more traditional concert? Finally, looking at the difference in bodily behaviour can help to understand the dynamics of the event: Who is playing an instrument? What do people do when they are participating in the event? Do they sit or stand, sing, dance or bang their heads?

The Musical Event and its conditions, as presented by DeNora (2003: 49)

TIME 1 – Before the Event (all prior history as meaningful to A. Actor(s))

Preconditions:

Conventions, biographical associations, previous programming practice

TIME 2 – During the Event

Features of the Event:

- A** **Actor(s)** - who is engaging with music? (e.g., analyst, audience, listener, performer, composer, programmer?)
- B** **Music** - what music, and with what significance imputed by Actor(s)?
- C** **Act of engagement with music** - what is being done? (e.g., individual act of listening, responding to music, performing, composing)
- D** **Local conditions of C** - (e.g., how came to engage with music in this way, at this time (i.e., at Time 2 – During the Event))
- E** **Environment** - In what setting does engagement with music take place? (material / cultural features, interpretive frames provided on site (e.g., programme notes, comments of other listeners))

TIME 3 – After the Event

Outcome:

Has engagement with music afforded anything? What, if anything, has changed or been achieved or made possible by this engagement? And has this process altered any aspect of item 1 above?

Event Review, 'The Musical Event' adapted for this research

TIME 1 – Before the Event

Preconditions

Event - Name, time and date

Summary - What is the invitation? Why is it an audience development event?

Setting of the Event - Information about orchestra and venue

TIME 2 – During the Event

- i. **Music** - what music, and what meanings associated with the programme?
- ii. **Actors** - Participants in the event. Who are the audience and the performers? Other people involved in organising and conducting the event.
- iii. **Engagement with music** - what is being done? (e.g., individual and social acts of listening, responding to music, performing, composing)
 - **Use of artwork** - What is the status of the music in the musical engagement?
 - **Structure** - What is the structure and time frame of the concert? Who is in control?
 - **Knowledge sharing** - What kind of written material/documents, verbal and musical communication is used in engaging with the music? Who has access to knowledge (background, score, etc.)?
 - **Body conduct** - How do participants use their bodies in engaging with the music? Where are they placed?

TIME 3 – After the Event

Outcome: Has engagement with music afforded anything? What, if anything, has changed or been achieved or made possible by this engagement? Has this process altered any aspect of Time 1 above? How does the event relate to other events in the research? What does it tell us about orchestra audience development and developments of the concert form?

There are three main reasons for using a standardised 'scheme'. First, having the same structure for all the reviews helps with comparing the different events. The musical experience is not an objective or fixed reality, but by structuring the observation it is possible to compare each event to the standard classical concert and to each other. Second, by using the review model as a sort of memory aid, the probability of leaving out important elements in each of the cases is reduced. However, the most important reason is that since a particular theoretical perspective is consciously being employed it can be integrated into the model and the theoretical position made explicit when observing the event. This is reflected in the structure of the adopted model to which four categories have been added as directives to describe the act of engagement with music: the use of artwork, structure, knowledge diffusion, and body conduct. These themes were underlined in accordance with the study focus and the research questions.

Importantly, these are different areas from those on which audience development authors traditionally focus. For instance, Heather Maitland's *A Guide to Audience Development* suggests 'project aim', description of 'activity', and 'results' as evaluation categories for audience development events in arts organisations (2000: 28). For a 'successful' project, Maitland claims the aims should be 'SMART' (specific, measurable, actionable, realistic, and time specified) and the outcomes quantifiable effects of the specific activities. Adopting Maitland's terminology, the focus of my study is on the qualitative examination of the 'activities' part of her evaluation scheme.

When preparing for this research I considered various methodological approaches. For instance, I conducted more orthodox tactics, such as marketing surveys and focus groups for the Iceland Symphony Orchestra and, at the initial stages of the research, I interviewed managers and professionals involved with the institutions responsible for the events observed. These people were: Sarah Gee, Director of Communication, CBSO; Cassandra Burt, Head of Concerts, RPO; Clive Gillinson, Managing Director, LSO; Roderick Thomson, Director/Projects Manager, Van Walsum Management; Karen Cardy, Head of Marketing, LSO; Andrew Burke, Head of LSO Discovery, LSO; Nina Lyons, Community Projects Manager, LSO; Richard McNicol, Music Animateur, LSO and Berlin Philharmonic; Russell Jones, Director, ABO; Andrew Pegg, Musical Director, London Philharmonic Open Ear Orchestra; Clare Lovett, Education, LPO; Henrike Grohs, Education, Berlin Philharmonic; Throstur Olafsson, General Manager, ISO; Svafnir Sigurdarson, Marketing Manager, ISO.

The interviews and early investigation were helpful for the problem formulation and method selection, but they were inadequate for creating the kind of understanding intended.

Moreover, my aesthetic-interpretative approach makes the study different from audience research (Hargreaves and North 1997, Harland and Kinder 1999, Kawashima 2000), musical ethnography (Atkinson 2004), ethnomusicology (Nettl 1999, Stock 2004), and sociology of music (Honigsheim 1989, Blaukopf 1992). However, throughout the research process, I sought support from those research traditions and publications on everything I thought might help, for instance, the sociology of art (Becker 1982, DiMaggio 1986, Alexander 2003, Harrington 2004), musicology (Weber 1975, Cook and Everist 1999, Spitzer and Zaslau 2004), and other sources. These influences will become clear throughout the thesis and I cite them as references in the appropriate places.

Taking Strati's 'aesthetic understanding of organization' as a reference, and his idea of 'immersion in organizational life', it was evident from the outset of the research process that to understand music and how people use music, there was a need to view it as 'music'.

Exploration and understanding into how orchestras implement variations on the concert structure and conditions for performing music should be conducted in terms of conceptions of music as an art form. That sort of discussion is called 'theory of art' or 'philosophy of art', or simply 'aesthetics'.

What is significant about an event depends on what the researcher's perspective is and the way he or she looks at the facts. The perspective is the theory and becomes the way to explain what is, and what happens, what is significant or important. The theory is the guiding principle for what to look for and how to present it. Theory is a perspective, a set of beliefs or a working paradigm that guides our opinion on what we see and hear. An interesting definition of a theory is an analogy with a kaleidoscope: 'by shifting theoretical perspective the world under investigation also changes shape' (O'Brien quoted in Silverman 2005: 96). The review, in the end, is a process of reflection and it emerges when theory and observation come together in intersection or a form of discursive relation. The event and the theory interconnect through the review and realise each other since neither is fixed as a definite construction. By asking questions about each event every one of them became their own theory or metaphor of what 'audience development event' is or means. As John Walton (1992) points out in 'Making the theoretical case': 'Cases are "made" by invoking theories, whether implicitly or explicitly, for justification or illumination, in advance of the research

process or as its result' (Walton 1992: 121). Each case is a theory or a metaphor, intended at some level to represent a general category of the social world.

4.5 Metaphor, re-description, and Dewey's 'experience' metaphor

For on my account of intellectual progress as the literalization of selected metaphors, rebutting objections to one's redescription of some things will be largely a matter of redescribing other things, trying to outflank the objections by enlarging the scope of one's favourite metaphors.

(Rorty 1989: 44)

Dewey's theory of art is fundamentally a metaphor, in which he playfully asks 'what if art was experience?' It is also a serious question, since the institutional trappings of art are of grave importance to him. Dewey's instrument for imagining a different situation is an image, a figure of speech: 'art as experience'. A long line of commentators in organisation studies have emphasised the use of metaphor as a vehicle for understanding the complex reality of social constructs. Illustrations of this tradition can be found in Karl E. Weick's (1989) 'Theory construction as disciplined imagination'; Haridimos Tsoukas' (1991) 'The missing link: A transformational view of metaphors in organizational science'; Gareth Morgan's (1996) *Images of Organization*; Mary Jo Hatch's (1999) 'Exploring the empty spaces of organizing: How improvisational jazz helps redescribe organizational structure'; and Joep P. Cornelissen's (2006) 'Making sense of theory construction: Metaphor and disciplined imagination'.

The organisation theorist Karl E. Weick argues that the theorists 'have no choice' but to use metaphors since organisations are 'complex, dynamic, and difficult to observe, which means that whenever we think about them, the thinking will be guided by indirect evidence and visualizations of what they might be like, often captured by metaphors' (Weick 1989: 529). Joep P. Cornelissen describes metaphor as a 'cognitive and heuristic device' for 'schematizing theoretical perspective', inviting readers to view and understand phenomena in a new light, and 'providing the groundwork and models for extended organizational theorizing'

(Cornelissen 2006: 1580). An illustration of the method of comparing and contrasting different organization metaphors is Tom Burns' study of Scottish electronics firms and the effect of changing conditions and the impact of technical innovation. Burns, with George M. Stalker, studied different forms of organisation and their effects on communication patterns, power structures, knowledge and the activities of managers. They contrasted lists of characteristics of the different systems of management, highlighting their differences and qualities. The research led them to describe two 'ideal types' of management organisation which are the 'extreme points of a continuum along which most organisations can be placed' (Pugh and Hickson 1996: 53.).

In the seminal book *Images of Organization*, the organisation theorist Gareth Morgan explores a range of theories, perspectives and paradigms which have been used to describe organisations. His argument is that every organisational theory is in fact nothing more than a metaphor, an image or a world-view (Morgan 1996). Morgan then proposes a collection of metaphors or 'meta-theories' of what organisations are, how they work and what they are for. Each metaphor has its strengths and limitations, but Morgan views organisations as machines, organisms, brains, cultures, political systems, psychic prisons, flux and transformation, and instruments of dominations.

The role of the metaphors is to help the reader to see a particular aspect of an organisation while at the same time inevitably obscuring others (Chong 2002: 134). For instance, the dominant image in management thinking and writing is the 'machine metaphor', which emphasises measurable outcomes, control, routines, hierarchy of command and standardisation. Historically the machine view is evident in the writings of the classical management theorists such as Henry Fayol, scientific management theorists like Frederick Taylor, and Max Weber's theory of rational organisation and bureaucracy. And in many ways the mechanics of the highly structured orchestra concerts would fall neatly within Morgan's machine image.

Moreover, metaphors provide a curious and a playful perspective on 'theory' and 'truth', according to Friedrich Nietzsche, an influential thinker on the relation between metaphors and knowledge. He notoriously declared in the 1873 text, *On Truth and Lie in Extra-Moral Sense*:

Truth [is no more than] a movable host of metaphors, metonymies, and anthropomorphisms: in short, a sum of human relations, which have been poetically and rhetorically intensified, transferred, and embellished, and which, after long usage, seem to people to be fixed, canonical, and binding [...] Truths are illusions which we have forgotten are illusions; they are metaphors that have become worn out and have been drained of sensuous force.

(Nietzsche 2000: 56)

Nietzsche's point is that 'truths' or theories, how the world is explained and conceptualised, have a profound effect on what we do and how we propose problems and solutions. Often these theories, or metaphors as Nietzsche and Morgan call them, create more problems and greater unhappiness than necessary because they gain the status of accepted wisdom and objective 'truths' (Morgan calls his own position a 'pragmatic view of truth' 1996: 429). The issue which Nietzsche is addressing in the quotation above is what he sees as the Christian-moral hypocrisy of his time, and he reminds the reader that there are no final theories or ultimate truths in our understanding of reality. All we can come up with are workable explanations or metaphors, which fit experience and are suitable only for a particular time and place. Nietzsche's 'pragmatic view' is akin to what Berger and Luckman (1991) present in *The Social Construction of Reality* and even what Thomas Kuhn (1970) explains in *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, in which new metaphors (theories) replace old ones. For a similar 'social constructionist' sentiment about art, see for instance Janet Wolff's (1993) *The Social Production of Art*, and Howard S. Becker's (1982) *Art Worlds*.

The point is that theory is little more than a construction, a workable idea that passes for truth. To quote Umberto Eco's (1995) *The Search for the Perfect Language*: 'the dream had changed, or, perhaps, its limitations had finally, reluctantly been accepted. From its search for the lost language of Adam, philosophy had by now learned to take only what it could get' (1995: 313). The pragmatist philosopher Richard Rorty has written extensively on the consequences of the condition Eco describes. Rorty points out that rather than trying relentlessly to shape our understanding of new experiences according to obsolete theories of the world, we should be looking out for more useful vocabularies that might suit us better. Rorty describes what he calls his 'account of intellectual progress' as:

The literalization of selected metaphors, rebutting objections to one's redescrptions of some things will be largely a matter of redescrbing other things, trying to outflank the objections by enlarging the scope of one's favourite metaphors.

(Rorty 1989: 44)

Rorty's argument is that once we accept that the social construction of our understanding of reality is based on social processes, we realise that at any time we might be getting it wrong. However, not wrong in the way that the working theories are not corresponding to reality (we cannot know that), but rather in the way that they are not useful in solving the problems they are supposed to handle. This opens up the possibility that some of the conceptions we employ to describe the world are not useful (practical or relevant), that they create more problems than they solve, and that we therefore need ways to discuss and understand them. Rorty believes that artistic activity, in his mind particularly narrative writing, has a special role in creating and mediating these new vocabularies.

When I explore Dewey's metaphor of 'art as experience' below, it is important to understand that I use Dewey's theory primarily to re-contextualise or re-describe (Rorty 1989 ; Hatch 1999) the organisational context of the classical concert. As Richard Shusterman (2000) points out in *Pragmatist Aesthetics: Living Beauty, Rethinking Art*, we should be sceptical of the essentialist aspects of Dewey's account of experience (Shusterman 2000: 83) and, to some extent following Rorty's advice, I try to stay away from 'Dewey the metaphysician' (Rorty 1982: 72-89). Rather than focusing on Dewey's 'experiential definition of art and essentialist theory of aesthetic experience' (Shusterman, 2000: ix), a useful approach is to see Dewey's undertaking in *Art as Experience* as a critique of what he saw as the prevailing conception of art. His critical stance is set out in the first chapter:

By one of the ironic perversities that often attend the course of affairs, the existence of the works of art upon which the formation of an esthetic theory depends has become an obstruction to theory about them. For one reason, these works are products that exist externally and physically. In common conception, the work of art is often identified with the building, book, painting, or statue in its existence apart from human experience. Since the actual work of art is what the product does with and in experience, the result is not favorable to understanding. In addition, the very

perfection of some of those products, the prestige they possess because of a long history of unquestioned admiration, creates conventions that get in the way of fresh insight. When an art product once attains classic status, it somehow becomes isolated from the human conditions under which it was brought into being and from the human consequences it engenders in actual life experience.

(Dewey 1980: 3)

Dewey maintains that there is a problem with the institutional structure of art and our object fetishism, the way the art product is put on a high pedestal beyond the reach of most people. The terms 'common conception', 'not favourable to understanding', and conventions that 'get in the way of fresh insight' are the important parts of this first paragraph of *Art as Experience*. Faced with this 'conventional' comprehension, the task becomes to re-conceptualise the work of art so it can be more favourable to understanding and to create fresh insight. In this context it is important to remember that Dewey's re-definition of art should not be viewed as the last word on what art really is, what it should be or what it is worth. It is rather an attempt to change the terms of the discourse. In that sense, Dewey does not mean that art is literally experience, but rather that 'art as experience' could serve as a metaphor that offers possibilities of re-describing the way people use art. As Cornelissen points out, to use a metaphor, or to say that something 'is like' something else, is not to say that they are the same thing (Cornelissen 2004: 705-726.). Moreover, the relationship between the two is not even that of similarity in a one-to-one isomorphic correspondence, but in a generation of a new meaning:

[T]he basic mechanism involved in the production and comprehension of metaphors is not the selection of pre-existing attributes of the conjoined terms (as being similar) that is subsequently communicated in an inspiring and novel way, but, rather, the generation and creation of new meaning beyond an antecedently existing similarity.

(Cornelissen 2004: 708)

In this sense, the concepts 'art' and 'experience' enter a creative relation where, when joined, they describe art in different terms than those to which customary. On account of Dewey's pragmatism, the merit of this re-description is then valued on the ability of its usefulness to go beyond some of the problems of the old conceptualisation. Therefore, and before we go into a more detailed description of Dewey's thought, it is important to remember that this thesis is

not an attempt to define art or to have the last word on the uses of music. The idea is simply to use Dewey's metaphor of 'art as experience' to open up the discourse of the qualitative dimensions of audience development events and to ask questions about some of the aesthetic elements involved. Dewey's re-description of the process of art is an important part of the study process, but only in the creative sense of a new meaning being produced when conjoined with other theory and observation of events.

It is perhaps appropriate to end this chapter on metaphor and re-description as research methodology with a further reflection and attempt to locate its context or background. According to Taylor and Bogdan's textbook *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods*, the term *methodology* 'refers to the way in which we approach problems and seek answers' (Taylor and Bogdan 1998: 3). They claim that 'debates over methodology are debates over assumptions and purposes, over theory and perspective'. Methodology in this sense is not a set of techniques, but a reflective process, and any description of methodology is a description of how the researcher approaches problems and seeks answers. The methodological approach used in this arts management research draws on several research fields, such as organisational aesthetics, pragmatist aesthetic theory, cultural musicology and critical management research. With reference to a growing research field of aesthetic understanding of organisation it is worthwhile to use John Dewey's metaphor of 'art as experience' to prompt questions about the institution of orchestra concerts.

Any account of research methodology has to answer questions such as 'what kind of knowledge does the research seek to create?' There is an important difference in the use of 'create' instead of, for instance, 'gather' or 'find'. The distinction indicates a pragmatist view of knowledge, related to the concept of understanding. According to Arbnor and Bjerke's *Methodology for Creating Business Knowledge*, 'understanding' is a process of identifying relations among interpretations made by various actors in relation to different levels of meaning structures. These are not causal relations, 'but rather how various interpretations and factors mutually and in constant *transformations* influence each other in a continuous *developmental process* in which reality is socially constructed' (Arbnor and Bjerke 1997: 58, emphasis in the original).

'Understanding', in this context, means to read into the situation the hidden reality behind constructions and meanings that prevail in the systems used. In similar fashion, assumptions,

purposes, theory and perspective, should not be taken for granted or viewed as a neutral given; they should be examined and stated since they form the basis for the reflective process. This process could also be seen as 'creative understanding' (Arbnor and Bjerke 1997: 60), in which the researcher is a participant in the practice of theory-making and language constructing (Berger and Luckman 1991). This also means that in the practice of the investigation, the researcher has a responsibility in relation to the subject material and the making of truth or being 'true', as Gibson Burrell and Gareth Morgan (1985) explain in *Sociological Paradigms and Organisational Analysis* (1985: 400). The researcher has a moral responsibility as an active participant in the process of interpretation since the creative understanding perspective recognises the researcher's role as an actor and an instigator of perspectives in the constant creation of knowledge (Morgan 1983: 406).

Along with aesthetic understanding of organisation, the research has its roots within the tradition of critical management studies. Mats Alvesson and Stanley Deetz (2000), in their book *Doing Critical Management Research*, argue that theory not only guides our interests but also 'presents our observation as being part of meaningful patterns'. The point is that theory, as 'a way of seeing and thinking about the world rather than an abstract representation of it', is never neutral or apolitical and theoretical choices have consequences (Alveson and Deetz 2000: 37). The authors suggest three basic functions of a theory: directing attention, organising experience, and enabling useful responses (Alveson and Deetz, 2000: 41). By directing attention, they mean that theory guides knowledge of what to look for, and helps to see the 'differences that make a difference' and to focus on particular aspects of observation. Theory is also what organises the experiences and forms meaningful patterns, specifies things and how they relate. The third function, 'enabling useful responses' is the ability of a theory to enable us to survive, to fulfil our wishes, and create the future we want (Alveson and Deetz 2000: 41-46).

Elaborating on the role of theory and the management researcher, the organisation Barbara Czarniawska (1999) argues that the main role of the 'institutional reflection' of management is to furnish a language of interpretation and reflection to practitioners and theoreticians alike. In examining management research in her book *Writing Management*, Czarniawska sees organisation theory more as a literary genre than a discipline since management research is the practice of 'writing management', not by dictating norms, but by reflecting and provoking (Czarniawska 1999: 10). The role of the researcher is to create knowledge by describing

organisational reality through reflective observation and inspirational associations (Czarniawska 1999: 8). This research falls within the project of re-writing that Czarniawska describes and in this context, qualitative research is a reflective process in which the researcher mediates and justifies his/her methods through the course of the research. It is a negotiating process between the observable reality of the subject matter, theoretical preconceptions and justified or justifiable verification methods. Research is a search for a theory, an image, or a perspective, that helps us deal with reality. It does not matter if we take the understanding of Nietzsche of truth as an old metaphor or later versions of verified, falsifiable or rationalised beliefs. A truth is the best we can do at a given moment to describe and understand reality as it presents itself.

4.6 Summary

This chapter provided grounds for the methodological choices made: the textual method of metaphorical re-description, a depiction of procedures for documenting the musical event, and a discussion of case selection. The relevance of organisational aesthetics for critical observation was presented in relation to pragmatic aesthetic theory and reasons were given for observing the musical event, or concert, as temporal organisation. The chapter presented what I did when I conducted the research, how I used theory, and the epistemological underpinnings of the methodological approach. As a methodology chapter it is in an unusual place for a thesis (the fourth chapter out of seven) since usually this type of information is given at the beginning (first or second chapter). However, given how much the methodological approach relies on theory and the context of the traditional orchestra concert, it is more suitable to place it after the introduction of the material presented in the preceding chapters. It is intended to work as a bridge between the theory and the analysis, and introduces the methodology right before the depiction of the musical events.

In the research I presume that engagement with music can tell us something significant about concerts, their organisation and structure. I define the concert as a temporal organisation which is a social construct in which all those present are members and participants in a music-making process. The method of aesthetic interpretation of organisation used in this research is influenced by the approach taken by Christopher Small in his critical observation of the

orchestra concert institution as ritual and Tia DeNora's indicative scheme of the 'Musical Event.' As a means of understanding and interpretation, the selected performances were contrasted with an idea of a 'traditional' orchestra concert (Small 1977; 1998). Through a process of active engagement with the music, listening and reviewing, significant aspects of the events were underlined in view of concepts and insight from pragmatist aesthetic theory. The objective is to gain an insight into the aesthetic-organisational elements involved and, within the context of the experience metaphor, focus on the role and meaning of the artwork, knowledge processes, authority, and the role and implications of the body. These themes are explored in chapters five and six below.

5 Events: Traditional and alternative structures

The interpretive focus of this research is on events promoted by eight symphony orchestras: the BBC Concert Orchestra, the Berlin Philharmonic, the Iceland Symphony Orchestra, the London Philharmonic Orchestra, the London Symphony Orchestra, the Orchestre de Paris, the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra and the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra. This chapter introduces the events observed in the course of this study and the various ways in which the symphony orchestras in the study are experimenting with audience development in a broad sense, reflecting on a tradition and form, and re-inventing and shaping listening. Each of the events is presented with a short description, and a partial image or a question, in which the structure of the concert is put into context.

Rather than being an all-inclusive overview of the history of each musical institution, the intention is to give an idea of the different approaches symphony orchestras take when attracting new listeners and the range of experiences they aspire to provide. Seventeen of these portrayals are based on participant observations and associated field notes, along with documents provided by the orchestras. The remaining four observations rely on audio-visual recordings of events and are based on the listening and observation of on-screen activities. The descriptions are intended to provide a background for the analysis in chapter four, in which Dewey's pragmatist aesthetic perspective is used to draw out the significant characteristics of the audience development events and contrast them with the traditional concert.

The chapter is arranged into four sections which underline the music-organisational themes involved: the archetypal classical concert; the effect of the marketing message; various approaches to genre and art form cross over; and finally, attempts to re-structure the orchestra concert.

The first part is a description of a classical orchestra concert which demonstrates how the structural elements of autonomous music and the separation of musicians and audience, portrayed in chapter three, manifest themselves at an actual event. In this depiction, a concert, by the London Philharmonic Orchestra at the Royal Festival Hall conducted by Jukka-Pekka

Saraste, functions as a contrast or a point of departure for the events that differ from the classical structure. At the same time the personal experience reveals the impossibility of this categorisation since the musical encounter defies any limits of a category. This reality is echoed in Charles Baudelaire's poetic language in *Les fleurs du mal*, described in this first section: 'A whole distant world, absent, almost dead'. It is not dead in the sense that it is departed or lifeless, but rather that it is 'far-away' or foreign, and some of the attempts at 'audience development' described below can be seen as a venture to shorten the distance or bridge the perceived gap.

The second subsection of the chapter, *Noise: Music and the marketing message*, gives an account of six events, held at the Royal Festival Hall, with most of the classical features in place. These events are all part of the Noise programme, the London Philharmonic Orchestra's discount scheme for students and young people and they provoke questions about the coherence of the musical engagement and the marketing message that frames the invitation. In some instances the marketing message seems strangely out of place and that seems to underline to a degree the critical aspects and themes introduced in chapter two.

Part three, *Crossing over*, is the most extensive subchapter and describes how many of the events observed for the study had an element of a crossover between musical genres, mediums or art forms. These include concerts with film music, jazz ensembles and collaborations with rock musicians, laser shows and multimedia explorations. 'Crossover' is a complex construct and it is by no means simple to account for all the variances and degrees of 'bridge building' involved with a concert of for instance rock and symphonic music. However, the crossover events give an interesting insight into the possibilities of variations created by the dynamic interplay of dissimilar genres.

The fourth and final subsection of this chapter describes concerts that challenge the classical structure in a more fundamental way than the marketing and the crossover events do. These events depend on a different kind of engagement and even active participation by listeners and challenge the ritual of the traditional concert. The themes picked up in this section are further explored in chapter six where the pragmatist aesthetic perspective is used to draw out the characteristics of the audience development events and contrast it further with the traditional concert.

5.1 'A whole distant world': The organisation of the classical orchestra concert

The analysis begins with a concert by the London Philharmonic Orchestra at the Royal Festival Hall, conducted by Jukka-Pekka Saraste. The music performed was Hector Berlioz' *Overture to Béatrice et Bénédict*, Henri Dutilleux's '*Tout un monde lointain...*' for cello and orchestra, and finally Igor Stravinsky's *Ballet: The Firebird*. This event was part of a regular concert with all the main features of the classical concert setting firmly in place. Both Berlioz's *Overture to Béatrice et Bénédict* and Stravinsky's ballet *The Firebird* were originally written for theatrical stage productions. The opera *Béatrice et Bénédict* was Berlioz's two-act adaptation of Shakespeare's comedy *Much Ado about Nothing* and Stravinsky's ballet was the first commission of his fruitful collaboration with Diaghilev's Ballet Russes. '*Tout un monde lointain*' was commissioned by Mstislav Rostropovich; the composer describes it as a poem for cello and orchestra referring to Charles Baudelaire's poetic world, the title coming from the poem 'Le chevelure' in *Les fleurs du mal*. And much like Baudelaire's poem, Dutilleux's music provokes both dizziness and nostalgia and the music becomes a confined 'mistress'. The classical concert is both a magical place in its depth and tranquillity but also so constrained and rigorous so that dissections and sexual repression become apparent.

The concert started at 7.30 pm and lasted about two hours, including one interval. I arrived at 7.00 pm and once I entered the RFH I stood for about ten minutes in a queue by the box office to collect the admission ticket. After that I went into a larger room with a bar and a cantina where I bought a cup of coffee and stood for ten minutes before walking up the steps to reach the auditorium. The Royal Festival Hall was opened in 1951 and holds over 1,000 events a year at three performance venues (Southbank Centre 2009). Programmes range from large-scale classical orchestral concerts, ballet, films and staged performances of opera, to folk and pop music. The main auditorium seats 2500 and all external noise is excluded by cavity walls several feet wide and padded red leather on walls and doors which absorb sound.

I found my seat, sat down around 7.25 pm and by 7.30 most of the people around me had placed themselves according to the seat numbers indicated on their tickets. Once the audience

was there, the orchestra began assembling on stage. Five minutes later they had gathered themselves in seating rows across the stage and tuned their instruments. Then the conductor entered the stage, headed for the podium, and bowed while the audience gave a round of applause. The conductor, Saraste, raised his hands facing the orchestra and the auditorium fell silent and waited for the first notes of Berlioz's *Overture to Béatrice et Bénédict* to sound from the stage. The purpose of an overture used to be to capture the attention of the audience and mark the beginning of the performance and the gripping first bars of the overture made sure that all eyes were now on the stage. I had a seat in the stalls and could hear the orchestra well and concentrate on the performance (Figure 1).

The seats in the concert hall are arranged so that the people listening to the orchestra do not see each other and do not have to touch each other if they do not want to. As Christopher Small points out, orchestra audiences do not communicate with each other during a performance; they experience it, and expect to experience it, in isolation, as solitary individuals (Small 1998: 41). In one sense, everyone at the concert is together as a part of a group, the orchestra and the audience in one unified experience, but in another sense the seating and the order of the bodies marks out everyone's place as an individual. The orchestra is arranged in a similar way.

