
Differentiation within highbrow art appreciation

‘Comparing cultural activities, motives, experiences and barriers of regular visitors of theatre and classical music’



Ro



de doelen

Master Thesis Arts, Culture and Society

Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication

Renee van Randwijk

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FOREWORD

Right from the first moment we were asked to think about our subject for this master's thesis, I knew I wanted to continue the path of my bachelor's thesis. Not the fact that I wrote about arts education, no. I'm talking about writing my thesis for a theatre company in the city I live in and knowing they used some valuable outcomes by making their future plans. This is what I hope this master's thesis will do as well. I am excited to pass on information to the Ro Theatre and de Doelen about their regular visitors and the activities they undertake and the motives, experiences and barriers they have.

Even though writing this thesis was sometimes a real 'pain in the ass', that's all on me. I think I could not have any better guidance than I had from the Ro Theatre, thanks to Anke Wirken. Discussions and talks with her really helped me through the process of interviewing. Also I want to thank the Ro Theatre and de Doelen for letting me interview their regular visitors and the trust they have given me to do this, especially Winfed van den Bor and Vincent de Koning. In addition I want to thank my supervisor, Jaco van den Dool for his critical feedback and useful tips during the writing process. I would like to end this foreword by wishing you lots of pleasure in reading this thesis.

Renee van Randwijk,
Rotterdam, June 2015

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1. INTRODUCTION

People's art appreciation is often researched by using a limited set of socio-economic features (Van Eijck, 2012). Level of education, age, gender and income are used as predictors of people's taste in art. In this way, scholars have already shown a strong link between vertical social class and attending highbrow culture (Bourdieu, 1984; Bihagen & Katz-Gerro, 2000; Van de Werfhorst & Kraaykamp, 2001; Chan, 2010). The higher people's income or level of education etc., the higher their appreciation for high art forms. According to Van Eijck (2012), level of education and age remain the most important factors to determine someone's art appreciation. However this explains taste as a one-dimensional concept. Little is known about taste differentiation within the specific levels of popular, middlebrow and highbrow taste (Van Eijck, 2012). Daenekindt & Roose (2014) also conclude that taste profiles are not strongly related to socio-demographic characteristics. According to them, relevant distinctions should be made within the same taste group by not just looking at 'what' they consume but 'how' they consume. Therefore this research aims to give more horizontal insight in the taste level of highbrow taste by studying regular visitors of high art forms.

According to Van Eijck (2012) it can be very helpful to add more variables on the horizontal instead of the vertical lines of social differentiation to better understand how and why people engage in culture. More insight into the cultural lifestyles and motives of the audience can help increasing the public (Van Eijck, 2015). Studies like this are hardly ever done (Van Eijck, 2012). Roose (2008) already made a segmentation of the audience of classical concerts on the basis of motives for attendance and pleads for further verification by studying other art audiences. Second of all, Boorsma (2006) made an overview of four studies that researched the primary reasons of why people attend the arts. They all support the importance of artistic experience as a primary motive, but she states that this proposition needs to be tested by further research. Research exploring the individual, internal motivation of performing arts attendance is nearly nonexistent (McCarthy & Jinnett, 2001).

Next to motives for art attendance, people can also experience barriers in relation to attending art. According to Kawashima (2000) we cannot simply assume that everyone is interested in art, but not participates because they don't have access. Access is an important issue but can only explain practical barriers. Kawashima claims that barriers to cultural opportunities can be practical, but it is also important to take into account the financial, physical and social barriers. Identifying the barriers to attendance helps in collecting more information about audience groups (Kawashima, 2000). However, inequality in art is more

deep-rooted and holds strong links to people's capital and formal schooling (Bourdieu, 1984). This refers back to the vertical taste predictors and therefore this research questions the possible barriers among people with highbrow taste and the same schooling level to get a broader, more horizontal image of taste.

Another concept that can be placed on the horizontal line next to cultural lifestyles and motives & barriers, are experiences. Experiences have influence on the reasons why people choose to visit (Falk & Dierking, 2000). Audience reception studies have received little attention over the last century. Especially in the field of theatre, research on audience reception is still in a very early stage (Scollen, 2007). According to Scollen (2007) it is vital to combine audience research with reception studies in order to let the cultural institutions make more effective decisions. Since audience research is already very familiar to scholars and the cultural field, reception studies that investigate the experience of spectators of performances are very useful (Sauter, 2008).

In order to study the possible differentiation within highbrow taste and to exclude the vertical socio-economic features, this research gives an insight in the cultural activities, motives, experiences and barriers of regular visitors of high art. Not only do they have a preference for a high art form, they also have the same age and level of education to measure taste horizontally. Due to limited time and resources, only two audience groups are studied, namely theatregoers and classical music-goers. I started with an audience group at a theatre company and searched for an audience from another art form with similarities in order to be able to make a better comparison to show any possible differentiation. Theatre and classical music are both performing arts and perceived as a temporary event. In comparing the visitors of two different art forms, the aim is to find differences in their activities, motives, experiences and barriers that can explain their regular visits to theatre or classical music. The overall question is; what makes them choose for theatre or classical music? Therefore the following research question will be answered.

Which cultural activities do highly educated people over 55 undertake and to what extent do different motives, experiences and barriers influence their regular visit of either theatre or classical music?

It is assumed that people above 55 have a clear idea on their motives, experiences and barriers, since they developed a clear taste that hasn't changed much during adult life (Van

Eijck, 2012). Also they are an interesting target group since 25% of the Dutch population will be aged above 65 in 2040. This group has the need to fill the impending emptiness in their lives and cultural participation can fill up this space. They often have enough time and money to participate in cultural activities (Vuyk, 2014).

To get a complete picture of these highly educated culture lovers in the age of 55 and older, this research focuses on the qualitative method of in-depth interviews. Interviews are a good method to reveal 'why' questions about the preference for theatre or classical music (Gilbert, 2008). Regular visitors of theatre are found through the database of the Ro Theatre and regular visitors of classical music through the database of a large concert hall that is called de Doelen. After conducting the interviews, the analysis was carried out using a computer program called Atlas.ti. On the basis of attached codes, it was possible to reveal patterns in both groups and to report the possible discrepancies between theatregoers and classical music-goers.

This research shows more insight into the highbrow taste level by revealing the differences between theatregoers and classical music-goers. Even though the boundaries are mostly created between popular culture and high culture (Dimaggio, 1992), this research demonstrates they can also exist between forms of high culture. We can state that the regular visitors of theatre and classical music cannot simply be put under the same umbrella of older highly educated art lovers. The outcomes offer a clear picture of these two audience groups and can help in trying to understand better how and why people engage in (high) art.

Societal relevance

This research gives the Ro Theatre and de Doelen more information about their audiences, which helps them to engage with the existing visitors and to attract new visitors. Nowadays this is a difficult task for cultural organizations since the culture lover is not easy to bind: he has many options to spend his limited free time (Raad voor Cultuur, 2014). Participants in culture become more and more cultural omnivores, who want a lot of flexibility and look for connections within different (taste) communities (Ministerie van Binnenlandse zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties, 2013; Warde, Wright & Gavo-Cal, 2007). Even though people become cultural omnivores, there is a declining interest in traditional forms of culture. Among all these options on how to spend free time, it seems people are increasingly staying away from established cultural organizations, like theatre, classical music, opera and ballet (Raad voor Cultuur, 2014; Van Eijck & Knulst, 2005; Berghman & Van Eijck, 2009). It is well known that young people visit popular art forms more often, but nowadays this group seems to

continue visiting popular art forms while they get older.

Despite the fact that visitors are difficult to follow these times, cultural organisations do need to increase the public participation. Due to the cutbacks in cultural subsidies, they are forced to increase the earnings made by ticket sales (Hume, Mort, Liesch, & Winzar, 2006). One way to achieve this is to build a long-term relationship with existing visitors, since they account for half of the total visits (Rentschler, Radbourne, Carr & Rickard, 2002). The Ro Theatre and de Doelen both try to invest in the relationship with their regular visitors. For these organisations it is interesting to get an insight into their own regular visitors, as well as to get to know the regular visitors of 'the other art form'. Why do people pay visits to their performances on a regular basis and why do they have such a strong preference for theatre or either classical music? What determines the choice or preference for one of these two art forms and what are possible barriers to not visit the other art form?

Outline

First of all, this master's thesis starts with the theoretical framework. The most important concepts from the research question are made explicit, which results in clear definitions of 'cultural activities', 'motives', 'experiences' and 'barriers'. Within these concepts, the most relevant theories and previous researches are being presented. Thereafter the methodological choices that have been made during this research are being presented and this gives an explanation on the data collection and the data-analysis. Chapter four discusses the results on the interviews that are supported by quotes from the respondents. Chapter five gives an answer to the research question and the final chapter includes a discussion that generates attention to the shortcomings of this research and recommendations for further research. This thesis ends with an overview of the used literature and lastly the appendices.

2. THEORY AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH

This theoretical framework contains of previous research within the field as followed by the operationalization of certain concepts to make them more concrete and measurable. Previous research on cultural activities, cultural taste, motives, experiences and cultural barriers is presented, since these are the variables on which the two groups are compared. The concept ‘cultural activity’ used in this research is not restricted to activities in high forms of art, since research indicates the declining power of traditional high culture (Raad voor Cultuur, 2014; Van Eijck & Knulst, 2005; Berghman & Van Eijck, 2009). The production and consumption of cultural products is nowadays seen as a combination of high art, popular art and everything in between (Virtanen, 2005). Even though this research tries to exclude the socio-demographic or socio-economic characteristics of people, it is still important to give a clear outline on already existing research that does use this vertical approach in predicting people’s taste.

2.1 Cultural taste

When studying the cultural activities that people undertake, one is actually studying their cultural taste. According to Virtanen “taste is a vital determinant of cultural consumption” (p.2, 2005). Taste can be imbedded in all sorts of products, but within this research it includes products or services from the cultural field that have high aesthetic value for someone. As already mentioned in the introduction, a lot of studies have found a relationship between high education and a preference for highbrow culture (Bourdieu, 1984; Bihagen & Katz-Gerro, 2000; Van de Werfhorst & Kraaykamp, 2001; Chan, 2010). An empirical analysis by Van Eijck (2011) proved that education is the most important determinant of people’s cultural participation and appreciation for different forms of art. Also the highly educated people are overall more active in the field of culture. First of all, children are being classified in different levels in school and classes with higher levels will participate in more highbrow activities. Secondly, students with a higher level are also thought more about highbrow culture, such as literature and paintings (Van Eijck, 2011). This gives higher educated people more tools to consume highbrow culture in a more pleasant and rewarding way.

The appreciation of certain products of cultural consumption will increase when time is invested in training and learning to appreciate these objects (Bourdieu, 1984). When one is more often engaged in complex culture and therefore able to cognitively understand it, the engagement in highbrow culture is more fun. Exposure and formal training in certain styles of

music, for example, will increase the preference for those styles (Woody & Burns, 2001). When people find the decoding of art too simple, they will get bored and when it is too complex they will get confused or frustrated and also lose their interest (Van Eijck, 2011). These decoding skills depend on someone's intelligence, experience and creative talent. This is reflected in the different levels of school, but also strengthened by cultural socialization and connection with the world of culture. A schooling diploma may enhance a certain social status and automatically will position people in social groups. As already said, the level of education determines in a way the consumption of cultural goods. Schooling is increasingly important for the higher educated to express their vertical status positions and they will express this in their cultural lifestyles (Van Eijck, 2011). After all it is concluded that education and taste have a link that remains very strong.

Next to people's level of education, sociologists such as Bourdieu have argued that taste can derive from one's social class. The education level of the parents and their social class determines the preference of certain cultural products (i.e. taste) and therefore the ability to decode them (Bourdieu, 1984). Cultural capital gives people the ability to decode or process cultural stimuli but also to decode cultural lifestyles of others. People with a lot of cultural capital are able to connect certain cultural tastes with particular behaviour. The more time and effort put into a lifestyle, the more prestigious it is and the better one can use it as a status symbol (Van Eijck, 2011). Research shows that elite members who enjoy classical music use their musical interest to make connections to their social capital (Bennett, Savage, Silva, Warde, Gayo-Cal & Wright, 2009). Bennett et al. (2009) concluded that familiarity with classical music still acts as a form of cultural capital and attendance as a form of objective cultural capital.

Bourdieu (1984) also describes the relation between social class and someone's cultural, economic and social capital. People use these forms of capital as a tool to separate them from other groups (DiMaggio & Useem, 1978). When another group catches up with their culture, they move on to other forms of culture to keep their distinctive cultural identity alive (Bouder-Pailler, 1999). Cultural capital can be used to show other people your appropriate intellectuality and will be effective to distinguish yourself from others. Bourdieu describes status as an aspect of someone's social class. Most of the time people with high social positions try to distance themselves from the middle class by filling their lives with highbrow culture (Berghman & Van Eijck, in press). People try to belong to a social group with the same cultural lifestyle to feel socially and culturally on the same level and to exclude those with a different, i.e. 'bad' taste (Van Eijck, 2011). Trying to differentiate yourself from

other groups by mobilizing symbolic or cultural resources is called ‘cultural arbitrary’ by Bourdieu. In other words, it is not about the exact cultural taste, but them associating with a certain taste. Most of the time the more prestigious lifestyles reflect cultural activities that show expensiveness and complexity. Parents who want their children to be successful boost them with cultural capital to familiarize them with a specific status culture and a pleasant feeling in high culture institutions (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977).

2.1.1 Horizontal differentiation

So far we have seen how education and social class determine cultural taste. Nevertheless, Bourdieu also connects cultural capital to the concept *habitus*, which emphasises the individual way of thinking, i.e. the world-view of people. Habitus is the interface between social structure and subjective culture and seems to be an important factor in developing taste (Van Eijck, Van Bree & Derickx, 2011). In other words, habitus bridges the distance between on the one side the social class of someone and on the other side the subjective feeling and opinion someone has. Still, Bourdieu suggest that this subjective worldview is based on their class position and children developed ways of thinking during their upbringing. In this way, according to Bourdieu, people always carry their social origins with them. However, this point is criticized by a lot of authors who argue people can learn different cultural repertoires during their lives (Alexander, 2003).

People may belong to a particular social class but prefer totally other cultural expressions than people attribute to that social class. In this way, the cultural activities can be linked to people’s social ties, to mark themselves off from their families or communities. Art can also be important to define your own identity, your friendships and to form one’s sense of self (Frith, 1996). In the same way Van Eijck & Knulst (2005) argue that someone’s taste will not change very much during adult life but cultural behaviour can change. This is not due to changes in the life course but through cohort differences that takes place in cultural socialization. Van den Broek (2013) argues that the phase of life, as well as the interests of members from someone’s social network determine their interest in particular forms of art (Van Eijck, 2015).

Habitus already shows an alternative view on the predictors of taste in a vertical dimension. DiMaggio (1996) also concludes that cultural taste should be about something more than showing positions in a vertical dimension. The trend of cultural omnivorism also makes it difficult to link cultural products or lifestyles to social positions. Highly educated people tend more and more towards consuming forms of popular culture (Warde et al., 2007).

Popular preferences are nowadays important in their own and much more than simply the opposite of highbrow preferences (DiMaggio, 1996). Research of Van Eijck & Knulst (2005) shows that 53% of all the Dutch people are called cultural omnivores on the basis of their participation in popular culture as well as canonized culture. Intellectual ability seems not only covered by engaging in highbrow culture, but engaging and appreciating lots of different things and styles. According to Van Eijck & Bargeman (2004), cultural competence is still a necessary condition in order to participate in highbrow culture, but not a sufficient one. It is therefore almost impossible to link a single cultural activity to someone's social position. It takes more than the socio-economic position to define someone's cultural taste (Van Eijck, 2011).

Daenekindt & Roose (2014) also conclude that taste profiles are not strongly related to socio-demographic characteristics. Relevant distinctions can be made within the same taste group by not just looking at 'what' they consume but 'how' they consume. The omnivorous taste suggests that high and low hierarchy is fading and hierarchies within genres become more important. Turner (1994) once argued: "the sameness of an external performance is not necessarily a result of sameness of internal structure" (p. 6, quoted in Daenekindt & Roose, 2014). By this they challenge Bourdieu's theory in which he states that people from the same social field will develop the same cultural dispositions. Daenekindt & Roose argue that the same taste can have different underlying dispositions and the same dispositions can result in different tastes. Education causes these dispositional differences within taste patterns, which mean people can have the same taste but consume it differently. This is left out of this research since all the respondents have a high level of education and also because this research not focuses on the 'how' but on the 'why', namely the motives and barriers.

In conclusion, vertical differentiation means predicting someone's taste on the basis of his or her socio-economic characteristics. The concepts level of education, social class and cultural capital that were discussed earlier place cultural taste on a vertical axis ranged from low to high. As a result the popular, middlebrow and highbrow taste levels are formed. Actually this implies that someone's social class or level of education helps for a large part in determining their cultural interest. In contrast, horizontal differentiation means predicting someone's taste without focussing on gender, class or income in order to get more insight into this particular taste levels. By placing taste in a horizontal line, more inequalities between person's lifestyles will appear (Van Eijck, 2011). Not everyone with high labour market positions and high incomes have a shared taste profile. The following paragraphs make clear on which elements this horizontal differentiation is made in this research. Within the

highbrow taste level it is being researched to what extent there can be seen differences in people's activities, motives, experiences and barriers. In particular what differentiates the theatregoer from the classical music-goer.

2.2 Cultural activities

An often-made distinction of cultural activities is the one that separates activities related to canonised art and popular art (Van den Broek, 2013). Canonised art forms are classical music, visual arts, theatre, dance, opera and literature. The more popular forms are cabaret, film and pop music. Musical remains doubtful since it does not fit in the canonised as well as in the popular group based on people's interest (Van den Broek, 2013). From these forms, classical music is seen as the most canonised form and pop music as the most popular one. Nowadays we can see that popular arts and high arts are more blended (Cherbo & Wyszomirski, 2000). Status competition and belonging to the 'right' social group can be indulged through both the popular as well as the fine arts.

This blending also continues since art forms are literally being blend together nowadays. Pop stars want to show their talent in high culture venues and high culture venues want to attract a broader audience and do more crossover performances with popular culture stars and for example jazz groups or symphony orchestra's. These crossover performances or fusions are not new, but seem more pervasive today. Technology also helps this fusion between high and popular forms of art by creating more distribution systems, such as recordings, video's, film and the Internet. This increasing accessibility of for example classical music on the Internet and TV may undermine the status hierarchies of art forms. According to Dewey (2004) art segments, disciplines and sub disciplines are no longer considered as separated and independent art forms. More and more linkages are formed between non-profit art and commercial art and they all influence each other.

People who are interested in one or more of these art forms are not necessarily visitors. Interest is necessary but not a sufficient precondition to actually visit a cultural institution. There could be a lot of people who read books or watch cabaret shows on television, but never visit a literary event or cabaret performance in the theatre nearby. Conversely, it is possible that visiting a museum does not come from interest in the art form, but for example from social pressure. From this division we can distinct three groups, namely non-interested people, interested people and interested visitors (Van den Broek, 2013). The difference between interested people and interested visitors is called conversion. Conversion can be formed when people rather watch or listen to the art form at home, or when people

have physical limitations and cannot leave their house. Theatre has in comparison to the other art forms an average number of interested people and an average conversion; classical music has less interested people and even less conversion (Van den Broek, 2013).

When we compare popular art forms and canonised art forms, it becomes clear that more people are interested in popular art forms (Van den Broek, 2013), men slightly more than woman. People in the Netherlands are for example the least interested in dance and the most interested in film, which is made visible in table 2.1.

	Interest from the Dutch population (fairly & highly)	Yearly visits per 100 inhabitants
<i>Classical music</i>	23%	50
<i>Visual arts</i>	24%	150
<i>Literature</i>	39%	-
<i>Theatre</i>	19%	50
<i>Dance</i>	18%	40
<i>Musical</i>	23%	40
<i>Cabaret</i>	40%	40
<i>Film</i>	62%	270
<i>Pop music</i>	43%	80

Table 2.1: interest and yearly visits among the Dutch population (Van den Broek, 2013)

No differences were found in the conversion between canonised and popular art forms, which means popular art forms have overall a larger reach. Conversion is the lowest for cabaret and dance and the highest for film and visual arts, which means people probably watch cabaret and dance on television but don't by tickets for a show. Overall, interest and conversion are both higher in canonised as well as popular art forms as one is higher educated. Conversion also has a stronger presence amongst younger people and is less present among people over 40 years old. Except older people who live together without children show a higher conversion for canonised art forms. When the conversion is low, so when people do not really have the motivation to pay a visit, they will experience certain barriers more strongly (Van den Broek, 2013). What kind of barriers this can be is answered in paragraph 2.5 of this theoretical framework.

2.2.1 Participation in art

Whether people visit or not visit art is only one option to measure someone's interest. It is known that art has a larger reach through media than through exhibitions and performances (Van den Broek, 2013). Therefore we know that there are more interested people than visitors, since interested people do not automatically pay a visit. Interest need to be understood more broadly than just paying visits. When people watch art on television, they watch a lot more popular art forms than canonised art forms. When the overall consumption is taken into account, pop music and literature are by far the most consumed art forms. Most of the time people do read a lot at home but do not express their interest in literature by visiting readings and poetry slams.

Next to visiting art forms and watching or reading art forms at home, one should not forget the importance of active participation, which has generally received less attention in researching someone's cultural capital (Vanherwegen & Lievens, 2014). Active participation in art can consist of making art, investing in art, taking art lessons, being a board member, a volunteer, a patron or something related to this. Compared to the traditional participation, someone's active art participation is increasingly important to measure the involvement in art (Vanherwegen & Lievens, 2014). Scholars are suggesting that research on cultural capital needs to move away from tradition and old measurements such as art attendance and need to proceed on a broader range of activities (Dumais 2002; Kaufman and Gabler 2004; Lareau and Weininger 2003).

Research did show that consumers aged above 65 are less active (Van den Broek & De Rooij, 2013). Older people and people who buy subscriptions are more often loyal to theatres in comparison to younger people. Especially retired people buy more subscriptions than individual tickets (Van den Broek & De Rooij, 2013). Also, older cohorts who are not married or have lost their partner are more likely to pay visits alone since they have no one to accompany them (Peterson, 2005). Older people who are married are more likely to undertake cultural activities with their family. Langeveld (2011) argues that older people take fewer risks, are willing to pay higher prices and are looking for comfort. Two art forms in particular suit these desires, namely opera and classical music. Experimental theatre is for example more appealing to younger people.

2.3 Motives to participate in art

Earlier we have seen that education and social class have impact on visiting cultural activities. These are important in determining people's activities but do not answer the question of *why* people individually attend cultural activities, which can be answered by looking at motivations (Swanson, Davis & Zhao, 2007). A lot of scholars have demonstrated the importance of individual motivations in relation to the consumption of consumer products (Swanson et al., 2007). Swanson et al. identified six potential motives of attending performing arts, composed from literature on arts and sport spectators: the aesthetic motive, the self-education motive, the escape motive, the recreation motive, self-esteem enhancement and the social-interaction motive.

The first motive, aesthetic value, occurs when people derive pleasure from the beauty and grace found through the artistic expression. The second one, the self-education motive, reflects the desire people feel to learn and know more about that particular art form. The escape motive signifies the desire to escape from daily life and daily routines. The fourth motive, recreation, appears when people attend art forms with the reason to be entertained. People want to at least feel satisfaction and pleasure. The self-esteem enhancement is the fifth motivation and means that people are motivated to attend art to maintain their positive social identity. The individual defines him or herself in terms of attending a particular activity or organization. The last motive, social interaction, occurs when people attend art performances for social interaction. They attach great value to the opportunity to socialize with others and prefer to watch in a group situation rather than alone.

Roose (2008) also incorporates motives as additional characteristics next to the socio-demographic factors. He uses the five semiotic functions of Van Heusden & Jongeneel (1993) to make a distinction between these motives. The following five functions of art can be distinguished: emotional, escapist, familiarity, normative and innovative. One can see that these functions show many similarities with the motives from Swanson et al., also shown in table 2.2 on the following page. These five functions are also used in this research to make the results on motives as clear and complete as possible. The emotional function signifies the emotional response people may have on certain stimuli, in this case a theatre performance. The second one, the escapist function, makes people forget day-to-day worries and the performance brings them into another world. The familiarity function is mentioned when the performance contains aspects that are familiar and easily recognizable, for example a story line or specific actors. The fourth function, the normative one, deals with the task of a performance to criticize society, i.e. protest against particular injustices. The last one, the

innovative function, signifies to what extent the performance can be intellectually challengeable, experimental and innovative.

As one can see in table 2.2, all the motives are intrinsic except from the social interaction motive, which is extrinsic. According to Roose (2008), motives are extrinsic due to people's network or the media. People can advise you to go, invite you to go or you want to be together with your friends. On the other hand people can be motivated through the media or through reading reviews.

Motives	Functions of art	Intrinsic/extrinsic
1. Aesthetics	Emotional	<i>Intrinsic</i>
2. Education	Normative / Innovative	<i>Intrinsic</i>
3. Escape	Escapist	<i>Intrinsic</i>
4. Recreation	Familiarity	<i>Intrinsic</i>
5. Self-esteem enhancement		<i>Intrinsic</i>
6. Social interaction		<i>Extrinsic</i>

Table 2.2: motives performing arts (Swanswon, 2007)

Another research on motives that is more specific is done by Cuadrado & Mollà (2000). In a quantitative study, they asked their respondents to rate 14 motives for going to the theatre, which are listed in table 2.3 on the next page. The motives in the table are listed based on their results, which means 'to feel emotion' is the most important one and 'to dress up' the least important. This shows that emotional and educational motives are the most important motives for visitors of performing arts. Social interaction and social display do not seem to be important attendance goals and conflict with the earlier mentioned theory of Bourdieu on social class and prestige (Boorsma, 2006). However, people will not easily admit that these motives are important to them. Also the possibility exists that social needs do play a role during the visit, but are not specifically a goal for attendance (Boorsma, 2006).

Also research by Boorsma & Van Maanen (2003a, 2003b) revealed that internal personal and emotional motives are more important in comparison to social motives. Overall it shows that the actual content and meaning of the performance matters the most to people and this artistic experience is what motives people the most to pay visits. Their findings show the same most important motive, but another one as the second most important, namely 'to be challenged to see things differently'. This motive is also related to artistic experience but also to the urge for knowledge. Boorsma (2006) did criticised Cuadrado & Mollà (2000) for not

making a distinction between artistic emotions and pure pleasure. Therefore motive number 15 is included in this research to make a division between entertainment and artistic entertainment. Also the motive ‘fun’ is included, as well as ‘to hear a composer’s work’ since half of the respondents from this research are visitors of classical music concerts.

Attendance goals

<i>1. To feel emotion</i>	<i>10. Relief from boredom</i>
<i>2. Entertainment</i>	<i>11. Social interaction</i>
<i>3. Self-fulfilment</i>	<i>12. To be part of a group</i>
<i>4. Educational development</i>	<i>13. Social prestige</i>
<i>5. To share an experience</i>	<i>14. To dress up</i>
<i>6. Interest in the arts</i>	<i>15. Artistic entertainment</i>
<i>7. Relaxation</i>	<i>16. Fun</i>
<i>8. To see particular artists</i>	<i>17. To hear a composer’s work</i>
<i>9. To see a director’s work</i>	

Table 2.3: attendance goals of performing art (Cuadrado & Mollà, 2000)

2.4 Experiences

Closely related to motives are the experiences people have. Prior experiences influence why people choose to pay visits (Falk & Dierking, 2000). Boorsma (2006) identified for example how visitors of theatre use artistic experience as a motive. Experience is therefore used as another concept on the horizontal level to better understand how and why people engage in culture (Van Eijck, 2012). According to Sauter (2008) studying the experience of a theatre audience can concern questions of macro-aspect and micro-aspect. This research focuses on the macro-aspect and answers questions of who is experiencing what during a theatre performance and a classical concert. For example, what kind of emotional responses does a performance evoke? Within the macro-aspect the researcher has interest in the real spectator in the auditorium, rather than an idealized viewer. Micro-aspects elaborate more on the psychological elements of theatrical interaction and are not included within this research. The question ‘who reacts when, how and upon what’ is according to Sauter (2008) not sufficiently answered yet and therefore still relevant. This research makes a tiny contribution to getting closer to this answer for theatre and classical music visitors.

First of all the overall experience of art is discussed and secondly the more specific experiences of theatre and classical music and the differences between them. Since this

research also contains of theatre visitors who don't visit classical music or vice versa, the image or perception of 'the other' art form is being investigated. This is because they do have an image or picture of this art form, which is called framing. In other words, the way someone sees something (Van den Broek, 2013). This image may consist of prejudices, thoughts, ideas and opinions. These images are never 'wrong', since there are a lot of artistic forms and the one is certainly not 'better' or 'more art' than the other one (Focillon, 1934). Some artistic and aesthetic concepts belong to one artistic expression, but this does not automatically lead to separate forms of art. It only means that certain artistic judgements are associated with other modes of perception and judgement.

2.4.1 Experiencing art

Perceiving art means *experiencing* products. This is because people consume art primarily for the intrinsic reward (Boorsma, 2006). Pleasure or emotional arousal, but also amusement and sensory and imaginary stimulation experienced by consumers are part of what is called the hedonistic perspective. In contrast to the utilitarian perspective that is about the utility of the product, this perspective undermines the experience and the interaction between consumers and products. This even inspired arts marketing researches to identify *emotions* as one of the most important benefits of art consumption, since feeling emotions seem to be a motivating force for visitors (Boorsma, 2006). The hedonistic experiences can be divided into two major classes. The first contains of stimulating, exciting, surprising and challenging experiences and the second of relaxing, entertaining and comfortable experiences.

Van den Broek (2013) measured experiences that derived from the second class of hedonistic experiences. He found that a lot of people experience a visit to a certain art form as relaxing and pleasant. Relaxation and pleasure, or fun, exceed the more heavy functions of art such as contemplation, consolation and the sense of belonging. Visual art is experienced as less relaxing and cabaret as most relaxing. Overall, the more popular art forms are more reported as relaxing. Conversely, thinking about art was mentioned more often for canonised forms, for visual arts the most and for pop music and musical the least. Three quarters of the people from his research experienced how the visit made them laugh, happy and cheerful. However this was not really applicable for classical music and visual arts.

Visitors also experienced their visit as moving or emotional, especially for film, musical and classical music. For some people visits can bring up the feeling of belonging to some sort of group, which is most reported by classical music visitors. Older people more than younger people mentioned this feeling of belonging when visiting canonised art forms. A

final conclusion from Van den Broek (2013) was how the experience is different when people are more interested in the art form (Van den Broek, 2013). The more interested, the more visits and the more art let people think about things. For canonised art, interest is also related to emotion and sense of belonging and therefore it is stated that interest deepens the experience. However it should be kept in mind that experiencing art is an individual matter so one can never investigate ‘the’ experience of theatre or classical music (Cremona, Eversmann, Van Maanen, Sauter & Tulloch, 2004).

2.4.2 Experiencing theatre and classical music

This paragraph offers a deeper understanding of the aesthetic experiences of theatre and classical music. Theatre and classical music are both perceived in an event or sequence of events and only exist for a limited amount of time (Cremona et al., 2004). This in contrast to the visual arts, wherein one can look at all the elements in any order one wishes and at any time one wishes. This means that production and reception are parallel processes in experiencing theatre and classical music. However, the final interpretation and evaluation takes place at the end of the experience. Second of all, a musical composition and a theatre play are both dependent on the musicians and the actors, in contrast to a painting that exists independently from the artist (Cremona et al., 2004). Thirdly, both art forms are a collective experience, since the reactions of the public can influence your own reaction. Also the audience can experience a feeling of communality. The following sections emphasise the differences between a theatre and classical music experience. This is done on the basis of four dimensions of how people deal with works of art (Csikszentmihaly & Robinson, 1990), namely the perceptual, emotional, cognitive and communicative dimension (Cremona et al., 2004).

Perceptual dimension

Theatre is based on the existence, creation and recreation of visible forms. It is a process that changes continuously, since the stimulus is not static but develops all the time (Cremona et al., 2004). Overall, theatre performances show a lot of signs and codes from different disciplines to the audience at the same time and spectators are always confronted by visual and auditory stimuli. People often had a good experience when there was cohesion between these theatrical elements. Since a theatre play changes all the time, it lacks in temporal stability and therefore there is no “continued investment of attention in a temporally stable object” (Cremona et al., 2004, p. 136). With classical music people do need to pay attention on a stable object, since the musicians on stage often have the same position during the whole

performance. Finally, theatre performances contain of more elements from our reality, such as a real table. Even though the play tells a story that doesn't exist or hasn't existed, we make more links to reality since the elements within the theatrical frame refer to our reality. Theatre is therefore more immersed into our everyday life (Cremona et al., 2004).

Emotional dimension

Both music and theatre communicate emotion, but they do this in a different manner. Within theatre it is often the use of the human *voice* that brings certain emotions on stage. There are a lot of different intonations and volumes attached to the voice, which allows it to transfer emotion (Crowther, 2007). Voice is the major organ of emotion and in this way sound has always a relation to its producer. The emotion derives from *how* things are said instead of *what* is being said. This emotion is supported by facial expressions depicted by the actors. On the other hand, (classical) music is also seen as an affective mean to express emotions. This emotional state, or expression, can sometimes be produced by a voice, but often by large and small variations in the music, related to timing, dynamics, timbre and pitch (Miell, Macdonald & Hargreaves, 2005). Next to the emotions from the content itself, emotions can also derive from going to the theatre or the concert building.

Theatre brings the emotion through language and therefore it makes the emotion somehow controlled and directed upon the audience (Frith, 1996). Theatre has control over our emotions, since there is a story being told to the audience and the actors clearly present the emotions that are supporting the story. In contrast, listening to music guides us more through our own emotional experience. Classical music can evoke feelings that differ more between people since it also gives more space to interpret the music in other ways. The same composition might let one spectator think of something very sad and the other of something more pleasant. Therefore it is more common to define expression in music from the listener's perspective (Miell et al., 2005). Music creates the feeling that we are *in* the music, rather than observing an external object. Since the viewer is not identifying with someone there is a lack of individual reference, which makes the music close and intimate.

When the expectations are interrupted during a musical performance, this can disturb the emotional experience. Therefore the 'modern' style in classical music is often rejected, since it disrupts our expectations instead of confirming them (Miell et al., 2005). Overall, the five most expressed emotions in music are happiness, anger, sadness, fear and tenderness. Also when people don't have a musical training, people can recognize emotions in music (Miell et al., 2005), but there still exist a difference in recognizing the emotions and actually

feeling the emotions. Music also has a strong link to human feeling, for example calmness, excitement, conflicts, arrests, flowing and growth (Crowther, 2007). It turns out the most felt emotion when listening to music is enjoyment (Miell et al., 2005). The other most commonly emotions evoked by music are also positive, such as happy, relaxed and moved.

Cognitive dimension

When someone does have an emotional experience, this often reflects personal associations. The performance reminds the visitor of past events and time periods from their life. The visitors of classical music, but also theatre, not only perceive art, but also imagine things outside of what is happening on stage. Therefore we can call both experiences an intellectual activity. One's capacity for imagination is presupposed by objective knowledge and personal identity (Crowther, 2007). People are able to imagine times, places and states of affairs that are not the existing objects of the experience. One is not only experiencing the present art, but is also projecting alternative objects in terms of what it might be like to experience them.

Our imagination cooperates with our previous experience, i.e. the knowledge we have on an object that is represented. This reflects collaboration between our understanding and our imagination. If people are exposed to stimuli very frequently there is also the possibility that this will increase the appreciation of this stimuli. Zajonc (1968) stated: "mere repeated exposure of the individual to a stimulus is a sufficient condition for the enhancement of his attitude toward it" (Temme, 1993, p.465). According to Hekkert & Leder (2008) experience and expertise indeed become important when people try to interpret and understand art objects. Processing art, art genres and styles become much easier and more fluent when people have more experience and knowledge.

Despite the fact that music is often brought in relation with bodily reactions, classical music is more listened to with the mind (Frith, 1996). The body is subordinate to the mind and this ensures that the mind is tuned to the formal properties of music (Bowman, 2004). This did emerge in the time of the Industrial Revolution, since people were convinced that feelings were best expressed spiritually and mentally, in silent contemplation of great art. Bodily responses were mind-less, associated with the brainlessness of popular music. Especially sociologist from the Frankfurter Schule in the first half of the 20th century had a lot of critique on the standardisation and predictability of popular culture and popular music. It provides instant satisfaction, is too easy to consume and will lead to scattering (Adorno, 1941). Also another scholar, Immanuel Kant, was convinced that music appealed too much to the body and too little to the mind (Bowman, 2004). Popular music gives us direct access to

bodily sensation; it doesn't need to be interpreted. We hear 'sensuality' in music but this is the effect of our thoughts. Therefore we do not have an immediate sensual response, since we first intellectually grasp the musical piece and then take sensual pleasure. According to Frith (1996) music offers in this way an experience of feelings that are under control.

Even though classical music involves no language, the perception of music has overlap with language perception (Koelsch, 2005). Music can activate representations of meaningful concepts and therefore research has shown that music and language can have the same effects on the semantic processing of the brain. Syntax and semantics are two aspects involved in the perception of music. Processing syntax in music has to do with the regularities of tones and durations in the music that create meaningful musical phrases. Research of Koelsch (2005) shows that music can create semantic concepts, just like sentences in language can do this. Therefore music is also perceived as a language since it can transfer a message. Classical compositions can transfer meaningful information and often this meaning is divided into four aspects: meaning that emerges from patterns or forms in the music, meaning that emerges from the suggestion of a particular mood, meaning that is inferred by associations and meaning that emerges from structures that create tension and resolution (Koelsch, 2005).