ROYAL FESTIVAL HALL

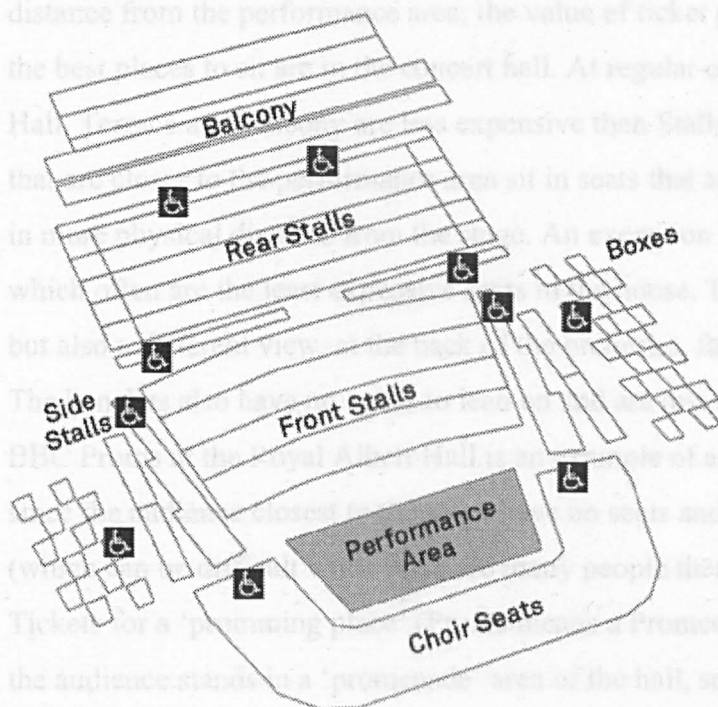


Figure 2 The Royal Festival Hall seating plan (Southbank Centre website n.d.)

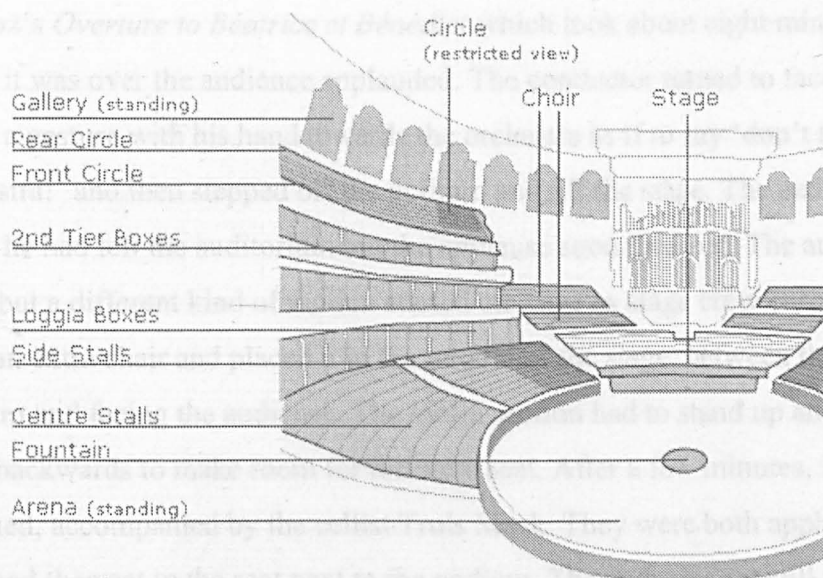


Figure 1 The Royal Albert Hall seating plan at the BBC Proms (BBC website n.d.)

Figure 1 above shows that listeners at the Royal Festival Hall are placed at an unequal distance from the performance area; the value of ticket prices can help us understand where the best places to sit are in the concert hall. At regular orchestra concerts at the Royal Festival Hall, Terrace and Balcony are less expensive than Stalls and Boxes. This means that bodies that are closer to the performance area sit in seats that are more expensive than those that are in more physical distance from the stage. An exception from this rule is the Choir Benches, which often are the least expensive seats in the house. They offer closeness to the orchestra, but also a different view, at the back of the orchestra, facing the audience and the conductor. The benches also have no backs to lean on and are less comfortable than the regular seats. The BBC Proms at the Royal Albert Hall is an example of a variation on seating arrangement since the audience closest to the stage have no seats and can move around or sit on the floor (which can be difficult when there are many people there) or stand during performance. Tickets for a 'promming place' (Proms means a Promenade Concert, a concert where part of the audience stands in a 'promenade' area of the hall, see figure 2) are cheaper than other tickets, which is unusual since tickets for seats closest to the orchestra are usually more expensive than those at the back.

At the concert conducted by Jukka-Pekka Saraste the first work on the programme was Berlioz's *Overture to Béatrice et Bénédict* which took about eight minutes in performance; when it was over the audience applauded. The conductor turned to face the audience, bowed, made a gesture with his hand towards the orchestra as if to say 'don't thank me – thank the orchestra!' and then stepped off the podium and off the stage. The audience was still clapping when he had left the auditorium but the applause soon died out. The audience sat still in their seats but a different kind of motion started on stage as stage crew entered from Stage Right with an extra chair and placed it in the middle of the stage, between the first violin and the podium and facing the audience. The violin section had to stand up and move their chairs a little backwards to make room for this new seat. After a few minutes, Jukka-Pekka Saraste returned, accompanied by the cellist Truls Mørk. They were both applauded and Mørk took a bow and then sat in the seat next to the podium. The audience sat still and listened to the performance of Henri Dutilleux's '*Tout un monde lointain*' for cello and orchestra. The title refers to lines describing the hair of Baudelaire's mistress:

Tout un monde lointain, absent, presque défunt,
Vit dans tes profondeurs, forêt aromatique!

(A whole distant world, absent, almost dead,
Lives in your depths, aromatic forest!)

After the performance of Dutilleux's work the audience applauded and both soloist and conductor took bows, thanked the orchestra and each other. They walked off stage together and then came on again since the clapping audience demanded it. Or perhaps the circumstance, the *occasion*, demanded that the audience demanded it, like a traditional ending to a ritual where most of the participants seemed to know their part. When the clapping finally ended the orchestra members started to leave the stage and the majority of the audience stood up and walked out of the hall into the foyer. There was an interval and the music was now a distant world, absent, and the ritual of the interval takes over.

Dewey offers a reflection on time and development in *Art as Experience*: 'Time as organization in change is growth, and growth signifies that varied series of change enters upon intervals of pause and rest; of completions that become the initial points of new processes of development' (Dewey 1980: 23). While the performance of Dutilleux's '*Tout un monde lointain*' underscores many of the non-discursive practices of the classical concert, it also calls attention to the ability of the music to resist the confinement of the occasion. The cello's fragmented phrases, broken up by silences or by a decelerated, soft pounding from the percussion, and constant questioning pianissimo, the near silence is in itself a reflection on the composition's own subsistence and audibility.

This dialogue does not exist without an audience, a contemplating subject, who is willing to take the time to listen. It is a delicate and fragile relationship that can be ruined by harshness, and it is also a dialogue that can be ruined by the banality of overhyped messages from the marketing department.

5.2 Noise: Music and the marketing message

The six events in this section are all ‘traditional’ concerts, held at the Royal Festival Hall, with most of the classical features in place. However, they are all part of the Noise programme, the London Philharmonic Orchestra’s discount scheme for students and young people. Students could join an email list to keep up to date with ticket offers, and know when and where the orchestra was appearing. The Noise scheme attracted 2000 students to LPO concerts in 2002-2003, double the figure from 2001-2002 when it was initiated (Manuel 2003). According to the Noise website, in 2004 students could also indulge in the ‘age-old student tradition of alcoholic refreshment’ with complimentary beer after selected concerts, courtesy of the Noise scheme’s sponsor, Cobra Premium Beer (LPO 2004i). Part of the Noise scheme is a network of school representatives at universities and colleges in and around London to raise interest among fellow students. These representatives receive free tickets and invitations to rehearsals (LPO 2009). In an interview for the LPO’s season programme (2003), William Norris, the LPO’s Marketing Officer, says about the Noise scheme:

I think a lot of young people are interested in classical music but they are often too busy. They are not going to come to us. We have to go to them. And there is an image problem that classical music is boring, that it’s not trendy. It’s our job first to bring them in, then try to make concert-going seem more dynamic and to show them that the musicians are human beings up on stage.

(Norris quoted in Reynolds 2003: 75)

The attitude of ‘going to them’ is characteristic of the communication strategy used by the LPO’s Noise scheme, which is directed at young audiences. Dutilleux’s composition, discussed above, is poetic and dreamlike, a nocturnal and mysterious work with a delicate orchestration and discordantly beautiful individual character. Truls Mørk’s fantastic performance underlined the highly virtuosic cello voice. While most of the concerto is meditative and contemplative, it also has occasional outbursts of roughness and a frantic build-up to the ambiguous, suspended finale, reminiscent of French composers such as Maurice Ravel and Claude Debussy. However, the hyped ‘Noise’ marketing message of discount prices, ‘free beer’, and the ‘greatest music of all time’ (LPO 2004f), is, pardon the pun, somehow out of tune with the overall experience. An important point of this review of events is what musical engagement or various forms of listening and participation in music

tell us about the role of the listener during the concert. It is also interesting to observe how the western classical music concert, as opposed perhaps to other different ways of performing and listening, is structured. The Noise events encourage questions about the status of the listener and the coherence between the musical engagement and the marketing message that frames the invitation.

The Noise marketing approach is aimed at young listeners who are perhaps seduced by a noticeably reduced ticket price and the promise of a free beer after the concert (in 2009 the orchestra's 'Principal Beer Sponsor' is Heineken (LPO 2009)). However, the question remains if there is anything particularly dynamic about the offer or whether it is perhaps just aggressive selling to a difficult target group that apparently needs some encouragement to come to concerts? The Noise programme is an instance of a marketing-driven initiative which aims at changing perceptions about the orchestra and its image. The events show how traditional orchestra concerts work and the organisation of performers and audiences into groups of novices, connoisseurs and professionals, all with distinctive roles.

Are the marketing message and the actual musical performance jointly creating a new concept or a creative space which provides an insight into the paradoxical nature of what organisation theorist Niina Koivunen (2003), in her study *Leadership in Symphony Orchestras*, calls the 'challenging interplay' between art and business (Koivunen 2003: 13). Koivunen argues that arts management research should shed light on the specific conditions of arts organisations. Typical questions within the field are whether 'art products differ from ordinary products' and if 'art allows itself to be managed' (Koivunen 2003: 14). Koivunen claims that while the arts have been associated with 'creativity, beauty, freedom, imagination and intuition', business management has been associated with 'commerce, control, effectiveness, structure and rationality' (Koivunen 2003: 13). Subsequently, according to Koivunen, arts management as a research field poses fundamental questions about the nature of knowledge and the dominant paradigms of management.

What is interesting about these events and the hyped marketing message of discount prices, 'free beer', and the 'greatest music of all time' (as the email message explains), is whether the meaning becomes conflicting or creative, when considered within the context of the musical performance.

Let us consider a programme of Rachmaninov's *The Isle of the Dead*, Tchaikovsky's *Manfred Symphony* and Mark-Anthony Turnage's *When I Woke* at the Royal Festival Hall, Wednesday 8 December 2004. The event began with a pre-concert event at 6.15 pm, where Turnage discussed his composition and the collaboration with the London Philharmonic Orchestra. As a part of the Noise scheme, student tickets for this event cost only £4 for 'the best available seats', including a free bottle of Cobra beer after the concert in the Chelsfield Room in the Royal Festival Hall. The performance is an instance of how the Noise marketing scheme is used as an initiative to change perceptions of both classical concerts and the image of the London Philharmonic Orchestra. As with the other events in this chapter, there is a feeling of dissension or lack of unity between the character of the event, the music and the musical occasion, and the email message addressed to the would-be listeners. The talk of 'tunefulness' and free beer contrasts with the intimacy of the musical event and paints a picture of a listener who is incapable of hearing or engaging in the musical performance without incentives:

Widely tipped as the most talented young conductor of his generation, Vladimir Jurowski leads the London Philharmonic Orchestra through a world première and two established favourites. The music of Rachmaninov and Tchaikovsky is known for its romance and tunefulness [*sic*]. Mark-Anthony Turnage is one of the world's most respected and popular living composers – his new song cycle 'When I Woke', based on poetry by Dylan Thomas, receives [*sic*] a performance from baritone Gerald Finley. Finley has collaborated with Turnage on a number of occasions, lending his rich voice to Turnage's contemporary, intricate and often tuneful music. Students can join us in the best available seats for this concert, and get a FREE bottle of Cobra after the concert in the Chelsfield Room on Level 5 of the Royal Festival Hall - PLEASE NOTE THAT THIS IS A CHANGE OF VENUE FOR THE COBRA BAR. And if you've sadly not been able to purchase a ticket for the concert and Cobra Bar at previous concerts due to a lack of availability, then don't worry, we have a larger than ever allocation of student tickets for this concert.

(LPO 2004h)

Mark-Anthony Turnage's song-cycle *When I Woke* is a setting of texts by the Welsh poet Dylan Thomas. It is soft and lyrical music, describing the strangeness of lucid dreaming and the uncertainties of waking up, with the baritone Gerard Finley beginning the poem on his own but then accompanied by a small orchestra. *When I Woke* plays with dualities such as

wakefulness and dreaming, life and death, and opposites that unfold in a state of lucid dreaming. A musical setting of three Dylan Thomas poems, it also contrasts words with music, human voice with the orchestra and sound with silence:

No Time, spoke the clocks, no God, rang the bells
I drew the white sheet over the islands
And the coins on my eyelids sang like shells.

(Thomas 1971: 150)

The other pieces in this concert, Rachmaninov's *The Isle of the Dead* and Tchaikovsky's *Manfred Symphony*, are also based on extra-musical sources. Rachmaninov was inspired by a painting by Arnold Böcklin, *Die Toteninsel*, which depicts a fantastic Mediterranean island in a still sea and a boatman entering through a gate in a sea wall. A ghost-like figure on the boat seems to be awaiting its final resting place and the music depicts stillness and perhaps the movement of the boatman's oars. Tchaikovsky's *Manfred Symphony* is based loosely on Byron's poetic drama *Manfred*, in which a Faustian hero summons super-human beings to help him forget and dies defiantly in the end.

Mark-Anthony Turnage became LPO's composer in residence in June 2005 and two of the events studied here include premières of his commissions. Turnage was born 1960. He has held positions with the City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra (when Simon Rattle was Musical Director), the BBC Symphony Orchestra and English National Opera (LPO 2005). Similarly to the concert above, Turnage was present for the UK première of his composition *Scherzoid*, a joint commission of the London Philharmonic Orchestra, New York Philharmonic Orchestra, Swedish Radio and the Iceland Symphony Orchestra. Jonathan Nott conducted the orchestra and Elizabeth Connell (soprano) performed Strauss' *Four Last Songs*. Noise student tickets cost £4 with a free bottle of Cobra beer after the concert. The broadcaster and writer Anthony Burton explains about the composer in residence scheme in the programme notes:

If the symphony orchestra is not to become a mere musical museum, endlessly recycling the same repertoire of familiar pieces to gradually dwindling audiences, it must find ways of presenting music by living composers in such a way as to win them a sympathetic hearing. In recent years, orchestras in many countries have tried to meet

this challenge not through isolated premieres, but by allowing audiences, in the words of one American scheme, to 'Meet the Composer'. This has meant programming a cross-section of a composer's works, backed up by personal appearances in pre-concert talks and interviews, and perhaps even participation in education and outreach projects.

(Anthony Burton 2004b)

Turnage's *Scherzoid* is a short piece, lasting about 15 minutes and mixed with varying tempos and references to jazz and street sounds. '*Scherzo*' means 'joke' in Italian and the *Scherzoid* is full of jokes and musical 'messing around' with contrasts and toning connotations of jazz and the classical tradition (LPO 2005: 10). The title is an adjective meaning a joke that 'tries to change personalities from light to dark'. Turnage explains in the programme notes that 'the ghost of the Scherzo in Beethoven's Ninth' is hovering in the background (LPO 2005: 11). Turnage's *Scherzoid* is an example of how orchestra music is never confined to any one demarcated category or set of values and how music can continually break free of tradition, mock it or imitate it, while offering the listeners constantly different ways of perceiving it. *Scherzoid* plays on contrasts, under the influence of different musical styles such as big band jazz and a classical scherzo, yet at the same time these contrasts are integrated and work together in one piece. They open and mirror each other, question each other and explore each other. The saxophone, the protagonist, is the voice of the individuality and improvisation of jazz; it blends in with the symphonic brass while still standing out.

The *Four Last Songs* of Richard Strauss from 1948 is more melancholic music, set to the words of the German poets Joseph von Eichendorff and Herman Hesse. The songs are Strauss' last compositions and were written shortly before his death. The author Philip Roth, in the novel *Exit Ghost*, suggests *Four Last Songs* as the perfect music for a scene his character Nathan Zuckerman has written:

Music: Strauss' *Four Last Songs*. For the profundity that is achieved not by complexity but by clarity and simplicity. For the purity of the sentiment about death and parting and loss. For the long melodic line spinning out and the female voice soaring and soaring. For the repose and composure and gracefulness and the intense beauty of the soaring. For the ways one is drawn into the tremendous arc of

heartbreak. The composer drops all masks and, at the age of eighty-two, stands before you naked. And you dissolve.

(Roth 2007)

While *Also Sprach Zarathustra* conveys the exuberant creativity and versatility of the German tradition, the lyrical *Four Last Songs* expresses the personal sadness of someone who has witnessed dark times. Their subject matter is death but instead of the Romantic defiance of *Also Sprach Zarathustra*, the *Four Last Songs* are suffused with a sense of peace, acceptance, and completeness.

It is as if Strauss is not only viewing his own end but also an end of a world and the aesthetic ideals of the great German Romantics, of whom he was probably the last. Strauss did not compose the four pieces as a song cycle, but the poem *Im Abendrot* (At Sunset) by Joseph von Eichendorff is generally performed as the last of the four.

Im Abendrot (Joseph von Eichendorff. English translation Eric Mason)

Wir sind durch Not und Freude	We have gone through sorrow and joy
gegangen Hand in Hand;	hand in hand;
vom Wandern ruhen wir	from wandering we now rest
nun überm stillen Land.	on the silent land.

Rings sich die Täler neigen,	Around us, the valleys bow;
es dunkelt schon die Luft,	the air is growing darker;
zwei Lerchen nur noch steigen	two larks soar still
nachträumend in den Duft.	with reverie into the fragrant air.

Tritt her und laß sie schwirren,	Come close to me and let them fly about;
bald ist es Schlafenszeit,	soon it will be time to sleep;
daß wir uns nicht verirren	let us not lose our way
in dieser Einsamkeit.	in this solitude.

O weiter, stiller Friede!	O vast, tranquil peace!
So tief im Abendrot.	so deep at sunset.

Wie sind wir wandermüde-- How weary we are of wandering -
Ist dies etwa der Tod? Is this perhaps death?

(von Eichendorff / Mason in LPO 2005: 13)

Before the main orchestra performance, 'Renga!' the London Philharmonic Orchestra's improvisatory ensemble, performed before the concert at 6:00 pm in the Royal Festival Hall auditorium, improvising on the music of Bach, Haydn and Mozart. While there was no spoken communication going on during the main orchestra event, the 'Renga!' ensemble introduced the music from the stage. They also explained to the audience that much of what was considered classical music was originally intended for, and created through, improvisation. As is the case for much of modern jazz music, musicians and particularly soloists were required to create music in collaboration within a group, which demands a great deal of skill and ability to listen.

The particular relationship between the performing musicians and the audience underscores an organisation that is characteristic of the traditional orchestra concert and is further highlighted at a concert at the Royal Festival Hall of Josef Haydn's *The Creation* by the London Philharmonic Orchestra and Choir. The performance was conducted by Frans Brüggen with soloists Donna Brown (soprano Gabriel), Timothy Robinson (tenor Uriel) and Christopher Maltman (baritone Raphael). It was a classical concert structure where conductor Frans Brüggen directed the orchestra, choir and soloist and at the performance all the main features of the classical concert setting were firmly in place. Information about the music at the event was distributed in a conventional way, the conductor had the full score, the musicians and singers had parts and there was no verbal communication going on during the event, with the musical performance given by the orchestra, choir and soloist on stage. This event was also part of the LPO's Noise programme and there was a special offer for students of £4 tickets for the best available seats. The concert programme for the audience was for sale in the foyer but students could also join an email list and keep up-to-date with ticket offers and know when and where the LPO would be appearing. The email sent from the LPO's marketing department introducing this concert was particularly upbeat and promised an 'uplifting and spectacular' listening experience:

The London Philharmonic Orchestra and Choir present one of the greatest large scale choral and orchestral works of all time – Haydn's *Creation*. We're offering you a last minute discount for this concert. For just £4 you can experience the perfection of Haydn's choruses, arias, duets and trios from the best available seat. Three world class soloists join period music expert Frans Brüggen for this special performance at the Royal Festival Hall. Haydn's score is uplifting and spectacular, a depiction of the creation of the universe in music that is both vivid and moving.

(LPO 2004f)

The Creation is stirring music, representing an image of the beauty and power of the Creator; it is sad when it is perfect and illuminating in its darkest chaos. Yet it is by no means a simplistic or one-dimensional account. As with any great music, there is danger in the beautiful, and even if Haydn's work does not tell the whole story of Adam and Eve's exclusion from Paradise, the danger lurks, as Leonard Bernstein pointed out when he recorded the oratorio in 1986:

It was inevitable that they [Adam and Eve] would seek knowledge, as our Faustian tradition repeatedly informs us; we can't help it – we've got to taste that apple! So here we are, millenia later, full of knowledge and sin and nuclear radiation. We have learned big secrets but not quite big enough to avoid planetary suicide. Today, as we are singing the praises of our creation and our Creator, we are only a few weeks away from the dark cloud of Chernobyl... It seems clear to me that there is a further knowledge we must now pursue, a life-and-death knowledge: the cognitive antidote to that paradisiac apple-poison – and that knowledge is how to control the knowledge we already have.

(Bernstein quoted in Roger Clement 2004)

In the modern concert hall, the composer gets close to being viewed as a 'god figure', an almighty creator. Distant and untouchable, the composer is the one who creates the harmonies and, with the forces of heaven, s/he is the all-powerful holder of the word/music (knowledge). The musical event and its organisation are under the composer's spell and any failure to comply with his/her wishes will lead to a failure of the performance (break the rules or eat the apple and you will be dispelled from paradise). In the concert situation, the analogy with the composer as the creator of knowledge and the creator of the world is perhaps obvious but in this context it is helpful to remember that the idea of *harmonia mundi* was very much alive for

Haydn's audience. As Lawrence Kramer (1995) explains in his examination of Haydn's *Creation in Classical Music and Postmodern Knowledge*:

The idea that cosmic order coincides with musical harmony derives from Pythagoras, enters Western literature in Book 10 of Plato's *Republic*, and passes into music theory through Boethius's concept of *musica mundana*. As the concept of world harmony becomes Christianized, creation narratives emerge that combine biblical creation imagery with the Pythagorean imagery of the music of the spheres. Both the creating Word and the created world come to be represented as forms of music.

(Kramer 1995: 73)

In some ways this hierarchy within the concert organisation reflects this particular distribution of knowledge where the composer is ideally at the top or centre. The nearer a person is to knowing the creator's supposed intentions, the higher up the ladder one is. It is this ranking that Theodor Adorno is referring to when, in the essay 'On the Fetish Character in Music and the Regression of Listening', he talks about different levels of listening, the lowest level being the fetish character of radio listening (Adorno 2002). In the orchestra concert situation the conductor could be viewed as the high priest who knows the score and commands the interpretation of the text. On the levels below are the musicians, all with access to the text and the power to execute it, but they are also ranked according to positions within the orchestra (first violin, rank and file, etc.).

The position of the composer was also central to the next performance considered here, in which Vernon Handley conducted the London Philharmonic Orchestra in a concert of music by Sir Malcolm Arnold, the orchestra's own former Principal Trumpet. The event started at 6.20 pm, with a pre-concert performance in the foyer of the Royal Festival Hall of Arnold's *Three Shanties* by members of the LPO, followed by a discussion connected with a book launch. The event was part of the Noise programme and the email announcing the discount was upbeat:

Student Noise offer just £1! The London Philharmonic Orchestra presents a concert of music by Malcolm Arnold, its own former Principal Trumpet. Vernon Handley [*sic*] conducts and is joined by clarinettist Julian Bliss. Students can book tickets for this concert for £1. Students can also book a £1 ticket to the world premiere screening of a

new film about the life of Malcolm Arnold, introduced by Melvyn Bragg at the Royal Festival Hall.

(LPO 2004g)

The event centred on the composer Sir Malcolm Arnold, who was not present but sent his regards with a short message in the programme notes. Other key players were Vernon Handley, who conducted the orchestra, and the young soloist Julian Bliss. Conductor Vernon Handley had the full musical score and the musicians and soloist had their respective parts. There was no verbal communication during the performance inside the auditorium, but there was a presentation in the foyer on a newly published biography, *Rogue Genius: The Real Malcolm Arnold*.

The musical performance was given by the orchestra and soloist on stage and the audience sat and listened. All the works were from Arnold's extensive catalogue and from various chapters of his career. By including works that Arnold wrote specifically for the LPO, such as *Flourish for a 21st Birthday*, the music connected to the institution and became part of its history and reason for being.

Arnold's music is a mixture of cheerfulness and gloom. It is, at the same time, accessible and profound, with influences from jazz music, as well as the symphonic tradition of Ravel and Shostakovich. In some of the works, such as *Overture: Beckus the Dandipratt*, Arnold plays with light humorous tunes that also sound like film music. In other works, such as the Sixth Symphony, there are references to more serious twentieth-century musical developments. In a sense, the event was a celebration of one of the orchestra's own musicians, since Malcolm Arnold first joined the LPO in 1941, when he was 19, and has been associated with it ever since (LPO 2004d).

The last concert to be described in this section serves as a reminder of the fact that the marketing of orchestra concerts, and the great cost of failure in gathering audiences, is not a new problem. This final concert was a London Philharmonic Orchestra performance of Berlioz' *La Damnation de Faust*, conducted by Mark Elder. The performers included Alice Coote, Paul Groves, Alastair Miles, Brindley Sherratt, the London Philharmonic Choir and the Tiffin Boys' Choir. This concert was also part of the Noise scheme with tickets at £4 for students. The London Philharmonic Orchestra's invitation stated: 'Great music, high drama,

superb artists: for only £4 can you afford to miss it?' (LPO 2004c). It was indeed a superb performance of a great musical work. However, even though *La Damnation de Faust* is one of the widely performed works by one of the masters of orchestration, it is interesting to note that due to mistakes in its initial production, it was not a success from the start. Basing his musical work on Goethe's *Faust*, Berlioz had some ambition concerning the first performance of the work in Paris in 1846. He had received some recognition for his *Romeo and Juliet* and his new work would, he hoped, establish his reputation even further. As Berlioz wrote in his memoirs:

As a subject *Faust* is at least as well known as *Romeo*, and generally considered to suit me; I am thought likely to treat it well. All in all there is every reason to hope that people will be extremely curious to hear this new work, which is on a larger scale and more varied in colour than its predecessor. I should at least cover my expenses.

Delusion!

(Berlioz 2002: 451)

Due to terrible weather and the lack of star singers the result was that *Faust* was performed only twice before a half-empty house and the Paris audience 'stayed comfortably at home, as little concerned with my new work as if I had been the obscurest Conservatoire student' (Berlioz 2002: 451).

However, Berlioz probably did not think of giving out free drinks. In fact, his general attitude towards the audience or the listener was ambiguous. Berlioz points out that any serious study of 'the public' would be complicated:

It would require a book and more to encompass a truly scientific study of the strange multitudinous creature, half just and half unjust, half rational and half freakish, ingenuous and cunning, enthusiastic and cynical, profoundly susceptible yet sometimes surprisingly independent which goes by that name. [...] So let us say no more about it and leave the public to be what it is, a sea always in some degree of motion, but to the artist infinitely more dangerous in its dead calms than in its rages.

(Berlioz 2002: 445)

LPO's Noise programme seems to promote and advocate a particular way of experiencing music which is relaxed and trendy, as they explain in their brochure (Reynolds 2003:75), but the complexities shine through and the music itself defies formation. Berlioz' insight reveals a profound truth about the listening subject and its relation to music. As the demand from orchestra audience development literature for structural changes to the classical concert grows, the emphasis on the 'rational-understandable' theory of audience figures or survey responses becomes less comprehensible. The marketing discourse proposes changes to the concert form but is not explicit about what those changes should constitute.

5.3 Crossing over

A critic of orchestra audience development activities might point out that, by attempting to attract listeners with offers of cheap seats and free alcohol, orchestras are 'dumbing down' and degrading artistic, cultural, and intellectual standards (see for instance Waleson 1985). Such a critic might describe all the accessible 'crossover' projects promoted by orchestras the world over and conclude that audience development events were nothing more than a marketing ploy, made to sell tickets, and without musical or aesthetical merit. Undeniably the orchestras included in this research demonstrated a tendency to offer more 'accessible' musical events.

On the other hand, when we look under the surface there are more complex progressions at work that do not fit the comfort model; some even challenge and question any simplistic assumptions about the listening experience. An important point here is what musical engagement, or various forms of listening and participation in music, tell us about the role of the listener, the performer, and how western classical music, as opposed to musical cultures that have different ways of performing and listening, characterises listening.