The knowledge people have on the music is in some respect ineffable, in other words, we cannot easily put this into words (Raffman, 1993). Cognitive psychologists also argue that listeners unconsciously store information from the music and therefore establish mental representations that will shape their music perception (Raffman, 1993). It is a set of analytical rules which the experienced listener will unconsciously use while he listens to music. When listeners hear the music they analyse it according to these grammatical rules and they compute a structural description (Raffman, 1988). These are really abstract but will increase with every conscious musical experience. Therefore the music is more pleasant for the experienced listener and the inexperienced listener can experience a lack of this ineffable knowledge. Musical ineffability can be divided into three different sorts of ineffability. The first one is about the content of these representations, the second about the sensory and felt features of musical knowledge and the third about the nuances in the music (Raffman, 1993). The last one is according to Raffman the most significant and therefore most important.

For the experience of theatre, the cognitive aspect plays a more important role. It is necessary to have knowledge of the real world to recognize what is shown on stage and also intellect is needed to be able to follow the storyline and to make sense of the performance (Cremona et al., 2004). This can sometimes even be a hindrance when people like to have an

open-minded response to the performance, for example when people see a lot of performances and become very critical. Much of the cognitive effort occurs after the performance. When people have a lot to think about and when the performance stays in memory for a long time, this is often an indicator for a good or interesting theatre play (Cremona et al., 2004). But still, most of the time the emotional experience precedes the cognitive one (Cremona et al., 2004).

Communicative dimension

Every element of a classical concert or a theatre play can be a source of communication with the viewer. The audience has mostly the feeling they communicate with the actors and the musicians through their physical presence. However, there can appear more levels of communication (Cremona et al., 2004). For example theatre visitors often mention their interest in specific directors, in contrast less people have interest in the author or with the time a play had been written. This is different for other art forms, where people often report a sense of communication with artists from the past or with the culture around the work of art (Csikszentmihalyi & Robinson, 1990). For example classical musical visitors are mostly interested in the composer and the time period in which the composition was written. Theatre plays that make use of original texts are often dealing with contemporary and multimedial events. It's not about a work of art from a culture of the past but a performance that occurs in the here and now and something that is a creation of the present culture (Cremona et al., 2004).

In contrast to classical music, theatre reflects more upon the environment of the spectators and the spectators itself. Theatre visitors are not only touched by the performance, they also want to actively engage in the debate about the issue or topic of the theatre play (Cremona et al., 2004). The audience of theatre as well as of classical music can have the need to discuss the performance and their experiences with other spectators. However the urge is higher for theatre visitors since they might not understand the performance completely and need the explanation of other people. How much distance people feel between them and the performance depends on the spectator's readiness, motivation and mood, previous experience and individual characteristics (Carù & Cova, 2005). This concept of distance appears crucial in understanding why some people do have a 'full' artistic experience and others don't.

2.5 Cultural barriers

In contrast to the motives people have to visit certain art forms, they also have reasons why not to visit other art genres. People might not have access to certain art forms even though they are potentially interested, since preferences of people are not automatically expressed in their cultural behaviour (Kawashima, 2000). Some people have no access through art as a result of financial and social barriers that are related to this. Next to these two barriers, one can also mention the geographic and physical barrier. The geographic barrier is related to cultural provision, which means that people don't have access, simply because it's not present in the geographical area they live. Secondly, the physical barrier can stop disabled persons from visiting cultural institutions.

Kawashima (2000) also emphasise on the psychological barrier, which has to do with the marketing and publicity of the art institutions and how this is accessible to people. Non-visitors would often say they would like to see more advertisements and information about the cultural offerings (Van Eijck et al., 2011). Although cultural institutions constantly advertise their plans and activities, non-visitors have regularly the idea that they are not aware of the current offerings. Another thing that worries the non-visitors is that they would not understand the art. People would see visiting the art as an irrelevant activity, something that is not for them. Others would name that they don't know how to behave at certain cultural activities. Bennett once said: "theatre is a social affirmation of a particular group of people" (1997, cited in Allan, 2008, p. 6). People who never attend theatre performances may feel confused, vaguely threatened and incompetent and can experience a culture shock (Allan, 2008). Another study for example revealed that the attendees of classical music are required to behave in a specific learnt and time-honoured way (Crawford, Gosling, Bagnall & Light, 2014). People might experience this as a barrier when they don't know how to behave.

According to Ranshuysen (2005) we need to include social, knowledge-, information-, time- and financial barriers. The financial barrier 'too expensive' is for the potential audience not often a reason not to visit a particular art form. However, people do find pop music and musical often quite costly (Van den Broek, 2013). An often-cited reason from the potential public not to visit a certain art form is 'it just didn't happen', followed by 'I don't prefer going alone'. This first reason reflects a lack of priority among other activities that asked for attention. Highly educated people think less often it is a barrier to go alone and report more often that 'it just didn't happen'. Older people suffer more from the barriers 'too far' or 'too expensive', followed by 'I don't prefer going alone'. In the same research by Van den Broek (2013) a quarter of the respondents mentioned the barrier 'it is not for people like me', often

experienced in relation to classical music by a younger audience. In this research this last-mentioned barrier is divided into two barriers: ‘this is visited by a different kind of people’ and ‘it doesn’t fit in with my lifestyle’.

Finally, there is the ‘risk’ factor of visiting live performances. First there is the risk of being bored. Second of all there is the social risk that people could see you at a place that is not how you want people to look at you. Third there is the physiological risk that people could see you at a place that is incompatible with how you want to present yourself. Peterson & Simkus (1992) found for example that people attend classical music concerts to show off their high culture musical taste. In this way, art can help as a status marker to establish and maintain status boundaries. People might choose to visit certain places but also consciously choose not to visit other places. Fourth there is economic risk of spending too much money (Willis & Snowball, 2009). All these risks could lead to possible barriers people experience. All the above-mentioned barriers are summarised in table 2.4.

Barriers visiting art

Too expensive

It just didn’t happen

I don’t prefer going alone

I’m unfamiliar with the offer

This is visited by another type of person

It doesn’t fit in with my lifestyle

I might not understand it

I don’t think it is interesting

It is not my taste

Table 2.4: possible barriers experienced by visitors

3. METHODS AND DATA

The purpose of this research was to generate data that can be used to increase and refine some general theories on cultural taste and cultural consumption of highbrow culture. In illustration 3.1 down below, the cycle of this research is made visible. Again one can see the four concepts from the research question on which the two groups are compared, in order to find out to what extent these concepts influence the choice to visit theatre or classical music on such a regular basis. For a better understanding of the two groups of visitors it was essential to not only fix on the thresholds they experience, but also to understand what creative needs they have (Van Eijck et al., 2011). At the end this research has given a clear picture and understanding of both audience groups. This chapter devotes attention to the methodological choices that has been made to obtain answers to the research question.



Illustration 3.1: the cycle of this research

3.1 Case study

Within this research a comparison has been made between the regular visitors of theatre and classical music. The respondents all share some socio-demographic variables in order to explain these differences within highbrow taste (Yin, 2009). The group of visitors are regular visitors of the Ro Theatre and de Doelen, both located in Rotterdam. Since only visitors of these two cultural organisations in Rotterdam are being researched, this study is identified as a case study. This case study is instrumental, since the Ro Theatre and de Doelen are not interested in these specific individuals (Punch, 2005), but in the question why people show

such a strong preference for one art form. However, with the generalizability of this research should be dealt with very carefully. The results are only applicable to this particular group of people, in this situation and under these circumstances (Galloway, 2009), but the results of this case study can contribute to empirical generalization. This study can confirm earlier discovered patterns and theories or it can help generalizing theories or patterns in future studies (Best, 2012). Also according to Yin (2008), findings from a single case study can be used to generalise theory. Case studies can be valuable to develop, test and validate relevant theory (Eisenhardt, 1989).

Within this case study comparative research is done between regular visitors of theatre and regular visitors of classical music. According to Peterson (2005) such a comparison is one of the most powerful tools used in research. The researcher can rely on two observations instead of one and is thereby more credible. In this discipline of sociology studies are often based on single observations and the researcher has no control over all the variables that come into play (Peterson, 2005). By making a comparison between two groups it becomes an experiment, which makes it easier to control all the sorts of discrepancies between the cases. As mentioned earlier, studying their cultural activities, motives, experiences and barriers compares these two groups.

The respondents of this research are found through cultural organisations in Rotterdam. The theatregoers are regular visitors of the Ro Theatre, a small theatre company in the city centre. The Ro Theatre has been around for already 40 years and is the theatre company of the city and the home company of the 'Rotterdamse Schouwburg', while they also play at national and international stages. Under the artistic direction of Alize Zandwijk this theatre company makes topical, committed, raw and pioneering theatre. The classical music-goers are regular visitors of de Doelen, a large and famous concert hall that is also located in the city centre. More than 12.000 events take place each year, of which approximately 600 concerts of all genres, from classical music to world music and jazz.

3.2 Method: in-depth interviews

More important than the cultural activities of both groups is the background of this data, such as why people choose to visit certain art institutions over others in their spare time and what reasons they mention to indeed visit or avoid theatre or classical music. How would they describe their love for this genre and what makes them pay for so much visits? This research has not only tried to reveal the motives to visit but also the experience of theatre and classical music and why this experience is the best in the eyes of the visitors. In order to get answers

on such questions, a qualitative research method was needed since views, opinions, meanings and behaviours are being studied (Baarda, de Goede & Teunissen, 2005; Gilbert, 2008).

This research is complementing to the empirical studies that focus on who participates, instead of why they participate (Ateca-Amestoy, 2007). In existing studies on cultural taste there is often a strong focus on the link with socio-economic features that are placed on a vertical line. In this research the aim was to expand the knowledge on horizontal differentiation within a certain socio-demographic group. However, as could be read in the chapter on theory, scholars already studied the motives, experiences and barriers of audiences of art. Therefore the inductive and deductive method alternates on another in this research. Sometimes the outcomes confirm earlier discovered patterns or theories and sometimes they bring in new elements to already existing literature.

The interviews conducted in this research were all structured in the same way, which means that the questions were written down beforehand. This was necessary because the questions were asked in the same way in each interview, to eventually compare the answers of every respondent and make a comparison between the visitors. Also because it was a large-scale interview, it was needed to develop questions in a pre-determined order (Gilbert, 2008). Still, there was always room for own contribution of the respondent during the interview and the researcher was flexible and responsive to the situation (Verhoeven, 2007). For this research, 16 face-to-face interviews were conducted with eight visitors of the Ro Theatre and eight visitors of de Doelen. They were marked as a 'visitor' when they had visited the place two times a year in the last three years. Other requirements were 'aged above 55', 'living in Rotterdam' and 'highly educated'. Finally, the aim was to find respondents with a clear preference for theatre or classical music, actually people who never pay visits to 'the other art form'. This means it was preferred that the visitors of theatre didn't pay visits to classical music and vice versa, this in order to reveal clear differences between the two groups. In the end, both groups of respondents were a mix of people who hated or preferred 'the other art form' and with people who never, sometimes, or regularly visited 'the other art form'.

The respondents were collected via the Ro Theatre and de Doelen, but not in the exact same manner. The regular visitors of the Ro Theatre were collected through an email with a short questionnaire to find the 'right' people and to ask for their participation in the interview. The regular visitors of de Doelen were collected through a phone call from Vincent de Koning, the CRM marketer of de Doelen, who asked visitors to participate. He invited only visitors who at least buy one subscription with concerts per year. This resulted in a group of respondents who all pay a lot of visits per year, in comparison to the group of theatre visitors

that is more mixed. This difference is illustrated in table 3.2. However, both groups still contained of respondents who paid for two visits per year in the last three years and this means that the answers were still comparable.

In exchange for participation, all the interviewees received two tickets for a performance from the Ro Theatre or de Doelen. Therefore the visitors of classical music were also allowed to choose a theatre performance and also vice versa. The interviews were conducted at the Ro Theatre and de Doelen and were taken place in a quite and a comfortable setting. It is assumed these locations were not influencing the respondents, since they are a visitor of the particular location and already know the place very well. Taken the last part into account, it could influence them in being even more enthusiastic about theatre or classical music. The interviews were recorded on a telephone and a laptop for later transcriptions and lasted at least one hour and twenty minutes, up to almost two hours. I attached the interview schemes with the exact questions in the appendices.

Ro Theatre	De Doelen
7	30
15	12
8	24
6	30
12	30
6	12
12	12
40	35
Average = 13	Average = 23

Table 3.2: average visits per year

3.3 Mixed methods

Since there is already a lot of existing literature on cultural taste, cultural consumption, motives, experiences and barriers, a quantitative method was inserted into the interview. This is a quicker way to test the existing theories and quantification of data is a useful and fast tool to make the comparison between regular visitors of theatre and classical music. Throughout the interview the respondents were asked to rank certain cards, which turned out to be a fun activity and an enjoyable way to let people think about their interests and activities. The cards contained different forms of art, forms of participation, different motives, different barriers etc. Since this research brings together qualitative and quantitative methods, this is referred to

as ‘mixed methods’ (Gilbert, 2008) and is used to increase the knowledge on the topics studied. As already said, existing theories were tested through the assignments with cards and thereafter the questions from the interview elaborated on the assignments and ensured that respondents could talk in more depth about their opinions, views, meanings and behaviours. Since knowledge is generated through different approaches, this increases the accuracy (Gilbert, 2008). This technique is called *triangulation* and involved measuring a phenomenon in two different ways in order to get more accurate results. In this way the findings from the quantitative cards were ‘cross-checked’ with findings from the questions asked later in the interview.

The interviewees were given the task to rank certain cards or to place certain cards behind other cards. The first quantitative question was to rank the following art forms from low to high based on people’s interest.

<i>Classical music</i>	<i>Visual arts</i>	<i>Theatre</i>	<i>Opera</i>	<i>Cabaret</i>
<i>Film</i>	<i>Dance</i>	<i>Pop music</i>	<i>Musical</i>	<i>Literature</i>

The second quantitative question was to link the following forms of participation to the art forms. This was a good method to see a possible difference between preferences and visits. The respondents were allowed to place more than one form of participation behind one art form.

<i>I do this myself</i>	<i>I watch or listen to this via media</i>	<i>I buy, collect or invest in this art form</i>
<i>I pay visits to this art form</i>	<i>I am a member/volunteer/board member/patron within this art form</i>	<i>I have art lessons in this art form</i>

The third quantitative question was to link people, i.e. company of the respondents, to the arts forms they pay visits to. People could again place more than one card of company behind one art form.

<i>With partner</i>	<i>With family</i>	<i>With colleagues</i>
<i>Alone</i>	<i>With friends</i>	

The fourth quantitative question was to link motives to the art forms people pay visits to. Again the respondents could use more than one motive behind one art form.

<i>Educational</i>	<i>Relaxation</i>	<i>Self-esteem</i>
<i>Esthetical</i>	<i>Escapist</i>	<i>Social</i>

The fifth quantitative question contained of specific motives regarding performing arts. They were asked to choose motives that were applicable to their visit to theatre or classical music. Secondly they were asked to place the chosen motives in the right order of importance.

<i>To feel emotion</i>	<i>Relief from boredom</i>
<i>Entertainment</i>	<i>Social interaction</i>
<i>Self-fulfilment</i>	<i>To be part of a group</i>
<i>Educational development</i>	<i>Social prestige</i>
<i>To share an experience</i>	<i>To dress up</i>
<i>Interest in the arts</i>	<i>Artistic entertainment</i>
<i>Relaxation</i>	<i>Fun</i>
<i>To see/hear particular artists</i>	<i>To hear a composer's work</i>
<i>To see/hear a director's/conductor's work</i>	

The sixth quantitative question consisted of five sets of two cards. The respondents were asked to make a choice between the two cards of each set. The assignment was to choose a card that was applicable to their visit to theatre or classical music.

<i>1. To feel emotions</i>	<i>1. Thinking</i>
<i>2. Fantasy</i>	<i>2. Reality</i>
<i>3. Challenge</i>	<i>3. Ease</i>
<i>4. Relaxing</i>	<i>4. Strenuous</i>
<i>5. Familiar</i>	<i>5. Innovatory</i>

The final and seventh quantitative question was about the barriers people could possibly experience. The art forms that were not visited by the respondents were placed on the table again and they were asked to put one or more barriers behind the art forms.

<i>Too expensive</i>	<i>It doesn't fit in with my lifestyle</i>
<i>It just didn't happen</i>	<i>I might not understand it</i>
<i>I don't prefer going alone</i>	<i>I don't think it is interesting</i>
<i>I'm unfamiliar with the offer</i>	<i>It is not my taste</i>
<i>This is visited by another type of person</i>	

3.4 Analysing interviews

After conducting and transcribing the interviews, the interpretation of the results started, which is done by coding. Coding is the primary method of analysing qualitative interviews and was needed to become familiar with the data (Gilbert, 2008). The fragments from the interviews were tagged on the basis of *open coding* and *axial coding*, which was needed to develop a practical system that could compare all the interviews while retaining the context of each interview. Since the interview itself was already very structured, the interviews were only coded with two stages of coding. The coding was particularly used to be able to work a way through all the 16 interviews of at least ten pages of text. The codes were used to link the answers back to the subjects, topics and theories. The coding is executed by the use of a computer program called Atlas.ti. Text was imported into this program and segments were highlighted and applied to (pre-defined) codes. In this way the analysis could take place on the basis of pattern recognition (Best, 2012). The labels from different levels of coding were compared and I searched for certain patterns, which simply means returning appearances in the data.

After the first layer of *open coding*, the *axial coding* brought in a second layer of coding that was more specific. For example when a fragment was coded as 'activity free time outdoor', one sentence of that same fragment was coded 'biking'. Therefore it was possible to link the code 'biking' to the code 'activity free time outdoor'. Also 'codes in vivo' were added. This means Atlas.ti created a code with exact the same title as the selected word or text. This was done when people named examples of places, people, programmes etc. These codes were also linked to other more general codes, which made it possible to create networks in Atlas.ti. Networks concentrate on the relationship between codes and create a web with linked codes. In this way, the networks of visitors of the Ro Theatre and of de Doelen on

different subjects could be compared with each other. In the appendices I attached all the used codes in Atlas.ti in alphabetical order.

The quantitative questions from the interview were analyzed in a different way. From every assignment with the cards a photo has been made during the interview to be able to analyse this later. Every card or order of cards was given a number, such as 1,2 or 3. After coding these cards with numbers, the numbers were added which resulted in final total numbers. The total numbers made the comparison possible between the two groups of visitors. To make this clear, table 3.3 shows the analysis of such a quantitative question. This table is based on the results of the card ‘classical music’ in relation to the different forms of participation. In the columns one can see how many visitors of theatre and how many visitors of classical music participate in classical music. The analysis of this question consists of 10 tables like this, each for one art form. Here we can see for example that four respondents of theatre pay visits to classical music concerts in comparison to eight visitors of classical music. Also all the eight classical music-goers listen to classical music at home, against six visitors of theatre who do the same.

Classical music	Respondents theatre	Respondents classical music
<i>I do this myself</i>	0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1	1 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 3
<i>I pay visits to this art form</i>	0 0 0 1 1 0 1 1 4	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 8
<i>I watch or listen to this via media</i>	1 1 0 1 0 1 1 1 6	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 8
<i>I am a member/volunteer/...</i>	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 0 7
<i>I buy, collect or invest in this art...</i>	0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 8
<i>I have art lessons in this art form</i>	0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1	1 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 3

Table 3.3: example analysing interviews

4. ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

This chapter discusses the results of the data analysis. The data is obtained from interviews with the regular visitors of theatre and classical music. This chapter also describes how these findings fit into the existing literature that is presented in chapter two on theory and previous research. These results provide an answer to the research question and we become to know to what extent the differences between the two groups on cultural activities, motives, experiences and barriers influence their regular visits. The results are analysed on the basis of these four concepts from the research question.

Before discussing the results on these four concepts, a more overall result about the age of the respondents is mentioned first. All the respondents are aged above 55, however, it turned out that the average age of the theatre visitors in this research is 65 and the average age of the classical music visitors is 73. This distribution in age has occurred naturally and reflects the current difference in age of the Dutch theatre and classical music-goers. Both forms are more popular among older people than younger people, but research shows this is even more noticeable for classical music since this is the most popular among people above 60 (Van den Broek, 2013). This is confirmed by this research and made visible in table 4.1. Most of the participants of the Ro Theatre are under the age of 60 and participants of de Doelen above the age of 70. Langeveld (2011) explains this by the risk factor and the price of classical music. Classical music has much less risks than theatre and elderly people don't like taking risks. Also for every form of performing arts we can see that the increase of entrance tickets will lead to an increase in the average age of the visitors. This is confirmed since classical music is often more expensive than theatre. This difference in age explains other results in this research and is a recurring subject throughout the analysis.

	55-59	60-69	70-79	80-89	90+
Theatre	4	2	1	1	0
Classical music	1	2	3	1	1

Table 4.1: number of respondents divided in age categories

4.1 Cultural activities

This paragraph focuses on the cultural life of theatre and classical music visitors. This contributes to the knowledge of people consuming highbrow art and helps broadening this knowledge in a horizontal line. I analysed in which of the ten fields – classical music, visual arts, literature, theatre, musical, opera, dance, cabaret, film and pop music – they are involved and also in which way they are participating. Answers to questions related to their interest, participation and the people they go with provide a good insight into their cultural life.

4.1.1 Interest and visits

First of all the results on interest are presented in table 4.2. This table shows the average ranking of the ten art forms in order of interest. The respondents have the highest interest in art form number 1 and the least interest in art form number 10. As we can see in the table, regular visitors of theatre show the highest interest in theatre and regular visitors of classical music in classical music. When one takes a look at the numbers behind the art forms one can see the associated average figures. Theatregoers rate theatre with an 8.8 out of 10 and classical music-goers classical music with a 9.9 out of 10. This means that the classical music visitors have a higher preference for their art form in comparison with the theatre visitors. The table also shows that visitors of classical music give a higher ranking to theatre (a 6,6 out of 10) than theatre visitors to classical music (a 5,3 out of 10). This confirms the literature since classical music is overall a less appreciated art form in the Netherlands compared to theatre (Van den Broek, 2013).

Ro Theatre	De Doelen
1. Theatre (8,8)	1. Classical music (9,9)
2. Film (7,3)	2. Visual arts (7,8)
3. Literature (6,9)	3. Theatre (6,6)
4. Visual arts (6,8)	4. Literature (6,5)
5. Cabaret (5,5)	5. Opera (5,1)
6. Classical music (5,3)	6. Film (4,6)
7. Dance (4,1)	7. Dance (4,5)
8. Pop music (4,1)	8. Cabaret (4,1)
9. Opera (3,6)	9. Musical (3,9)
10. Musical (2,8)	10. Pop music (2,1)

Table 4.2: interest of theatre and classical music visitors in the ten art forms

Another result from table 4.2 is the higher interest of theatregoers in theatre, film, literature, cabaret and pop music, compared to the preference of classical music visitors. Classical music-goers have a higher interest in classical music, visual arts, opera, dance and musical, compared to the preference of theatre visitors. These results correspond with the results on visit, demonstrated in table 4.3 down below. This table shows the percentages of visitors who pay visits to the different art forms. It becomes clear that the most visited art forms are the same as the most preferred art forms from table 4.2. Visitors of the Ro Theatre pay more visits to theatre, film, literature, cabaret and pop music and visitors of de Doelen more to classical music, visual arts, dance, musical and opera. Visual art is visited by all of the respondents but still came up higher in the ranking of classical music visitors. This is not made visible in table 4.3 but therefore marked red in the column of de Doelen.

Ro Theatre		De Doelen		
1. Theatre	(100%)	1. Classical music	(100%)	Table 4.3: the amount of visitors (in percentages) who pay visits to the ten art forms
2. Visual arts	(100%)	2. Visual arts	(100%)	
3. Film	(75%)	3. Theatre	(62,5%)	
4. Literature	(62,5%)	4. Literature	(50%)	
5. Cabaret	(62,5%)	5. Film	(50%)	
6. Classical music	(62,5%)	6. Dance	(50%)	
7. Pop music	(50%)	7. Musical	(50%)	
8. Opera	(25%)	8. Opera	(37,5%)	
9. Musical	(25%)	9. Cabaret	(37,5%)	
10. Dance	(25%)	10. Pop music	(12,5%)	

As a conclusion we can state that theatre lovers have a stronger preference for popular art forms, compared to classical music lovers. In contrast the classical music-goers show a little more interest in higher art forms, compared to the theatregoers. Therefore we can see a division between interest in the more popular genres and interest in the more canonised ones. This conclusion seems to contradict with the literature on participation in art. According to Van Eijck (2001), level of education is one of the two best predictors of participation in art. However, this research shows differences within a group of people with the same level of education. All the respondents are highly educated and according to Warde et al. (2007), highly educated people tend more and more towards consuming forms of popular culture. DiMaggio (1996) states that popular preferences are nowadays important in their own. This

latter seems to be the case for theatregoers since popular and high forms of art interchange constantly with each other in their ranking. This in comparison to the ranking of the classical music visitors, where the popular art forms are more concentrated at the bottom of the ranking. This means that highly educated visitors of high art, namely theatre and classical music, not automatically have an omnivorous taste pattern. Classical music lovers show clearly a less omnivorous taste pattern compared to the theatregoers.

One of the several possible explanations for the difference in omnivorous taste between the two groups is the difference in age. The classical music-goers are older and research by Van den Broek (2013) shows that older people are more interested in canonised art forms, particularly in the final phase of life (Van den Broek, 2013). Even though all the respondents are aged above 55, the fact that the classical music lovers are overall ten years older increases their love for canonised art forms. Another explanation is the preference for theatre or classical music. When people love classical music it is assumed they will automatically have a higher preference for opera since this contains classical music. In this research 75% of the classical music visitors watch operas at home, compared to not only one visitors of theatre. Also it is known that visitors of classical music show automatically a higher aversion towards pop music. Research shows that even though many people range across genres, there still exist strong boundaries between classical music and pop music (Bennett et al., 2009). Also in this research the classical music visitors continuously placed pop music as far as possible from classical music to show their disgust of this latter art form. When people have a high interest in classical music, this increases the chance that they have very little interest in pop music. Apart from these results, this research is unable to demonstrate omnivorous taste as being a result of the preference for theatre.

Next to questions on interest and visits, the respondents were also asked with whom they pay these visits. In table 4.4 on the next page one can see whom people take with them to visit theatre performances and classical concerts. Regular visitors of theatre mostly go with their family or friends, followed by their partner. Not one respondent of theatre mentioned explicitly to visit performances alone on a regular basis, in contrast to the visitors of classical music, of which seven out of the eight visitors visit de Doelen alone. As shown in the table they visit most concerts alone, followed by the company of their partner and friends. Why classical music visitors do make more visits alone is caused by them being older and having less people around them. They feel it is too much of a waste not to go somewhere, simply because they have nobody to go with.

Bijnagte: *“At some point you became a widow, so you’re alone, then I thought, yea I can sit here forever but that’s a waste of my time (...) A lot of things are always for two persons, even if you read advertisements, then I’m thinking, I don’t have a drawer where I can pull somebody out.”*

Ree: *“Yeah everywhere I go, I go by myself (...) Yes always alone, all my good friends are passed away or they are too ramshackle and stay in a nursing home.”*

This confirms research of Peterson (2005) who also concluded that elderly people don’t have much company to join them, since often their partners and friends are passed away or too old. However, their love for classical music is too strong and they keep visiting as long as they can. In conclusion, classical music-goers often visit concerts and other cultural activities alone, which influences their motives to pay visits and their experiences during the visit. These are both results that I return to later in the paragraphs on motives and experiences.

	Theatre	Classical music	
<i>Partner</i>	37,5%	62,5%	<i>Table 4.4: the amount of visitors (in percentages) who take people with them</i>
<i>Alone</i>	12,5%	87,5%	
<i>Family</i>	62,5%	50%	
<i>Friends</i>	62,5%	62,5%	
<i>Colleagues</i>	0%	25%	

4.1.2 Active and passive participation

Paying visits is not the only form of participation in art and therefore there are also other forms included in this study. In table 4.5 on the next page one can see the different forms of active and passive participation and the corresponding percentages of how many visitors participate. Since visitors of de Doelen show higher percentages on five out of the six forms of participation, this confirms the earlier results and shows again that classical music visitors have a higher preference for their art form than theatre visitors. Especially the percentages on media and buying are much higher and demonstrate that all the classical music-goers listen to classical music at home and buy classical CD’s.

The high percentages on participation of classical music visitors are also the result of the characteristics of classical music. This is something that is more often bought and listened to at home than theatre. Therefore the theatre visitors also show high percentages on their participation in classical music, sometimes even higher than in theatre. Research of Van den Broek (2013) also showed that more people listen to classical music at home or in transit

instead of them visiting classical concerts. In the end the table does show that classical music visitors are more involved in their art form than theatre visitors in theatre. However, it should be kept in mind that the respondents of de Doelen are all visitors with subscriptions and therefore higher visiting numbers, compared to the more mixed group of theatre visitors.

	Theatre		Classical music	
	Visitors Ro Theatre	Visitors de Doelen	Visitors de Doelen	Visitors Ro Theatre
<i>I do this myself</i>	25%	0%	37,5%	12,5%
<i>I pay visits to this art form</i>	100%	62,5%	100%	50%
<i>I watch or listen to this via media</i>	25%	37,5%	100%	75%
<i>I am a member/volunteer/patron...</i>	25%	0%	87,5%	0%
<i>I buy, collect or invest in this art form</i>	0%	0%	100%	12,5%
<i>I have art lessons in this art form</i>	0%	0%	37,5%	12,5%

Table 4.5: the amount of visitors (in percentages) who participate in theatre and classical music

The results on forms of participation are linked with the results on the active participation in the childhood and the role of art and culture within the upbringing. From their early childhood, regular visitors of classical music were already more involved in this art form. This is because they played more often an instrument in their childhood. In comparison, not only one visitor of theatre mentioned the stimulation of the parents of taking theatre lessons. Even though it is more common for children to play an instrument than to take theatre lessons, playing a classical instrument has taken care of the early introduction to classical music.

Streefkerk: *“We were a family of six children, and we all learned to play an instrument.”*

Cohen: *“In the past I had musical lessons, piano and clarinet.”*

Schogt: *“Because my two older sisters and my father played the piano, I also needed to play the piano.”*

Classical music was therefore a more important part of the upbringing in the families of classical music visitors, compared to theatre in the families of theatre visitors. Also the overall cultural participation was higher in the childhood of classical music-goers, for

example visiting museums. In contrast, a lot more theatregoers, six out of eight to be precisely, mentioned how art and culture was *not* a part of their upbringing. They explored a form interest in art for themselves when they discovered they had other preferences than their families. Less visitors of theatre developed their taste through their social structure and more of them discovered this through their own subjective culture.

Zijlmans: *“No it’s not something I inherited from my parents, no music, no theatre, no museums. I came in contact with it myself and found it pleasant.”*

Koekoek: *“Well that started when I left home, when I had no control. From the moment I was living independently, first carefully classic, than a movie and only since recent years it exploded.”*

Bakker: *“I love reading, but I never saw my parents read a book but I could read three books in one weekend.”*

These quotes make clear how some theatre lovers developed their interest in art by themselves. This subjective culture is something explained as *habitus* by Bourdieu (1984). According to Bourdieu *habitus* bridges the distance between someone’s social class and someone’s subjective feeling and opinion. However, he claims that there is always a bridge between those two, in contrast to (Alexander, 2003) who mentioned that people might belong to a particular social class but prefer totally other cultural expressions, which was certainly the case for these three respondents above.

As a conclusion we can state that there exists a difference between the role of art and culture in upbringing of the respondents, even though they are all highly educated. Half of the visitors of classical music were involved in this art form by playing a classical instrument early in their childhood. Also half of the classical music-goers indicate that art and culture played an important role in their upbringing compared to only a quarter of the theatregoers. The regular visitors of classical music are not only involved earlier; they also show a higher interest and participation in their art form. This means that the appreciation of certain cultural products, in this case classical music, will increase when time is invested in training and learning to appreciate these objects (Bourdieu, 1984). One respondent even said this very clearly himself.

Schogt: *“As with so many other things, to be educated in it ensures that you are able to enjoy it more. And this always means that knowing more about it gives you increased ability, more opportunities to enjoy it and to take things from it.”*

This confirms that the preference for classical music is not only conditional upon level of education and age, but also upon active musical participation, something that was already expected in research by Van Eijck (2011). Woody & Burns (2001) also studied that exposure to classical music during people’s childhood often produces appreciation for this musical style. In conclusion, the classical music-goers show stronger links to their art form than the theatregoers. They show a higher interest, higher participation and an earlier introduction to the art form they visit regularly at this moment.

4.2 Motives to visit

The second concept that I used to compare the two groups of visitors is ‘motives’. Revealing motives of the regular visitors of both groups gives an answer the question of *why* people individually attend theatre and classical music (Swanson et al., 2007). In identifying the differences between motives of theatregoers and classical music-goers we can better understand how and why people engage in different forms of high art (Van Eijck, 2012).

First of all, the possible differences in motives are analysed using the answers from a quantitative question. As one can see in table 4.6, the two most important motives for visitors of the Ro Theatre to visit theatre are ‘to relax’ and ‘to learn something’. This is followed by the motives ‘to see something beautiful’, ‘to escape’, ‘to meet people’ and ‘to strengthen the self-esteem’. For classical music visitors, the two most important motives to visit classical music are ‘to see something beautiful’ and ‘to relax’. This is followed by the motives ‘to meet people’, ‘to learn something’, ‘to escape’ and the last one ‘to strengthen the self-esteem’.

	Theatre	Classical music
Educational <i>To learn something</i>	75%	62,5%
Esthetical <i>To see something beautiful</i>	62,5%	100%
Relaxation <i>To relax</i>	75%	100%
Escapist <i>To escape</i>	62,5%	62,5%
Self-esteem <i>To strengthen the self-esteem</i>	37,5%	37,5%
Social <i>To meet people</i>	50%	75%

Table 4.6: the amount of visitors (in percentages) who have these motives

4.2.1 Relaxation

Table 4.6 also shows that the motive ‘to relax’ is very important for both groups, which means regular visitors of theatre and classical music pay visits in order to relax. Van den Broek (2013) also concluded that people often associate art with beauty and relaxation and only a few times with an elevating or critical function. The motive ‘to relax’ is also present for all the visitors when they talked about visiting ‘each other’s’ genre. This is quite remarkable, but reveals how important relaxation is for people in their free time. However, during the interview it became clear that relaxation is more important for classical music visitors.

Streefkerk: *“Yes, that’s actually the central theme in going somewhere, you want to relax.”*

Vliet: *“Yes relaxation right, you’re floating away (...) Music is certainly relaxing, yes all those things are actually relaxation of course.”*

Bijnagte: *“Yea I think music is very pleasant, just to sit there and listen, very relaxing (...) I think music is the most relaxing, for me (...) Well, it works very relaxing and therefore you would be able to fall asleep.”*

From the statements it becomes clear that a lot of classical music-goers have the opinion that they do everything in their free time with the reason ‘to relax’. These quotes also indicate that relaxation is brought more often into relation with the music itself. This is not the case for theatregoers since they think relaxation is related to the evening out and not to the theatre play.

Koekoek: *“Yes relaxation, within the meaning of experiencing something.”*

Bakker: *“Well, I’m going to the theatre to relax, but it needs to have a deeper meaning.”*

This difference between the two groups is also made clear in network 1 and 2 on page 51 and 52. These networks show all the codes related to motives to visit theatre and classical music. In both networks the code relaxation is marked turquoise and one can see the different associated codes next to it. In general, relaxation is important for both groups, however, classical music-goers become relaxed and calm through the music that is played and theatregoers through the special ambiance of a theatre.

4.2.2 Education

As shown in table 4.6, the educational motive is just as important as the relaxation motive for visitors of theatre. For classical music-goers education is less important and they feel ‘to see

something beautiful' is the most important motive next to relaxation. All the classical music-goers make visits to see something beautiful, also mentioned in the following quotes.

Bijnagte: *"But in the first place it is that you think it is fun or beautiful, pleasant."*

Schogt: *"The most beautiful, without cracking and scratches, it's all brilliant."*

Streefkerk: *"Well that's fantastic I think, I enjoy it and I am impressed by it."*

From these statements and also from the networks 1 and 2 on page 51 and 52, it becomes clear that classical music lovers make a great deal of use of the words 'beautiful' 'pleasant', 'joy' and 'happy', words that are never used by visitors of theatre. We can conclude that classical music motivates people to see something beautiful, compared to theatre performances that are not so strongly associated with 'beauty'. This means the biggest difference between the two groups and these two genres is that theatre lovers want to learn more about a certain topic on their night out and classical music lovers want to hear beautiful music and be touched by it. To learn more about the use of the educational motive by the respondents and the difference between learning from a theatre performance and a classical concert, we should take a look again at the networks 1 & 2 on pages 51 and 52. The dark blue codes in the upper left corner in network 1 show that theatre visitors bring education into relation with our society and topical subjects. They like to walk out of a performance with food for thought and stuff to think about and reflect upon.

Koekoek: *"It is very nice if you leave the performance richer than you were before, if you hear a story in a different way, when you hear a story you see things differently, from a different perspective and I find that very valuable."*

Bakker: *"It should contain something, if you've seen a performance and walk out of it you should think about it. That it offers you a mirror. That is what I call depth. Learn to think by yourself again."*

Wondolleck: *"Because it gives me something to think about and reflect upon."*

The quotes show that people can learn something from a theatre performance since it can give them new insights or perspectives on certain topics. This new information makes them feel richer than they were before walking into the theatre. They learn more about themselves, our society and topical subjects. Research by Boorsma & Van Maanen (2003a, 2003b) also showed the importance of the motive 'to be challenged to see things differently'. Indeed the visitors of theatre mentioned that they think it is important for a theatre play to give another view of already existing stories or a total view of what happened during a certain period or event. In contrast, the motives related to education mentioned by visitors of de Doelen in network 2 remain with the music itself. They want to get familiar with new compositions and

want to hear new ways of transferring the music and the stratification within the composition.