The BBC Concert Orchestra (BBC CO), founded in 1952, is one of the British Broadcasting Corporation's six 'Performing Groups', the others being the BBC National Orchestra of Wales, the BBC Philharmonic, the BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra, the BBC Singers, and the BBC Symphony Orchestra. What sets BBC CO apart from the other BBC ensembles is that it has its roots in light music (BBC CO 2009), theatre and opera, and it is known for its

work with musicians and entertainers of various origins in radio, television and concert halls. Among them are artists ranging from Dudley Moore, Shirley Bassey, Jools Holland and The Corrs, to Sir Yehudi Menuhin, André Previn, José Carreras, Plácido Domingo and Maurice Jarre (BBC CO 2009). The BBC Concert Orchestra promotes a variety of musical performances that combine the tradition of Western orchestra music with other traditions. An example of the kind of audience development events the BBC CO promotes is a 'Symphonic Swing' programme at the Queen Elizabeth Hall, where 'virtuoso, showman and entertainer' James Morrison joined vocalist Emma Pask and conductor Sean O'Boyle to perform a range of tunes, including 'When It's Sleepy Time Down South', 'Summertime', 'The Shadow of Your Smile', 'Caravan', 'Nature Boy', and more (BBC CO 2009). Another is the 'Sing-a-long-a-Musicals' at Hackney Empire where the BBC CO performs different hit songs from musicals, including *Carousel*, *Fiddler on the Roof*, *On the Town*, *Phantom of the Opera*, *Wizard of Oz*, *My Fair Lady*, and during which the audience is invited to sing along with the music. Yet another event is 'Play It Again', in which participants are given the chance to play or sing with the orchestra. Each session is led by the musician and composer Tim Steiner and all adults and children over the age of eight are welcome to attend. All abilities are catered for and if participants do not have their own instrument they can choose to sing or play percussion (BBC CO 2009).

Perhaps the most obvious attempt by BBC CO to cross musical boundaries in interesting ways is its 'Composer in Association' scheme. Anne Dudley of 'Art of Noise' fame was appointed the first Composer in Association in 2001. Among her commissions were *Music and Silence*, an orchestral score based on scenes from Rose Tremain's novel *Music and Silence*; *Northern Lights*, which was inspired by the music and culture of Norway; and *Club Classical*, several arrangements of chill-out club themes for orchestra (BBC CO 2009). Radiohead's guitarist Jonny Greenwood was appointed to take over Dudley's role as the Composer in Association at the beginning of 2005 and his debut commission for the BBC CO features in one of the two events that make up this study. The other event is a concert dedicated to Alfred Hitchcock and the composer Bernard Herrmann.

The promotional text for the Jonny Greenwood event stated that the lead guitarist from Radiohead was the BBC Concert Orchestra's new composer in residence and that this concert would be the first chapter in their three-year partnership (BBC CO 2005). Conducted by Robert Ziegler, the performance was to include the première of Greenwood's new work

commissioned by BBC Radio 3 and music composed by others, selected for this performance by the guitarist.

At the beginning of the concert, Greenwood and the orchestra were introduced by Robert Sandall. Around 370 guests at the St Luke's Jerwood Hall listened to an eclectic programme of which Greenwood performed one of his own works, and had personally selected the rest. Based on my observation of their ages and dress, I concluded that the audience was more familiar with Greenwood's work with Radiohead than any previous presentations of the BBC CO.

The concert started with a performance of the first movement of John Adams' *Shaker Loops*, 'Shaking and Trembling', a piece which set the tone of the event in many ways. Not only was it a whirl of strings that furiously whizzed and swivelled, as much of the music that evening did, but rather because it was an extract, a part of musical work. This was true of many of the other pieces, all of which seemed to have been selected at least in part for of their brevity. All the short works and excerpts and were lined up in equal portions on either side of Greenwood's composition as though, in a way, to support it.

The event was a traditional concert setting of audience listening and orchestra performing, with the addition of a famous pop-star composer who could reach a different audience. Even though the BBC CO is known as a versatile orchestra, with a reputation in the field of light music (BBC CO 2009), the crowd was there to hear their guitar hero Jonny Greenwood from Radiohead take steps into the world of orchestral compositions. Greenwood, a guest composer and a rock star, crossed the divide by selecting the programme and composing part of the music. He also took part in a discussion about his own work on the stage after the interval.

This event seemed to be aimed at people who were familiar with the guitarist's work with the rock group Radiohead and were willing to follow him into the less familiar world of symphony orchestras. If that was the objective, it seemed to be at least partly accomplished since the concert guests looked younger, and more like an indie-music crowd, than regular concert goers. The occasional shout of 'Go on, Jonny!', along with the enthusiastic applause after the performance, affirmed that suspicion.

Greenwood's composition, *Popcorn Superhet Receiver*, was a wall of buzzing screech and in the end listeners were left with the question of whether it was interesting music or just noise produced by a rock star trying to find something to do with violins. The situation also encouraged questions about the role of the composer as an artistic director or a figurehead who could raise a lot of PR interest. Even if the power centre of the concert has changed from being the king or the emperor to the star performer, conductor or mediator, the structure always pre-supposes a special place for the public. Who was the author and whose concert was it? Was the music written to fulfil the obligations of the contract between the guest composer and the orchestra? Whose experience was being communicated and where was the authority to music coming from?

Another interesting crossover project by the BBC CO was an evening dedicated to the composer Bernard Herrmann and his working relationship with Alfred Hitchcock. Part of the Barbican's 'Only Connect' series, the performance included Herrmann's scores for Hitchcock's films such as *Psycho*, *Vertigo* and *North by North West*, plus Herrmann's music for other cinema classics such as Orson Welles' *Citizen Kane* and Martin Scorsese's *Taxi Driver*. It also featured images and footage from Hitchcock's films. This performance was designed as a multi-media event with a cinema screen above the orchestra showing moving images. A narrator acted out scenes from Herrmann's life between the musical numbers, and there was an ensemble of jazz musicians, including guitarist Bill Frisell, who improvised on themes from Herrmann's music. The BBC CO was conducted by Joel McNeely and the accompanying jazz ensemble's musical director was Greg Cohen.

Bernard Herrmann is a towering figure in the world of film music and his scores are regularly performed live. For instance, although the high-pitched ostinato of the violins from the shower scene in *Psycho* is perhaps among the best-known phrases of orchestra music for films, it might also be one of the best known pieces of orchestra music of modern times in general. Moreover, while the quality and popularity of the films Hermann scored has enhanced the composer's reputation, the music itself has also been reclaimed for later films, in homage to Herrmann's influence on later film composers.

The organisation of the room, with a passive audience who are sitting quietly and directing their attention wherever the visual and sound cues tell us to focus our senses, sets us firmly outside of and opposite the spectacle. It is noteworthy how similar this concert of multi-media

and visual effects is to the classical orchestra concert, remaining in keeping with all its main elements.

However I'm left with the question: what does this event say about me the listener? Do I need to be shown an on-screen image of the composer and lectured by a narrator what 'the music is about'? The dense narration of moving images and running commentary gives the listener a limited space for hearing the music.

At this event, while there was never a dull moment, with the concentration shifting from listening to the orchestra or the narrator, looking at the screen above or the commotion on stage, the production seemed at times confusing. Little effort was made to make the various elements come together as a whole, or even contrast them, and while the images helped the audience recall the film sequences to which the music corresponded, they also competed for the listener's attention.

The musical influence on the overall effect of the cinema is rarely given due credit and music is generally considered secondary to the visual in the world of cinema. The irony of the BBC CO's multi-media production is that Herrmann wanted film music that would be able to stand on its own and be the centre of attention, but the organisation of this event would not let it.

A different event of 'mixed media' was the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra's 'Classical Spectacular' promoted by Raymond Gubbay. This is a classical music show in which over 250 performers perform classical hits, including 'O Fortuna' from *Carmina Burana*, 'Nessun Dorma' from *Turandot*, and Ravel's *Bolero*. The distinguishing feature of this event was that the hall was lit up with lights and lasers and the audience at the Royal Albert Hall sang along to the sound of 'Rule, Britannia' and 'Land of Hope and Glory'. The evening ended with thundering cannons, muskets and indoor fireworks accompanying Tchaikovsky's *1812 Overture*.

The Royal Philharmonic Orchestra has been prolific in offering concerts with a broad appeal for a wider group of audiences. 'Here Come the Classics', conducted by Philip Ellis at the The Hawth, Crawley, is an instance of such a programme. The programme was a selection of orchestra classics: Rossini's *William Tell Overture*, Vaughan Williams' *Fantasia on Greensleeves*, Elgar's *Salut d'Amour*, Mussorgsky's *Night on the Bare Mountain*, Gershwin's

Rhapsody in Blue, and ended, as RSO's 'classics' concerts often do, with Tchaikovsky's *1812 Overture*.

Another instance of concerts with broad appeal was the 'Symphonic Rock' concert conducted by Nick Davies at the Royal Albert Hall. According to their promotional material, listeners at that concert could expect to 'experience the immense power of the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra performing awesome rock melodies' (Royal Albert Hall 2000). The Symphonic Rock concert also featured a 'spectacular light show' which helped the listener to 'look back and reminisce with rock anthems from the past', including 'Stairway To Heaven', 'Layla', 'Nights in White Satin', 'Living on a Prayer', and 'A Whiter Shade of Pale'. The programme also included a special tribute to The Beatles, to celebrate the 40th anniversary of their album *Sergeant Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band*.

The Classical Spectacular, the event observed for this study, was part of this ecstatic and hyped programming by the RPO. Its promoter, Raymond Gubbay, wrote in the programme notes that over one million people have marvelled at the incredible lights, lasers and special effects 'that make Classical Spectacular a unique experience', yet the event was perhaps more in keeping with the music hall tradition, or the variety show, than the classical concert, with one musical number more spectacular than the next.

Every summer, The Proms classical music festival, with an open-plan standing area in front of the stage, takes place at the Royal Albert Hall. Since it was opened by Queen Victoria on 29 March 1871, the Royal Albert Hall has hosted, among other things, classical and rock concerts, conferences, ballroom dancing, ballet, opera and even the circus. The oval-shaped hall has a capacity of 7000 people and measures 83 metres by 72 metres around the outside, with its domed roof up to 41 metres high, and even though the acoustics are not of the highest standards, the hall has a prestige and history that make it a renowned classical music venue.

At this event however everyone had a seat and there was no standing audience as is customary at the Proms. The programme notes were more expensive than usual, £10, but it was also the largest, glossiest publication of any of the events reviewed in this thesis. There was one short 'tune' after another and the audience was treated to an entertaining show of musical talents and special effects so no one would get bored. The musical performance was given by the orchestra and soloists on stage but the audience also contributed by singing along to 'Rule,

Britannia' and 'Land of Hope and Glory', which were repeated immediately to reward the jubilant audience for their good general participation.

On my way out, I felt that I had been experiencing something interestingly close to the 'totality' Pierre Guillet de Monthoux (2004) discusses in his book *The Art Firm*. There was no escaping the frenzied singing and the lasers and the 'Best of the Classics' programme of short sensational hits, and no room for reflection or deliberation on behalf of the audience. You are either in or out; entranced in laser show and part of the singing crowd, or feel estranged and even tired. According to Guillet de Monthoux 'aesthetic totalization' turns the listener to totalitarianism (2004: 80) since there is no room for critical thinking in the ecstatic search for sublime aesthetic experience. 'Rule, Britannia' and the Land of Lasers were too much for me. I was out.

The BBC Concert Orchestra and the RPO are not the only orchestras to experiment with juxtaposing, various musical styles, technology, film screening and live performances. The Iceland Symphony Orchestra also promotes concerts incorporating the screening of film classics from the 'silent era', children's concerts, opera concerts, radio broadcasts, and ceremonial performances on national television. The Iceland Symphony Orchestra (*Sinfóníuhljómsveit Íslands*) was established in 1950 and has always had close links with the Icelandic National Broadcasting Service (RUV). After the Second World War, the orchestra was in large part manned by musical immigrants from war-torn Europe; since then, the orchestra has been relatively international in its composition and programming. The post of chief conductor has been filled by a range of conductors from both sides of the Atlantic, who have each influenced the orchestra's development (ISO 2009). These include Olav Kielland, Karsten Andersen, Bohdan Wodiczko, Jean-Pierre Jacquillat, Petri Sakari, Osmo Vänskä, and Rico Saccani. The British conductor Rumon Gamba is currently Chief Conductor and Musical Director of ISO; Vladimir Ashkenazy accepted the post of Conductor Laureate in 2002. Over the years, many renowned guest artists have performed with the orchestra, among them Yehudi Menuhin, Wilhelm Kempff, Claudio Arrau, André Previn, Daniel Barenboim, Luciano Pavarotti, Anne-Sophie Mutter, Emil Gilels and Mstislav Rostropovich (ISO 2009). Being the only full-time symphony orchestra in Iceland the musicians of the ISO have a broad range of functions to perform various styles of music. The orchestra also has different roles according to its brief, since on top of performing orchestral music of the western canon the orchestra is required to present an array of performances with artists from different musical

genres, such as the pop singer Björk (ISO 2009). Once a year, the orchestra works with a different popular Icelandic pop or rock group for a concert aimed at 'new audiences'. Two of these concerts are considered in this study as instances of crossover projects: the first is a concert with the Icelandic rock-group Sálín hans Jóns míns and the second a concert with the Icelandic rock-group Nýdönsk. Both were performed in collaboration with the Iceland Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Bernharður Wilkinson, in Haskolabio, Reykjavík, Iceland,

The Iceland Symphony Orchestra's collaboration with local rock and pop musicians is an annual event and among the most popular concerts of each season. The collaboration with Sálín hans Jóns míns was no exception and the programme was repeated three times due to popular demand. The first half of the concert was dedicated to the minimalist music of John Adams and Philip Glass and after an interval the rock group Sálín hans Jóns míns performed orchestral arrangements of their music with the orchestra. Violinist Una Sveinbjarnardóttir, who performed Glass' Violin Concerto before the interval, also played the violin with Sálín hans Jóns míns in one of their songs. In one of Sálín hans Jóns míns' songs, '*Aðeins eitt*' (Only one thing) there was an overt reference to Modest Mussorgsky's *Pictures at an Exhibition*. These works gave an idea of a bridge between the worlds of pop music and the classical western performance style and orchestral repertoire.

The collaboration between the orchestra and the rock group, which was called 'The Water' and is a reference to *Tíminn og vatnið* ('The time and the water'), a poem by Icelandic poet Steinn Steinarr, seems to indicate a will to 'bridge the gap' between classical music and pop, while simultaneously and perhaps paradoxically, underlining the sharp apparent differences between them. This contradiction was most discernable in the organisation of the programme into two halves, one of orchestral music and the other of orchestral arrangements of pop songs.

The first half featured John Adams' *Short Ride in a Fast Machine* and Philip Glass' Violin Concerto, both of which are excellent examples of contemporary orchestra music written in a 'minimalist' style of repetitious cycles and a flowing of simple 'archetypal' melodies. The works are indeed closer to mainstream popular music than many contemporary composers but at the same time they are worlds apart from the music of Sálín hans Jóns míns, as the former works are composed as orchestra music and not as adapted pop songs.

After the interval, the musicians of the group *Sálin hans Jóns míns* took centre stage and in effect replaced the conductor, Bernharður Wilkinson, as the main focus of attention. In 'crossover' events such as this one, the role of the pop musicians is in some ways similar to that of the star soloist, but they are also 'composer' figures and thus break up the traditional hierarchy of the absent 'composer' whose status is that of the 'god-creator'. While Wilkinson continued his role as the authority on stage, for all intents and purposes the locally famous lead singer of the band, Stefán Hilmarsson, took over the concert hall. And the audience, some of whom were perhaps attending in order to see their idols perform in the exotic setting of an orchestra concert, could be absorbed in the music they love. Perhaps they could forget what they were made to sit through before the much appreciated break of the interval.

Structured in much the same way as the 'Water' concert discussed above, the project with Nýdönsk began with the orchestra performing the *Masquerade* and *Spartacus* suites from Aram Khachaturian and Maurice Ravel's *Bolero* to introduce itself to audiences perhaps more familiar with the pop group. The ISO then took a more backseat role when Nýdönsk took over the stage with a performance of orchestral arrangements of their own compositions.

Both concerts were a part of the Iceland Symphony Orchestra's efforts to expand its repertoire and audience group by crossing the divide between the mainstream contemporary popular music preferred by younger audiences and the classical music and performance style preferred by generally older orchestra audiences. However, as Simon Frith explains in *Performing Rites: On the Value of Popular Music*: 'To grasp the meaning of a piece of music is to hear something not simply present to the ear. It is to understand a musical culture, to have a 'scheme of interpretation' (Frith 1996: 16). Frith maintains that listening to popular music is more than 'just listening'. Interpreting music is in essence an active engagement: '[It] is not just that in listening to popular music we are listening to a performance, but, further, that "listening" itself is a performance' (Frith 1996: 203). It is unclear why listening to classical music is less of a performance than listening to popular music, but if we extend the metaphor of listening as performance to these ISO crossover concerts, they were in essence 'classical performances'.

The organisation of the classical orchestra concert gives any music, of various origins, equal place and time, which is in keeping with the Enlightenment ideal of the blind mechanical

structure. So when a symphony orchestra performs music from a different musical culture, in this case the popular music of Icelandic rock musicians, it gives the impression that this 'other' music is just the same as the music that forms a part of the orchestra's regular repertoire.

The San Francisco Symphony Orchestra event selected for this study, in which the metal-rock band Metallica performed with the orchestra, is yet another type of crossover event. The San Francisco Symphony Orchestra is based in San Francisco, California, and gave its first performance in December 1911 (SFSO 2009). The current music director of the San Francisco Symphony is Michael Tilson Thomas, who has held the position since September 1995. Former music directors include Henry Hadley, Alfred Hertz, Basil Cameron, Issay Dobrowen, Pierre Monteux, Enrique Jordá, Josef Krips, Seiji Ozawa, Edo de Waart, and Herbert Blomstedt, who is now Conductor Laureate. The San Francisco Symphony Orchestra established its 'young people's concerts' in 1919, and in 1988 the Symphony launched the Adventures in Music education programme, which introduces music to schoolchildren. In 2002, the SFS launched SFSKids.org, an interactive online music education resource for children, schools, and families.

The San Francisco Symphony Orchestra website sets itself apart from 'regular' orchestra websites⁷ in that it seems to offer interesting ways of engaging with music and knowledge about music. The SFS Kids' site introduces children to the instruments of the orchestra and interactive music features allow the user to play with the music performed. Possible inferences with the music are: speed it up or slow it down, hear patterns that make music move, play around with sounds, mix it up with the harmonizer, make it louder, softer, or play

⁷ An orchestra's website is usually the best place to learn the official history of each particular orchestra, and on the surface the 'about the orchestra' or 'history' sections of the websites look remarkably similar. There is always a 'founding of the orchestra' chapter, which invariably describes pioneers responding to a pressing need for the ensemble, which was usually formed by a group of players or from pre-existing orchestras. The history of an orchestra is then connected with the city where it is based and perhaps the concert hall that serves as its home. Next is a list of the great leaders, conductors, who 'shaped' the orchestra and gave it its character and sound. The emphasis on the maestros or the great conductors is one of the hallmarks of text on individual orchestras. (The same 'orchestra history' format is also popular in other publications, see for instance Jon Tolanski's (2003), 'International case studies' in *The Cambridge Companion to the Orchestra*). Next are lists of 'heroes', soloists and guest conductors to show how well connected and respectable the orchestra has been throughout its history. Finally there is a description of new developments, such as the establishment of the orchestra's own record label, and information about its demanding international touring schedule. Information about the audience development activities and the various 'additional' programmes that deviate from the regular concert activities are usually listed in a separate section.

it again, decide what the instruments will play, play a tune or two, and make your own tune. The commands offer possibilities while dictating at the same time which choices to make within the limited register.

For the Metallica and San Francisco Symphony Orchestra project, the conductor Michael Kamen arranged the music of Metallica, (Metallica consisted at this point in time of the guitarist Kirk Hammett, singer-guitarist James Hetfield, bassist Jason Newsted and drummer Lars Ulrich). The event was in a formal orchestra concert setting with orchestra members in ties and tails although the band members and audience were dressed in less formal street wear.

From the point of view of organisational structure of the concert, the event was significant for the participation of the audience, since the concert itself mixed the two different worlds of a rock concert and a symphony orchestra concert. Metallica was situated at the front of the stage, standing still or moving about, with the orchestra behind them. Sections of the audience obviously knew the lyrics to Metallica's tunes and they behaved in a manner more associated with rock concerts than orchestra concerts. While the audience appeared to be dominated by screaming Metallica fans, there was an occasional shot of someone who looked like a symphony season ticket holder. This event was an unlikely marriage of a symphony orchestra and a rock group and became an energetic performance by both the musicians and the audience, who sang along to Metallica's power-anthems.

Conductor Michael Kamen (1999) described this project as a 'conversation between two different worlds that share the language of music' and an effort to create 'a dialogue between the two worlds that celebrate the power of music'. The two worlds are of course the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra, and Metallica, a celebrated metal rock band. Kamen characterised the clash between the two in an interview accompanying the concert recording, as a 'Wagnerian Orgasm' (Kamen 1999) which again brings Guillet de Monthoux's (2004) 'totality' to mind. In terms of music this concert worked best when the heavy metal rockers did their thing and when their music was not overwhelmed by Kamen's arrangements, which suggests that it is not always a good idea to mix different worlds. But the event itself is an invaluable comment on the institution of the traditional orchestra concert and the possibilities of approaching it differently.

Still another approach to the crossover idea is the London Philharmonic's 'Open Ear Orchestra' which promoted two of the events observed in this study. Andrew Peggie is the musical director for this semi-amateur ensemble, in which players from the LPO perform with musicians from the community. Members of the LPO form the base of the orchestra but the Open Ear Orchestra is open to skilled and committed players and singers from any background. The ensemble is described as 'symphonic', but performs many musical styles, as reflected in its line-up of players (OEO 2004). The music is composed by participants, with influences from around the world, including jazz, rock, urban contemporary, classical, ballads and soul, and the composers attend all events to perform their own music with the orchestra.

The first of the two Open Ear Orchestra concerts reviewed was held at St Peter's Church, Vauxhall. The concert started at 7.30 pm and the structure was traditional, with the orchestra facing the audience and the conductor facing the orchestra. The conductor Andrew Peggie welcomed the audience and introduced the programme and the orchestra from the stage. St Peter's Church in Vauxhall was cold on this December evening and the candlelight gave it a mystical atmosphere. There were about 150 people there to listen and a four-page leaflet with information about the orchestra and the programme was distributed free to guests at the entrance. The music took its influences from various musical genres, including jazz, rock, urban contemporary, classical, ballads and soul. Peggie was responsible for the arrangements and organisation of the event and seemed to be firmly in charge of the orchestra during the performance. However, all the material performed by the ensemble was composed and devised by its members, who were working together for months with the input of experts (OEO 2004).

The 16 songs performed were of different genres, ranging from modern orchestra music to hard rock. The musicians often rotated between songs and soloists stood up and took to the front of the stage for their number. Compared with a regular concert performance, this means a restructuring of the traditional hierarchical structure of the symphony orchestra and gives a different role to its members. The composer was present and performed his/her own music as is the case with rock groups, but in these cases, the performer/composer was not in a detached band with electronic instruments like with the ISO projects, but rather a participant in the orchestra.

The other Open Ear Orchestra event, 'Songs for Summer', is in many ways similar to the 'Dancing with Stars' concert above, in that Andrew Peggie was responsible for the organisation of the event and once again seemed to be firmly in charge of the orchestra. The performance was at the InSpire Centre, St Peter's Church, Liverpool Grove, and the programme once again included various musical influences like jazz, rock, classical ballads and soul. Members of the group wrote the music and the orchestra gave an opportunity to composers from diverse backgrounds to work with the orchestra and develop their music. Both Open Ear Orchestra projects centred on the involvement of amateur musicians and music students in the compositional process and the musical performance.

Andrew Peggie's role in organising the events was obviously significant. He acted both as a conductor and raconteur at the concert, but perhaps more importantly he helped the novice composers with their music and arranged it for the orchestra. So while there were interesting things happening with the structure of the orchestra, with its members writing their own music and performing on different instruments, Peggie had total control over the whole process as the leader of the project.

The selection of venues for the performances of the Open Ear Orchestra was interesting since neither was a particularly good performance venue. St Peter's Church in Vauxhall was built in 1860 along with an art school, soup kitchen, clothes workshop and orphanage specifically to serve the needs of a community suffering from poverty (The Diocese of Southwark 2009). The art school provided the poorest people of the community with employment as draughtsmen, designers and artists. St Peter's Church, Liverpool Grove, is a Grade 1 listed building designed by Sir John Sloane and was built in 1823-25 in the wave of Anglican Church building that followed the end of the Napoleonic Wars. According to the website of the Diocese of Southwark, it was the government's fear of the spread of non-conformity and 'Godless mob violence' that led to the commissioning of many new churches, some of them in the poorer areas of south London where dissent was strong. In 2004, the London Philharmonic Orchestra was there to 'spread the gospel' of orchestra music, even if the composition of the music was in the hands of the participants.

Parallel to the Open Ear Orchestra events, the musicians of the 'Orchestre sans frontière', an outlet from the Paris-based Orchestre de Paris, perform in a variety of musical styles; jazz, tango, rock'n'roll, hard rock, gypsy music, klezmer and classical. The Orchestre de Paris was

founded in 1967 when it grew out of the renowned *Société des Concerts du Conservatoire*, founded in 1828 by François Habeneck (IMG Artist 2005).⁸ Charles Munch was the Orchestre de Paris' first Principal Conductor, succeeded by Herbert von Karajan, Sir Georg Solti, Daniel Barenboim, who founded the Orchestre de Paris Chorus, Semyon Bychkov and Christoph von Dohnányi, who was Artistic Advisor. Christoph Eschenbach was appointed as Music Director in September 2000 (IMG Artist 2005).

The 'Orchestre sans frontière' concert observed for this study was a family concert, part of a programme in partnership with *Jeunesses Musicales de France*. Offering two complimentary adult places with every child ticket, the *Orchestre de Paris* encouraged Parisian children to invite their parents to this concert at the Théâtre Mogador. Characteristic of the 'Orchestre sans frontière' set was an eclectic mix of improvisations and extracts of accessible orchestra music, creating proximity between the classical style and other musical traditions. The same musicians play both orchestral works and improvise music themselves. Important elements in the series included the diverse programming of various musical works and the adaptive performance styles by members of the orchestra.

The *Orchestre de Paris*, parent orchestra to the 'Orchestre sans frontière', is in residence at the Théâtre Mogador. The Paris orchestra is, according to their rhetoric 'open to all musical forms and ready to invent new means of creating new audiences by diversifying the types of venue for concerts and by giving chamber music concerts with soloists from the orchestra' (IMG Artist 2005). The orchestra offers various possibilities for teachers who want their pupils to discover classical music, such as general rehearsals open to schools, school visits by the orchestra, and special ticket rates for certain evening concerts within the programme 'Discovering the orchestra' (*A la découverte de l'orchestre*). The orchestra also offers workshops for students in which the orchestra is introduced and the various aspects of orchestra life are discussed.

⁸ In 1829 Richard Wagner had this to say about the Conservatory Orchestra: 'The only things in Paris worthy of a musician's attention are the concerts given by the Conservatory Orchestra. I discovered the meaning of a performance and the secret of good interpretation [...]. The orchestra played Beethoven's Ninth so perfectly and with such emotion that suddenly raised before me the image of this remarkable work whose beauty I had felt in my elated youth and that I had heard mutilated by the Orchestra of Leipzig under the direction of Pohlentz.' (IMG Artist 2005)]

Furthermore, *Orchestre de Paris* promotes concerts to introduce young people to composers of interest. An instance of such an event was a concert dedicated to Henri Dutilleux in connection with his 90th birthday at Salle Pleyel (Friday 3 May 2007), conducted and presented by Alain Pâris. Mixing music and references to ‘visual arts, literature and history’, the performance included performances of Dutilleux’s works *Timbres*, *Espace*, *Mouvement*, *ou La nuit étoilée* (extracts), and *Correspondances* (extracts).

When the guests arrived in the reception area they were greeted by a brass ensemble, which on this Saturday morning gave the event an atmosphere of festivity. Most of the guests were children with their parents, the former making all kinds of noises that one would not normally hear in the foyer prior to a symphony concert performance. There was excitement in the air. The old Parisian theatre provided a perfect setting for this theatrical experience. During the performance, the children kept their concentration on the musicians except for the occasional loud outburst of ‘I need to go to the toilet’. Quite a few had the need to stand up every once in a while, crawl on the floor, or just do something else other than sit quietly in their seat.

An archetypal Parisian theatre from the first half of the twentieth century, the Théâtre Mogador is situated in the city centre of Paris in the rue de Mogador. It was built during the First World War by the British architect Bertie Crew and inaugurated in 1919. Until the 1970s, the Théâtre Mogador was mainly used for performances of operettas and plays in the afternoon but since the 1990s it has also been used as a concert hall.

The musicians formed ensembles and bands around the theatre depending on the kind of music they were performing. Some of the orchestral pieces required a classical orchestral setting, while the improvisation of rock music took seven musicians to the back of the stage, where the drum kit and electric instruments were, and the tango band placed itself on the balcony where the flautist Vincens Prats sang a heartfelt tango tune. The musicians in the rock group, jazz ensemble, tango band and klezmer band took the lead from each other and Faycal Karoui directed the orchestra in the orchestral pieces by Dukas, Bernstein, John Williams, Mahler, Ginastera, and Moussorgski.