Schogt: *“They need to make their views and opinions known to the public. That is what makes it so interesting to hear this string quartet the one time and that string quartet the other. Then you hear how people deal with things in the music.”*

Vliet: *“I often go to the introduction, then you hear some backgrounds of course.”*

Streefkerk: *“This association of friends also has such a speaker who expand on a particular composer or a certain time, or where it is about, well I find that very interesting so I like to go there.”*

These quotes show that one respondent, mister Schogt, learns something from the music and from the way the musicians play and transfer the music. He wants to hear what the musicians made of it and wants to know more about it since he is a musician himself. He is the only one who learns something from the music. The other respondents learn something from the introduction that is provided prior to the concert. During their attendance to these lectures they learn more about the background of the music, the time period and the composer. In conclusion, education is more important for theatre visitors than for classical music-goers and hold stronger links with the here and now. The knowledge obtained from classical music is not told by the music itself but by other elements that surround the music, such as the introduction and the flyer of the concert. This difference is further elaborated in the section on the results on experiences during performances and concerts.

4.2.3 Social

Table 4.6 also shows that the social motive is important to visitors but does not belong to the most important motives. Respondents explain that the social aspect is often not a motive or a reason to pay a visit but a part of the visit that will automatically follow.

Cohen (de Doelen): *“Social, yes, it’s not a primary objective, it can play a role. Of course it is nice to go with a lot of people.”*

Bakker (Ro Theatre): *“Yes the social aspect, well, I think I will meet them in some other way, no I don’t think this is important.”*

This confirms the outcomes of earlier research on motives for performing arts, since Boorsma (2006) also stated that social goals are not important for attending performances. This contradicts with the theory of Bourdieu (1984) who was convinced that people visited art in order to be part of a social class. The social motive is an extrinsic motive and occurs when people use art visits to see other people or to be part of a group of people. This research shows

that the intrinsic rewards are more important for people in consuming art, compared to the extrinsic ones (Boorsma, 2006).

However, table 4.6 does show that the social motive is more important for classical music-goers than for theatregoers. This appears to be linked to two different things related to the social sphere of a concert. First of all, some visitors of de Doelen are older and often make visits alone. They attach great importance to their night out and like to be around people again. Van den Broek (2013) also showed that the sense of belonging is more noticeable for elderly people when visiting canonised art forms. Second of all, visitors of de Doelen seem to attach greater importance to the social value since they all buy subscriptions and therefore sometimes start to recognize people. Even though they visit alone, they do pay attention to all the other visitors around them and feel they share an experience with each other.

Vliet: *“Also in the hall itself or during the applause. Then you have a lot of people with whom you feel connected.”*

Bijnagte: *“And the crazy thing is that it’s not often only for myself, but the people, because you often sit there with the same people who also have a subscription, and then you hear a kind of sigh, this is nice, this was so beautiful, almost out loud you know.”*

Cohen: *“We are become known by the musicians for our critical view and discipline and there is also less coughing for example.”*

It appears from the quotes that the classical music-goers feel very connected to all the people who are attending the same concert. More often than theatregoers they are aware of them being part of a bigger group who experiences the same concert. Research shows that elite members who enjoy classical music use their musical interest to make connections to their social capital (Bennett et al., 2009). Classical music shows in contrast to contemporary music much stronger links to a broader embrace of socialising. Bennett et al. (2009) concluded that familiarity with classical music still acts as a form of cultural capital and attendance as a form of objective cultural capital. Both can be converted into social capital. In conclusion we can state that classical music is in comparison to theatre more often used to make connections to people’s social capital. Classical music-goers like to feel part of a well-behaved audience as made clear in the last quote by mister Cohen and they enjoy the feeling of connection with all the other spectators. More results on the differences between the two groups on the social aspects are presented in the communicative dimension within the results on experiences.

4.2.4 Motives performing arts

Table 4.7 down below shows the results from another quantitative question on motives, this time using more specific motives related to performing arts that are also used by Cuadrado & Mollà (2000). For both groups their top 10 motives of visiting a theatre performance or a classical concert are depicted. In contrast to the earlier table 4.6 on motives, this table clearly shows the importance of the motive ‘to feel emotions’. Both groups like to feel the emotions from the play or concert, visitors of theatre slightly more than visitors of classical music. This confirms the research of Cuadrado & Mollà (2000) who concluded that emotion is one of the two most important motives to visit performing arts.

Theatre	Classical music
<i>1. To feel the emotions of the play</i>	<i>1. To hear the work of a certain composer</i>
<i>2. Relaxation</i>	<i>2. To feel the emotions of the concert</i>
<i>3. Interest in art</i>	<i>3. To hear certain musicians</i>
<i>4. To see certain actors</i>	<i>4. To hear a certain conductor’s work</i>
<i>5. Fun</i>	<i>5. Interest in art</i>
<i>6. To share an experience</i>	<i>6. Relaxation</i>
<i>7. To see a director’s work</i>	<i>7. Fun</i>
<i>8. Social interaction</i>	<i>8. Self-development</i>
<i>9. Educational development</i>	<i>9. Artistic amusement</i>
<i>10. Self-development</i>	<i>10. Educational development</i>

Table 4.7: the ten most important motives to pay a visit to theatre or classical music

However, there can be seen a difference in the way the visitors feel the emotions when we look again at network 1 and 2 on page 51 and 52. At the right side in the middle of the network, the code on emotion is made red and is surrounded by codes related to emotion. For theatregoers the emotions are related to the emotions of the theatre play. They like to feel the emotions played by the actors and would like to experience the same emotions. They want to be ‘gripped’ by the performance and drawn into the story that is played. For classical music-goers it seems the emotional experience can occur with a greater distance between them and the musicians. For them the emotions are not so much related to the concert itself but more to the response from the music. The music conveys certain feelings and mostly it makes the listeners happy. The emotions felt are happiness and enjoyment and this confirms research of Miell et al. (2005) who conclude ‘enjoyment’ is the most felt emotion when listening to

music. The difference between the felt emotions during theatre and classical music are further elaborated in the paragraph ‘emotional dimension’ within the results on experiences.

Another striking result from table 4.7 is the most important motive for classical music visitors, namely ‘to hear the work of a certain composer’. Also they attach great importance to the motives ‘to hear certain musicians’ and ‘to hear a conductor’s work’. Classical music lovers are mostly interested in the composer and the time period in which the composition was written. According to Cremona et al., (2004) people often report a sense of communication with artists from the past or with the culture around the artwork. However, less visitors of theatre have interest in the author or the time a play had been written. They do have interest in the director of the play, something also concluded by Cremona et al. (2004). Theatregoers often mentioned the director Alize Zandwijk, who is one of the directors of the Ro Theatre.

Wondolleck: *“To see a certain director, of course, to see Alize Zandwijk.”*

Hermans: *“I mean, when Alize directs the play, there will happen things on stage, you can do so much with shapes and images and with light and sound.”*

Torre: *“Jos Simons, maybe you know him, that is also such a director, then I think Jeez yes, that is very exciting what he has to say and there is Ivo van Hooft from theatre company Amsterdam, yes it’s very important what those people do.”*

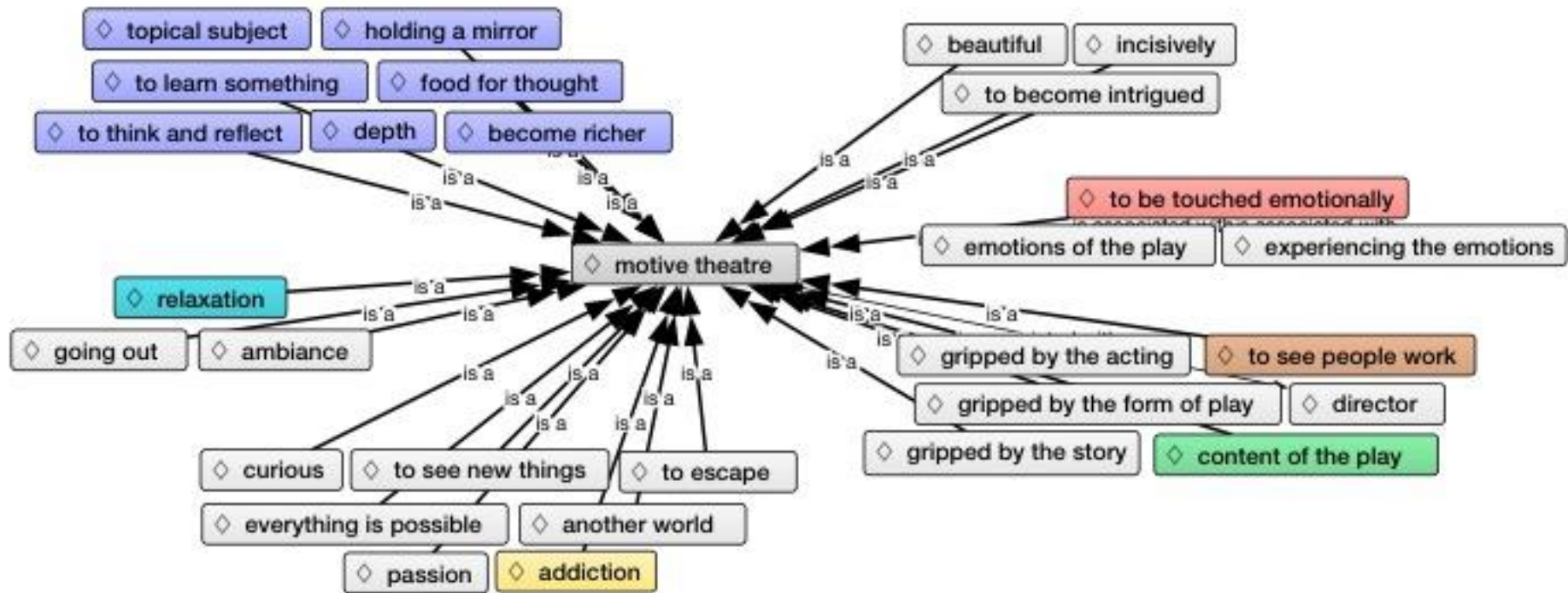
There is a reason why theatre visitors are not interested in the author or the time period. This is because theatre plays make use of original texts and are dealing with contemporary events. It’s not about a work of art from a culture of the past but a performance that occurs in the here and now and something that is a creation of the present culture (Cremona et al., 2004). The people who made a creation out of interesting stories, the directors, are important for the visitors of theatre. In contrast, the classical music that is visited by the respondents is already composed centuries ago and therefore the composer and his or her work are the most important for classical music-goers.

Finally, in table 4.7 it also becomes clear that ‘artistic amusement’ is the ninth most important motive for classical music visitors. For theatregoers this is the eleventh most important motive and therefore not made visible in the table. Boorsma (2006) mentioned in her research that it would be interesting to make a division of the concept amusement. Therefore not only ‘artistic amusement’ is included, but also ‘entertainment’. The motive entertainment is on place twelve for theatregoers and on place fourteen for classical music-goers. This shows that ‘artistic amusement’ is for both groups more important than ‘entertainment’. Apparently, the respondents from both classical music and theatre think that

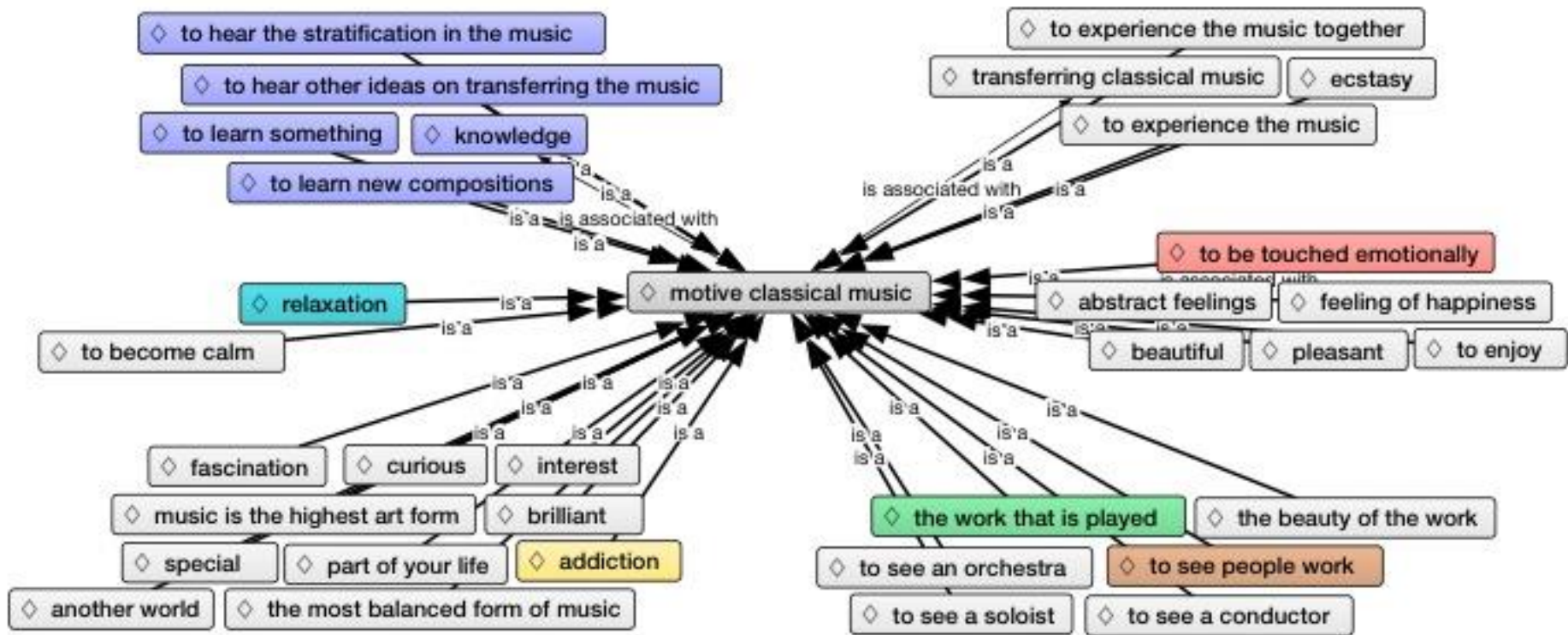
these genres have a closer link to ‘artistic amusement’ than to ‘entertainment’. Entertainment was more associated with ‘simple’ amusement and these genres also ask for a certain concentration, according to the regular visitors.

4.2.5 Artistic experience

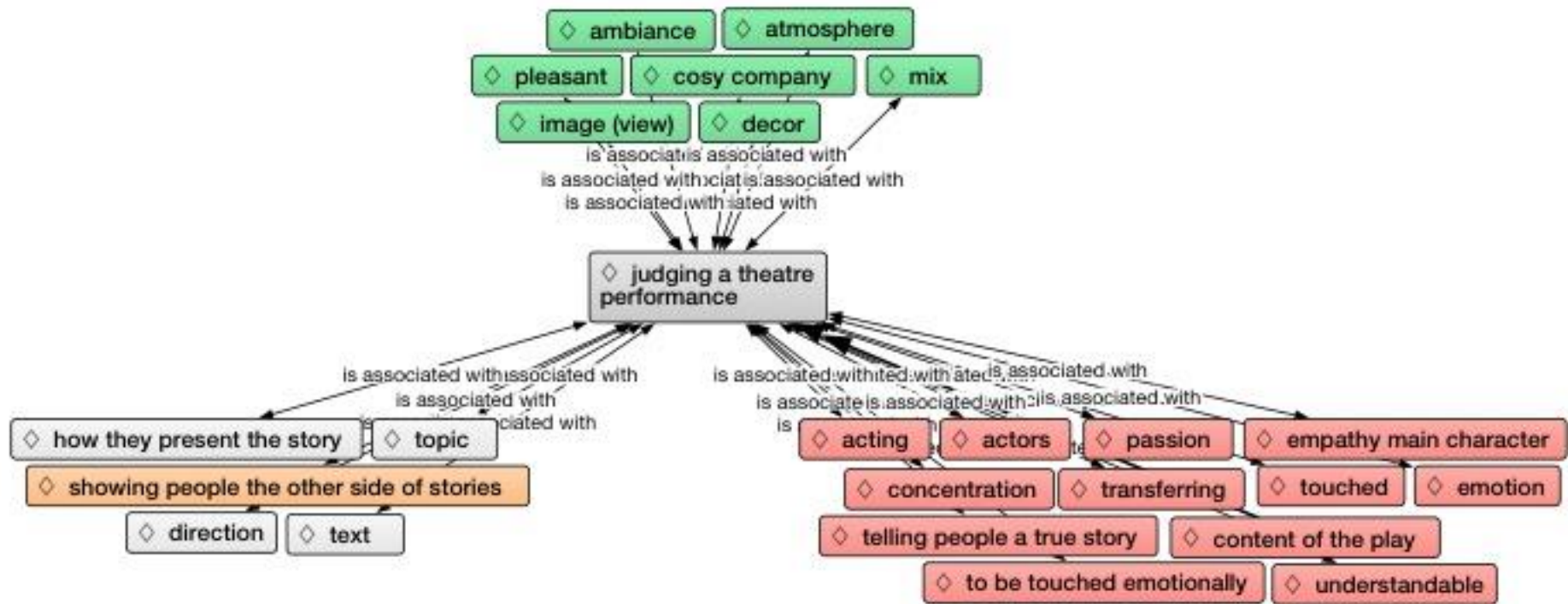
There are already mentioned some results on network 1 and 2 on the following pages, but another noteworthy result is the similarity of the code ‘to see people work’ that is marked brown and displayed on the bottom right. Visitors of theatre and classical music feel motivated to pay a visit in order to see people perform, whether this is an orchestra, a soloist, a conductor, the work of the director, a company etc. Finally, they all agree on how the content of the play or the concert is really important, also displayed on the bottom right, but marked green. The networks 3 and 4 on page 53 and 54 give an insight into the importance of this artistic experience. When one takes a look at these networks one can see on which elements the regular visitors judge a performance or a classical concert. The biggest and therefore most important clusters are the red ones at the bottom right on the content of the play or concert. Visitors have a great and positive experience when the actual content of the performance or concert is of artistic quality. For visitors of the Ro Theatre this is related to the acting, the main character and the story. For visitors of de Doelen it’s all about the conductor, the orchestra, their interaction and skills and the composition itself. Boorsma (2006) concluded in her research that artistic experience is one of the primary reasons to visit and called for further testing of this proposition. This research can confirm the importance of artistic experience, since in both networks the clusters on artistic characteristics are the biggest and therefore most important.