Variety and diversity were the hallmarks of this event and while some of the young listeners had difficulty concentrating throughout the entire programme, the musicians obviously enjoyed themselves in their various roles. Organised as a children’s concert there was certain

informality about the presentation, and while some of the musicians were evidently trying to be funny by performing various antics, the performance worked as a whole.

The final event of this section is the London Symphony Orchestra's outdoor concert of film music in Canary Wharf, in which listeners had to arrange themselves on the grass, sitting or lying down. Throughout the concert, listeners were free to move around and chat, or eat and drink. This concert was given in aid of the Lord Mayor's Appeal 2004, 'Music and the Arts for Everyone', with the LSO Discovery programme as principal beneficiary.

This event sets itself apart from other events observed for this study, which were structured in such a way that the audience sat and listened to a group of performing musicians. Generally, seating was arranged so that the people who listened faced the performers and could see as well as hear them and people walked to get to their seats before the performance started and then sat there quietly during the performance. The outdoor concert at Canada Square Park, Canary Wharf in London, was the exception to this seating rule since throughout the concert, people could recline on the grass or sit up, stand up or move around, in accordance with the age-old tradition of orchestra outdoor concerts. Movement was however somewhat restricted since there were so many people in the square. By the time I arrived at 6.45 pm the park was filled with people sitting on blankets on the grass. The concert was due to start at 7.30 pm but many of the guests had come early and were having a picnic before the concert started. The crowd seemed to be mainly in their 20s and 30s, and by the look of their clothes I assumed that some of them worked in the financial institutions surrounding the square. People around me were also eating and drinking and chatting, mostly in between the musical numbers but also during the orchestral performance.

Like the other 'crossover' events presented in this section the LSO outdoor concert in Canary Wharf suggests questions concerning music and audiences. The programme for the concert was music from films, such as James Horner's 'My Heart Will Go On' from *Titanic* and John T. Williams' Flying Theme from *E.T.* and film-related music such as Alfred Newman's *20th Century Fox Fanfare*. The organisational structure of the traditional concert is for the most part firmly in place, with the orchestra performing musical prescribed works under the direction of the conductor, but it was an unusual program since it is music written for a different medium. The film music clearly has its 'home' on the film screen and, at the same time as there is a dialogue between different music cultures (what Michael Kamen (1999)

described above as a ‘conversation between two different worlds that share the language of music’), there is a sharp division between the elements that are forced to merge. The two ‘worlds’ or musical cultures are made to compete and are somehow at odds.

The musical ‘pluralism’ demonstrated by this event, and some of the other crossover projects in this section, seems to go well with Dewey’s pragmatist aesthetic and inclusive idea of equality of high-brow and low-brow art forms (Shusterman 2000: xi). Indeed, the performance of popular music by symphony orchestras is one of the most common strategies of orchestra audience development where the more familiar music is used to attract unfamiliar audiences to the concert. It is a way to minimise the perceived ‘risk’ for the novice audiences, to use Baker’s terminology from a previous chapter. But the mixing of genres is also musically risky, since the crossover can sound artificial or insincere.

It is therefore worth mentioning that Dewey’s pluralistic idea is about the equality of values, the popular can be as valuable as the high-art, but it is not about assimilating or merging things that work in their own right. The most valuable experiences at the performances observed for this study were when all the elements in the performance sounded true or sincere. This was the case both for the BBC Concert Orchestra when they performed Arvo Pärt’s *Cantus in memoriam Benjamin Britten* and equally with Metallica when they were in their element, took over from the orchestra and screamed ‘Master of Puppets’. It seems therefore that the crossover only works when there is a genuine voice which takes over and makes the performance sound as it is something real as an independent and authentic performance. This was not the case with the LSO outdoor concert which sounded like a forced marriage of parts that had their own will and life, independent of the performance.

To sum up, this section demonstrated several things about orchestra audience development and the questions raised here are explored further in chapter six. Some of the events, such as the two promoted by the Open Ear Orchestra, have a different conception of the musical work from what one might call the standard attitude of the classical performance. A few events even represent the pragmatist attitude of questioning the established binary order, by involving the participants in more diverse ways, and a tendency to regard the musical work as part of a music-making process. Examples of these practices are the diverse ways of taking the music apart, creating it anew incorporating the creators of music in the performance, integrating it with other activities and involving other musical genres which indicate different

presumptions about the musical work. Different structures are created and power is to some extent redistributed by breaking up the established or traditional order. The next section presents events that go even further in that direction.

5.4 Re-structuring the concert

The events in this section all challenge what Christopher Small calls ‘one-way system of communication’ (Small 1998). This system presupposes that the flow of communication runs from the composer to the individual listener through the medium of the performer (Small 1998: 6). In the one-way system the audience is passive and according to Small, the concert format ‘suggests that the listener’s task is simply to contemplate the work, to try to understand it and to respond to it, but that he or she has nothing to contribute to its meaning [...] that is the composer’s business’ (Small 1998: 6). A part of this system is the distribution of written material to help the audience to understand and contemplate the work. Programme notes are written guidelines on how to listen to and appreciate the music along predetermined lines. They emphasise written knowledge, explicit and documented information, and disregard musical know-how, bodily awareness and practical understanding.

The Berliner Philharmoniker (Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra) was founded in 1882 with Ludwig von Brenner as the first conductor (Berliner Philharmoniker 2009). From then on its reputation became established, with guest conductors such as Hans Richter, Felix von Weingartner, Richard Strauss, Gustav Mahler, Johannes Brahms and Edvard Grieg. Arthur Nikisch became chief conductor in 1895 and he was succeeded in 1923 by Wilhelm Furtwängler. In 1954 Herbert von Karajan took over; he remained with the orchestra until his death in 1989. Claudio Abbado became principal conductor after him and since 2002 the orchestra’s artistic director has been Simon Rattle (Berliner Philharmoniker 2009).

Zukunft@BPhil is the Berlin Philharmonic’s education and community programme. It is ‘designed to bring the music of the Berlin Philharmonic to the widest possible community’ (Berliner Philharmoniker 2004). Starting in 2002 with the arrival and initiative of Sir Simon Rattle, who at the time took over as artistic director of the Berlin Philharmonic, the programme has brought thousands of people into contact with the orchestra. In co-operation

with schools in Berlin, children and young people of various ages participate in projects that take the orchestra repertoire as its starting point and then work with a particular composition in different ways. The core of the programme is intended to be 'creative music-making' which is meant to enable people of different ages, backgrounds and abilities to work with musicians from the orchestra and create and perform their own music. These projects take the repertoire of the orchestra as their point of departure. Their aim is to promote a 'practical understanding of an involvement in the music the orchestra plays' (Berliner Philharmoniker 2004).

Examples of Zukunft@BPhil projects include a dance performance by 350 young Berliners of Stravinsky's *The Rite of Spring*, an exploration of Benjamin Britten's *War Requiem* and György Ligeti's *Ten Pieces for Wind Quintet*. A short description of the Ligeti project demonstrates how the organisers at Zukunft@BPhil would like to see contemporary music, sometimes perceived as inaccessible, is given life in the minds of school children:

The pupils sat alongside eleven adult musicians on a stage made up of simple wooden platforms, behind which was a large screen. During the weeks leading up to this moment, they had worked closely with the mime artist, Aleksandar Acev, developing brief scenes on the basis of a number of Ligeti's *Ten Pieces*, and these scenes were then turned into silent films by the director Enrique Sánchez Lansch. The eleven- to thirteen-year-olds then worked with the Philharmonic Wind Quintet, four other members of the Philharmonic and Richard McNicol in devising their own music to go with these films.

(Berliner Philharmoniker 2004)

The purpose of this project was to create ways of listening to contemporary music through working with the music and to regard listening as an active process of involvement with musical ideas. By making their own films and music, the children are offered an active relationship with György Ligeti's music. They had to search the expressed musical ideas to find a new core which they could make their own. Perhaps the Zukunft@BPhil concept of 'practical understanding' could be interpreted as an antithesis to the passive listening of the concert hall. This makes the concept similar to the difference between 'learning by listening' and 'learning by doing', in which the objective is not to educate or 'teach' music but to approach the music from another direction - from within, or from within its sphere of the

musical idea. The three events studied in this research, two ballet performances and an open rehearsal of John Adams' work *Century Rolls*, reveal this attitude.

The *Century Rolls* event, which I discuss at more length in chapter six, struck me as particularly successful in re-shaping the conventions of the classical performance. The event involved 100 secondary school pupils, the Berlin Philharmonic, conductor Sir Simon Rattle, the pianist Emanuel Ax and composer John Adams. Before entering the auditorium, the students were told about John Adams' composition and they gained some insight into minimalism by playing xylophones in the foyer.

Built in 1963, the Philharmonie concert hall is designed in the modernist style. The foyer is large, white and bright, and the auditorium is a hexagon where the seats surround the orchestra stage. My visit started in the foyer and after a short introduction to minimalism and John Adams' music, the teenagers experienced music firsthand by playing xylophones. A percussionist from the Berlin Philharmonic was also present and played a role in helping the individual students to start playing and to feel secure with the sticks. The exercise demonstrated the elements of repetition and overlapping rhythms and the music flowed with increasing strength and density as more and more people were brought in until at the end around 20 students comprised the ensemble, banging and clanging in a complex rhythmic harmony. The rest of us sat and listened since only a part of the group could try the instruments at the same time. After the session in the foyer, the group went to listen to the Berlin Philharmonic rehearse in the main auditorium. In the auditorium, unlike the foyer, the students sat and listened and the orchestra and the pianist played their instruments on stage with the conductor directing. Adams, the composer, occasionally walked towards the stage to have a word with the conductor. The guests were not allowed to sit too close to the orchestra and were seated further back, since the stalls nearest to the stage were reserved for the composer who was there working with the orchestra.

John Adams' work *Century Rolls* is a piano concert satiated with references to music from the early part of the twentieth century. The musical idea stems from recordings of 1920s player-piano music (music that was played on a mechanical piano) and the way in which technology alters or influences the experience of the music. It was interesting to see the composer discussing the details of the performance with the performers on stage and being involved with music-making before the rehearsal based on the musical ideas of the work. Classical

orchestra concerts take their timing from the music and are structured around the duration of the performance of musical works which fit into a time span of approximately two hours with an interval. Concerts also have a 'before' and 'after' time but these brief moments are seen as unimportant as they are highly ritualistic (Small 1996: 25).

The Berlin Philharmonic's ballet performances, *Le Sacre du Printemps* and *Daphnis et Chloé* are further instances of different ways of listening offered by the orchestra. The first is a DVD recording of the Berlin Philharmonic's performance of *Le Sacre du Printemps* with students from different parts of Berlin, and it follows the process leading to the performance and records the first large educational project of the orchestra conducted by Sir Simon Rattle. Two hundred and fifty pupils of 25 different nationalities performed a dance to Stravinsky's ballet score, which they have rehearsed for nearly three months under the guidance of the British choreographer Royston Maldoom. Few of the youngsters had any prior knowledge of classical music or expressive dance and the recording follows the progression from their first dancing efforts up to the night of the public performance. The DVD recording offers a view behind the scenes and interviews with the people involved. One of the interviewees, Sir Simon Rattle, says about his first encounter with Stravinsky's rhythmic frenzy:

My parents took me to hear the local youth orchestra. A piece like *The Rite of Spring* seems to well up from under the ground and hits you. I can remember that at age ten or eleven as being one of the most exciting things I had ever heard. Having heard that music everything looked ten times its original size, all the colours looked brighter, all the sensations were closer, the friendships seemed more extraordinary, and I felt as though some kind of fire had come through my insides. It's the kind of heat, it's white heat, it's not even warming red heat, slightly dangerous heat, a joy that also pierces the flesh.

(Rhythm is it 2005)

Without venturing too far into definitions of different kinds of heat, there is no denying that Stravinsky's ballet *Le Sacre du Printemps* is a revolutionary composition. When it premiered on 29 May 1913, at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées in Paris, it was deemed scandalous and received strong reactions from the audience for its shocking costumes, unusual choreography and strange story of pagan sacrifice. However, it is the deliberate contraventions of regularities, unpredictable rhythmic patterns and the harsh dissonance of the music, that still

manage to keep audiences feeling unprepared for its force. Stravinsky famously described it in terms of the violent outbreak of spring in his native Russia. With the benefit of hindsight there is something significant in the story of a sacrifice of an innocent youth in the beginning of the twentieth century. A year before the outbreak of the First World War, with its killings of millions using the same rationality and technology that were supposed to emancipate humanity, *Le Sacre du Printemps* predicts the dissonance and subversion of traditional tonal material that became the hallmark of orchestral music throughout the century. With this dance production, 250 students 'listened' with their whole bodies and acted out some of the most defining music of the twentieth century and the audience and orchestra participated from their own respective places at the Treptow Arena.

Like the *Le Sacre du Printemps*, the performance of the ballet *Daphnis et Chloé* took place in Treptow Arena, Berlin, on 23 February 2004, with Sir Simon Rattle conducting the Berlin Philharmonic. Two hundred students from dance schools and high schools in Berlin performed a choreographed version of Ravel's ballet *Daphnis et Chloé* in front of a large audience at the Arena, which is a former bus depot. The institutions involved in this project were the Heinz Brandt Secondary School in Weißensee, the Hermann Hesse and Eberhard Klein Secondary Schools in Kreuzberg, the Faster Than Light Dance Company and the dance workshop No Limit. The costumes for the project were designed and made by students in Florence von Gerkan's class at the University of the Arts.

The atmosphere both before and during the performance of *Daphnis et Chloé* was different from most classical dance productions and it was apparent that the young cast had attracted a different sort of crowd than the regular Philharmonic audience. Most of the roughly 3800 people appeared to be in their late teens and early 20s. The lighting and costumes added to the romantic beauty of the music and the hall was impressive to the eye, even though the massive space of the Arena Treptow was built as the main bus servicing hall and bus depot of Berlin in 1927. The unsupported, light steel-framed construction spans the 70 metre width of the hall. With 7000 m² of floor space, it is the largest self-contained hall of Europe and, during the time of its operation, it offered space for 240 buses. It changed its function in 1993 and today hosts a range of different events and gatherings. There was a different energy in the room from what one feels at the more established theatre production, if only because one knows that the dancers were amateurs and anything could happen. The people next to me were trying to spot their friend on stage and it felt as though the audience was captivated by the magic of

the moment. It was remarkable to see dancers of various skills and talent perform their roles in groups on stage.

Maurice Ravel composed *Daphnis et Chloé* from 1909 to 1911. He had accepted Serge Diaghilev's commission in 1909 and the premiere was at the Théâtre du Châtelet on 8 June 1912. The choreography was by Michel Fokine and décor by Léon Bakst, and Vaslav Nijinsky and Tamara Karsavina danced the title roles. The setting for the ballet, which Fokine and Ravel had prepared, was adapted from a pastoral tale ascribed to an early Greek writer named Longus. The tale tells the story of Daphnis and Chloé who were both abandoned in infancy on the island of Lesbos and were brought up by benevolent shepherds. Daphnis teaches Chloé to play the Pan-pipes and the two fall in love before Chloé is abducted by pirates, rescued by the great god Pan himself, and restored to Daphnis amid general rejoicing (Freed 2006). The ballet is in three parts and tells a story of young people's love and their dealings with various mystical creatures, such as Pan and the dancing nymphs. On one level the ballet is a simple tale of love in the innocent countryside where people dance around without a care in the world (except for the occasional pirate assault). There is one word that captures the essence of Ravel's music for this story and that is *beauty*, and somehow this event managed to recreate that meaning.

The students who took part in the *Daphnis et Chloé* project entered a certain relationship with music and a special way of listening through dance. By performing the mythical story of the two lovers the dancers remind us that often the aesthetic discourse on musical events is too focused on intellectual response, interpretation, insight and thinking. Ballet demands deep concentration and sensibility to the musical forces that underpin the organisation of the steps and movements and requires the dancer to become one with the music in a practical understanding. At the same time, this approach to listening demands that the person totally gives in to the power of performance and the dancer loses all personal freedom to think or move independently. In these circumstances the listening subject, the dancer, is incorporated into the musical performance and surrenders to the power of the conductor, the composer's representative on earth, in a manner of speaking. The listener is no longer an autonomous subject and becomes a part of the performance.

Supposedly, the idea behind the Zukunft@BPhil project is that young people can access orchestral music through active listening and practical understanding. The contact with the

orchestra is created by working with musicians and staff, and by using the works that are being performed by the orchestra. Dancing, visualising, playing, discussing and composing themselves gives people a means of contact with the orchestra that they would not have otherwise. Working with the music in these different ways can therefore perhaps create a new understanding which could only come with such direct participation. The audience hears a different side to the orchestral performance and sees the people behind it, and at the same time audience members gain insight into the music from a new perspective. A similar idea of listening divergence underpins the two LSO projects discussed below.

The London Symphony Orchestra was founded in 1904 and has had Hans Richter, Artur Nikisch, Sir Edward Elgar, Sir Thomas Beecham, André Previn and Claudio Abbado as its Principal Conductors (LSO 2004). Michael Tilson Thomas had the role from 1988 until he was succeeded in 1995 by Sir Colin Davis who, in 2007, accepted the post of president of the orchestra. Valery Gergiev became the LSO's Principal Conductor in January 2007. André Previn holds the title of Conductor Laureate, Daniel Harding is a co-principal guest conductor alongside Tilson Thomas, and Richard Hickox is the Associate Guest Conductor. The London Symphony Orchestra consists of over 100 players and gives around 90 concerts a year in the Barbican Hall, its home in the City of London, in addition to concerts around the world (LSO 2004). The Orchestra is popular with film composers and features on the soundtracks of many films. The LSO runs its own recording label, LSO Live. The London Symphony Orchestra's education and community programme, LSO Discovery, is not dissimilar to the Zukunft@BPhil in that it is aimed at bringing people of all ages into contact with the LSO's music and musicians. LSO Discovery is supposed to give people their first encounter with an orchestra, and to 'add an extra dimension to an LSO concert, or simply bring people together to experience the power of music' (LSO 2009). The programme brings over 30,000 people into contact with the LSO's music and musicians every year (LSO 2009). Examples of LSO Discovery programmes are 'Early Years Music Workshops' for children under five, involving visiting musicians from the LSO. Parents are encouraged to make music and have fun with their children 'using percussion instruments, singing, rhymes, movement and puppets'. Another programme is the LSO Discovery Family Concerts for children aged seven to 12, where each concert has a theme and includes music performed by the London Symphony Orchestra. Along with opportunities to meet the musicians, try out instruments and make costumes, the audience is invited to bring along their instruments and join in.

An instance of an LSO Discovery project observed for this study is the *Rite of Spring* conducted by Pierre Boulez and in which Richard McNicol, LSO's music animateur, presented the music, using the LSO on stage to illustrate their points and repeating parts and examples from the music. After the interval, the audience heard a complete performance of the piece, conducted by Boulez. It was a classical concert structure and the concert was not presented as a particular educational event even though the conductor spent the first half dismantling the musical work and explaining its complications to the audience. In decomposing Stravinsky's work, Boulez asked the orchestra to play the distinct parts and movements so that the audience could hear the rhythmic 'irregularities' and the harmonic accents taken out of context. The aim was to re-arrange the parts for the audience so they could perceive the different elements of a musical work that sounds complex when it is all going on at the same time. On a website dedicated to the project, people could listen to the music and read about the ballet, see what the performers have to say about it, find out about the composer, win an exclusive *Rite of Spring* ring tone and download special *Rite of Spring* wallpapers for mobile phones.

This approach of decomposing and restructuring the musical work could perhaps be explained as a 'reorganisation of perceptual positions' within the music-making process, in accordance with terminology employed by the electronic musician and music theorist Brian Eno (2004: 226-233), discussed in the next chapter. The practice also provokes questions about the position and role of the audience within the concert, the processing and defining of the musical work, variations in how knowledge is handled and communicated, and meanings associated with 'active' participation which will be discussed further.

Another LSO Discovery event is the *Music Makers Workshop*, at which children from the Clerkenwell School in London create their own new music with LSO Animateur Richard McNicol and five musicians, based on Antonio Vivaldi's *The Four Seasons*. However, Vivaldi's composition was only used as a starting point for the students' musical exploration; the children were supposed make and perform their own composition based on Vivaldi's musical ideas and special attention was given to 'extra-musical' elements, such as rain and thunder.

The Music Makers Workshop along with the Berlin projects, are demonstrations of the fact that there are various ways of perceiving music through performance and listening. These

different ways of listening and structuring the performance are however not ideal, or more democratic in some abstract sense, but they show ways to rethink the traditional structure. The strength of these projects is the music that is used, and how it is put in a different setting and in a different context than is usually the case. Furthermore, it is not obvious that 'more democratic' is a good description to begin with. For instance, more participation or new perceptions of 'ownership' of an artistic process do not necessarily empower the audience or tap into their innate creativity. Many people might feel confined if they believe they are being forced to act in a certain way or to express themselves in a situation where they would much rather observe or contemplate on their own terms. And in this context, recall from above the two capital sins of an art-based economy: *banality* and *totality* (Guillet de Monthoux 2004). Sometimes listeners just don't want to be developed in the sense that they are somehow more involved or incorporated; they experience these practices as oppressive and even tyrannical.

5.5 Summary

The defining character of orchestra concerts and the different events reviewed for this study are an effort to attract audiences, and to a degree all the events were shaped by what can generally be labelled as an 'invitation'. In most cases there was an incitement of some sort, such as lower ticket prices or distinctive programming, targeted towards a group of people that was not part of the orchestra's core audience group (in some instances this group could be specified as 'young people'). The events presented in this chapter are further explored in chapter six and there John Dewey's pragmatist aesthetic perspective is used to draw out the significant characteristics of the audience development events and contrast it with the traditional concert. It is, however, obvious that while the events can possibly be divided into two types of concert organisations (traditional and audience focused), they vary so much that neither category hardly bears any further scrutiny. It is obvious that while the taxonomy of dualities and distinctions between the two paradigms is useful to emphasise particular features, there is resistance within each musical event to being categorised. Even if we put the events on a continuum of varying degrees, their place is not fixed but always dynamic. The division is organic, organised more like a solar system, with the traditional concert at the centre and the events gravitating or circling in the region.

6 Review: Variations on the act of listening

For rhythm involves constant variation. In the definition that was given of rhythm as ordered variation of manifestation of energy, variation is not only as important as order, but it is an indispensable coefficient of esthetic order. The greater the variation, the more interesting the effect, provided order is maintained – a fact that proves that the order in question is not to be stated in terms of objective regularities but require another principle for its interpretation.

(Dewey 1980: 164)

This chapter presents the events listed in chapter five in light of the experience metaphor and suggests that pragmatist aesthetics can provide a platform for audience development dialogue that recognises the listener as involved in the process of music making. This alternative perspective differs from the standard approach of the classical performance, since it views listeners as involved in the event, emphasises varied perceptual positions, and encourages a re-definition of the role and importance of the musical work.

John Dewey's experience aesthetics is in this chapter presented as opposite to 'product aesthetics' or 'artwork aesthetics' since it questions art music's transcendental, abstract-theoretical, and quasi-religious stature. It opens up questions of the supposed universality of the classical concert frame, the purity and unity of the musical encounter, and poses problems for any sharp division between 'serious' and 'popular' music cultures. In this context, the concept of a 'listening subject' becomes important as it is negotiated in the social forms of the musical experience, and the idea of the artwork defined in terms of social relations or participation.

The participation perspective, suggested by Dewey's experience metaphor, does not suggest that concerts of 'active engagement' by the audience are of superior or better quality than concerts that require more attentive or 'stationary' listening. The suggestion is rather that any musical event can be described, or re-described, as a social process where everyone present is a participant, not only the musicians, by re-classification. This supports the view of music as a social-construction and underlines the creative role of the listener at any concert, both as active and passive participants. The re-classification also provokes a different set of questions

concerning the engagement of the listener which become interesting since he or she is now as much of a 'participant' as anyone in charge of a musical instrument.

The experience metaphor does however not suggest what the engagement should be or imply what the fullest experience is. All we have is a different set of questions and a different way of looking at a particular phenomenon which opens up a different route for analysis without being argumentative. There are no 'best practices' and the analysis does not point towards superior ways of musical engagement. There are however interesting examples of alternative or peripheral activity which exemplify the issues and questions provoked by the chosen perspective. While taking into account all of the events discussed in chapter five, this review chapter focuses on the musical events that stand out from the point of view of 'difference' from the classical or normal. The size of the sample does not allow for interesting cross national or generalisations beyond the theoretical exploration of the metaphorical and for that purpose the spotlight rests on the events that diverge from the norm.

The chapter is organised into three parts, plus a summary. The first part *Somaesthetics: The listening body at concert* focuses on the role of the body at different types of orchestra concerts and underlines one of the important elements of pragmatist aesthetics; the inclusion of the body as an important component of any aesthetic analysis. The second part, *Restructuring with mediators and participation*, looks critically at the structure of the concert organisation, authority and knowledge diffusion, in light of Dewey's experience metaphor. Any rearrangement offers new possibilities of musical engagement, but at the same time the redistribution of 'authority' can create an illusion of equality. The third part, *The concert frame: Re-composing and re-framing*, explores those issues even further and highlights the paradoxical quality of the comparison itself. The very parameters of the analysis, such as power, knowledge and body, are so elusive that at best they can offer a momentary divergence from the standard and a breakup of the paradigm connection. Reminiscent of Adorno's proposition to the arts administrator that it is 'in the difference itself – in divergence – that hope is concerned' (Adorno 2001: 131), the contribution of the breakdown should be of a significant value.

6.1 Somaesthetics: The listening body at concert

The first thing to do, when exploring Dewey's project, is to think of 'art', the manifestation of the aesthetical, as human activity. Placing himself against the separation of aesthetical experiences from other aspects of life, and Kant's categorisation aesthetics, ethics and epistemology, Dewey asks the reader to imagine a prehistoric time where the distinction between high-art and other parts of life were not as rigid as they are now. There is a romantic or nostalgic tone in Dewey's rendition of this 'holistic society' that he claims did not compartmentalise life the way modernity does:

Dancing and pantomime, the sources of the art of the theater, flourished as part of religious rites and celebrations. Musical art abounded in the fingering of the stretched string, the beating of the taut skin, the blowing with reeds. Even in the caves, human habitation were adorned with colored pictures that kept alive to the senses experiences with the animals that were so closely bound with the lives of humans. Structures that housed their gods and the instrumentalities that facilitated commerce with the higher powers were wrought with especial fineness. But the arts of the drama, music, painting, and architecture thus exemplified had no peculiar connection with theatres, galleries, museums. They were part of the significant life of an organized community. [...] The collective life that was manifested in war, worship, the forum, knew no division between what was characteristic of these places and operations, and the arts that brought color, grace, and dignity, into them. Painting and sculpture were organically one with architecture, as that was one with the social purpose that building served. Music and song were intimate parts of the rites and ceremonies in which the meaning of group life was consummated.

(Dewey 1980: 7)

While Dewey completely ignores in this passage any socio-historic constitution of art and treats the concept as a unified and even universal construct, there are interesting insights here relating to the 'nature' and physicality of music. For Dewey, art must come from natural everyday living, through gradual and emergent development from other human activities, which are by convention not seen as art. High-art has not fallen from the sky, pure and perfect, separate from society and material struggles. Instead, artistic expression has changed through history and the status of the art products changes constantly in relation to the cultural

epoch in which they happen to be experienced. Seen from this perspective, art is a necessary component of physical life, social reality, and everyday living. Rather than storing away and guarding works of art in institutions we should look at art as a basic human activity. For anything to have human value, it must be put in context of human existence, and fundamentally relate to the development and growth of human beings.

At all the events listed in chapter five, a physical presence was required of both performers and audiences and they all included performing orchestra musicians playing musical instruments. The musicians were in most cases placed on stage facing a conductor and performed the music in front of the listening audiences. Two important exceptions from this practice were the *Music Makers Workshop* at St. Luke's and the *Century Rolls* session at the Berlin Philharmonie, and both are discussed in more detail below. However, for the most part the events had the characteristics of what Christopher Small (1998) describes as 'the musical ceremony called a symphony concert.' The roles of performers and the audience were clearly defined, not by written rules described in the foyer or in the programme notes, but by the modern 'classical' symphony orchestra tradition, as part of which listeners were organised to behave the way that is appropriate in a concert hall as the 'place for hearing' (Small 1998: 19).

During a regular orchestra concert, musicians are the only participants who visibly move their bodies. While the listening audience members sit quietly, the musicians move their hands, fingers, lips and sometimes their heads. However, most of the members of the orchestra are seated and they seem conscious of not making any unnecessary movements while on stage. Even when seated, orchestra musicians take their places on stage with slow movements and dignity and seem to avoid attracting too much attention individually. The soloists behave in a similar manner during their musical contributions and their presence, at the centre of stage, usually draws more attention.

However, in some of the events observed, performing musicians moved away from the classical practice. For example, the musicians of the *Orchestre sans frontière* (Orchestra de Paris) at the Théâtre Mogador moved around the stage and, reformed in groups of various sizes, performed jazz, tango, rock'n'roll, hard rock, gypsy music, klezmer and classical. These different styles of music required them to stand and even move around while performing, creating a spectacle which served as a showcase for what is required of musicians within each

musical genre. While operating as a symphony orchestra, performing works such as Paul Dukas' *L'apprenti sorcier*, the instrumentalists sat in organised rows like any other symphony orchestra. But when a group of them had to stand up and perform an improvisation as a jazz ensemble they behaved like jazz musicians in concert – swinging and bending their bodies with the force of the music. A similar thing happened when another 'band' stood up to perform as the 'Hard Rock Group' at the back of the stage. They arranged themselves as a rock band and, holding their electric instrument, shook to the banging rhythm like they were on stage at a rock club.

The concerts of the Open Ear Orchestra had a similar appearance when the musicians changed from one genre to the next. They played a variety of music and since many of them were not trained professional orchestra musicians the variation in conduct was noticeable: some were dressed as rock musicians and some of the singers sang in a manner more akin to soul music or jazz.

All of the events observed for this study were structured in such a way that a part of the participants sat and listened to a group of performing musicians. Seating was arranged so that the people who listened faced the performers and could see them as well as hear the sound. People arrived at their seats before the performance started and then sat there quietly during the performance. An exception from the seating rule was the London Symphony Orchestra's outdoor concert at Canada Square Park in Canary Wharf in London.

An exception from the general rule of quietness is the custom of applauding. Applause or clapping played a large role at the majority of the events and generally the audience clapped after the performance of each piece of music. Clapping also happened at the beginning of concerts when the musicians, and especially the conductor, walked on stage. The applause at the beginning was generally less enthusiastic than at the end of the concert when the clapping would sometimes go on for several minutes. Singers, soloists and famous conductors (such as Boulez and Rattle) received the most enthusiastic response, but only after their numbers had ended, and there was no clapping or applauding during the performance of the music. An exception from this practice can be observed on the recording of the Metallica concert, with the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra, where the audience stood up and sang along to the music. Rather than just clapping in between songs the audience seemed to cheer the musicians

on almost constantly and the inevitable standing ovation at the end of a tune, lasted almost until the next piece was introduced.

When a composer or songwriter was onstage or participated in the performance, for example with the other rock groups, there was a special applause for them. This happened at both of the Open Ear Orchestra concerts, and there was also special applause for the composers who were present at concerts where their music was being performed, such as Jonny Greenwood and Marc-Anthony Turnage. Other people that were involved in organisation or preparation of the event, such as the choreographer Royston Maldoom for the *Daphnis et Chloé* project and the directors of the *Orchestre sans frontière* event, Emmanuelle Ricard Jean Manificier, were also applauded at the end of the event. The applause was in direct response to their presence on stage. However, generally during the musical performance the listeners sat silently and faced the orchestra in a similar way as people are supposed to do in a concert hall. And normally there were two seating sessions with an interval in the middle.

The human body is not a prominent object when discussing orchestra concerts but if we view the concert from a pragmatist aesthetic standpoint it becomes important. A significant theme in Richard Shusterman's account of Dewey's pragmatist aesthetics is what Shusterman calls 'somaesthetics' – the study and theory of art and aesthetics focusing on the perceptions and behaviour of the human body. Shusterman defines somaesthetics as 'the critical meliorative study of the experience and use of one's body as a locus of sensory-aesthetic appreciation (aisthesis) and creative self-fashioning'. His idea is that by centralising the body as both the generator and the site of aesthetic experience, philosophy might help us understand the vital role of the body in our lives and perhaps rectify some of its inherent bias for mind and thought.

Shusterman believes that somaesthetics can be practiced in three ways: analytically, pragmatically and practically. Analytic somaesthetics involves describing the basic nature of bodily perceptions and practices, while pragmatic somaesthetics, by proposing specific methods of somatic improvement and engaging in their comparative critique, has a distinctly normative character (Shusterman 2000: 272). Practical somaesthetics is not a matter of producing theories and texts, but rather practicing what you preach through 'intelligently disciplined body work aimed at somatic self-improvement' (Shusterman 2000: 276). This emphasis on the practical dimension, of *doing* philosophy, corresponds to Dewey's insistence

that whenever and wherever practiced, philosophy should be translated into a way of life (Jackson 1998: 141).

Using Shusterman's terminology, the focus of this thesis is primarily the analytical side of somaesthetics, a description of what participants do at musical events. In order to understand better what that might involve, it is worth mentioning briefly two French theorists who have been important in the field of analytical somaesthetics, Pierre Bourdieu and Michel Foucault. In *Distinction – a Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Bourdieu illustrates how aesthetic choices, judgments of taste in all aspects of life, are based on a value system that is in most instances consistent with people's social status (Bourdieu 2003). Preferences in food and drink, eating habits, what to wear, and physical expression are all examples of how the body and bodily behaviour is symbolic of socio-cultural classification (Bourdieu 2003: 272-274). Bourdieu's analysis of body norms, self-image and the representative qualities of behaviour and looks, gives an idea of what somaesthetics analysis can look like; however, his deterministic view on the construction of the self and individual identity differs considerably from Dewey's optimism about people's individual possibilities to create their own destinies.

Conversely, Foucault's genealogical analysis is different from Bourdieu's ethnography, even if they both deal with bodily cultural and aesthetic rituals. In *Discipline and Punish – the Birth of the Prison*, Foucault describes the body as a docile, malleable site for inscribing social power through rituals and institutional practices (Foucault 1991). Foucault's theory is that discipline, through systematic play of spatial distribution, coding of activities, accumulation of time and composition of forces, creates individualities with characteristics that correspond to these organising elements (Foucault 1991: 167). By controlling the individual's body and its activities, the governing system of command has total control over every aspect of the person, shaping and forming its disposition to fit the dominant ideal of manageability. Foucault suggests using pragmatic methodologies to overcome the repressive ideologies that have shaped our bodies, such as homosexuality, consensual S/M and heavy drug taking.

It is noteworthy that the development of the modern orchestra concert in the 18th century coincides with the development of the disciplinary system that Foucault discusses. And his influential critique of modernity helps to highlight the importance of investigating the relationships between power, knowledge and bodies at concerts. For instance, by the use the

Panopticon as a metaphor for modern 'disciplinary' societies and its pervasive inclination to observe and normalise, Foucault draws the attention to institutional procedures and habits, such as the processes of the classical concert, and forces us to look at them critically. Particularly it is the position of the conductor as the omnipotent ruler of the concert performance and the various ways in which the classical hierarchy can be challenged that both warrant attention.

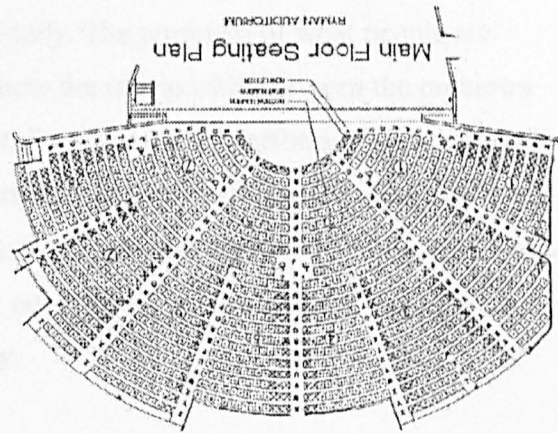
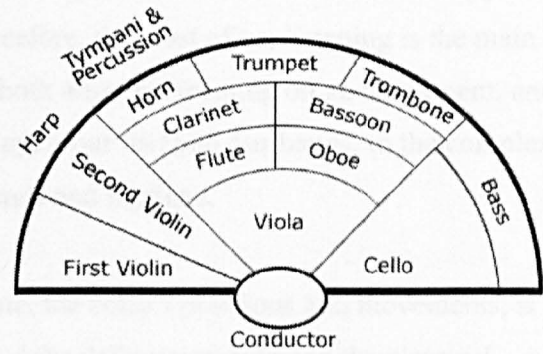
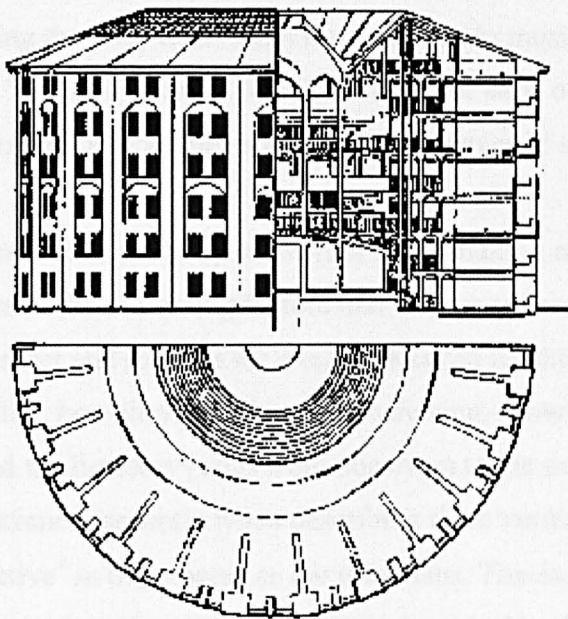


Figure 3 Jeramy Bentham's Panopticon (1791) and a concert hall seating plan.

Foucault uses the Panopticon as a metaphor for modern 'disciplinary' societies and their pervasive inclination to observe and normalise (Foucault 1991: 166). In the concert auditorium it is perhaps the conductor's all-hearing ear rather than the gaze of the all-seeing-eye that observes the behaviour of both the orchestra and the audience (Bergeron 1996: 4).

As Richard Leppert (1993) points out in *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation, and the History of the Body*, music is a physical phenomenon. Music is physical in the sense of the sound waves that we hear with our ears and sense throughout our bodies and as the bodily activity of making music (Leppert 1993: xix). Therefore, for most of us, listening is the main thing the body does when it is involved in music, both when performing on an instrument, and as ‘regular listeners’. We listen with our ears, our eyes, our feet and our hands, to the complex mixture of movements and vibrating waves of sounds and rhythms.

The role of the body in the process of making music, the body’s positions and movements, is one of the discerning factors that help us understand the differences between the classical concert and some of the events observed for this study. The portrayal of what people are doing, how they are acting and behaving, shows how the relationship between the orchestra and the listeners varies from one event to the next. Even the terms ‘performer’ and ‘listener’ become inaccurate when describing these varied relationships since the audience become as ‘active’ in the process as the musicians. This is not to say that sitting and listening in the usual sense is passive or not an activity in and of itself, rather that there are various ‘acts of listening’ which require different uses of the body.

6.2 Restructuring with mediators and participation

In the essay ‘Generating and Organizing Variety in the Arts’, Brian Eno (2004) describes the traditional symphony orchestra as ‘ranked by [a] pyramidal hierarchy’ of the same kind as the armies that were forming at a similar time as the modern orchestra was taking shape.⁹ While

⁹ Gottfried Weber, in ‘Praktische Bemerkungen’ from 1807, describes a performing ensemble with a military metaphor: ‘The hierarchy of rank is in this pattern: conductor, leader of the orchestra; section principals; section subprincipals; and, finally, rank-and-file members. Occasionally a soloist will join the upper echelons of this system; and it is implied, of course, that the composer with his intentions and aspirations has absolute, albeit temporary, control over the whole structure and its behaviour. This ranking, as does military ranking, reflects varying degrees of responsibilities; conversely, it reflects varying degrees of constraint on behaviour. [...] During a performance the director (*Direktor*) [...] can be seen, like the regent of a state, as the representative of the general will. But when decisions have to be made in the course of a performance, it is impossible for this regent to consult first with the privy council and the lords of the realm, and therefore no other constitution is possible for this state but monarchy or despotism – at least during performance.’ Quoted by John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650-1815* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 514.

Similarly, in 1775, Charles Burney described the relationship of the flautist Frederick the Great of Prussia and his Kapelle in terms of military hierarchy: ‘In the opera house, as in the field, his majesty is such a rigid

the musical score is a strategy, 'a statement about organization, a set of devices for organizing behaviour toward producing sound', Eno argues that the ranking system not only imposes constraints on the behaviour of the participants, but it also creates a limited 'focus' or 'point of view' (Eno 2004: 227). This means that within the concert organisation listeners have a small number of 'perceptual positions' available, since they are given the impression that most of the high-responsibility or important events take place in the foreground, to which the background is merely a counterpoint.

According to Eno, this organisational structure has been preferred for its predictability and has remained static for two centuries, while 'compositional attention was directed at using these given units' (be it the orchestra, or the string quartet or the relationship of a person to a piano) to generate specific results by supplying them with specific instructions. As an alternative strategy, Eno points to experimental music and how it should not be regarded as indeterminate or purely 'goalless' even though it does not offer instructions to achieve highly specific results or wholly repeatable configurations of sound. Rather, experimental music sets in motion a system or organism that generates unique outputs and has a tendency towards a 'class of goals' or a set of possibilities that might however never be practically exhausted. For instance, Cornelius Cardew's Paragraph 7 of *The Great Learning* describes the variety generated by the limited musical instructions to the performing singers, or the lack of strategy, and Eno argues that it is really the substance of Cardew's music.¹⁰ Different, or varying, perceptual positions are created by challenging the work concept by opening it up for participants.

disciplinarian that if a mistake is made in a single movement or evolution, he immediately marks, and rebukes the offender; and if any of his Italian troops dare to deviate from strict discipline, by adding, altering, or diminishing a single passage in the parts they have to perform, an order is sent *de par le Roi*, for them to adhere strictly to the notes written by the composer, at their peril.' Charles Burney, 'Present State of Music in Germany,' (1775) quoted in Spitzer and Zaslav, *The Birth of the Orchestra*, 514.

¹⁰ According to Eno, Cornelius Cardew's score is a simple construct: 'It is written for any group of performers (it does not require trained singers). There is a piece of text (from Confucius) which is divided into 24 separate short phrases, each of one to three words in length. Besides each phrase is a number, which specifies the number of repetitions for that line, and then another number telling you how many times that line should be sung loudly. The singing is mostly soft.' (230). However, as Virginia Anderson explains, the composition both contains hidden depth in the form of Chinese characters and symbols and is complicated in structure, as it is 'designed with the Scratch Orchestra's variety of experience in mind: there are solos of great technical difficulty written in common-practice music notation, text pieces or pieces using prose instructions and music in graphic notation'. Virginia Anderson, 'Chinese Characters and Experimental Structure in Cornelius Cardew's *The Great Learning*' *JEMS: An Online Journal of Experimental Music Studies*.

<http://www.users.waitrose.com/~chobbs/Chineseg1.html>. Accessed 4 December 2007.

Importantly, the focus of Cardew's composition is on performance variety and the 'openness' of the work for performance. (Cardew uses Umberto Eco's concept of 'openness' which describes how, in many musical pieces, autonomy is given to the performer to choose the way the piece is performed (Eco 1989)), and the emphasis is not on an experiment with the concert structure, the listeners' 'perceptual positions' or the audience's engagement with the music. It is more the position of the performer or the musician that is being negotiated, rather than the role of the listening guest.

However, in a related way as experimental music re-arranges perceptual positions, a few of the events observed for this study were different in their conception of the musical work from the standard attitude of the classical performance. These events seem to be an attempt to rearrange the classical concert hierarchy, by using other ways of organizing, such as employing mediators, assigning new roles to participants, and involving the composer in the event.

The role of the animateur is an example of a modest attempt to mediate between the musicians and the audience. Richard McNicol performs this function in three of the events reviewed in the study and all of them are different. With the Berlin Philharmonic, before the Berlin children attended the orchestra rehearsal in the main auditorium of the Philharmonie, McNicol facilitated a xylophone session in the foyer. He also gave a short introduction on Adams' work and its relation to minimalism in orchestral music. In that situation, the mediator, McNicol, acted as a leader and a host and gave a face and a voice to the orchestra. He then guided the group into the auditorium where they sat down and listened to the orchestra. There the orchestra conductor, Simon Rattle, addressed the group and described how interesting he found the work and how delighted he was to have them there.

At the LSO performance of the *Rite of Spring* McNicol was in the role of an interviewer during which he introduced the conductor Pierre Boulez and asked him questions about the conductor's relations with the work. Boulez was the main point of contact throughout the event and he led the orchestra and the listeners through the perils of Stravinsky's composition by demonstrating examples and extracts.

In the case of Radiohead guitarist Jonny Greenwood, the mediator is a rock musician who the orchestra got involved in programming and composing for the event. This means that an

'outsider' took over the artistic direction at least in part. Greenwood's role was further promoted by an interview during the interval and the programme notes, which he authored. Marc-Anthony Turnage took on a similar role at the two LPO concerts dedicated to his music. His presence at the concert, both as a composer and as responsible for the selection of other works on the programme, brings aspects of the programming into the concert hall.

The direct involvement of Greenwood in the programming of the event is similar to the crossover projects with Metallica, Sálín hans Jóns mínns and Nýdönsk, in that people with popular music credentials took over the artistic direction. However, the rock groups were involved in the performance of their own music and as such took over the stage, at least the centre stage, and the spotlight. Even though the conductor was still in charge he had to adjust to the particular performing styles of the rock musicians and vice versa.

Both Open Ear Orchestra projects catered around the involvement of amateur musicians and music students in the compositional process and the musical performance. Compared to a regular concert performance this meant a restructuring of the formation of the symphony orchestra concert. It meant that the composer was present and performed his/her own music like in the case of the rock groups, but in the former scenarios the performer/composer was not in a detached band with electronic instruments, but rather a participant in the 'orchestra'.

The performance of the *Daphnis et Chloe* ballet with 200 young dancers is an example of a participation project in which people outside the institution were given a chance to be involved in an orchestra performance. It was also obvious at the Treptow Arena that the friends and families of the dancers were there to hear and see the performance. In that sense the dancers acted as mediators for the audience, bringing the music and event closer to home and breaking up the structure of the regular orchestra performance. The Classic Spectacular is yet another instance of participation by the audience when they sang along to *Rule Britannia* and *Land of Hope and Glory*.

In all of these instances a different order, a variation on the normal structure of the orchestra concert, and new power structures, are created. However, two of the events merit particular attention as radical alternatives to the classical concert structure: the Music Makers Workshop at St. Luke's and the *Century Rolls* session at the Berlin Philharmonie.

As was introduced in chapter five, the *Century Rolls* event involved 100 secondary school pupils, the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, the music amateur Richard McNicol, conductor Sir Simon Rattle, the pianist Emanuel Ax and composer John Adams. The main elements of the event were that the students were introduced to John Adams' composition in the foyer and after that we moved into the main auditorium to listen to the orchestra, the Berlin Philharmonic, rehearse. In the auditorium, the students sat and listened, the orchestra and the pianist played their instruments on stage, and the conductor directed.

If the event worked as a viable alternative to the traditional concert it was because the music was appropriate. John Adams' piano concert *Century Rolls* makes references to various types of music from the early part of the 20th century. The idea behind it comes from recordings of 1920s player-piano music, music that was played on mechanical piano, and the concert examines the way in which the technology alters or influences the experience of the music. Adams says he was 'struck by how the medium of the piano roll itself left an indelible mark on the music, radically altering its essence in a way that later recording techniques like the tape recorder did not do' (Adams 2000). The concert is a mix of styles and influences that make up this contrastive concert and its multiple musical and historical connotations are interesting when reflecting upon the position of the orchestra concert in contemporary culture. It suggests links to music and themes from Fats Waller, Gershwin, Ravel, Satie and Debussy and it explores rhythmic and melodic tensions of the period of the mechanical pianos. A strong jazz influence, which converses with slow string movements and the apparent simplistic reflexivity of the 'gymnopédie' in the second movement, contrasts with the rhythmic beats of the first and third.

In the 1920s, rhythm music was taking off as the popular music of the west. Its means of distribution was also different from the classical tradition in that the recording, rather than the written element, was the most important element. The mechanical player-piano was a stepping stone in that direction and preceded the tape, phonographic record and the digital recording that have dominated musical distribution ever since. In that way, John Adams' *Century Rolls* ask questions about performance authenticity, music as a product and the aura of technology.

The work also asks questions about the centrality of classical music and its cultural status. *Century Rolls* is a reflection upon music and its changes and development in relation to

technology. It asks listeners to cast their minds back in time to when mechanical pianos were common instruments for domestic music-making and their sound was 'normal' and authentic. In present times, piano rolls are all but obsolete and their sound is strange and unfamiliar. Perhaps similarly, although the orchestra might have been the prominent musical force at the start of the century, by around the time of the introduction of mechanical pianos and later on electronic instruments, the live orchestra was pushed to the sidelines of recordings and radio. With the greater musical and technical mastery of the orchestra musicians, the listener feels as if the music is something coming from the outside that can be switched on and off like the radio. Furthermore, the increased organisational professionalism at all levels of the orchestra industry and the gap between the orchestra and the audience within the concert hall has perhaps never been wider.

John Adams' concert, by referring to technology and popular music, draws the attention to the situation of orchestra music in modernity. Through the music he explores the changes that have occurred through the century, not only outside the orchestra world, but in orchestra music and the way people experience the orchestra. It is not only the technology that has changed, with electronic instruments, amplifiers and visual media, but also the whole idea of the orchestra as a cultural phenomenon. Jazz music, and later rock and pop, have taken over the musical centre stage and even if classical music is still respected and treasured, it does not register as a force in society or culture the way pop music does in Western societies. In fact, much of the development in modern art music can be described in terms of what could be called a 'crisis of experience' following the social, political and ideological breakdowns of the twentieth century. The abandonment of melody and harmony, chaotic rhythms, dissonance, and indeterminacy can all be interpreted as reflection on the modern fragmented experience, and the new ways of listening brought by the technological revolutions of radio, cinema, television, computers and the internet.

The other project where the mediator was prominent was with the Clerkenwell School students at St Luke's in London. McNicol led the entire session and provided guidance in the compositional project. He acted as a leader and took over the roles of both conductor and educator. The main difference between the amateur and the conductor is that the amateur works with and on the audience, the public. In the case of this event, McNicol facilitated the children's musical exploration, directed them in arranging the music and then conducted them through a performance of their own composition.

In the beginning the children sat relatively still on the floor and listened to the quintet. After the performance, Richard McNicol, introduced the different instruments and the musicians played their parts separately. He then asked the musicians to sit on the floor with the children and started, asking them questions regarding the piece. McNicol connected the images of the Italian spring to the London spring and the children seemed interested. McNicol asked questions such as: 'Did you hear the birdsong?' 'What is a birdsong?' 'Why do different types of birds sing different types of songs?' After a few attempts to emulate birdsong on various instruments, the children were sceptical and McNicol seemed pleased that the children were questioning his assumptions. He picked up a whistle and generated a realistic bird sound which the children accepted. Next, a few of them tried other instruments to make them sound like water and thunderstorms. Many of the children seemed eager to answer the questions. Some wanted to try the instruments and McNicol told them that when imitating water they had to play the notes that are next to each other and that they should not stop. They had to make them run together like Vivaldi does; did you hear how it comes out in the piece? One of the boys found a pattern in the music but was finding it difficult to get it flowing. McNicol was persistent, explained some more and the boy got the hang of it.

Another boy was asked to make the thunder. He took a small drum but his classmates suggested the cymbal. He patted the cymbal with a stick but the crowd wanted more noise. After a few attempts, McNicol suggested that the boy hit the cymbal three times as hard as he could, and then ten times more softly. McNicol used the boy's success with thunder to transition into a discussion about thunder and lightning: 'how many seconds will tell you how far away the lightning will strike?' Two children played the thunder and lightning on two separate instruments and they had to count seconds for various intervals. They concentrated hard and seemed to get the counting right.

Next, McNicol divided the group of children and the musicians into five groups. Each was supposed to play a different part symbolising a different element of the music. One group sang a song based on the melody and the words of Vivaldi's sonnet and the other groups played the birds and the wind and the thunder and the water of the ideal springtime. After a brief 'composing' session, the children came together as one orchestra and played their own version of the spring with birdsong, thunder, singing and water streams. McNicol conducted and pointed out when the particular group should start their part, for each group had a separate

role to play, with specific timings. The LSO musicians played a crucial role in each group, emphasising the rhythm and helping with the general flow of each subgroup's contribution to the ensemble. It became a new version of spring, based on some old methods and a shared experience.

The music makers' workshop is an example of how the idea of 'the work' is used in a different way and developed by mixing extra-musical elements. Vivaldi's musical interpretation of the four seasons is used as a material for the collective compositional effort. The words of the sonnet are used as an inspiration and then as the lyrics to the composition, sung by the children. The words of the four sonnets, apparently written by Vivaldi himself, formed the programme or the description of the music for the performance. The background material, the sonnet, is only indirectly part of Vivaldi's *The Four Seasons*, but when the children began working with the music the sonnet became instrumental to the musical idea that they took from the original piece. With the visual images the work invokes, like the seasonal changes in weather, Vivaldi's musical ideas are used as building blocks for a new creation. The first step of the process was to capture the essence of the musical idea and make it comprehensible to the children. Perhaps counter intuitively, the process of making the work comprehensibly or manageable as a musical idea, does not consist of reducing the work to its bare bones or analytically stripping it to the core of its structure. It is rather a matter of widening the music so that the listener embraces the life imagery and situations that come with the work. The sonnet thus becomes a part of the work, along with the rain, the thunder and the snow. Instead of dismantling it the work is enlarged so that 'the musical work' as a working unit now consists of the extra-musical connotation and background material that come with it, and that 'work' becomes the music the children used.

The use of 'collective composition' is another important step of the Music Makers' workshop and its relation to the 'work'. The classical image of making music is a solitary one of the composer thinking of his music in isolation. In the case of the Music Makers, they work on the composition in little groups who in the end come together to perform the final product. Instead of the work being the product of a single individual mind, the composition process is a collective effort under the leadership of the animateur, who always has total control. In these circumstances, the composition is only intended for momentary use. The performance however is perhaps best viewed as a part of the compositional process since the different parts

come together there for the first and only time. The music is thus intended for use within the locality of the time and place where it originally happens.

At this point it is perhaps appropriate to venture into Dewey's experience metaphor in more detail and see if it casts light on the aesthetic issues involved in these events. It is of course important that Dewey's listening subject does not appear before the music as a guest or a spectator, but rather as a maker or a participating performer. The listening experience is a creation of music, an involvement, and the music is implicated in the listening subject. A part of Dewey's 'naturalist' project of re-describing art as experience is to describe that people live in social-cultural environments and every action of theirs relates to its surroundings and is a 'transaction' within the environment. It is this communicative situation, which is the condition of life in its complexity and enormity.

According to Dewey's ideal, art production and perception, doing and undergoing, are part of a process. Dewey suggests that we should not focus on the material art object when we talk about 'art', but rather on the process of making and perceiving, of which the object is an integral part. Art could not happen without the object, but it does not tell the whole story since it is the interaction between the object and the artist/perceiver that makes 'art' a meaningful concept. The performer 'embodies in himself the attitude of the receiver' and becomes the audience when he or she works on the art product (Dewey, 1980: 48). It follows that the aesthetic experience is a cognitive concept, but it is also a psychological, emotional, social, and cultural metaphor or image that provides insight into a complicated idea: The aesthetic experience exemplifies what it is to be in the world.

Moreover, since aesthetic thinking is a significant component of thought process and consciousness, of how we communicate and live in the world, the aesthetic should be thought of in context with other aspects of life. The concept of experience in Dewey's version is perhaps best understood as the process of living, thinking and communicating with the world, with the significant emphasis Dewey puts on thinking as acting in the environment, or living in society. It is necessary here to keep in mind that Dewey's rendition of 'experience' is not an isolated sense-perception in the way Hume and Lock use the concept.

The metaphor of experience in Dewey's account is both the product and the producer of culture, and incorporates bodily activity, perceptions, and feelings as well as different forms

of knowledge, such as social understanding, cultural capital and technical expertise. Experience is therefore a model of the human interaction with the world; in the broadest sense, it is an image of the life condition. This is not only important in understanding the value of the aesthetic in our normal process of living but also has an impact on the way we see the role and status of art in human society. According to Dewey, to create or appreciate an artwork in an optimal situation leads to our having an experience marked by exemplary degrees of vividness and coherence. Such an experience possesses an unusually full development of certain generic features, such as 'completeness', 'uniqueness', and 'unifying emotion'. The specific traits and meanings an experience contains are in turn a function of what Dewey calls its 'situation', which comprises a larger complex of natural and cultural factors, including the purposes of whoever is having the experience (Dewey 1980: 35-57).

Dewey stresses that the aesthetic experience cannot be reduced to its description. Even though we explain or rationalise the experience we will always leave something out, for the occurrence is more complicated whole than any recollection or intellectual account of it. This has consequences for arts criticism since it means that the review process always involves a partial explanation of the experience of the event, so that not only are there as many accounts of the event as there are people experiencing it, but each one of them has also been through a selective process in intellectualising their own experiences. Dewey nevertheless imagines the aesthetic experience somewhat differently from most everyday experiences in that it is complete: 'we have an experience when the material experienced runs its course to fulfilment. [I]ts close is a consummation and not a cessation' (Dewey 1980: 35).

Not unlike playing a game of chess, reading a book or singing a song, the aesthetic experience is a rounded-up experience, complete in a wholeness that does not end in a disruption but rather a conclusion of the event. The aesthetic experience has a beginning and an end in time and space, and even if we do not know the end or only later realise when it began, it is distinguished from other regular occurrences by its emotional intensity.