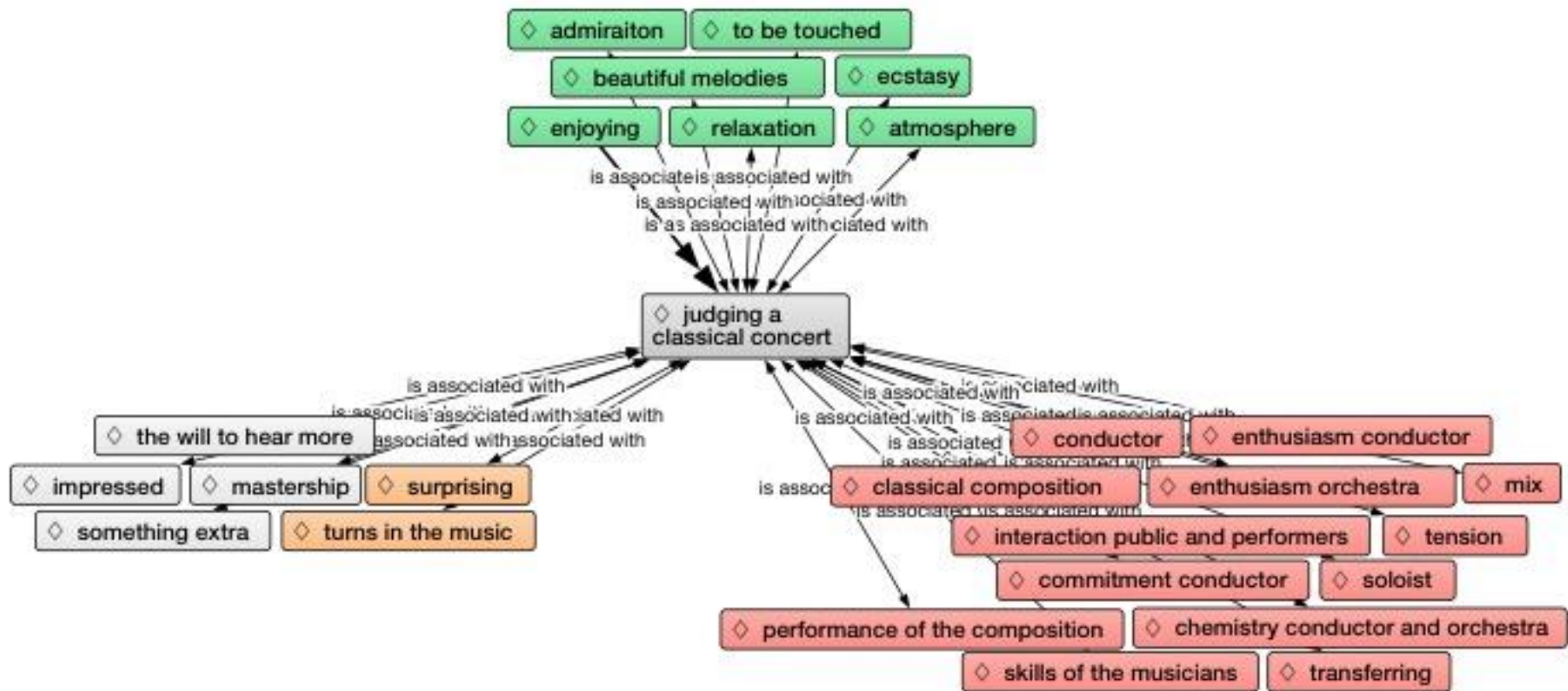
Network 1: motives to visit theatre



Network 2: motives to visit classical music concert



Network 3: How to judge a theatre performance?



Network 4: How to judge a classical concert?

4.3 Experiences

Closely related to the previous discussed motives are the experiences people have during their visit. The motives, or reasons why people pay visits, are being influenced by their (prior) experiences (Falk & Dierking, 2000). Studying the experiences of both groups gains a better understanding of why people engage in theatre and classical music. Multiple questions in the interview related to the experiences of the classical music-goers and theatregoers are discussed, but also the experiences they have with visiting ‘the other’ art form. This means theatre visitors who visit classical music and classical music visitors who visit theatre. This gives more insight into their preference for theatre over classical music or vice versa. It is also asked what they think is the difference between experiencing these two art forms. All the results on these questions are subdivided into the perceptual, emotional, cognitive and communicative dimension, as discussed in the theory. These are four dimensions of how people deal with works of art (Cremona et al., 2004).

4.3.1 Perceptual dimension

Respondents from both groups emphasise on the multiple aspects or elements of a theatre performance. Therefore watching theatre requires more attentiveness in comparison to watching classical music. The spectators of theatre do need to pay more attention in order to be able to follow everything that happens on stage. In the quotes down below the theatregoers explain that the experience of theatre consists of multiple elements.

Bakker: *“I think all those things we have mentioned, the emotion, the beautiful image, it is of course often a mix of things.”*

Zijlmans: *“When you watch theatre you need to pay more attention, you need to do many things, you have to look, often there happens way too much on stage, you actually have to go two or three times in order to see everything, and hear, so it’s more complicated.”*

Visitors of the Ro Theatre emphasise on the different elements of a theatre performance, namely acting, storyline, costumes, décor etc. All these elements need to be of a certain quality in order to have a good experience. This confirms the study of Cremona et al., (2004) on theatrical experiences. Spectators of theatre are always confronted by visual and auditory stimuli. In contrast, the visual stimuli have much less value at a classical concert. The classical music visitors explain that listening to classical music is easier and takes less effort than theatre. They feel listening to music is easier than listening to conversations.

Ree: *"Yes but listening to music is easier than theatre where one talks to each other and stuff. And while listening to music I can close my eyes if I want to, but for theatre it's mainly my hearing, I need to be able to follow a conversation."*

Bode: *"Yes, absolutely, at a classical concert I feel relaxed and watching a theatre performance takes more effort, because you need to follow the story, there is often something educational, you have to learn something, so there is often more effort needed than for classical music."*

These quotes explain that classical music has fewer elements than theatre and people don't need to divide their attention constantly. You could distinguish the composition from the technical practice, but as mentioned by visitors of classical music, the technical practice is almost never bad since people are ensured of a certain quality when they buy tickets for a concert in de Doelen.

Since classical music has not so much changing visual and auditory elements as theatre, theatregoers often think of classical music concerts as something boring. They feel there is not enough happening on stage, since a theatre play changes all the time. A classical music concert has a temporal stability and requires "continued investment of attention in a temporally stable object" (Cremona et al., 2004, p. 136). Theatre visitors don't have the patience to listen to classical music for hours because they miss the tension and the excitement of theatre.

Hermans: *"Yes basically it's just this tension, I think classical music is often, you just sit in a chair and then over there it happens and you just sit there sitting, and then at a given time I get pain in my ass and I don't know where I should let my arms."*

Koekoek: *"That's just because, yes because it's less exciting, the exciting part of theatre is missing in a concert hall."*

Hoorn: *"I think it doesn't excites me long enough (..) I don't think so, I think the experience, what it does to me, it's more distanced, it touches me less, I think."*

As one can read in the first and the third quote, classical music not only has less elements but is also more distanced from its spectators according to the theatregoers. Theatre visitors feel less gripped by the music or drawn into the music in comparison to the experience they have at a theatre play. Boorsma (2006) divided experiences in two classes and it seems theatre and classical music belong both to one of these classes. Theatre seems to contain of more stimulating, exciting, surprising and challenging experiences. While classical music seems to contain of more relaxing, entertaining and comfortable experiences. As a conclusion it can be stated that these genres differ greatly from one another when it comes to the perceptual

dimension. There happens more on the stage of a theatre performance than on the stage of a classical concert and therefore theatre asks more attention from its spectators. Listening to a classical music concert is experienced as something that is easier and more relaxed than watching a theatre play.

4.3.2 Emotional dimension

Table 4.8 shows the results on a quantitative question were people were asked to choose which pre-defined concepts were related to their experience of theatre or classical music.

Theatre		Classical music	
1. Challenge	100%	1. To feel emotions	100%
2. Relaxing	100%	2. Challenge	87,5%
3. To feel emotions	87,5%	3. Fantasy	62,5%
4. Innovatory	75%	4. Relaxing	62,5%
5. Fantasy	50%	5. Familiarity	62,5%
6. Reality	50%	6. Reality	37,5%
7. Familiarity	25%	7. Strenuous	37,5%
8. Thinking	12,5%	8. Innovatory	37,5%
		9. Ease	12,5%

Table 4.8: the amount of visitors (in percentages) who relate these concepts to the experience of theatre or classical music

As one can see in the table above, 87,5% of the theatregoers associate theatre with emotions and 12,5% with thinking. The numbers in the right column indicate that not only one visitor of classical music associates classical music with thinking and everyone associates it to feeling emotions. However there does exist a difference in how much and in what way both groups feel emotions. Table 4.8 shows the results on a question were the respondents were asked to choose between thinking and feeling emotions, but table 4.7 shows that feeling emotions is ultimately more important for theatregoers than for classical music-goers. Statements from the interview also made clear that visitors of de Doelen sometimes felt the emotion, but other times thought it was just beautifully composed.

Valk-Spek: *“Sometimes I think it’s only very beautiful and sometimes there are also things that touch me inside.”*

Bode: *"That one conductor, he can play a certain emotion, and I think that, yes I was moved by Gergiev a few times, but usually not, usually I admire the perfection, the absolute perfection, and not so much the emotion."*

Schogt: *"Yes emotions, elements that will touch your feelings in some way. Not in the sense of I hear the rain, but more abstract feelings of peace and tension and relaxation and drive and swing and rhythm and yes, beautiful melody."*

These quotes show that some classical compositions contain or evoke emotions, but others don't. A few classical music lovers think the perfection is more important than the emotion. Also they have different opinions on how classical music transfers the emotions. Some think the composer must have felt certain emotions and others think the conductor and the orchestra are responsible for the felt emotion. It was found that the word 'emotions' was sometimes too strong and they preferred talking about feelings. A lot of the respondents emphasised on the relaxing and pleasant feeling they get from listening to classical music. Crowther (2007) also concluded that there exists a strong link between music and human feeling, for example calmness, excitement, conflicts, arrests, flowing and growth (Crowther, 2007). Therefore the experience of classical music is more often linked to feelings and the experience of theatre to emotions.

There is found another difference between the theatregoers and classical music-goers in relation to emotion. Classical music lovers often link the possibility of feeling emotions to their own personal mood during the concert.

Streefkerk: *"That can be both, depending on the piece and your own mood."*

Valk-Spek: *"Well, it can actually be anything, it is depending on what mood you are in."*

Bode: *"A Chinese from America played the fourth of Beethoven on the piano, and something happened, they were so good, that I felt like I was floating, that may also be the case because I had a kind of sky-box, but it also felt like the orchestra was lifted up, somehow, there was something in the air I think, something was happening there."*

Their mood seems to be of influence on the emotions felt from the music. Also from the last quote it becomes clear that the feelings felt from the music are sometimes very hard to explain since they are abstract and not concrete. Different spectators of classical music can experience different emotions from the same musical composition, since it is also dependent on the way you feel at that moment. Miell et al. (2005) also explain that listening to music can guide us through our own emotional experience. Therefore it is more common to define expression from the listener's perspective (Miell et al., 2005). Classical music can touch people in

different, more personal ways, while it is more difficult to have very different interpretations of the spoken words of theatre performances. Theatre has therefore more control over our emotions since the story and the emotions from the story are clearly presented by the actors. People want to be touched by the emotions depicted from the theatre play and have the feeling they are experiencing those emotions.

Koekoek: *“Yes, I want to be touched, emotional, and that's very easy but I would like to get a lump in my throat, that's my goal.”*

Wondolleck: *“Do you know why? Because the emotion is transferred much stronger on stage compared to what you see in movies. You can see it, you're part of it and in film it is canned.”*

What becomes clear from the quotes is that theatregoers want to feel the emotions expressed by the actors and want to become part of the emotions and therefore the theatre play. Overall we can conclude that the emotions felt by classical music visitors are more often described as feelings that may or may not emerge from the music and are dependent from their individual mood. Emotions felt from theatre are more clear and controlled because of the spoken language and the depictions from the actors. The emotions are related to the emotions of the theatre play and visitors want to experience those emotions when they are gripped by the story.

4.3.3 Cognitive dimension

Classical music visitors have different opinions on whether classical compositions tell a story. People who feel the music does tell a story will say every composition is always about something, even though this is very abstract. The composer starts with something, a theme, a motto, and when he did a good job he takes you on his journey with him.

Valk-Spek: *“I think it is a challenge to try to understand the music.”*

Ree: *“Yes, yes, what I said, I come back on the last piece I heard of Tsjostakovitsj, which tells a story about Russia. Yes that's what I hear in the music.”*

Streefkerk: *“But if a composer has done a good job, you will experience the mood he had in mind, he or she I must say.”*

Bijnagte: *“Often there are beautiful melodies in the music that come back every time.”*

From the quotes we can see that even though classical music involves no language, the perception of music has overlap with language perception (Koelsch, 2005). Music can activate representations of meaningful concepts and often this meaning can be formed out of

different aspects. The second quote by madam Ree shows that meaning of music can be inferred by associations. The third quote from mister Streefkerk indicates that meaning can emerge from the suggestion of a particular mood. The fourth quote by madam Bijnagte explains how important patterns, forms and structures are in the music; elements that also can create meaning in music (Koelsch, 2005). In conclusion, the meaning of music can be formed out of different aspects and is less clearly presented than the meaning of a theatre play. Therefore there exist also more difference among the listeners of classical music about the question if music tells a story.

Some classical music-goers have convincing ideas on the meaning of certain compositions and for other spectators the music is just beautiful and tells nothing, unless there are lyrics involved. They link stories, meaning and themes to actual text and therefore think the instrumental classical music has no meaning or story that is transferred.

Vliet: *“No it doesn’t need to have any meaning, because that’s also when you look at paintings, then you get the whole story and discourse with it, then I think ‘man never mind, it’s just a beautiful painting’ haha.”*

Bode: *“No, no, only when there is singing involved for example, unless they have text, because it is really music.”*

From these statements it becomes clear that classical music visitors do not give an unambiguous answer to the question if compositions tell a story. The meaning of classical music is not expressed in words and this makes it more difficult to talk about the value and experience of music (Raffman, 1993). One respondent tried to explain this in the following statement.

Schogt: *“It has nothing to say, and that’s its power, that is so special. How can something that tells nothing, touch you so deeply.”*

This is what Raffman (1993) defines as musical ineffability and is further elaborated in the final section of the results on barriers. In short, even though instrumental classical music involves no language, it can have meaning and value and be perceived as language. The more someone is exposed to music, the easier he or she unconsciously creates this meaning in music. Therefore the classical music is less interesting for the inexperienced theatre visitors and as already said, this is further discussed within the paragraph on barriers.

Two other concepts from table 4.8 related to the cognitive dimension are fantasy and reality. It becomes clear that classical concerts are more associated with fantasy than with reality. In contrast, visitors of theatre associate performances with reality as well as fantasy, the one not more than the other. This makes sense since visitors of theatre want to engage in

the story that is told and less into their own fantasy or imagination (Crowther, 2007). Theatre performances contain of more elements from our reality and even though the play tells a story that doesn't exist or hasn't existed, we make more links to reality since the elements within the theatrical frame refer to our reality (Cremona et al., 2004). In contrast the visitors of classical music more often think that their fantasy is being stimulated by the experience, which becomes clear in the following statements.

Bijnagte: *"It's music, that's not the reality, it seems fantasy to me. Sometimes I feel like I'm walking in a forest, enjoying the music that's around me, nature, I connect those two with each other."*

Schogt: *"It certainly goes more freely to other thoughts, you will get carried away by the music."*

Vliet: *"Yes you need to use your fantasy within this music, it is real but you should also have fantasies about the things you hear. And those Russians, with this Russian music you often hear this misery behind it and the war and the violence and so on."*

The last quote even makes clear that people actually need fantasy in order to be able to see what's been heard in the music, whereas in theatre plays the actors and the décor are already doing this for the audience. Classical music-goers not only make more links to fantasy than to reality, they sometimes even want to release their own and real thoughts during the concert, what becomes clear in the following quotes.

Vliet: *"It is often the case if you come with a bunch of other thoughts, they disappear, because at some point you're so focused on the music, that's how I get relaxed."*

Bijnagte: *"They can solve nothing with music of course, but you no longer think very negative about it, or you dropped a little bit of your thoughts."*

Because the spectators of classical music are concentrated on the music or because the music makes them relaxed, they are able to release their thoughts or make them less important or heavy. In contrast, theatregoers want to get new thoughts from the performance. When people have a lot to think about and when the performance stays in memory for a long time, this is often an indicator for a good or interesting theatre play (Cremona et al., 2004). For them, much of the cognitive effort occurs after the performance. As a conclusion, classical music visitors want to release their thoughts and theatregoers want to come home with new thoughts.

The last point related to the cognitive dimension is about the concepts familiarity opposed to innovatory, also displayed in table 4.8. There is a distinct difference between the

two groups regarding the preference for one of these two concepts. Visitors of the Ro Theatre associate theatre more often with something ‘innovatory’ and more visitors of de Doelen associate classical music with ‘familiarity’. Statements from the interview confirm this, since a lot of visitors of de Doelen like to listen to their favourite compositions that are familiar to them.

Ree: *“Yes I can endlessly go to the Schubert songs and so on (...) Because it’s so familiar and it calls warmth to me. So, the emotional part.”*

Valk-Spek: *“It will give you such a familiar feeling when you hear a piece, say by Vivaldi, the spring, that’s just so familiar to you.”*

Cohen: *“The easiest way to be touched is from something you already know, and the moment you decide: this is how I like to hear it.”*

The quotes explain that classical music-goers like to hear familiar compositions since these musical pieces evoke warmth and emotions. This can be explained by the theory of Zajonc (1968) who states that “mere repeated exposure of the individual to a stimulus is a sufficient condition for the enhancement of his attitude towards it” (Temme, 1993, p. 465). The more certain stimuli are exposed to the viewer or listener, the higher the preference and therefore they like going to the same composition multiple times. This preference for familiarity among the classical music visitors holds ties with the aversion towards taking risks. They pick out subscriptions with series of already selected concerts, for example a package with only string quartets or chamber music. Often this package consists of a mix of known and unknown classical compositions, but they make their decision based on the compositions they already know.

Streefkerk: *“Although I have to say that it almost never happens that I don’t know any piece from such a program. Yeah, because you visit these things for almost 50 year, that is almost unthinkable.”*

Bode: *“Yes I also have a subscription. It also includes things that I don’t know, well, then you just go.”*

The classical music-goers often visit compositions they know and because they buy subscriptions with multiple concerts they also hear compositions that were unknown to them. They will never pick out a subscription full of compositions or musicians they don’t know and this indicates that classical music visitors don’t take many risks. This is related to their age since elderly people prefer to take the safe and familiar route (Langeveld, 2011). In contrast, the theatregoers associate theatre more with the concept ‘innovatory’ compared to ‘familiarity’. One theatregoer has the opinion that theatre is broader than classical music and

triggers more to see things that are unfamiliar to people.

Vos: *“A lot of people go to concerts because they know the music, the repertoire is quite known for music lovers in general, Beethoven, Bach, Stravinsky, Hayden and so on, I mean most people do have a picture of what they will hear, even though they might not know that specific symphony. And with theatre, I see a poster, I don’t care, I mean, I always have the idea that theatre triggers you much more to pay a visit, to dive into it. Because you don’t know it but you think o Jeez I would like to see that, well, I mean it’s broader, in my feeling it’s way broader.”*

In conclusion, the classical music-goers are older and therefore take less risk. Also the compositions are often familiar to them and they get a pleasant feeling from hearing familiar compositions. Therefore it is also not needed for classical music-goers to take a lot of risks. In comparison, the theatregoers associate theatre not so much with familiarity and will take more risks since theatre plays are more often new and unfamiliar to them.

The fact that classical music visitors want to avoid risks explains why they have a strong aversion towards modern classical music. Modern music is often described as unmelodic and too hard. These results confirm the groundbreaking results of Meyer (1956) on musical expectancy (Miell et al., 2005). Listeners prefer musical patterns that confirm their expectations rather than music that interrupt their melodic expectancy. Since modern classical music is really different from the original classical music and also very unpredictable in its own, even a lot of the average listeners will drop out.

Streefkerk: *“From the most modern music there is little of what I really like.”*

Valk-Spek: *“I think modern music is often too unmelodic, very hard. (...) It has not my preference.”*

This new style of classical music is new to the listeners and therefore it takes more time to store this new information from the music (Raffman, 1993). The more unknown the music is to listeners, the more difficult it is to establish mental representations that will shape musical perception (Raffman, 1993). This makes it harder for experienced listeners to listen to modern classical music, but it also explains that it will be even harder for the inexperienced theatre visitors. Learning in relation to appreciating music will be further elaborated in the results on barriers of classical music.

4.3.4 Communicative dimension

Theatregoers but also classical music-goers have the need to discuss the performance and their experiences afterwards with other spectators. However the urge is higher for theatre

visitors. This can also be seen in table 4.7, since both *sharing an experience* and *social interaction* are of more importance for visitors from the Ro Theatre. Not only because visitors of de Doelen more often go alone but more because theatre visitors want to discuss about the issue or the topic of the performance they just saw (Cremona et al., 2004).

Torre: *“Well then you have no one to talk to, to share it with. That is sometimes quite necessary if you are walking out of an emotive performance, then it’s not so nice if you’re leaving the theatre alone.”*

Koekoek: *“Because you have experienced something together, I hope, I think, I expect. You discuss if you understood everything, or not understood everything, or if I haven’t seen some parts.”*

Vos: *“Music is more, it enters you and you think it’s beautiful or less beautiful or you think it’s ugly, but I never thought about it.”*

Wondolleck: *“With music it’s, you don’t have, we don’t heavily discuss about it. You know, you think it is good or you think it’s not good and then I always let it.”*

In contrast to classical music, theatre reflects more upon the environment of the spectators and the spectators itself. Theatre visitors are not only touched by the performance, but also want to actively engage in the debate about the issue or topic of the performance (Cremona et al., 2004). Also they might not understand the performance completely and want to come to ‘closure’. As explained by mister Koekoek in the first quote, it is possible that you have not understood everything from the theatre play. Talking with people about their experience and view can help in understanding the performance. They can explain things and make them clearer. More visitors of theatre like to share their experience and interact with the people, with whom they are with, compared to classical music visitors. However, as we saw earlier within the results on the social motive, the sense of belonging is more important for classical music-goers.

4.4 Cultural barriers and conversion

The fourth and final concept on which the two groups are compared is cultural barriers. Next to the earlier studied motivations, this section discusses results on the reasons why people *don’t* pay visits. In particular why visitors of theatre don’t visit classical music and why classical music visitors don’t visit theatre. The first paragraph contains of results on the image people have on ‘the other’ art form. While revealing their experiences, some people made clear statements on their thoughts or view of ‘this other’ art form, which can be seen as a barrier of why they don’t pay visits to this art form. Secondly the concrete barriers of theatre

and classical music are discussed. Thirdly the results on the accessibility and conversion of both theatre and classical music are presented, which shows how 'open' the visitors are towards paying visits to theatre and classical music. Finally this chapter ends with some barriers related to this specific age group.

4.4.1 Image

Some visitors of theatre emphasise on the image they have of classical music and it's visitors, whether they have visited classical concerts or not. They have quite a negative image of classical music and the way the audience behaves while visiting de Doelen.

Torre: "But I also said, actually I think you are very boring because you all wear those black suits and you just sit there and it's all very interesting and important but I just don't feel it (...) Then you have to drink wine, which is more important than the music or something because everyone is going to say very important stuff about the wine, I think it's a very crazy, how shall I say, I just don't understand it very well."

Zijlmans: "What I also think, there will fit 2200 people in de Doelen, I think this is way too massive (...) It irritates me already when people arrive on stage and everyone starts clapping, completely out of time, but it's apparently all part of the atmosphere and the evening."

What becomes clear from these quotes is that some theatregoers don't want to be part of this culture that is situated around classical concerts and they try to distance themselves from it. Theatre lovers feel that the audience of classical concerts contains of a different type of people and they don't understand their behaviour during the night out. This has to do with the clothes they wear, the things they drink and the subjects they talk about. Crawford et al., (2014) explain that attendees of classical music are required to behave in a specific learnt and time-honoured way. According to Bourdieu (1984) these specific patterns of behaviour can indeed form barriers to people that are not schooled in the classical music field.

Other statements made during the interview show that theatregoers who don't visit classical music think classical music-goers pay visits to de Doelen because it belongs to them. They think, when you are highly educated and you have enough money to live in a certain area of Rotterdam, you are supposed to visit de Doelen. Some visitors of the Ro Theatre feel that classical music is therefore intended for a specific part of the population and don't feel connected to this art form and its visitors.

Vos: *“I mean people who always go to de Doelen, I mean I know them, it's half Kralingen, so if I'm waiting on the tram on a night that there is a concert, half Kralingen is waiting for the same tram to visit de Doelen, it belongs to them, whether you like it or not, if you are highly educated and you live in Kralingen, you are supposed to visit de Doelen.”*

Hoorn: *“What I do notice is that classical music belongs more to a certain layer in the population. And then it's also normal that you take music lessons, all a bit more elitist sometimes, you can see it in their clothes, in what way people visit the place, (...) I guess part of their education, in certain milieus they all get music lessons, whether you like it or not, you're going to hockey and music lessons.”*

In short they have the opinion that classical music is something that belongs more to the elite group of our society, in other words, to a specific social class. According to Bourdieu this is true, since he stated the following on social class and musical taste: “nothing more clearly affirms one’s social class, nothing more ineffably classifies than tastes in music” (Bourdieu 1984, p.18). Theatregoers have the feeling that classical music-goers like to show off their social class and their musical taste by visiting de Doelen. Research by Peterson & Simkus (1992) confirms this since they conclude that people attend classical music concerts to show off their high culture musical taste. Musical taste can help as a status marker to establish and maintain status boundaries. This research not confirms this by data from the classical music visitors themselves but from the theatre visitors who experience a boundary between them and the classical music visitors. Even though the boundaries are mostly created between popular culture and high culture (Dimaggio, 1992), this research shows they also can exist between forms of high culture. Lovers of theatre, a high form of art, separate themselves from the ‘elitists’ visitors of classical music. They feel they don’t belong to this group and this is a part of the reasons why they don’t pay visits to classical music. Classical music visitors did not make similar statements about theatre.

4.4.2 Barriers of theatre and classical music

As one can see in table 4.9 on the next page, 37,5 percent of the visitors of theatre never bring a visit to a classical music concert. Among them 25 percent think it is not interesting and 12,5 percent admits it is not their taste. Also 37,5 percent of the visitors of classical music never bring a visit to a theatre performance. As shown in the table, 25 percent said it just didn’t happen and 12,5 percent was unfamiliar with the offer. From these results we can confirm the earlier results on the experience and image of classical music. In short, theatre visitors think it

is too boring, it belongs to a certain group of our society and it is not their taste. The barriers of visitors from de Doelen related to theatre are slightly more modest. They like it, but it just did not happen, also since they don't know enough about the offer.

Theatre visitors on the barriers of classical music		Classical music visitors on the barriers of theatre	
<i>I don't think it's interesting</i>	25%	<i>It just didn't happen</i>	25%
<i>It's not my taste</i>	12,5%	<i>I'm unfamiliar with the offer</i>	12,5%

Table 4.9: the amount of visitors (in percentages) who experience these barriers

From the interviews it became clear that both groups often mention the barrier 'lack of knowledge'. Visitors of theatre feel they don't know enough about the music and classical music lovers feel they don't know enough about theatre. However, the type of knowledge that visitors feel they miss is different for both groups. Classical music visitors often mention a lack of knowledge on the offer of theatre. They feel it is too much of a risk to go when they know nothing about current theatre companies, actors or directors.

Vliet: *"No, I always have the plan in mind to do this, but it never happened. I would like to tough, but yes, then I didn't knew what was going on..."*

Valk-Spek: *"Well, theatre that's real, I'm from the generation of Co van Dijk and when I see all the new names, I only think; I don't know this. I think it has to do with the fact that it's unknown to me."*

These quotes confirm the two barriers from table 4.9 that are felt by classical music visitors. Some do make plans to visit theatre but in the end it just did not happen and others feel they know nothing about the offer. This last point is called the psychological barrier, which means that non-visitors would often say they would like to see more advertisements and information about the cultural offerings (Van Eijck et al., 2011).

In contrast, theatre visitors not mention this lack of knowledge on the offer, but emphasise on the lack of knowledge on the content of the classical music itself, as can be read in the following statements.

Hoorn: *"Classical music, yea, sometimes I like it, a specific concert, but I don't know much about it, I think I had too little involvement with classical music."*

Torre: *“For example, I learned a little bit about Bach, but I don’t really visit this so easily, I don’t know anything about it and then there is this Matthäus Passion, were you have to sit for three and a half hours and I think that’s really long and most of the times when you don’t know it, you don’t love it.”*

Visitors of the Ro Theatre feel too inexperienced or know too little about classical music to be able to fully enjoy it as much as classical music lovers do. They also feel there is more needed to appreciate classical music than to appreciate theatre. In other words, they think it takes more time and effort to get involved into this art form.

Torre: *“Classical music, that’s for a moment, otherwise you need to take more effort, effort to get to know it. Well, that’s also interesting, when you are able to recognize Bach for example, a lot of people can do this, that’s what I like, that you know stuff, but it’s so complicated, you need to take time for it.”*

Vos: *“Learning to appreciate it. So listening to what they are trying to tell you, instead of simply calling it false or terrible, but just sit there open minded and let it come to you, and indeed when you have heard it twice you will hear beautiful things and if you listen to it for the third or the fifth time, you will think, wow, actually it’s a beautiful piece.”*

This lack in specific knowledge would according to Bourdieu be lack in appropriate cultural capital (Crowford, 1014). However, Raffman (1993) explains it quite differently, namely as musical ineffability. The knowledge people have on the music is in some respect ineffable. This means the classical music lovers know things, developed certain knowledge or skills, that we cannot easily put into words. We call this ineffable knowledge. A type of knowledge that cannot be explained easily, something that is in the possession of regular visitors of classical music and not (yet) in the possession of theatre visitors.

Cognitive psychologists also argue that listeners unconsciously store information from the music and therefore they establish mental representations that will shape their musical perception (Raffman, 1993). In other words, spectators of classical music unconsciously compute series of mental depictions from acoustic signals. It is a set of analytical rules which the experienced listener will unconsciously use while he listens to music. When they hear the music they analyse it according to these grammatical rules and thereafter a structural description is computed (Raffman, 1988). This is all really abstract but it is important to know that it will increase with every conscious musical experience. Therefore the music is more pleasant for the experienced listeners and the theatre lovers feel they miss this experience. Two respondents also explain this in the following quotes.

Schogt (de Doelen): *“People who don’t know anything about music will really like it and people who know a lot about the music will be able to hear all kinds of jokes in the music, despite the fact that this disturbs the others.”*

Zijlmans (Ro Theatre): *“Classical music is often very classic, isn’t it? Or in other words, twenty famous clubs perform the same work. And I don’t think I hear any difference.”*

The last quote clearly shows that this lack of knowledge in the music ensures a less pleasant experience. According to both respondents, regular visitors of classical music concerts hear the differences in the music and for less experienced listeners the same composition played by another orchestra makes no difference. Classical music visitors who are experienced will discover features and higher order structures to which the less trained theatre visitors are insensitive (Hekkert & Leder, 2008). Another factor related to this ineffability is the use of words. The meaning of a theatre performance can easily be expressed by words, in contrast to the meaning of a classical composition. This makes the knowledge of the regular visitors of classical music more ineffable in comparison to the knowledge of regular theatre visitors. And this is what makes it more difficult for theatre visitors to involve in classical music than vice versa.

This musical ineffability can be divided into three different sorts of ineffability. The first one is about the content of these representations, the second about the sensory and felt features of musical knowledge and the third about the nuances in the music (Raffman, 1993). The last one is according to Raffman the most significant and therefore most important. Certain characteristics in the music, called nuances, are likely to recover very early in the process of musical perception. Because this happens so quickly, these representations are not categorized, something which is necessary for verbal report. Therefore this knowledge on these nuances stays ineffable.

Ree: *“Right now I’m just thinking of what I’m going to hear during the Matthäus Passion, that goes with high tones, and then it drops. Those tones, then it is kind of fun if you know it a little bit and know how that works.”*

Schogt: *“Yes and in my opinion it’s about proportions, proportions of low and high, proportions of fast and slow, proportions of a sequence to another, all that sort of things.”*

Streefkerk: *“Yes how should you put that into words, that is of course very different, but you have certain things that really touch you.”*

The first statement makes clear that a classical music lover agrees that it is pleasant to know something about the music. Moreover, these quotes show that the respondents find it hard to explain exactly what this knowledge is about. The fact that knowledge increases the musical experience ties in with the statements made by classical music visitors on the acquaintance with classical music. They emphasise on how people need to learn to appreciate this form of music, something that isn't done from one day to the next.

Streefkerk: *"I had this experience a few times last years, when I took people with me. It can be such a disappointment because you replace yourself in that other person and I thought of my first experience with this music and then I thought as well: when is this over and never again."*

Bode: *"You have to grow through it, build something, you cannot just take someone who never visits classical music to Mahler (...) someone with 'Dutch ears' who never visits a classical concert, you have to take it slow. And then you make progress."*

As a conclusion it can be stated that classical music visitors miss knowledge on the offer of theatre and theatre visitors miss knowledge on the music itself. Theatregoers experience a stronger barrier while thinking of visiting classical music than classical music-goers while thinking of visiting theatre. This is because classical music involves more time to learn to appreciate in comparison to theatre, explained and confirmed by both groups.

4.4.3 Conversion

In table 4.10 on the next page the earlier tables 4.2 on interest and 4.3 on visits are combined in order to discuss the results on conversion. Conversion equates the proportion of potential visitors within the group of interested people (Van den Broek, 2013). This is useful for both the Ro Theatre and de Doelen since it shows the degree of openness of theatregoers towards classical music and vice versa. When the number on visits is lower than the number on interest, this means there exists a potential audience group. In this research the numbers on visits are always lower than interest since respondents needed to use all the art forms in the row of interest but were allowed to choose art forms regarding their visits. Therefore we might not get a truthful insight in the potential audience, however we can place the forms in the right order of interest and visits and see for which forms interest has a higher place in the rank. The art forms that have the most potential to convince theatre visitors to pay a visit are film, literature and dance. It is very logical that the art form literature appears in this analysis. People are often interested in literature, they like to read books at home, but they do not pay visits to literary events such as book presentations (Van den Broek, 2013). The art forms that

have the most potential to convince classical music visitors to pay a visit are opera and cabaret. It is obvious that opera has a high result on conversion since it also incorporates classical music.

Ro Theatre Order of interest	Ro Theatre Order of visits	De Doelen Order of interest	De Doelen Order of visits
1. Theatre	1. Theatre	1. Classical music	1. Classical music
2. Film	2. Visual arts	2. Visual arts	2. Visual arts
3. Literature	3. Film	3. Theatre	3. Theatre
4. Visual arts	4. Literature	4. Literature	4. Literature
5. Cabaret	5. Cabaret	5. Opera	5. Film
6. Classical music	6. Classical music	6. Film	6. Dance
7. Dance	7. Pop music	7. Dance	7. Musical
8. Pop music	8. Opera	8. Cabaret	8. Opera
9. Opera	9. Musical	9. Musical	9. Cabaret
10. Musical	10. Dance	10. Pop music	10. Pop music

Table 4.10: conversion related to the ten art forms

Conversion is overall less present among people over 40 (Van den Broek, 2013), therefore it was expected that classical music visitors would show less conversion since they are overall ten years older than the theatre visitors. However, the opposite is true; they show higher numbers on conversion. This again means that the classical music visitors show more openness to other art forms. Also the statements from the interview confirm again that classical music visitors will easier move towards theatre than theatre visitors towards classical music.

Cohen: “No actually I don't even have such a good explanation for it, on a regularly basis we say that we need to go more often, but eventually you need to make choices or you think you don't have the time.”

Bode: “I would go more often if we could go with the two of us.”

This is also confirmed by the results on which performances the respondents have chosen for their free tickets in return of their participation in the interview. The respondents from both groups could either choose performances from the Ro Theatre or de Doelen. Two out of the eight visitors of de Doelen chose a performance from the Ro Theatre and not one visitors of

the Ro Theatre chose a performance from de Doelen. This means classical music visitors will easier make the step towards theatre than vice versa.

4.4.4 Barriers specific for this age group

In this last paragraph the barriers for this specific age group of people above 55 are presented. The barrier 'it just didn't happen' is often related to time and money issues, since people strongly emphasise they need to make choices in their leisure time and cannot do everything. They simply don't have the time and money to undertake a lot of activities, since also lot of the elderly people are living on welfare. Visitors mentioned they used to do more when they were younger, but it becomes more and more difficult to pay visits to cultural activities due to physical constraints.

Bijnagte: *"I used to go in the past, but you need to travel in order to see it."*

Ree: *"I get tired much more quickly and I'm not paying many visits anymore."*

Vliet: *"I simply cannot afford just everything. I have two subscriptions and not much left."*

The first two quotes show that elderly people experience a physical barrier, which stops them from visiting a lot of cultural activities (Kawashima, 2000). Also it seems they don't have the need to pay a lot of visits to a lot of different genres and often keep visiting the art form they are used to, since they aim for comfort and security (Langeveld, 2011). Especially when the offer is mostly outside of Rotterdam, elderly people are depending on other people who need to go with them. This is related to the geographic barrier, which means that people don't have access because it's not present in the geographical area they live. This was mostly mentioned about musicals and operas.

A second important barrier that this older audience group often mentions is the distance they feel between them and the 'younger' generation. As we discussed earlier, a lot of people have commented on modern classical music but some respondents also showed aversion towards theatre performances or cabaret shows that are too modern. The quotes down below show that elderly people not always appreciate new artists or modern productions from certain genres.

Valk-Spek: *"Well cabaret, I grew up with Wim Kam and Toon Hermans and those new cabaret artists, I can't appreciate them, even if they are on television with something new, they use way too abusive and extreme language."*

Bode: *"I don't like modern operas, only the classical ones, and there are no classical operas here."*

These results don't completely confirm the research of Vuyk (2014) who explained that elderly people have all the time and money available to pay visits. This research shows that older people need to make choices because of the money they have available for leisure activities and also because of their physical constraints. If they do have the money, it is even the question if they want to spend their money on tickets, something that Vuyk (2014) does not seem to take into account. Classical music-goers often mentioned that they have a preference for visiting de Doelen and there is not much more time or money to also visit other art forms on a regular basis. This is more applicable to the visitors of classical music since they often buy subscriptions that include multiple concerts and already cost a lot of money. They have chosen for the classical music and will not easily take distance from it.