For Dewey, emotion is a quality of the aesthetic experience. Not emotion in the simple and compact sense of 'joy, sorrow, hope, fear, anger, curiosity' (Dewey 1980: 42), but rather as a developing force that unfolds through the course of the work.¹¹ The aesthetic experience is

¹¹ 'The intimate nature of emotion is manifested in the experience of one watching a play on the stage or reading a novel. It attends the development of a plot; and a plot requires a stage, a space, wherein to develop and time in

also unique in that it 'carries with it its own individualizing quality and self-sufficiency' and the whole carries with it its own end and can only partly be described in terms of the various parts that make up its qualities (Dewey 1980: 35).¹²

Dewey's experience is therefore a rather nebulous model which is culturally conditioned as it takes place in an interactive process between the individual and the social environment. This means that Dewey's idea of experience is far from being as essentialist as it might seem at first glance.

This aspect of the concept is perhaps better explained in terms of education, since the experience metaphor is also important for Dewey's theory of education. Learning, for Dewey, is based on our personal experiences, and everything we acquire through education must be considered as relating to a particular time and place. The basic idea is that all genuine education comes through experience, a continuous growth in an interaction between external and internal conditions (Dewey 1997: 36) and that experience should be seen from the point of view of the particular student (Dewey 1997: 25). Rather than being a one-way relationship, where either the objective reality of things and facts is put into the mind of the child, or, where the child shapes the world as its personal mental construct, Dewey sees the relationship as interactive, where each side influences the other. Experience is a two-way process of observing and serving, perceiving and performing. We change the environment and the environment in turn changes us.¹³

Here it is possible to ask the question of whether Dewey is simply replacing the harmonious form of the artwork and its essential qualities with a harmonious experience with universal qualities. Indeed, Dewey's description of the aesthetic experience as complete and holistic has

which to unfold. Experience is emotional but there are no separate things called emotions in it' (Dewey 1980: 42).

¹² 'An experience has a unity that gives it its name, *that* meal, that storm that rupture of a friendship. The existence of this unity is constituted by a single *quality* that pervades the entire experience in spite of the variation of its constituent parts. This unity is neither emotional, practical, nor intellectual, for these terms name distinctions that reflection can make within it. [...] In discourse about an experience, we must make use of these adjectives of interpretation. In going over an experience in mind after its occurrence, we find that one property rather than another was sufficiently dominant so that it characterizes the experience as a whole. There are absorbing inquiries and speculations which a scientific man and philosopher will recall as "experiences" in emphatic sense. In final import they are intellectual. But in their actual occurrence they were emotional as well; they were purposive and volitional. Yet the experience was not a sum of these different characters; they were lost in it as distinct traits.' (Dewey 1980: 37)

¹³ 'Experience does not go on simply inside a person. It does go on there, for it influences the formation of attitudes of desire and purpose. But this is not the whole of the story. Every genuine experience has an active side which changes in some degree the objective conditions under which experiences are had.' (Dewey 1997: 39)

led some to see it as a consistent and harmonious affair. In this way, Ziniewicz, when explaining the relationship between experience and the 'problematic', describes the aesthetic experience as necessarily harmonious, in contrast with 'problematic' experiences that stir thinking.¹⁴

However, as Philip W. Jackson points out, Dewey's idea of the aesthetic experience is more transformative, with the potential to broaden our minds (Jackson 1998: xiv). It has the potential to 'modify irrevocably our habitual ways of thinking, feeling and perceiving'.¹⁵ For Dewey, aesthetic experience gives the possibility of transforming, although that transformation is not limited to what is usually called knowledge. The aesthetic experience transcends the categories of thinking and feeling. It is in this transformative sense that Dewey's identification of art as an experience, does not mean that everyone has the same aesthetic experience from the same work of art, or even the same experience from one moment to the next.

In this complex and integrated interaction between the individual and the environment, Dewey asks the educator to consider the circumstances of the learner and not to presume that objective qualities are automatically known. This means, for example in music education, that music or the musical work that becomes relevant to us through playing or listening, singing or dancing, is both culturally and personally conditioned as the product of our prior familiarity, not to mention the difference between the experiences of music that one plays and the experience of music that one listens to. Even though we identify with the same cultural background, we still experience the same music differently. There is no ultimate right way to experience or understand a piece of music since we approach it from our own familiarity with it and the world we relate to.¹⁶ The ideal listening experience is a complicated and negotiated

¹⁴ 'An aesthetic experience is an experience of immediate and enjoyable order; a problematic experience, one requiring some investigation, thought, and action, is an experience of incompleteness, of jarring disorder (something is just not right). Intelligence grows with the continual experiment of attempting to resolve problematic experiences. In this sense, for Dewey, conflict is necessary for life; it stirs thinking about we are about, what we are doing, and why. Inquiry arises in a situation that exhibits confusion and disharmony. Human beings attempt to bring order, through their efforts, to disorderly and unsatisfying situations. Intelligence is but one instrument in this 'correction' of experience. Overt action, altering actual conditions, is essential for making situations better.' (Ziniewicz 1999: para.12)

¹⁵ 'What is intimated to my mind, is, that in both production and enjoyed perception of works of art, knowledge is transformed; it becomes something more than knowledge because it is merged with non-intellectual elements to form an experience worthwhile as an experience.' (Dewey 1980: 290)

¹⁶ 'It ought not to be necessary to say that experience does not occur in a vacuum. There are sources outside an individual which give rise to experience. It is constantly fed from these springs. No one would question that a child in a slum tenement has a different experience from that of a child in a cultured home; that the country lad

process that from the very start involves the listener as an active participant. Dewey's point is that we learn on the basis of our former experiences, where we come from socially and personally. He also suggests that through the process of experience, what we are to learn involves our prior understanding of it. The process of learning is continuous since our new educational experiences are related to our environment and what we already knew.

6.3 The concert frame: Re-composing and re-framing

For to perceive, a beholder must create his own experience. And his creation must include relations comparable to those which the original producer underwent. They are not the same in any literary sense.

(Dewey 1980: 55)

Perhaps reflecting the changes in orchestra culture in the twentieth century and the musical pluralism suggested by Adam's *Century Rolls*, a large part of the music performed and examined in this thesis cannot be considered part of the traditional canon of orchestra works. New music and music from other directions or genres seems to have dominated, with some of the events, for instance the Bernard Herrmann concert and the London Symphony Orchestra outdoor concerts, dedicated to film music and the Metallica concert dominated by the rock group's own popular music compositions. The two Iceland Symphony Orchestra concerts, with the pop-rock groups Nýdönsk and Sálín hans Jóns míns, are similar to the Metallica concert in this respect. However, at the Nýdönsk concert, called *Sensation* (*Skynjun* in Icelandic), the orchestra started the event with some 'traditional' musical material: two suites from Aram Khachaturian and then Maurice Ravel's *Bolero*. These works served as an introduction for the audiences and for the remainder of the concert, the Icelandic Symphony Orchestra took on a more supporting role when the rock group took over the stage with its own compositions. A similar setup was used in the collaboration with Sálín hans Jóns míns: the first half of the concert was dedicated to the orchestra music of John Adams and Philip Glass (while arguably not part of the 'canon', these are reputable orchestra composers) and after an interval the rock group performed arrangements of their music with the orchestra.

has different kind of experience from the city boy, or a boy on the seashore one different from the lad who is brought up on inland prairies.' (Dewey 1997: 39-40)

It is not simply in the selection of music and the performance of music of different genres that makes some of the events observed different from the regular concert practice. There is also the procedure of deconstructing the work and approaching it from a different standpoint than is inscribed in the score. A case in point is the practice of breaking-up or 'de-composing' the music so that its parts were re-arranged or given a different context by letting them stand on their own.

An illustration of this practice is the LSO's performance of *The Rite of Spring* on 14 October 2004 at the Barbican Hall. On the night, Pierre Boulez used the first half of the concert to deconstruct Stravinsky's composition and perform its components separately for the audience. Written in 1913, *The Rite of Spring* is a ballet about a young girl who dances herself to death as part of a pagan sacrifice for the God of Spring. The piece is in two parts that are divided up into smaller sections. Boulez discussed and presented the work, using the LSO on stage to illustrate his points by breaking down and repeating parts and examples from the music. Particular attention was paid to rhythms and beats and the complexities involved in keeping track of the music from the point of view of the conductor. Boulez asked the orchestra to play the distinct parts and movements so that the audience could hear the rhythmic 'irregularities' and the harmonic accents taken out of context. The aim was to re-arrange the parts for the audience so they could perceive the different elements of a musical work that sounds complex when it is all going on at the same time.

A different approach for deconstructing the music was the open rehearsal, discussed above, of John Adams' work *Century Rolls*. To begin with, the guests in the auditorium could hear the orchestra play through the work in whole and uninterrupted. After the run-through performance, Rattle asked the orchestra to repeat the different sections to emphasise elements he found lacking or unclear, with John Adams suggesting changes and Ax giving input as well.

The composer and the conductor discussing the music in front of the audience the atmosphere that morning was in many ways different to the 'composer > work > performer' relationship that is characteristic of traditional orchestra concerts. It is perhaps a conventional process for orchestra rehearsal, but as a listening experience it functioned in a similar way as the Boulez-LSO performance, with the exception that the repetitions were not intended for the benefit of the guests but rather for the orchestra as it prepared for opening night.

Taking the musical work apart and performing selections of it, or even repeating the same parts repeatedly, is a part of the musical process that is well known to musicians. Usually, when the audience turn up for the concert they know little or nothing of the exertion, or even struggle, the musicians endured in preparation for the performance. What these events show is that, if music is a process with various stages and periods, the audience can possibly be situated at a different place in that process than necessarily at the receiving end of a fully developed performance.

The development of Western music tradition in the twentieth century is marked with instances and events where composers have explored and questioned the 'frame' of classical music, from Arnold Schoenberg's atonality and twelve-tone technique, through avant-garde composers such as Anton Webern, Edgard Varèse, Karlheinz Stockhausen and Luciano Berio. Arguably, however, there is no composer who has done more to explore the 'frame' of the work-performance than John Cage, through his experimental music, chance music and non-standard use of musical instruments. According to Cage it is the listening subject that is the focus of attention of his musical engagement:

Most people mistakenly think that when they hear a piece of music, that they're not doing anything, but that something is being done to them. Now this is not true, and we must arrange our music, we must arrange our art, we must arrange everything, I believe, so that people realize that they themselves are doing it, and not that something is being done to them.

(Cage quoted in Nyman 2004: 218-219)

Perhaps Cage's 4'33'', the 'silent' performance, is the most crucial exploration of the classical concert structure, with the audiences listening to their own sounds and painfully aware of the possible absurdity of their position in the concert hall. It is a discovery of the occasion, of the event, and opens up various questions concerning the concert frame. Similarly, some of the events observed for this study pose questions, through the critical metaphor of 'art as experience', concerning the concert event and its organisation.

The frame is an integral part of classical music and the philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (2000) suggest that framing has an even bigger role in music than in the visual arts.

Frame, as an element of inner construct of the music, is used to secure a certain closing-off, of the *air*, the *motive* and the *theme* (Deleuze and Guattari 2000: 479). However, in the context of this analysis, 'frame' is far more than what structures the music into parts. It is a concept more in line with Jacques Derrida's (2000: 412-427) *parergon*, the surrounding frame, which always intermingled with the work of art, *ergon*, as the frame is aesthetic since it is both the surrounding of the experience of music and a part of the experience. Martin Jay (1994) explains Derrida's conception of the aesthetic discourse in relation to the framing of the work of art: 'Arguing against the integrity of the work of art (the *ergon*), [Derrida] showed that it is always polluted by its framing context (the *parergon*), so that any purely aesthetic discourse cannot itself avoid intermingling with those it tries to exclude – ethical, cognitive, or whatever' (Jay 1994: 516).

The 'art work' or 'music' is experienced in context that is social, cognitive, and ethical, and the concert frame is a construction that is part of this aesthetical context. The two meanings, of boundary and structure, are thus inexorably intertwined. For Derrida, the frame is as much a concern as the centre, and the lack thereof. As can be see in his reflection on Immanuel Kant's development of a theory the aesthetic: 'And what if it were the frame. What if the lack formed the frame of the theory. Not its accident but its frame. More or less still: what if the lack were not only the lack of a theory of the frame but the place of the lack in a theory of the frame' (Derrida 2000: 424).

The concert frame is a 'frame of mind', a paradigm, or an organising principle of the concert construction. The modern concert construct can be described in terms of what Christopher Small calls a 'concert frame' (1996). As was presented the chapter on methodology (see 3.1 Defining the concert frame: The event as a temporal aesthetic organisation), the concert frame has two primary meanings in Small's account: first as a demarcation of the concert from other things, and second, as the concert's structuring principle or framework. The demarcating function draws a line and guards off the concert from the everyday life, marks the zone of the event, which one enters when one 'goes to a concert.' But the meaning of a concert frame as a structuring principle or framework has more to do with the inner workings of the musical event, its ideals and rituals, as an aesthetic and social construct. Small explains how the concert frame is used to mark off the borders of the concert and starts with the spatial aspects. Orchestra concerts are set in a special place, often the concert hall, where people are supposed to concentrate only on the concert. The hall, as the place for music, is habitually striped of any

visual or acoustic distractions that are not strictly necessary for the performance, such as 'other people', instruments, and extra seats. The entrance into the place is protected so that nobody gets in without permission. Permission is granted by allowance, most often in form of a paid ticket, and special stewards guard the entrances to the hall and make sure that people are seated, in the right place, before the performance starts. The foyer also has its own boundaries, where guests have the opportunity to purchase light refreshments, chat or contemplate the concert:

The spatial frame is obvious enough; we place the sounds in a building or other space built or set aside for the purpose and carefully insulated to keep the sounds of everyday life from entering – and also perhaps to keep the sounds from escaping into the world – while the performers are placed on a platform, apart from the audience. The separation of the world of the music from that of the everyday life is emphasized by the small rituals of the concert hall and opera house – the purchase of tickets, the reserving of seats, the conventions of dress and behaviour for both performers and audience – which go to give the concert or opera performance the feeling of special occasion, a time set aside from the rest of one's life.

(Small 1996: 25)

Small also points out that the rituals and conventions of the concert start much earlier than the performance itself, with the reservation of tickets and dressing up, and then, once at the concert, the 'time frame' is clearly demarcated. In some other musical traditions the musical performance is a part of another activity such as dancing, socialising or working, but in the western classical tradition musical activity is separated from such things. The marking of time on the night of the concert is clearly formed; one enters at a certain time and is seated at another. It is only 'concert time' and no other activity such as reading, writing, talking or moving around is seen as proper behaviour. Whatever one is used to be doing in everyday life is set aside during this time. Attending a concert is special occasion:

The temporal frame is less obvious, perhaps because it is more taken for granted. The period of time that is to be occupied by the music is very clearly defined. We know within a few minutes how long the performance will last before it starts; the management often obligingly post a notice in the foyer announcing the exact time it will end. Once the audience is seated and quiet, the conductor raises his baton, the

pianist brings his hands to the keyboard, and the musical work begins its fore-ordained course, which nothing but a natural disaster or a musicians' strike will prevent from running until the final chord. The first sound, often a loud chord, always a positive gesture of some kind, marks the beginning of the course, while the end is usually indicated even more forcefully, with a fortissimo perfect cadence or even a series of cadential chords. We are left in no possible doubt of the temporal extent of the musical work, no doubt when is the music and when not. The care taken to delineate clearly the boundary of the artwork is not a chance phenomenon, but a sign of the special, isolated position of art in post-Renaissance Europe.

(Small 1996: 25-26)

According to Small, the symphony orchestra has long endorsed the aesthetic ideals of purity, unity and authenticity of the categorically musical. And the seriousness is explicitly demonstrated in the performance setting of orchestra concerts. Perhaps, following Small's critical viewpoint, we could even use a metaphor of a funeral ritual: The musicians wear black where orchestra members' individuality is concealed by the etiquette of formality. Quietness and black tie might symbolise a mark of respect for the composer or even the sanctified music that has been brought to life for this special occasion. The orchestra distances itself from the audience by the remote stage setting and puts itself over and above the audience. The ceremonial formality could be regarded as having more in common with religious rituals than the enjoyment of music, to be more like a memorial service than a celebration of musical performance and the musical work is to be respected in its post-mortem otherworldly existence. The music is regarded as an object of highest respect and serious contemplation rather than part of a social life. And any attempt to communicate individually or socialise during its presentation is frowned upon.

This is of course a rather bleak picture but it gives a fresh perspective and some distance from the area under investigation. In the case of some of the events reviewed below, we will see how the frame of a concert is broken up and moved as the centre of the concert experience. The performance is a part of a bigger arrangement that involves education and musical participation and the work of art itself is not an unchangeable constant. Moreover, it makes one think if the demarcating frame surrounding the concert is as necessary and useful in all circumstances as one would think from the current practice of symphony orchestras. Note also that the knowledge transfer, the act of communication, involves a different kind of knowledge

than the written text favoured within the enlightenment tradition. The open plan allows for the social process of sharing understanding and living the music together. Participants share the same musical space which gives room for sharing of tacit meaning, the kind of knowledge acquired by playing an instrument and participation in music making, or *musicking* as Christopher Small calls it:

The act of music making establishes in the place where it is happening a set of relationships, and it in those relationships that the meaning of the act lies. They are found not only between those organized sounds which are conventionally thought of as being the stuff of musical meaning but also between people who are taking part, in whatever capacity, in the performance; and they model, or stand as metaphor for, ideal relationships as the participants in the performance imagine them to be: relationships between person and person, between individual and society, between humanity and the natural world and even perhaps the supernatural world.

(Small 1998: 13)

In the on-the-floor situation the audience is a part of the process of art and so are the performers and the composer. The work of art is also a part of the process and is the glue that helps the social process of making music. And indeed, during the time of Haydn, the position of the composer was that of a household servant more than that of the romantic hero he later became, and he and the musicians would stand before their masters to underline their social ranking. This was all about to change and about the mid-nineteenth century the composer had become an autonomous artist, who created works of art for the audience to listen to, rather than to participate in as a member of the aristocratic household.

Dewey's idea of the listening subject as a creative participant involved in music-making processes questions the classical work concept of the Western tradition. This is important since the performance of the great musical works of the western canon is one of the defining features of modern orchestra concerts (W. Weber 2001: 336-355). The musical work identifies the concert and is its most important organising element since the music, as noted in the score, specifies the music the orchestra performs, indicates the timing of silences and intermissions, and outlines which instruments to use and how many. There is even a prevalent opinion that the orchestra is only a medium for the musical work and that it is there to realise the composition as made out by the composer (Schuman 1985). In this view, the orchestra is

only an instrument and the music is an object that seems to be a fixed and unified entirety, waiting for execution and interpretation. A defining characteristic of some of the events reviewed for this study is a different notion of the musical work from what we can call the standard attitude of the classical performance. It is a tendency to regard the musical work as part of a 'music-making process' in which the listening subject gains different perceptual positions. Examples of this are various ways of taking the music apart and 'mixing' with other activity, involving the creators of music in the performance, and bringing in other musical genres, which have different attitudes towards the musical work.

6.4 Summary

Dewey's listening subject is involved in the music as an active participant and the concept of experience aesthetics was suggested as a platform for audience development dialogue that recognises the listener as involved in the process of music making. It is evident that a number of the audience development practices presented in chapter five indicate questions concerning the musical work and represent a tendency to regard the musical work as part of a music making process. This includes the diverse ways of taking the music apart and creating it anew involving the listening subject in the performance. These activities could be explained as a re-organisation of 'perceptual positions' within the music making process. Some of the events achieve this by integrating music with another activity and incorporating other musical genres which have different presumptions about the musical work. The alternative perspective differs from what we can call the standard attitude of the classical performance since it casts the listening subject in the role of a participant, emphasises varied perceptual positions, and encourages a re-definition of the role and importance of the musical work. The classification also opens up the questions of the supposed universality of the classical concert setting, the purity and unity of the musical encounter, and poses problems for any sharp division between 'serious' and 'popular' music cultures. In this context, the concept of a 'listening subject' becomes important as it is negotiated in the social forms of the musical experience, and the idea of the artwork defined in terms of social relations or participation.

7 Conclusion

There are more opportunities for resistance and tension, more drafts upon experimentation and invention, and therefore more novelty in action, greater range and depth of insight and increase of poignancy in feeling.

(Dewey 1980: 23)

In the five preceding chapters of this thesis I have presented the various components of my study which has focused on a pragmatist reading of 21 concerts or musical events offered by eight different symphony orchestras. The objective was to use the re-definition of 'art as experience' to reconsider the discourse on audience development concerts and musical engagement, and contrast it with the 'Classical-Enlightenment' paradigm. An additional aim was to offer an interpretation of concerts intended for new audiences and to propose an alternative viewpoint to the transactional quality of the prevailing marketing theory. However, before I go on to discuss the findings more generally, it is worth reviewing in brief the content and findings of each chapter as they have unfolded.

In chapter two I presented the concept of 'audience development'. There I argued that the prevailing paradigm of orchestra audience development theory is too reductive to serve as a guiding discourse for shaping the musical event. The dominant audience development model originates within 'marketing theory', an influential discourse, and we can see from the texts reviewed in chapter two that it has had an impact on the way people think about the presentation of orchestra music. Even though prevailing audience development theory is not unambiguous about its underlying aesthetic ideals, ideas such as viewing the listening subject as a consumer and a more 'comfortable' or risk free musical engagement, seem to be the main doctrine. In chapter two I offer a critical perspective on those ideas and I introduce John Dewey's pragmatist aesthetics, the metaphor of 'art as experience'. Dewey's 'experience' paradigm challenges the notion of music being 'external' to the listener and he simply redefines the whole process so that the listener is an active participant, not that the listener *should* participate but rather that he or she *is* a participant, by the definition of Dewey's imaginative re-description.

The customer metaphor, however, works well with traditional concert aesthetics and in chapter three I discuss the classical symphony orchestra concert, its structure and norms, and its connection with the aesthetic ideals of the Enlightenment period, which is the time when the classical public concert was taking shape. Dewey's critique is directed at what can be called 'artwork aesthetics' that view the work of art as an object of admiration and contemplation that is disconnected from the viewer and society.

Chapter three also offers a critical discussion of some of the main features of the classical concert in connection with the aesthetics of order, the demarcation of the artwork, disciplining disposition, and the passive role of the listening subject. I argue that the classical orchestra concert takes its definitive shape in the first half of the nineteenth century and at the same time the attitude of 'art for art's sake' became the 'dominant organizing principle of the musical world, ranking genres according to their supposed level of seriousness' (W. Weber 1975: 116). Classical music was considered more meaningful and more profound, and different from popular music of the era in that it was all encompassing and self-sufficient. I point out that paradoxically, it is perhaps Kant's attempt to make 'aesthetics' an integral part of his epistemology that historically has led to the exclusion of aesthetics from most fields except art theory, and consequently any discussion of audience development and marketing.

The Enlightenment idea of art is so pervasive that special care must be taken to deviate from it. In chapter four I introduce the pragmatist interpretive approach as a methodology for reading and reviewing the musical events. I also discuss the need for aesthetics in the context of arts management studies. Based on organisational theorist Antonio Strati's interpretive method of 'aesthetic understanding of organizational life', I underline what sets audience development events apart from regular concerts and in what way they differ. The research is an analysis of 21 musical or concert organisations which are explored in light of Dewey's idea of the possibility of re-describing them in terms of pragmatist aesthetics. An important part of the reading process is defining the musical event as a temporary organisation and in chapter four I describe the process of theory-informed observation and the criteria for selecting events.

This research focuses on events promoted by eight symphony orchestras: the BBC Concert Orchestra, the Berlin Philharmonic, the Iceland Symphony Orchestra, the London Philharmonic Orchestra, the London Symphony Orchestra, the Orchestre de Paris, the Royal

Philharmonic Orchestra and the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra. The events took place between 1999 and 2006 and they were selected on the bases of their critical potential, diversity and representation of the variety of audience development activity that the symphony orchestras promote. In chapter five, I provide background sketches of the orchestras and give a background to the events studied. Each event is presented as a short description, in which the music performed is listed and the structure of the concert is put into context. Rather than being an all-inclusive overview of the event or the history of each institution, the aim is to give some idea of the different approaches symphony orchestras take when attracting new listeners and the range of experiences they aspire to provide.

In chapter six, I argue that the 'audience development' practices presented in chapter five indicate questions concerning music and subjectivity, consumers and listeners. I claim that the very organisational structure of the musical events can tell us something about attitudes towards audience, the act of listening and development. While many of the events have a traditional organisation, others have critical conceptions of the musical work and differ from what we can call the standard attitude of the classical performance. Some even represent a pragmatic attitude of questioning the established binary order, by involving the participants in more diverse ways, and a tendency to regard the musical work as part of a more complex music making process.

These practices include the diverse ways of taking the music apart, creating it anew, involving the creators of music in the performance, integrating the music with other activities and incorporating other musical genres which have different presumptions about the musical work. These activities could be explained as a re-organisation of 'perceptual positions' within the music-making process, in accordance with terminology employed by the electronic musician and music theorist Brian Eno (2004). The events are instances of different approaches for processing and defining the musical work; variations in how knowledge is handled; differences in organisational structure and power sharing; and variations on body conduct and meanings associated with 'active' participation.

7.1 Audience development theory is reductive

The research was conducted at the beginning of the 21st century when the 'culture-for-all' advocates and marketing people joined forces under the umbrella of concept audience development or the 'philosophy of audience focus'. This ideology proposes changes to the concert form but is not too explicit about what those changes should constitute in terms of listening experience.

Critics have pointed out that the marketing discourse audience development advocates employ is unsuitable to describe the relationship people have with music. There has however not been much discussion about the fact that the exclusion of aesthetic consideration is directly linked to the Enlightenment heritage and the 'Kantian' separation of the categories of the aesthetic from the positivist paradigm of 'social fact', or the 'knowable'. The distinction between the 'rational-understandable' discourse of audience figures and survey responses, and the interpretive and aesthetical, becomes more disturbing as the demand from orchestra audience development literature for structural changes to the classical concert grows.

Audience development theorists and managers have suggested a re-thinking of the orchestra concert. From reading the audience development and arts marketing literature, it seems evident that the decline in attendance by younger audiences for classical concerts, and the homogeneity of the audience group, is of special concern for orchestras. It also seems that orchestra managers would like more people of different ages and backgrounds to attend concerts and experience live performances. These concerns are presented in the thesis in relation to the idea of the 'aesthetics of comfort' and the metaphor of the 'listener as customer', which seems to perfectly fit within the organisational model of the Enlightenment-classical concert. At the same time as audience development is defined as a 'process which enhances and broadens specific individuals' experiences of the arts,' the stated aim of which is to improve 'existing attenders' and non-attenders' understanding, knowledge and appreciation' (Maitland 2000), the autonomous artwork, and the separation of the music from the social context of the involved audience, is thus reinforced through a process of marketing tactics and risk-reduction.

7.2 Dewey's pragmatist aesthetics is a viable alternative discourse

This thesis has been an attempt to address a particular problem associated with management of symphony orchestras: how do we discuss and evaluate performances that challenge the prevailing concert structure? How do we account for extra-musical elements and conceptualise them in the in the context of the musical engagement? I argued that neither the 'artwork' paradigm of the traditional concert discourse, nor the marketing-infused 'audience development' advocacy could properly account for many orchestra events that challenge the prevailing paradigm. Neither does calling them buffer-concepts such as 'educational events', 'outreach' or 'community activity', since all these labels indicate that they are extra and inferior to the 'real thing' and outside the main purpose of the orchestra. A different paradigm seemed to be needed which embraces musical activity of the kind analysed in this research.

In response to the demand for a different conception of audience development and to experiment with a different conception of the relation between music and the listener, the pragmatist idea of 'art as experience' is introduced. A different conceptualisation that characterises art as a process involving the audience, as well as the creator and the qualities of the object. By criticising the hierarchical nature of arts institutions, the metaphor of 'art as experience' draws attention to the role of the receiver as an integral and active participant in the process of art, and emphasises the nature of the aesthetic experience as belonging to both the artist and the audience. I argued that the pragmatist aesthetic perspective is valuable for gaining fresh insight into the different ways various orchestras relate to audiences through live performances. By focusing on aspects of the musical event that offer different options in listening and engaging with the music, such as more egalitarian concert structures and alternative uses of music, the pragmatist perspective opens ways of re-assessing the musical encounter.

While not offering the final answer to the question of quality or what constitutes excellence in performance, the pragmatist perspective does offer an alternative way of dealing with the questions that audience development events pose. Viewing the performance as a holistic experience, created by members that participate in the event, the focus goes from the star

performer or the 'intrinsic' qualities of the music. The pragmatist aesthetic theory leads us in a different direction and is a motivating contribution to the discourse of the nature and purpose of the arts institution.

The main concerns of the pragmatist aesthetic theory are the implications of theoretical mechanisms and institutional frameworks that have separated art from people's lives. By associating orchestra music exclusively with the specific setting of the one-way communication organisation of the classical music concert hall, we are inevitably choosing a presentation of the music that is just one option among many to experience music. Furthermore, those who might like the music but do not feel comfortable in the surroundings are by default excluded from participating. The pragmatist approach challenges the prevailing system, and suggests a fundamental shift in the way it is possible to think about the purpose of art, arts institutions and the role of art in the lives of people. The proposal is that we turn our attention from the dualism that follows from separating the artwork from the experience of the artwork, not because the separation cannot exist, but because the fixation on the inherent qualities of the artwork, classification or supposed intrinsic value, prevents us from appreciating the experience of art and its potential value in our lives.

7.3 The Enlightenment heritage opens the way for the 'customer' metaphor

The proposition of the thesis is that various characteristics of the events selected for the study are different from the traditional symphony orchestra concert. The questions are: what are those characteristics and what do they mean for the concert as a construct? And if concerts are changing, what are they changing into and why? In that sense the thesis is about the symphony orchestra concert, its qualities and nature. What is it to attend a concert? Who is doing what? Who is in charge? What is the main element in shaping the modern concert?

We know from the writings of people like the music historian William Weber that the modern orchestra concert took its form at the beginning of the 19th century and that for the most part it has existed in the same format since. We know that the rules and processes that govern the institution are strongly associated with a particular time and place, the Enlightenment era in Western Europe, and the ideals associated with that period. At the time when classical music

was becoming aware of itself as a separate category of music, came the attitudes and aesthetic beliefs that still hold as the norm for the structure and processes of the classical orchestra concert (W. Weber 1975). And while the orchestra music has changed and evolved enormously since the first opera and aristocratic chamber ensembles were taking off around 1600, the construction of the orchestra concert has not changed much since the early 19th century (Spitzer and Zaslaw 2004, Weber 1975).

The importance of the cultural currents of the Enlightenment period on the development of Western art music have been explored at length by musicologists, for example Rose Rosengard Subotnik (1991; 1995) and Lydia Goehr (1995). But the rational organisation of the classical concert has not had quite the same attention. The main authors I refer to in my rendition are William Weber and Christopher Small, who are the main sources and inspiration for the discussion in chapter five. Drawing on texts by Enlightenment authors as different as Immanuel Kant and Adam Smith, I suggested there that the organisational structure of the concert is very much linked with ideals of autonomous artwork, universal knowledge, the power and possibilities of reason, and the separation of the aesthetic from other areas of life: the idea of a distant and non-interfering god-designer (composer), an autocratic but fair ‘philosopher king’ (conductor) who respects rational order but who also expects subordination of the rank and file army (orchestra) and a passive society (audience). This can all be found in Kant’s answer to the question ‘What is Enlightenment’, along with an emphasis on self-betterment and a rational subject who knows his or her place in a coherent and rational society. The unintentional and paradoxical outcome of the classical structure is that its aesthetic paradigm does not allow for any variations on the organisation and thus gives way to the dominant modern discourse, the market-transactional perspective, when the need to introduce new audiences rises.

It is important in all this to remember that not all orchestra concerts are the same and not the only way to do music. We have different kind of concerts today, of which many of the events in this thesis are examples, and there were different orchestra concerts in the aristocratic home. There has also been a parallel strain, the ‘popular concert’ of Liszt, the French saloons and the Proms that have co-existed with a different set of rules and etiquette. With the cultural and aesthetic experimentation of for instance John Cage and Luciano Berio, by the middle of the 20th century there were challenges to the format that never really affected the mainstream institution. However, I suggested in the thesis that to understand the orchestra concert we

need to view it in light of how it came about and understand the cultural climate of the times when they were forming. Therefore I gave an account of the formation of the classical concert construct with particular attention to aesthetic ideals of the Enlightenment era.

Another side to the Enlightenment legacy, and important for this study, is the separation of the aesthetic from other areas of life and understanding. This is what the philosopher Richard Shusterman describes as a project of: 'occidental rationalization, secularization, and differentiation, which disenchanted the traditional religious world-view and carved up its organic domain into three separate and autonomous spheres of secular culture: science, art, morality, each governed by its own inner logic of theoretical, aesthetic, or moral-practical judgements' (Shusterman 2000: 211). Shusterman, like many others before him, associates this development with Kant's philosophical project, since the 'tripartite division was of course powerfully reflected and reinforced by Kant's critical analysis of human thinking in terms of pure reason, practical reason, and aesthetic judgement' (Shusterman 2000: 211).

In terms of this research it was important to try to analyse what was evident and observable as the aesthetic reality of organisation by blurring the boundaries between the social-political and the music as the main organising element of the concerts. The idea was that I could use the events themselves to question and put into perspective the transactional character of the structure of the classical concert and introduce, in the form of pragmatist theory, more participatory or relational perspective.

7.4 Implications for cultural policy, orchestras and programming

The pragmatist aesthetic perspective has implications for cultural policy and the use of the language and concepts used to frame the questions of policy. Particularly it is the pragmatist critique of the way audiences are categorised as receivers or consumers of cultural products, in a system that reaffirms obsolete institutional processes of hierarchies and categorisations. These issues are intensely debated in current cultural policy discourses and people who are concerned with audiences' role within the arts have been seeking different terms of debate.

Dewey's metaphor of 'art as experience' redefines music as a process of which the audience is a part, and encourages us to rethink the role of arts institutions and policy in light of that insight. As Gareth Morgan argues in *Images of Organization*, we can use metaphors methodologically to help us see, understand and create organisations. A metaphor is a 'new pair of glasses' that opens our eyes to particular aspects of an organisation that perhaps we had not seen before or not noticed. At the same time, it is true, as John Berger points out in *Ways of Seeing*, that the way we see things is the effect of where we stand, what we know or what we believe (Berger 1972: 8). Reflective and critical thinking about the metaphors of cultural policy we use can help us realise that what we know is based on a particular viewpoint and can help us to be curious about what it is that we take for granted and what our beliefs are.

The UK government minister Tessa Jowell, in her essay 'Government and the Value of Culture', calls for a broader definition of the value of arts institutions, and a cultural policy discourse expressing more than a narrow instrumental agenda of 'education, the reduction of crime, and improvements in wellbeing' (Jowell 2004: 8). Jowell's discussion of the value of art, the role of arts in society and the purpose of a cultural institution is an attempt to address the issue of the aesthetics of access: How can institutions committed to artistic integrity make 'art' more accessible for a wider group of audiences without compromising quality? Moreover, why is any discussion of access, outreach, and inclusion so often associated with measurable narrow instrumental aims and agenda? Supporting Jowell's line of reasoning, John Holden and Robert Hewison have argued that the discourse of art and culture needs to break away from 'reductive and unhelpful conversations that concentrate on spurious dichotomies' (Hewison and Holden 2004: 12, Holden 2004). These authors, with the culture secretary, have attempted to 'change the terms of debate', and have asked for a broader view of culture that sees art and culture as instrumental to society and values what is 'difficult to measure in mechanistic terms' (Jowell 2004: 9).

I propose in this study that the introduction of Dewey's art theory and pragmatist aesthetics into arts management discourse can provide a valuable insight into how to consider the issues of quality and how we can escape the daunting dichotomies of access and excellence. The important thing becomes not to think of quality as a given and static objective reality, but rather as dependent on the experiential background of the participating individuals. 'Quality' becomes 'qualities' and the role of arts institutions a way to provide various ways of access

for different groups of people to participate in the arts. The 'right' involvement and participation in the process of art depends on circumstances and varies from person to person. Institutions have to be imaginative in creative access points for the different types of audiences. In this context 'development' is not an augmentation or an improvement but a variation on a theme, development in a musical sense, which offers a perspective and a different way of perceiving.

For the individual orchestra the experience perspective leads us in a different direction than the dominant marketing discourse does and it is a contribution to the discourse of the nature and purpose of the arts institution. Following the insights of the pragmatist perspective, the main concerns for the orchestra are the implications of theoretical mechanisms and institutional frameworks that have separated art from people's lives. Orchestra managers become aware of the dangers of associating orchestra music exclusively with the specific setting of the organisation of the classical music concert hall, we are inevitably choosing a presentation of music and musical engagement that is just one option among many. Furthermore, those who might like the music but do not feel comfortable in the surroundings are by default excluded from participating.

Here the insight from audience development authors such as Tim Baker and Heather Maitland can be of use as well, given that the management is aware of the reductive tendencies of basic marketing theory associated with it. Baker's suggestions of opening up the concert and exploring different ways of mediating and performing are in many ways attuned with pragmatist aesthetics and Dewey's democratic idea of art as a social process. Baker's four areas of 'risk': the nature of the art form, social factors, lack of knowledge, and competition from other activity, can in this context become a useful metaphor to gain insight into the prohibiting factors that keep people away from joining in.

The important thing is to stay well away from the trite tactics of the marketing textbook and what Pierre Guillet de Monthoux calls 'banal': imagining that audiences are stupid and spoon-feed them like children with simple tunes and jingles. More time and energy needs to be invested in experimenting with various ways of deconstructing and rearranging the tried models of musical engagement without succumbing to the predictable plainness of the marketing spectacle.

A useful approach for orchestra management searching for a more creative perspective on audience development, might be to make better use of research methods that give richer insight than the dominating numerical paradigm. Methodological approaches such as Antonio Strati's interpretive method of aesthetic understanding of organisational life and Tia DeNora's reviewing scheme, introduced in chapter four, are instances of such alternative practices. They offer a meaningful and substantive understanding of musical engagement than what the quantitative methods of surveys and financial number crunching can ever do. An idea would be to involve people from outside the institution in the creative process of organising the musical event and let them work with tools such as the review scheme when preparing for the work. The discourse of audience development has for too long been confined to mainstream statistical knowledge production and this study offers an illustration of how different approaches can be used to create a more varied picture.

Many of the most interesting events observed for this study, such as the Berlin Philharmonic's *Century Rolls*, the London Symphony Orchestra's *Music Makers Workshop*, and the London Philharmonic Orchestra's Open Ear Orchestra, are cases of how people from outside the orchestra can work as mediators. Those practices could undoubtedly be replicated by other orchestras in a similar format but the events cannot be duplicated in their entirety. The important thing is to let the music guide the project and collaborate with the outside partner in a creative way. That kind of process cannot be prescribed; it is dependent on the circumstances, dynamic and unpredictable.

As chapter two demonstrated, the term 'audience development' means different things to different people. For some, who perhaps have a leaning towards marketing theory, it means the increase or augmentation of the audience group and additional concert guests. For others, audience development means the development of individuals and has the potential to 'to develop the individual audience member's confidence, knowledge, experience and engagement to meet his or her social, self-development, emotional and spiritual needs' (Scottish Arts Council n.d.). This study does not sort out these discrepancies and it might even be argued that it adds to the confusion by offering yet another understanding by defining audience development in terms of yet another metaphor of an aesthetic ideal.

This study offers a redefinition of the term 'audience development' as 'a variation on the act of listening'. Audience development, in this re-description, is not directly about the

augmentation of a group of listeners or even the individual self development. It is a play on the words 'audience' and 'development' and their meaning in music. Development is a variation or an elaboration on a theme, and not necessarily an improvement or amelioration in any objective sense. Development in a musical sense means that a section of a composition is explored from different perspectives, possibilities unfold, and versions are created.

The redefinition is also a variation on the word 'audience' since here it means 'the act of listening' or simply 'musical engagement'. This can mean both individual listening and the listening of a group of people but the focus of the study is on listening as a social process. Particularly the focus of the study is on the musical event and the organisation of the concert where a group of people come together to listen and engage with music. A section of the participants have instruments to perform with, some make gestures with their hands and many sit still, but they are all part of the temporal organisation that is the event.

For orchestra 'audience development', as it has been redefined here, it is obvious that the classical concert organisation is the 'central theme' but deviations and changes to that structure can be viewed as variations on that dominant structure. The challenge for policy makers, orchestra managers and artistic directors, is to create new and insightful variations on the main theme. There exist helpful points of reference which can serve as benchmarks and some of the events included in this study can give an idea of where to look for ideas. There are however no recipes or standard procedures of how to deviate from the dominant structure.

7.5 Final thoughts on methodology and future research

We need to change and challenge the dominant arts management discourse. We need to look for different metaphors and different ideas.

This thesis is an arts management study and, as I explain in the chapter on methodology, management research, in the words of Barbara Czarniawska, is the practice of 'writing management'. Not by dictating norms, but by reflecting and provoking (Czarniawska 1999: 10). The role of the researcher is to create knowledge by re-describing organisational reality through reflective observation and inspirational associations (Czarniawska 1999: 8). In the

thesis I accept Czarniawska's critical conception of management knowledge and the suggestion that the main role of the 'institutional reflection' of management is to furnish a language of questions, critical interpretation and reflection to practitioners and theoreticians alike.

I approach each of the 21 musical events as a social entity, as an organisation, where everyone present, such as performers, conductor or audience, made up a 'temporal organisation' for the duration of the event. Within each organisation the music is a dominant organising factor. Everyone has a specific role, and artefacts such as programme notes and scores forms parts of the communication processes within the timeframe of the concert.

The main influence for the approach of defining the event as a temporal organisation is Christopher Small's analysis of the classical concert. Small employs a concept called a 'concert frame' which represents a time and place framework as well as the collection of organising principles. The concert frame is both what marks out the concert from what is outside it, that it is distinctive from daily life, framed and exclusive, and is also the customs and set of rules that mark the occasion. Finally, in his interpretation, Small highlights what he sees as the underlying ideological basis of the classical concert as a ritual and a celebration of the ideology of the Western middle class which has its roots in the ideals of rationality in the Enlightenment period.

In the thesis there is an underlying tendency to divide the collection of musical concerts into categories of a traditional 'art-as-object focused' and 'art-as-process focused' events. This distinction can help to understand and evaluate the variety of musical encounters symphony orchestras are experimenting with and perhaps support further challenging work. In any future research, a closer look at the pragmatist conception of art could be useful, and for more diverse art forms and in other institutional fields than orchestra music. The musical categories are by no means fixed or finite, however, as Adorno's important message about the incommensurability of art, and its tendency to escape its empiria, should remind us.

Mark-Anthony Turnage's work *Scherzoid* is a case in point. It plays on contrasts, under the influence of different musical styles that open and mirror each other, question each other and explore each other. The saxophone, the protagonist, is the voice of the individuality and improvisation of jazz and at the same time it blends in with the symphonic brass while it

stands out. *When I woke* is another Turnage creation that plays with contrasts: consciousness and the dream, life and death, opposites that unfold in a state of lucid dreaming. So too do many of the events in this study tell tales of contrasts and opposing elements. The events fall into categories, but only for a moment. Only for the time it takes for us to say “yes, that’s it” and listen. As soon we give it another thought the music has slipped out of the category. Dewey’s approach to philosophy is an attempt to go beyond dualities, but every step of the way he invokes new dichotomies, opposites. This is what Adorno means by incommensurability. This is how it escapes its empiria. ‘The compulsion to aesthetics is the need to think this incommensurability’ (Adorno 2002: 335).

In light of Small’s reading of the classical concert I suggest that Dewey’s criticism of the external organization of art, the ‘museum conception’, is as pertinent today as it was when it was written in 1934. Furthermore, the conception of the ‘audience’ emphasised in the traditional concert model is echoed in the reductive language of audience development; the tendency to make listeners into customers, comfortable nomads, receivers in exchange for money. When approaching the events and their organisational reality I used music and Dewey’s terminology of art as experience to reflect on a particular issue.

Dewey, however, does not provide instructions on how to change institutions, except to write that there should be less distinction between arts and daily life, and to suggest a more democratic concept of art. Through a process of reviewing I use both theory and the music to highlight the issues involved, let them tell me something about music making and perhaps inspire variation on the institution of the concert. I argue that the experience viewpoint encourages us to take another look at the artwork: the supposed unity, concrete reality, objectivity, readiness for consumption. In this it is vital to listen to the counter discourses within the music and the questions the music poses. The same is true of the other three themes the pragmatist viewpoint draws out: the structures of power and authority, the processes of knowledge within the music-making community, and the role of the body. These themes connect with themselves and with the artwork theme. The experience metaphor, however, only provides a platform for further discussion on the position of the listening subject within the organisation of the concert.

It might therefore be fruitful in any further study to look at more recent developments in what we can call ‘involvement aesthetics’. These present some more recent attempts at re-

describing art as a process of involvement and participation by the audience, such as for instance Jacques Rancière's (2006) idea of the emancipated spectator, Umberto Eco's (1998) conception of the open work, and Nicolas Bourriaud's (2002) relational aesthetics. These accounts are a part of a larger trend of regarding the listener, the reader, or the viewer, as creative, or even critical, participants in the process of art, where the ideas of presence, origin, authenticity, and experience, have been questioned and scrutinised. As Claire Bishop argues (2006), the activation of the subject, shared authorship, and communal creativity, have all been important themes in twentieth century art debate, and the discourse of alternative social relationships is likely to follow us into the twenty-first.

As the 'audience development' events that have described in this thesis demonstrate, there is a tendency towards destabilising the structures of power and authority found at traditional concerts. We can also identify a preference for involvement of the audience by restructuring the processes of knowledge distribution within event organisation.

Yet these diverging practices do not liberate the listener by abolishing all authoritative structures. They merely offer a deviation from the traditional. The events offer alternative ways of involvement, but there is no clear distinction between 'involvement' and traditional listening, since any sound or performance forces itself upon the participants. To hear or listen or attend a concert means that the participant is absorbed in the musical performance and the dualities of 'oppression' or 'liberation' are not useful in this context. For after all, any interactive experience is personal and based on interpretation and value judgement. Still, varying experiences and different structures can open up and qualify subjective interpretations (this is one of Dewey's main points). The individual has more choice and possibilities to generate his or her own understanding.

It is important that the variations on the classical concert form are not view as more valuable in any sense, but rather as alterations that create different ways of perceiving music for both performers and listeners. They are 'variations on the act of listening' and give the term audience development a new meaning: development in the musical sense of a variation and 'audience' as the act of listening. The events are realisations of the fact that there are various ways of perceiving music through performance and listening and all of these different ways of hearing demand 'involvement' of some kind. As Adorno's wrote, it is in the 'difference itself – in divergence – that hope is concerned' (Adorno 2001: 131).

This thesis is a contribution to critical arts management research and it takes issue with the marketing ideas that have come to dominate the orchestra music scene. The proposal is to replace the prevailing management discourses with a more incisive and potentially fruitful understanding of audiences and their engagement with music. For this purpose I believe John Dewey's idea of 'art as experience' is useful to open up the debate and offer a different direction – an alternative arts management approach, that takes its inspiration from aesthetics and critical thinking about the listener as a participant in the process of music.

Appendix 1: List of events

1 *The BBC Concert Orchestra: 'The plain man's symphony orchestra'*

The BBC Concert Orchestra (BBC CO), founded in 1952, is one of the British Broadcasting Corporation's six 'Performing Groups', the others being the BBC National Orchestra of Wales, the BBC Philharmonic, the BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra, the BBC Singers, and the BBC Symphony Orchestra. What perhaps sets BBC CO apart from the other BBC ensembles is that it has its roots in light music, theatre and opera, and it is known for its work with musicians and entertainers of various origins in radio, television and concert halls. Among them are artists ranging from Dudley Moore, Shirley Bassey, Jools Holland and The Corrs, to Sir Yehudi Menuhin, André Previn, José Carreras, Plácido Domingo and Maurice Jarre (BBC CO n.d.).

The foundation of the BBC Concert Orchestra can be traced to the BBC Opera Orchestra and before that the BBC Theatre Orchestra which was formed in 1931. The Theatre Orchestra provided incidental music for BBC plays, performed its own light music concerts and appeared in variety and other programmes. By 1937, the orchestra, occasionally called the BBC Opera Orchestra, was based at Bedford and its work as the studio opera orchestra had become prominent. During the war the orchestra contributed greatly to wartime entertainment, giving many public concerts. In August 1949 the orchestra officially became the BBC Opera Orchestra under the conductor Stanford Robinson. The BBC website states that this new orchestra became known as 'the plain man's symphony orchestra'. It primarily performed light music concerts, with an emphasis on ballet and opera, as well as operatic performances.

In January 1952 the decision was taken to disband the Opera Orchestra and form from it a smaller light-music unit, the BBC Concert Orchestra. The brief was to perform music of 'proven popularity for' or 'likely to have an immediate appeal to' a mass audience. In 1955, the number of musicians was increased from 45 to 54 and the orchestra's brief became 'that of a light music orchestra in the highest sense of the term'.

The most popular and long running series on which the orchestra performs is 'Friday Night is Music Night', the world's longest-running live music programme, which has been running

over fifty years. Barry Wordsworth, who had been a Principal Conductor since 1989 and became the BBC Concert Orchestra's Conductor Laureate in 2006, says about the BBC CO: 'The orchestra is made up of musicians all of whom enjoy crossing the musical boundaries. It is a unit of people with incredibly wide-ranging tastes. It plays as broad a repertoire as possible in as stylish a fashion as possible.'

One type of audience development event the BBC CO promoted was a 'Symphonic Swing' programme at the Queen Elizabeth Hall, at which 'virtuoso, showman and entertainer' James Morrison joined vocalist Emma Pask and conductor Sean O'Boyle to perform a range of tunes, including 'When It's Sleepy Time Down South', 'Summertime', 'The Shadow of Your Smile', 'Caravan', 'Nature Boy', 'L.O.V.E.' and more. Another was the 'Sing-a-long-a-Musicals' at Hackney Empire, where the BBC CO performed different hit songs from musicals, including *Carousel*, *Fiddler on the Roof*, *On the Town*, *Phantom of the Opera*, *Wizard of Oz*, *My Fair Lady*, and at which the audience was invited to sing along with the orchestra. Yet another event was 'Play It Again' at which participants were given the chance to play or sing with the orchestra. Each session was led by the musician and composer Tim Steiner and all adults and children over the age of eight were welcome to attend. 'All abilities are catered for' promised the website, and if the participants did not have their own instrument they could choose to sing or play percussion.

A clear indication of the attempt by BBC CO to 'cross musical boundaries' is its Composer in Association scheme. Anne Dudley of 'Art of Noise' fame was appointed the first Composer in Association in 2001. Among the commissions during her tenure were 'Music and Silence', an orchestral score based on scenes from Rose Tremain's novel *Music and Silence*, 'Northern Lights' which was inspired by the music and culture of Norway, and 'Club Classical', arrangements of chill out club themes for orchestra. Radiohead's guitarist Jonny Greenwood was appointed to take over Anne's role as the Composer in Association at the beginning of 2005 and his debut commission for the BBC CO features in one of the two events that make up this study. The other event is a concert dedicated to Alfred Hitchcock and the composer Bernard Herrmann.

Nightmare Romance: The music of Bernard Herrmann

BBC Concert Orchestra and a jazz ensemble

Friday 17 March 2006 19:30

Barbican Hall, London

An evening dedicated to the composer Bernard Herrmann and his working relationship with Alfred Hitchcock. Part of the Barbican's 'Only Connect' series, the performance included Herrmann's scores for Hitchcock's films such as *Psycho*, *Vertigo* and *North by North West*, plus Herrmann's music for other cinema classics such as Orson Welles's *Citizen Kane* and Martin Scorsese's *Taxi Driver*. It also featured images and footage from Hitchcock's work. The BBC CO is conducted by Joel McNeely and the ensemble's musical director is Greg Cohen.

Music performed:

Bernard Herrmann	<i>Psycho</i> (Prelude, The City)
Bernard Herrmann	<i>North by Northwest</i> (Conversation Piece, Mount Rushmore Sequence)
Bernard Herrmann	<i>Citizen Kane</i> (Prelude, Hornpipe Polka, Jigsaws, New Dawn Music, Kane's Picnic, Chronicle Scherzo)
Bernard Herrmann	<i>Fahrenheit 451</i> (Prelude, Fire Engine, The Bedroom, Reading, Captain's Death, The Road)
Bernard Herrmann	<i>The Twilight Zone</i> (Main and End Titles)
Bernard Herrmann	<i>Vertigo</i> (Prelude, The Nightmare, Scene D'Amour)
Bernard Herrmann	<i>The Birds</i> (Main Title)
Bernard Herrmann	<i>Psycho</i> (The Rainstorm, Temptation, The Madhouse, The Murder, The Stairs, The Knife, Finale)
Bernard Herrmann	<i>The Trouble with Harry</i> (Ostinato, Autumn Afternoon, Waltz Macabre, The Closet/Harvest Eve/Slumber, the Doctor)
Bernard Herrmann	<i>Marnie</i> (Prelude, Marnie, The Hunt, Blood and Coda)
Bernard Herrmann	<i>Taxi Driver</i> (Prelude, Blues, Night Prowl, Bloodbath, Finale)

Johnny Greenwood: Composer in Residence

BBC Concert Orchestra

Saturday 23 April 2005 19:30

St Luke's, London

The promotional text for the event stated that Johnny Greenwood had become the BBC Concert Orchestra's new Composer in Residence and that this concert would be the first chapter in their three-year partnership. Conducted by Robert Ziegler, the performance included the première of Greenwood's new work commissioned by BBC Radio 3 and music by others selected for this performance by the lead guitarist from Radiohead. At the beginning of the concert, Greenwood and the orchestra were introduced by Robert Sandall. Around 370 guests at the St Luke's Jerwood Hall, who looked like they were more familiar with Greenwood's work with Radiohead than the BBC CO, listened to an eclectic programme of which Greenwood composed one of the works, and chosen the rest.

Music performed:

John Adams	<i>Shaker Loops</i> (1st movement)
Carl Ruggles	<i>Portals</i>
Arvo Pärt	<i>Cantus in memoriam Benjamin Britten</i>
György Ligeti	<i>Continuum</i> and <i>Hungarian Rock</i> (for solo harpsichord)
Johnny Greenwood	<i>Popcorn Superhet Receiver</i> (world première)
Béla Bartók	Rumanian Dances
Henryk Mikolaj Górecki	<i>Harpsichord Concerto</i>
Olivier Messiaen	<i>L'Ascension (Prière du Christ montant vers son Père)</i>
Scott Walker	It's Raining Today
Scott Walker	Rosemary
Bernard Herrmann	<i>Psycho Suite</i>

2 The Berlin Philharmonic: Participation and practical understanding

Being the symbol of quality and of a conservative approach to the German-Austrian tradition for most of the last century, this embodiment of the classical orchestra world aims to reach out to young audiences through its education scheme, Zukunft@BPhil.

The *Berliner Philharmoniker* (Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra) was founded in 1882 with Ludwig von Brenner as the first conductor. In 1887 Hans von Bülow joined the orchestra and replaced von Brenner as conductor. From then on the orchestra's reputation became established, with guest conductors such as Hans Richter, Felix von Weingartner, Richard Strauss, Gustav Mahler, Johannes Brahms and Edvard Grieg. Arthur Nikisch became chief conductor in 1895 and he was succeeded in 1923 by Wilhelm Furtwängler. In 1954 Herbert von Karajan took over and he remained with the orchestra until his death in 1989. Claudio Abbado became principal conductor after him and since 2002 the orchestra's artistic director has been Simon Rattle.

Zukunft@BPhil is the Berlin Philharmonic's education and community programme. According to its website, the programme is 'designed to bring the music of the Berlin Philharmonic to the widest possible community.' Starting in 2002 with the arrival and initiative of Sir Simon Rattle, who at the time took over as artistic director of the Berlin Philharmonic, the programme has brought thousands of people into contact with the orchestra. Children and young people of various ages, in co-operation with schools in Berlin, participate in projects that take the orchestra repertory as a starting point and then work with a particular composition in different ways.

John Adams's Century Rolls

Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra

Thursday 19 February 2004 9:15

Berliner Philharmonie, Berlin

This event involved 100 secondary school pupils, the Berlin Philharmonic, conductor Sir Simon Rattle, the pianist Emanuel Ax and composer John Adams. Before entering the auditorium, the students were introduced to John Adams's composition and they gained a first-hand understanding of minimalism by playing xylophones in the foyer.

Music performed:

Students (in the foyer)

Improvisation

John Adams

Century Rolls (1st movement, Manny's Gym, Hail Bop)

Le Sacre du Printemps: A student ballet

Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra

Tuesday 28 January 2003 19:30

DVD Recording, *RHYTHM IS IT*

Arena Berlin in Treptow, Berlin

This recording of the Berlin Philharmonic's performance of *Le Sacre du Printemps*, involving students from different parts of Berlin, follows the process leading to the performance and records the first large educational project of the orchestra conducted by Sir Simon Rattle. Two hundred and fifty pupils of 25 different nationalities performed a dance to Stravinsky's ballet score, which they rehearsed for nearly three months under the guidance of British choreographer Royston Maldoom. Few of the youngsters had any prior knowledge of classical music or expressive dance and the recording monitors the progress from their first dancing efforts up to the night of the public performance. The DVD recording offers a view behind the scenes and interviews with the people involved.

Music performed:

Igor Stravinsky *Le Sacre du Printemps (The Rite of Spring)*

Daphnis et Chloé: A student ballet

Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra

Monday 23 February 2004 19:30

Arena Berlin in Treptow, Berlin

Similar to the event above, this performance took place in Treptow Arena, Berlin, on 23 February 2004, with Sir Simon Rattle conducting. Two hundred students from dance schools and high schools in Berlin performed a choreographed version of Ravel's ballet *Daphnis et Chloé* in front of an audience of 3800 at the Arena, which is a former bus depot. The institutions involved in this project were the Heinz Brandt Secondary School in Weißensee, the Hermann Hesse and Eberhard Klein Secondary Schools in Kreuzberg, the Faster Than Light Dance Company and the dance workshop No Limit. The costumes for the project were designed and made by students in Florence von Gerkan's class at the University of the Arts.

Music Performed

Maurice Ravel

Daphnis et Chloé

3 *The San Francisco Symphony Orchestra*

The San Francisco Symphony Orchestra is based in San Francisco, California. It gave its first performance in December 1911 and since then has promoted audience development and educational activities. The current music director of the San Francisco Symphony is Michael Tilson Thomas, who has held the position since September 1995. Former music directors include Henry Hadley, Alfred Hertz, Basil Cameron and Issay Dobrowen, Pierre Monteux, Enrique Jordá, Josef Krips, Seiji Ozawa, Edo de Waart, and Herbert Blomstedt, who is now Conductor Laureate. The San Francisco Symphony's mission statement states that the orchestra 'sets the highest possible standard for excellence in musical performance at home and around the world', and that it 'enriches, serves, and shapes cultural life throughout the spectrum of Bay Area communities', while at the same time it 'maintains financial stability and gains public recognition as a means of ensuring its ability to fulfill its mission'. The San Francisco Symphony regularly tours in the USA, Europe and Asia and has made numerous recordings with various artists.

In 2001, the San Francisco Symphony launched its own recording label, SFS Media. The orchestra established its 'young people's concerts' in 1919, and in 1988 the symphony launched the Adventures in Music education programme, which introduces music to schoolchildren. In 2002, the SFS launched SFSKids.org, an interactive online music education resource for children, schools, and families. The website sets itself apart from 'regular' orchestra websites in that it offers interesting ways of engaging with music and knowledge about music. The SFS Kids' Site takes a different approach by introducing children to the instruments of the orchestra. Interactive music features allow the user to play with the music performed. Examples of possible inferences with the music are: 'Speed it up or slow it down', 'Hear patterns that make music move', 'Play around with sounds', 'Mix it up with the Harmonizer', 'Make it louder, softer, or play it again', 'Decide what the instruments will play', 'Play a tune or two', and 'Make your own tune'. The commands themselves are paradoxical in offering possibilities while at the same time dictating which choices to make within the limited register.

S&M Metallica

Metallica and the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra

21–22 April 1999

Berkeley Community Theater, Berkeley, California

DVD Recording

The SFS event selected for this study is a recording of a concert at which the metal-rock band Metallica performed with the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra. Conductor Michael Kamen arranged the music. At the time of the concert, Metallica consisted of the guitarist Kirk Hammett, singer-guitarist James Hetfield, bassist Jason Newsted and drummer Lars Ulrich. The concert was recorded at the Berkeley Community Theater over two days in April 1999. The theatre seats 3,500 and is located in Berkeley, California, on the campus of Berkeley High School. The video was directed by Wayne Isham and the DVD comes with a 41-minute long documentary explaining the background of the project and the workings of the concert. The DVD also includes two ‘music videos’ with the song ‘No Leaf Clover’, and four songs with multi-angles where each band member can be viewed individually (‘Of Wolf And Man’, ‘Fuel’, ‘Sad But True’ and ‘Enter Sandman’).

Music performed:

Ennio Morricone	The Ecstasy of Gold
James Hetfield /Lars Ulrich/Cliff Burton/Dave Mustain	The Call of the Ktulu
James Hetfield /Lars Ulrich/Cliff Burton/Kirk Hammet	Master of Puppets
James Hetfield/Lars Ulrich/ Kirk Hammet	Of Wolf and Man
James Hetfield/Lars Ulrich/Kirk Hammet	The Thing That Should Not Be
James Hetfield/Lars Ulrich/Kirk Hammet	Fuel
James Hetfield/Lars Ulrich	The Memory Remains
James Hetfield/Lars Ulrich	No Leaf Clover
James Hetfield/Lars Ulrich/Kirk Hammet	Hero of the Day
James Hetfield/Lars Ulrich	Devil’s Dance
James Hetfield/Lars Ulrich/Kirk Hammet	Bleeding Me
James Hetfield/Lars Ulrich	Nothing Else Matters
James Hetfield/Lars Ulrich	Until It Sleeps
James Hetfield/Lars Ulrich/Cliff Burton	For Whom the Bell Tolls

James Hetfield/Lars Ulrich

James Hetfield/Lars Ulrich

James Hetfield/Lars Ulrich

James Hetfield/Lars Ulrich

James Hetfield/Lars Ulrich

James Hetfield/Lars Ulrich/Kirk Hammet

James Hetfield/Lars Ulrich

Human

Wherever I May Roam

Outlaw Torn

Sad but True

One

Enter Sandman

Battery

4 The Iceland Symphony Orchestra

The Iceland Symphony Orchestra (*Sinfóníuhljómsveit Íslands*) was established in 1950 and has always had close links with the Icelandic National Broadcasting Service (RUV). According to the Broadcasting Act the main obligation of the Broadcasting Service, and therefore the ISO, is to promote 'the Icelandic language, Icelandic history and Iceland's cultural heritage'. However, after the Second World War, the orchestra was in large part manned by musical emigrants from war-torn Europe and the orchestra has since been relatively international in its composition and programming. The post of chief conductor has been filled by a range of conductors from both sides of the Atlantic, who have each in their way influenced the orchestra's development. These include Olav Kielland, Karsten Andersen, Bohdan Wodiczko, Jean-Pierre Jacquillat, Petri Sakari, Osmo Vänskä, and Rico Saccani. The British conductor Rumon Gamba is now the Chief Conductor and Musical Director of ISO, and Vladimir Ashkenazy accepted the post of Conductor Laureate in 2002. Over the years, many renowned guest artists have performed with the orchestra, among them Yehudi Menuhin, Wilhelm Kempff, Claudio Arrau, André Previn, Daniel Barenboim, Luciano Pavarotti, Anne-Sophie Mutter, Emil Gilels and Mstislav Rostropovich.

Being the only full-time symphony orchestra in Iceland the musicians of the ISO have a broad range of functions to perform as both performers and music teachers. According to its brief, the orchestra also has different roles, since on in addition to performing orchestral music of the western canon the orchestra is required to present an array of performances with artists from different musical genres, such as the pop singer Björk.

Once a year, the orchestra works with a different popular Icelandic pop or rock group for a concert aimed at 'new audiences'. Two of these concerts are considered in this research. The Iceland Symphony Orchestra also promotes annual concerts with the screening of film classics from the 'silent era', children's concerts, opera concerts, radio broadcasts, and ceremonial performances on national television. The ISO is committed to performing contemporary Icelandic music. Among the works performed in 2005-2006 were concertos by Jón Nordal, *Symphony no. 2* by Atli Heimir Sveinsson, a violin concerto by Áskell Másson and, during the annual contemporary music festival 'Dark Music Days', world premières of works by the composers Þorsteinn Hauksson, Haraldur Sveinbjörnsson, Eiríkur Árni Sigtryggsson and Þorkell Sigurbjörnsson.

The Water: Sálin hans Jóns míns

Iceland Symphony Orchestra

Thursday 21 November 2002 19:30

DVD Recording *Vatnið*

Haskolabio, Reykjavík

Bernharður Wilkinson conducts the Iceland Symphony Orchestra in a concert with the Icelandic rock group Sálin hans Jóns míns in Haskolabio, Reykjavík, Iceland. The description is based on a live recording of the concert on DVD.

Music performed:

John Adams	<i>Short Ride in a Fast Machine</i>
Philip Glass	<i>Violin Concerto</i>
Guðmundur Jónsson / Friðrik Sturluson	Upplifun
Guðmundur Jónsson / Friðrik Sturluson	Allt eins og það á að vera
Jens Hansson / Friðrik Sturluson	Nú um stund
Guðmundur Jónsson / February 31 st	Á nýjum stað
Guðmundur Jónsson / Friðrik Sturluson	Síðasta tækifærið
Guðmundur Jónsson / Friðrik Sturluson	Aðeins eitt
Guðmundur Jónsson / Friðrik Sturluson	Innst inni
Guðmundur Jónsson / Stefán Hilmarsson	Þú fullkomnar mig
Guðmundur Jónsson / Friðrik Sturluson	Vatnið
Guðmundur Jónsson / Friðrik Sturluson	Og?
Guðmundur Jónsson / Friðrik Sturluson	Ekki hér

Sensation Nýdönsk

Iceland Symphony Orchestra

Friday 5 November 2004 19:30

DVD Recording *Skynjun*

Haskolabio, Reykjavik

Bernharður Wilkinson conducts the Iceland Symphony Orchestra in a concert with the Icelandic rock group Nýdönsk in Haskolabio, Reykjavik, Iceland. The description is based on a live recording of the concert on DVD.

Music performed:

Aram Khachaturian	<i>Masquerade Suite</i> (Waltz, Nocturne, Galop)
Aram Khachaturian	<i>Spartacus Suite</i> (Adagio)
Maurice Ravel	<i>Bolero</i>
Björn Jr. Friðbjörnsson	Skynjun
Ólafur Hólm/Björn Jr. Friðbjörnsson	Hvað kostar hamingjan?
Björn Jr. Friðbjörnsson	Hey þú
Jón Ólafsson / Björn Jr. Friðbjörnsson /	
Daníel Ágúst Haraldsson	Svefninn laðar
Björn Jr. Friðbjörnsson	Blómarósahafið
Björn Jr. Friðbjörnsson	Sökudólgur óskast
Björn Jr. Friðbjörnsson	Þá kemur þú
Jón Ólafsson /	
Björn Jr. Friðbjörnsson	Flugvélar
Björn Jr. Friðbjörnsson	Klæddu þig

5 *The London Philharmonic Orchestra*

The London Philharmonic Orchestra (LPO) was formed in 1932 by the conductor and serial orchestra entrepreneur Sir Thomas Beecham. The orchestra became self-governing in 1939. Principal conductors of the orchestra have included Adrian Boult, Bernard Haitink, Georg Solti and Kurt Masur. Vladimir Jurowski was appointed the Orchestra's Principal Conductor in 2007. The London Philharmonic Orchestra has been resident at the Royal Festival Hall since 1992 and is also the resident orchestra at the Glyndebourne Festival Opera.

Mark-Anthony Turnage became LPO's composer in residence in June 2005 and two of the events studied in this thesis include premières of his commissions. Turnage was born 1960 and he has held positions with the City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra (when Simon Rattle was the Musical Director), the BBC Symphony Orchestra and English National Opera. The 'Turnage concerts' and two other LPO concerts in this research are part of the Noise programme, the LPO's discount scheme for students and young people. The programme allows students to join an email list to keep up to date with ticket offers, and know when and where the orchestra is appearing. The Noise scheme brought 2000 students to LPO concerts in the 2002-2003 season, double the figure from the 2001-2002 season when it was initiated. According to the Noise website, students can also indulge in the 'age-old student tradition of alcoholic refreshment' with complimentary beer after selected concerts, courtesy of the Noise scheme's sponsor, Cobra Premium Beer. Part of the Noise scheme's activities is a network of school representatives at universities and colleges in and around London, which today number more than 30, to raise interest among fellow students. These representatives receive free tickets for themselves and invitations to rehearsals. The Noise programme is an instance of a marketing-driven initiative which aims at changing perceptions about the orchestra and its image.

The Creation. Joseph Haydn

London Philharmonic Orchestra

Saturday 28 February 2004 19:30

Royal Festival Hall, London

Performance at the Royal Festival Hall of Josef Haydn's *The Creation* by the London Philharmonic Orchestra and Choir, conducted by Frans Brüggen with soloists; Donna Brown (soprano Gabriel), Timothy Robinson (tenor Uriel) and Christopher Maltman (baritone Raphael).

Music performed:

Joseph Haydn *Die Schöpfung* (The Creation)

Turnage: Scherzoid

London Philharmonic Orchestra

Wednesday 26 January 2005 19:30

Royal Festival Hall, London

The composer Mark-Anthony Turnage was present for the UK première of his work *Scherzoid*, a joint commission of the London Philharmonic Orchestra, New York Philharmonic Orchestra, Swedish Radio and the Iceland Symphony Orchestra. Jonathan Nott conducted the orchestra and Elizabeth Connell (soprano) performed Strauss' *Four Last Songs*. Noise student tickets cost £4 with a free bottle of Cobra beer after the concert. 'Renga!', the London Philharmonic Orchestra's improvisatory ensemble, performed before the concert at 18:00 in the Royal Festival Hall auditorium, improvising on the music of Bach, Haydn and Mozart.

Music performed:

Mark-Anthony Turnage	<i>Scherzoid</i>
Richard Strauss	<i>Four Last Songs</i>
Richard Strauss	<i>Also Sprach Zarathustra</i>

La Damnation de Faust

London Philharmonic Orchestra

Wednesday 21 April 2004 19:30

Royal Festival Hall, London

Mark Elder conducted the London Philharmonic Orchestra in a performance of Berlioz's *La Damnation de Faust*. Performers included Alice Coote, Paul Groves, Alastair Miles, Brindley Sherratt, the London Philharmonic Choir and the Tiffin Boys' Choir.

Music performed:

Hector Belioz *La Damnation de Faust*

Turnage: When I Woke

London Philharmonic Orchestra

Wednesday 8 December 2004 19:30

Royal Festival Hall, London

Vladimir Jurowski conducted a programme of Rachmaninov's *The Isle of the Dead*, Tchaikovsky's *Manfred Symphony* and Mark-Anthony Turnage's *When I Woke*. The event started with a pre-concert event at 18:15 during which Turnage discussed his composition and the collaboration with the London Philharmonic Orchestra. As a part of the Noise scheme student tickets only cost £4 for 'the best available seats' with a free bottle of Cobra beer after the concert in the Chelsfield Room in the Royal Festival Hall.

Sergei Rachmaninov	<i>The Isle of the Dead</i>
Mark-Anthony Turnage	<i>When I Woke</i>
Peter I. Tchaikovsky	<i>Manfred Symphony</i>

Malcolm Arnold Celebration

London Philharmonic Orchestra

Friday 24 September 2004 19:30

Royal Festival Hall, London

Vernon Handley conducted the London Philharmonic Orchestra in a concert of music by Sir Malcolm Arnold, the orchestra's own former Principal Trumpet. The event was part of LPO's Noise programme which aims at bring young people in contact with the orchestra through special ticket offers and targeted online messages.

Music performed:

Malcolm Arnold	<i>Flourish for a 21st Birthday</i>
Malcolm Arnold	<i>Overture: Beckus the Dandipratt</i>
Malcolm Arnold	<i>Suite: The Inn of the Sixth Happiness</i>
Malcolm Arnold	<i>Clarinet Concerto</i>
Malcolm Arnold	<i>Philharmonic Concerto</i>
Malcolm Arnold	<i>Symphony No. 6</i>

Berlioz, Dutilleux, Stravinsky

London Philharmonic Orchestra

Wednesday 3 March 2004 19:30

Royal Festival Hall, London

Jukka-Pekka Saraste conducted an LPO performance at the Royal Festival Hall of Stravinsky's *The Firebird*, Berlioz's Overture to *Béatrice et Bénédict*, and Henri Dutilleux's '*Tout un monde lointain*' for cello and orchestra, the latter featuring cellist Truls Mørk. This was a 'regular' concert with all the main features of the classical concert setting firmly in place. However it was a part of the London Philharmonic Orchestra's Noise programme and included special ticket offers, email communications and free beer after the performance.

Music performed:

Hector Berlioz	Overture, <i>Béatrice et Bénédict</i>
Henri Dutilleux	' <i>Tout un monde lointain...</i> ', for cello and orchestra
Igor Stravinsky	Ballet: <i>The Firebird</i>

Dancing with Stars

London Philharmonic Orchestra / Open Ear Orchestra

Thursday 11 December 2003 19:30

St Peter's Vauxhall, London

A performance by the London Philharmonic's Open Ear Orchestra at which players from the LPO joined musicians from the community. The Open Ear Orchestra is open to skilled and committed players and singers from any background. It is essentially 'symphonic' but ranges over many musical styles, as reflected in its line-up of players. This concert was at St Peter's Church, Vauxhall, and the programme included musical influences from various genres. Members of the group wrote the music, creating an opportunity for songwriters and composers from diverse backgrounds.

Music performed:

Open Ear Orchestra (group devised) Starburst

Peter Brown

Azimuth

Rebecca Peniston

The Comet's Tale

Danyal Dhondy

Dreamscape

Jonathan Daou

Mind of a Minotaur

Louise Ajegbo-Coles

Portraits of Alice

Andrew Peggy

Stellar Dances

SOMA

The Warmth

SOMA

To Blame

David Mountain

Dissension

Paul Kimber

Another View of Secret

Lisa Romain

Rainbow's End

Vando MacFarlane

Sweet Sounds from the Sun

Jeff Darrohn

Down at the Thames

Aaron Bailey

Sweetest Memory

Thomas Dadson

I Will Sing

Songs for Summer

London Philharmonic Orchestra / Open Ear Orchestra

Sunday 18 July 2004 19:00

InSpire Centre, St Peter's Church, Liverpool Grove, London

The performance was at the InSpire Centre, St Peter's Church, Liverpool Grove, and the programme included selections from musical genres like jazz, rock, classical ballads and soul.

Pete McDonald	Becky's Song
Sharon Johnson	There was a time
Louise Coles	Lucy in Stereo
Godfrey Edwards	Soul of Man
Michelle Young	Forever More
Margaret Fogarty	You make me feel
Proscovia Kibombo	Into mood blue
Emma-Marie Lee	Five Small Songs of Love
Sunny Lu	S is Crying
Silverley Allen	Desire
Harriet Syndercombe	Beautiful from the Start
Zoe Moniye	Risen
Rebecca Peniston	Tormented Love
Edmund Knollys	Roundel
Jane Higginbottom	Into the Sea
Gerard Ward	Blue Tears
Rose Smikle	Come together
Lisa Romain	Deepest Blue
Rosamund Payne	The way you make me feel
Thomas Dadson	The world is in a mess

6 The Royal Philharmonic Orchestra

Sir Thomas Beecham founded the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra in 1946 and many renowned conductors, such as Rudolf Kempe, Antal Dorati, André Previn and Vladimir Ashkenazy, have held a baton over them since. Daniele Gatti has been its music director since 1996. The Royal Philharmonic Orchestra is based in London but also has residencies at the Royal and Derngate Theatres in Northampton, the Marina Theatre in Lowestoft, and The Hawth in Crawley. The RPO records widely and the 16-disc *Here Come The Classics* series indicates the range of the RPO's repertoire, from popular orchestral and choral works to film classics and tunes from the musicals.

The RPO also runs a community and education programme and its projects include work with 'young homeless people, youth clubs, the probation service, schools and families'. These projects are intended to promote 'live music-making, reflecting the diversity of the individuals involved, as well as the Orchestra's own background'.

The Royal Philharmonic Orchestra has been prolific in offering concerts with a broad appeal for a wider group of audiences. 'Here Come the Classics' (Saturday 12 May 2007) conducted by Philip Ellis at the The Hawth, Crawley, is an instance of such a programme. The programme was a selection of orchestra classics: Rossini's *William Tell Overture*, Vaughan Williams' *Fantasia on Greensleeves*, Elgar's *Salut d'Amour*, Mussorgsky's *Night on the Bare Mountain*, Gershwin's *Rhapsody in Blue*, and many more, ending with Tchaikovsky's *1812 Overture*. Another instance of a concert with broad appeal is the 'Symphonic Rock' concert (Friday 18 May 2007) conducted by Nick Davies at the Royal Albert Hall. There the audience could expect to 'experience the immense power of the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra performing awesome rock melodies'. The Symphonic Rock concert also features a 'spectacular light show', designed to help the listener 'look back and reminisce with rock anthems from the past' including 'Stairway To Heaven', 'Layla', 'Nights in White Satin', 'Living on a Prayer', and 'A Whiter Shade of Pale'. The programme also included a special tribute to The Beatles, to celebrate the 40th anniversary of their album *Sergeant Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band*.

Classical Spectacular

Royal Philharmonic Orchestra / Raymond Gubbay

Sunday 28 March 2004 19:30

Royal Albert Hall, London

The Classical Spectacular was a classical music show at which over 250 performers performed classical hits and all-time favourites, including 'O Fortuna' from *Carmina Burana*, 'Nessun Dorma' from *Turandot*, and Ravel's *Bolero*. The distinguishing features of this event were that the hall was lit up with lights and lasers and the audience at the Royal Albert Hall sang along to the sound of 'Rule, Britannia' and 'Land of Hope and Glory'. The evening ended with thundering cannons, muskets and indoor fireworks to accompany Tchaikovsky's '1812' Overture.

Music performed:

Carl Orff	O Fortuna (from <i>Carmina Burana</i>)
John Philip Sousa	The Stars and Stripes Forever
Giuseppe Verdi	Chorus of the Hebrew Slaves (from <i>Nabucco</i>)
Peter I. Tchaikovsky	Sleeping Beauty Waltz
Giuseppe Verdi	La donna e mobile (from <i>Rigoletto</i>)
Antonin Dvorak	Slavonic Dance No. 8
Giacomo Puccini	O soave fanciulla (from <i>La Bohème</i>)
Maurice Ravel	<i>Bolero</i>
Edward Elgar	Pomp and Circumstance March No. 1
Franz von Suppé	Light Cavalry Overture
Pietro Mascagni	Easter Hymn (from <i>Cavalleria Rusticana</i>)
Edvard Grieg	Morning (from <i>Peer Gynt</i>)
Edvard Grieg	In the Hall of the Mountain King (from <i>Peer Gynt</i>)
Jacques Offenbach	Barcarolle (from <i>The Tales of Hoffman</i>)
Léo Delibes	Prelude and Mazurka (from <i>Coppelia</i>)
G F Handel	Hallelujah Chorus (from <i>Messiah</i>)
Thomas Arne	Rule, Britannia
Giacomo Puccini	Nessun dorma (from <i>Turandot</i>)
Peter I. Tchaikovsky	1812 Overture

7 The London Symphony Orchestra

The London Symphony Orchestra was founded in 1904 and has had Hans Richter, Artur Nikisch, Sir Edward Elgar, Sir Thomas Beecham, André Previn and Claudio Abbado as its Principal Conductors. Michael Tilson Thomas had the role from 1988 until he was succeeded in 1995 by Sir Colin Davis who in 2007 took the post of president of the orchestra. Valery Gergiev became the LSO's Principal Conductor in January 2007. André Previn holds the title of Conductor Laureate, Daniel Harding is a co-principal guest conductor alongside Tilson Thomas, and Richard Hickox is the Associate Guest Conductor. The London Symphony Orchestra consists of over 100 players who give around 90 concerts a year in the Barbican Hall, the orchestra's home in the City of London, in addition to concerts around the world. The orchestra is popular with film composers and features on the soundtracks of many films. The LSO runs its own recording label, *LSO Live*.

The London Symphony Orchestra's education and community programme, LSO Discovery, is aimed at bringing people of all ages into contact with the LSO's music and musicians. LSO Discovery is supposed to give people their first encounter with an orchestra, to 'add an extra dimension to an LSO concert, or simply bring people together to experience the power of music'. The programme brings over 30,000 people into contact with the LSO's music and musicians every year.

One of the LSO Discovery programmes was 'Early Years Music Workshops' for children under five, with visiting musicians from the LSO. Parents are encouraged to make music and have fun with their children 'using percussion instruments, singing, rhymes, movement and puppets'. Another programme is the LSO Discovery Family Concerts series for children aged seven to 12, where each concert has a theme and includes music performed by the London Symphony Orchestra. Along with opportunities to meet the musicians, try out instruments and make costumes, the audience is invited to bring along their instruments and join in.

Music Makers Workshop

London Symphony Orchestra

Wednesday 3 December 2003 10:00

Jerwood Hall, LSO's St Luke's, London

Children from the Clerkenwell School created their own new music with LSO animateur Richard McNicol and five musicians, based on Vivaldi's *Four Seasons*. The event was part of LSO's education and community programme LSO Discovery.

Students of the Clerkenwell School Composition based on *The Four Seasons*

Antonio Vivaldi

'Spring' from *The Four Seasons*

The Rite of Spring

London Symphony Orchestra

Thursday 14 October 2004 19:30

Barbican Hall, London

The conductor Pierre Boulez and Richard McNicol, LSO's music animateur, presented *The Rite of Spring*, using the LSO on stage to illustrate their points and repeating segments and examples from the music. After the interval, the audience heard a complete performance of the piece, conducted by Boulez. On a website dedicated to the project, people could listen to the music and read about the ballet, see what the performers had to say about it, find out about the composer, win an exclusive *Rite of Spring* ring-tone and download special *Rite of Spring* wallpapers for mobile phones. This event was a part of the LSO Discovery programme.

Music performed:

Igor Stravinsky *The Rite of Spring*

Open-air concert

London Symphony Orchestra

Thursday 29 July 2004 7:30

Canada Square Park, Canary Wharf, London

This was a London Symphony Orchestra outdoor concert in Canary Wharf, where the listeners had to arrange themselves on the grass, sitting or lying down. Throughout the concert, listeners were free to move around and chat, or eat and drink. The concert was given in aid of the Lord Mayor's Appeal 2004, 'Music and the Arts for Everyone', with the LSO Discovery programme as principal beneficiary.

Music performed:

Alfred Newman	20 th -Century Fox Fanfare
Richard Whiting	Hooray for Hollywood (arr. Chambers)
John T Williams	Raiders March from <i>Raiders of the Lost Ark</i>
Erich Korngold	Overture: <i>Captain Blood</i>
Max Steiner	Tara's Theme from <i>Gone with the Wind</i>
James Horner	My Heart Will Go On from <i>Titanic</i>
Jerry Goldsmith	End Title from <i>Star Trek: The Motion Picture</i>
Trevor Jones	<i>Around the World in 80 Days – Suite</i>
John Barry	Main Title from <i>Out Of Africa</i>
Ron Goodwin	Main Title from <i>Where Eagles Dare</i>
John T Williams	Theme from <i>Jurassic Park</i>
Elliot Goldenthal	Adagio and Transfiguration from <i>Final Fantasy: The Spirits Within</i>
John T Williams	Flying Theme from <i>E.T.</i>
Bill Conti	Main Theme from <i>Rocky</i>
Danny Elfman	Tim Burton's <i>The Nightmare Before Christmas – Orchestral Suite</i>
John T Williams	Hedwig's Theme from <i>Harry Potter</i>
Hans Zimmer	<i>Gladiator – Suite</i>
John T. Williams	Main Theme from <i>Schindler's List</i>
Maurice Jarre	Overture: <i>Lawrence of Arabia</i>
Henri Mancini	Main Title from <i>The Pink Panther</i>
John T. Williams	Main Title/Leia's Theme/End Title from <i>Star Wars</i>

8 Orchestre de Paris

The Orchestre de Paris is in residence at the Théâtre Mogador and is 'open to all musical forms and ready to invent new means of creating new audiences by diversifying the types of venue for concerts and by giving chamber music concerts with soloists from the orchestra' (IMG Artists 2005). The orchestra was founded in 1967 when it grew out of the renowned *Société des Concerts du Conservatoire*, founded in 1828 by François Habeneck. Charles Munch was the Orchestre de Paris's first Principal Conductor, succeeded by Herbert von Karajan, Sir Georg Solti, Daniel Barenboim, who founded the Orchestre de Paris Chorus, Semyon Bychkov, and Christoph von Dohnányi, who was Artistic Advisor. Christoph Eschenbach was appointed Music Director in September 2000. The orchestra is publicly funded and receives subsidies from the Ministry of Culture and Communication and from the city of Paris. It performs more than 100 concerts a year, a third of which are presented outside of Paris or abroad. The orchestra offers various possibilities for teachers who want their pupils to discover classical music, such as general rehearsals open to schools, school visits by the orchestra, and special ticket rates for certain evening concerts within the programme 'Discovering the orchestra' (*A la découverte de l'orchestre*). The orchestra also offers workshops for students where the orchestra is introduced and the various aspects of orchestra life are discussed. The orchestra also promotes concerts to introduce young people to composers of interest. An instance of such an event was a concert dedicated to Henri Dutilleux in connection with his 90th birthday at Salle Pleyel (Friday 3 May 2007), conducted and presented by Alain Pâris. Mixing music and references to 'visual arts, literature and history', the performance included performances of five of Dutilleux's works: *Timbres*, *Espace*, *Mouvement*, *ou La nuit étoilée* (extracts), and *Correspondances* (extracts).

Orchestre sans frontière

Orchestre de Paris

Saturday 11 June 2005 11:30

Théâtre Mogador, Paris

Offering two complimentary adult places with every child ticket, the *Orchestre de Paris* encouraged Parisian children to invite their parents to this concert at the Théâtre Mogador. The family concert was part of a programme in partnership with *Jeunesses Musicales de France*, where children from six schools had met with the head of orchestra and two musicians and instruction material was given to all the teachers, who also met the artistic team of the project. The musicians of the 'Orchestre sans frontière' performed in a variety of musical styles: jazz, tango, rock'n'roll, hard rock, gypsy music, klezmer and classical. The programme, with an eclectic mix of improvisations and extracts of accessible orchestra music, created a proximity between 'classical' style and other musical traditions. The same musicians played orchestral works and improvised music. The important elements of the concert are the diverse programming of various musical works and the adaptive performance styles by members of the orchestra.

Music performed:

Paul Dukas	<i>L'apprenti sorcier</i>
'Jazz Group'	Improvisation
Leonard Bernstein	7ème Danse Symphonique de <i>West Side Story</i> (extraits)
Eveynon Shalom Alech'em	Musique Yiddish
Gustav Mahler	Symphonie No. 1 en ré majeur <i>Titan</i>
Alberto Ginastera	Estancia: Danza del Trigo
'Hard Rock Group'	Improvisation
Moussorgsky/ Ravel	<i>Tableaux d'une exposition</i> : La cabane sur des pattes de poule
'Nostalgias'	Tango
John Williams	<i>Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone</i> : Hedwig's theme
Alberto Ginastera	Estancia: Danza Final (Malambo)

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