5. CONCLUSION

Sociologists often determine people's art appreciation using a limited set of socio-economic features. They use for example level of education, age, gender or income as predictors of people's taste in art. Scholars have already showed a strong link between vertical social class and attending highbrow culture (Bourdieu, 1984; Bihagen & Katz-Gerro, 2000; Van de Werfhorst & Kraaykamp, 2001; Chan, 2010). The higher people's age, income or level of education etc., the higher their appreciation for high art forms. However this explains taste as a one-dimensional concept. Little is known about taste differentiation within the specific levels of popular, middlebrow and highbrow taste (Van Eijck, 2012). Therefore this research has given more insight in one of these taste levels, namely the highbrow taste level, by studying two groups with a preference for one of the high art forms.

Regular visitors of theatre and classical music are compared in order to study the possible differentiation within highbrow art appreciation. By excluding differences in age and level of education, taste in highbrow art is not predicted by socio-economic features, but by the possible differences in activities they undertake and motives, experiences and barriers they have. This conclusion gives an answer to the following research question: *Which cultural activities do highly educated people over 55 undertake and to what extent do different motives, experiences and barriers influence their regular visit of either theatre or classical music?* This question is answered on the basis of data acquired from sixteen interviews with regular visitors from the Ro Theatre and de Doelen. The comparison of their cultural activities, motives, experiences and barriers has uncovered inequalities between these two audience groups. Because the two groups show differences on all these elements, we can show that this indeed influences their choice to visit either theatre or classical music on such a regular basis. The following paragraphs provide an insight into all the relevant differences, leading to a clear picture of these two audience groups, also depicted in illustration 5.1 on page 78.

Interest

Even though this research did not focussed on the socio-demographic characteristics of people, it turned out that the classical music-goers are overall ten years older and undertake more activities alone. De Doelen is a familiar and safe surrounding and people don't think it is a problem to visit the concerts alone. Also they show a little more interest in higher art forms and therefore a less omnivorous taste pattern in comparison to the theatregoers.

According to Warde et al. (2007), highly educated people tend more and more towards consuming forms of popular culture. However this research has shown that highly educated visitors of high art not automatically have an omnivorous taste pattern. The theatregoers have a stronger preference for popular art forms and show more features of an omnivorous taste pattern.

A second important conclusion related to interest is the level of interest. The results have shown that classical music visitors have a higher preference for their art form and are also more involved by different ways of participation. In comparison, theatregoers show lower figures on their appreciation and participation in theatre. This holds ties with classical music lovers being earlier involved in their art form by their parents, for example by playing a classical instrument early in their childhood. This means that the appreciation of certain cultural products, in this case classical music, will increase when time is invested in training and learning to appreciate these objects (Bourdieu, 1984). This confirms that the preference for classical music is not only conditional upon level of education and age, but also upon active musical participation, something that was already expected in research by Van Eijck (2011).

Motives & experiences

Overall it turned out that the most important motive to pay visits to theatre plays and concerts is to relax. The biggest differences are found in the second most important motives, which is the education motive for theatregoers and the esthetical motive for classical music-goers. Education is not only more important for theatregoers; they also interpret this motive differently. The learning or knowledge related motives for theatre visitors hold strong relations with our society and topical subjects. They like to walk out of a performance with food for thought and stuff to think about and reflect upon (Cremona et al., 2004). In contrast, the classical music visitors want to learn more about the musical piece itself, the time period and the composer. Education is less important for them and they visit de Doelen to experience aesthetical pleasure.

The social motive is not very important for both groups; however, they use it in a different way. Classical music-goers like to feel part of a well-behaved audience and enjoy the feeling of connection with all the other spectators. This research has shown that classical music is more often used to make connections to people's social capital (Bennett et al., 2009). Theatre visitors place more emphasis on the social interaction with their own company. They

talk about the performance afterwards and want to actively engage in the debate about the issue or topic of the performance (Cremona et al., 2004).

It has been shown that the experiences of theatre and classical music clearly differ from each other. Listening to a classical music concert is something that is easier and more relaxed, while theatre performances ask for more attention due to all the different elements. Experiencing classical music is not only relaxing but makes the spectators also feel pleasant or happy. Crowther (2007) also concluded that there exists a strong link between music and human feeling. Therefore the experience of classical music is more often linked to feelings that may or may not emerge from the music and are dependent from people's individual mood. Experiencing theatre hold stronger links to emotions felt from the theatre play that are more clear and controlled because of the spoken language and the depictions from the actors.

Experiencing classical music not only hold stronger links to people's personal mood but also to their fantasies. Classical music-goers not only make more links to fantasy than to reality, they sometimes even want to release their own thoughts during the concert, whereas theatregoers want to come home with new thoughts. Being relaxed and able to release thoughts is easier done while listening to familiar compositions. The more certain stimuli are exposed to the viewer or listener, the higher the preference (Temme, 1993). This preference for familiarity among the classical music visitors and the influence of their age makes them want to avoid risks, while theatregoers will take more risks to see new and unfamiliar theatre plays.

Barriers & conversion

Throughout the research it was found that the visitors of the Ro Theatre experience a stronger barrier towards classical music than vice versa. Theatregoers who don't pay visits to classical concerts feel it's not their taste and it doesn't fascinate them long enough. Theatre lovers feel that the audience of classical concerts are a different type of people and they don't understand their behaviour during the night out. Crawford et al., (2014) indeed explain that the attendees of classical music are required to behave in a specific learnt and time-honoured way. These specific patterns of behaviour can form barriers to people that are not schooled in the classical music field. Theatregoers think that classical music belongs more to the elite group of our society and they have the feeling that classical music-goers like to show off their social class and their musical taste by visiting de Doelen. Research by Peterson & Simkus (1992) confirms this since they conclude that people attend classical music concerts to show off their high culture musical taste. Even though the boundaries are mostly created between popular

culture and high culture (Dimaggio, 1992), this research shows they can also exist between forms of high culture.

A barrier that was experienced by both groups was the 'lack of knowledge'. Classical music visitors miss knowledge on the offer of theatre and theatre visitors miss knowledge on the music itself. Classical music involves more time to learn to appreciate in comparison to theatre, explained and confirmed by visitors as well as non-visitors of classical music. The music becomes more pleasant when you are an experienced listener. This experience ensures that listeners are able to hear differences between versions of the same composition. Also they are touched more easily by the music since the compositions are familiar to them (Temme, 1993). Since they get even more pleasant feelings from familiar compositions, it is not needed for classical music-goers to take a lot of risks. Also because of their age, they like to avoid taking risks in comparison to theatregoers who sometimes need to take risks since theatre plays are more often new and unfamiliar to them.

It turned out that the barriers of visitors from de Doelen, are more modest. They like theatre, but it just did not happen, also since they don't know enough about the offer. Taken all the barriers and experiences into account, it is concluded that the classical music visitors are more willing to pay a visit to theatre than the other way around. This is made visible in illustration 5.1 at the top that is shown on the next page. The upper arrow shows that classic music visitors will go easier through the barrier of theatre and the theatre visitors experience a stronger barrier when they make the step towards classical music.

Overall this research has shown more insight into the highbrow taste level and the differences between theatregoers and classical music-goers. We can state that these two groups cannot simply be put under the same umbrella of older highly educated art lovers. These outcomes help in trying to understand better how and why people engage in (high) art

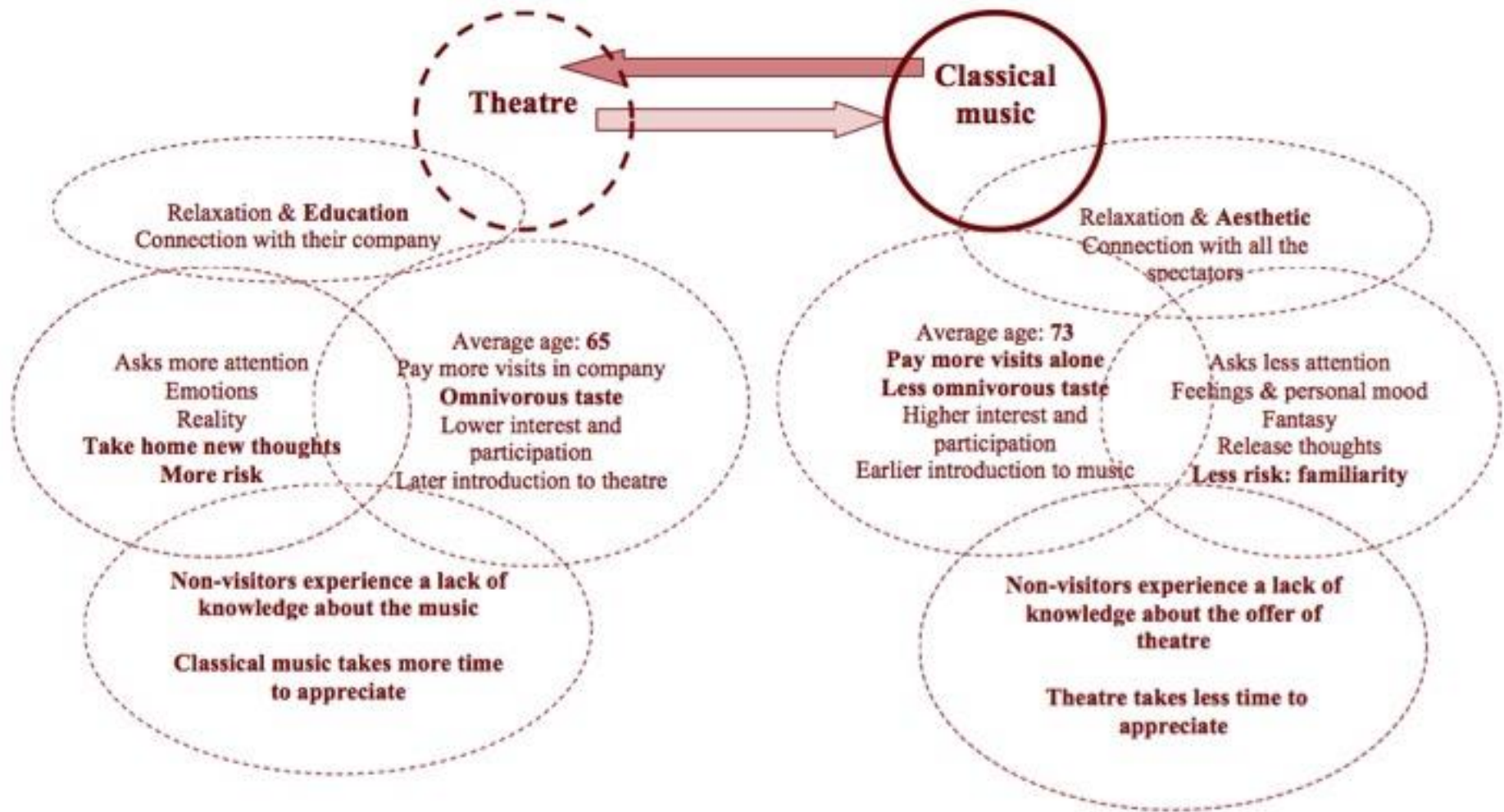


Illustration 5.1: an overview of the conclusions

6. DISCUSSION

6.1 Reflection

The results of this research are based on a comparison between visitors of theatre and classical music. It has been tried to make these two groups as similar as possible in order to reveal more pure differences. All the respondents are highly educated, live in Rotterdam, and are aged above 55. However, the visitors of theatre were on average ten years younger than the visitors of classical music and this has generated some differences between the two groups. Nonetheless, it remains a true reflection of how age is distributed within the audiences of theatre and classical music in the Netherlands. Second of all, a few differences were caused by the characteristics of these two cultural organisations. De Doelen is a programming platform for all the classical music in Rotterdam and the Ro Theatre makes theatre plays that are performed throughout the whole country, of which many at the ‘Rotterdamse Schouwburg’. Therefore, a comparison between de Doelen and de Schouwburg as a programming platform would have been more logical. The respondents from de Doelen all buy subscriptions, which means they see a lot of performances each year. In contrast to the group of respondents from the Ro Theatre, that is more mixed. Again, to make a more pure comparison, it would have been better to interview respondents from the Schouwburg who also buy subscriptions each year to make the comparison more pure. But still all the visitors showed a clear preference for one of these two high art forms.

During the interviews with these two groups there was made use of cards in order to ask quantitative questions to make the comparison more clear. These quantitative questions contained of placing and ordering cards and worked out quite well. However, sometimes people thought it was a difficult task to put the art forms in an order of interest. Some of them wanted to place cards next to each other in a horizontal line to make clear they have the same amount of interest in both forms. Also people sometimes interpreted the assignments differently and according to their own reasoning. For example, one respondent used the card ‘visit’ when he pays a visit once a year and another when he pays a visit every three years. Also the words on the cards were sometimes interpreted differently or reacted to on a negative way. Also one mistake was made since classical music visitors could choose the card ‘to hear the work of a certain composer’ and theatre visitors didn’t have the card ‘to see the work of a certain text writer’. That’s why the cards are only used as a first and fast tool to make the comparison, while the qualitative interview questions were of greater importance.

6.2 Follow-up research

This research indicates that the division between audiences of high and low culture is not the only division that can be made. It turns out that the highly educated audience above 55 of theatre and classical music show clear disparities. Since this research is conducted as a qualitative case study research, further verification is needed. Therefore I make a recommendation for further research that focuses on a quantitative analysis. In order to make these outcomes really applicable for cultural organisations, it is necessary to test them on a bigger population. For example, a few of the differences still occur through the effect of the variable 'age', even though it has been ensured that all the respondents are aged above 55. In a more quantitative research the age of the respondents should lay within a smaller scale or more age groups should be formed. This research leaves us with the question if all the outcomes are a result of people visiting theatre or classical music, or if they are a result of their differences in age. Classical music visitors are for example less interested in popular forms of art. Is this totally related to them being older than the theatregoers or are classical music visitors automatically more involved in higher forms of art?

Boorsma (2006) suggested that more research was needed on the motives of different audience groups. This research compliments her research on theatre visitors, since it confirms conclusions on theatre visitors and adds new information about classical music visitors. It would be very interesting to also make a comparison with audiences of dance or visual arts to see how much differences and similarities there exists between other audience groups. A related question that is also answered in this research is how different audience groups think of other art genres and what their possible barriers are. Do dance visitors for example experience the same barrier towards classical music as these theatre visitors do? Do they also feel too inexperienced to visit classical concerts? In this research it turned out that even though the theatre visitors have the same age and level of education, some of them still feel they don't have enough knowledge on the classical music to be able to enjoy it and apart from this they feel that the audience of classical concerts behave in a way they cannot really appreciate.

Lastly, since the outcomes of this research give a very clear view on the elderly people above 55, there could easily be made a comparison with a younger group to see whether they undertake different cultural activities, have different motives, experiences and barriers. All to better understand how and why people engage in arts and culture, to get to know them better and to be able to respond more easily to their needs and expectations.

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8. APPENDICES

8.1 Interview scheme visitors Ro Theatre

Topics	Questions	Follow-up questions
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Introductievragen	<p><i>Uitleggen waar het interview over gaat, volgorde, kaartjes en opnemen</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Wat is uw leeftijd?- Waar woont u?- Wat is uw hoogst behaalde diploma of voltooide opleiding?- Wat doet u in het dagelijks leven?	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Baan/met pensioen
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Behoeften vrije tijd	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Om u beter te leren kennen: stel u heeft morgen plotseling een vrije dag zonder verplichtingen; wat gaat u dan het liefst doen?- Als u moet kiezen tussen de volgende 3 opties in uw vrije tijd; wat kiest u dan?<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Ik heb de behoefte om tijd voor mijzelf vrij te maken.2. Ik heb de behoefte om met anderen te zijn.3. Ik heb de behoefte om de leukste en meest bijzondere uitstapjes te maken.- Gaat u in uw vrije tijd liever op stap of bent u liever thuis?- Wat doet u graag in uw vrije tijd binnenshuis?- Wat doet u graag in uw vrije tijd buitenshuis wanneer u op stap bent?- Zijn er activiteiten in uw vrije tijd die u graag alleen onderneemt?	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Waarom is dat zo belangrijk voor u?- Hoe ligt deze verhouding?- Heeft u hobby's?- Wat zijn uw favoriete uitstapjes?

	<p>- Welke plek neemt het bezoek van kunst en cultuuruitingen in binnen uw vrije tijd bestedingen? (theater, musea, film, muziek)</p> <p>- Bent u zelf actief binnen de culturele sector?</p>	<p>- Grote/kleine plek.</p> <p>- Hoe belangrijk is het voor u? Waar blijkt dat uit?</p> <p>- Op welke manier? (baan, vrijwilliger, bespelen instrument, dans- of theaterles etc.)</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Culturele activiteitenpatroon • Bezoek kunst en cultuur 	<p>- <i>(Uitleggen 10 kaartjes kunstvormen)</i>: Kunt u deze kunstvormen rangschikken op basis van interesse?</p> <p>- <i>(Uitleggen 6 kaartjes soorten participatie)</i>: Kunt u deze soorten participatie linken aan de kunstvormen? Foto 1 maken</p> <p><u>Vormen waar de respondent een bezoek aan brengt</u></p> <p>- In welke volgorde van meeste bezoek naar minste bezoek zou u de kaartjes leggen?</p> <p>- <i>(Uitleggen 2 kaartjes plezier)</i>: Bezoekt u deze kunstvormen puur om uzelf een plezier te doen of ook wel eens voor het plezier van anderen?</p> <p>- <i>(Uitleggen 5 kaartjes met wie)</i>: Met wie brengt u een bezoek aan deze kunstvormen? Foto 2 maken</p> <p>- Ziet u bezoek aan deze gekozen vormen als ontspanning of heeft u misschien ook andere motieven om deze activiteiten te ondernemen?</p>	<p>- Waarom staat deze vorm op nummer 1?</p> <p>- Wie zijn die anderen? (partner, vrienden, kinderen)</p> <p>- Welke? Waarom kunst en cultuur?</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Motieven 	<p>- (<i>Uitleggen 6 kaartjes motieven</i>): Kunt u 1 of meerdere motieven bij deze kunstvormen plaatsen? Foto 3 maken</p> <p>(Wanneer 1 vorm meerdere motieven heeft hiernaar vragen)</p> <p>(Wanneer meerdere vormen dezelfde motieven hebben hiernaar vragen: is er hierin een verschil tussen de kunstvormen?)</p> <p>- Kunt u ook nog andere activiteiten benoemen behalve toneel die u onderneemt in uw vrije tijd voor dezelfde motieven buiten kunst en cultuur?</p>	<p>- Zijn er motieven die niet op deze kaartjes staan?</p> <p>- Zijn deze motieven altijd tegelijk aanwezig of verschillen die per event? Hoe komt dat?</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Patroon 	<p>- Merkt u dat u een bepaald patroon ziet in uw bezoek? Bijvoorbeeld plekken waar u vaak komt of dingen die u graag bezoekt in de stad?</p> <p>- Vindt u dit prettig of zou u dit wel eens willen doorbreken?</p> <p>- Heeft u het gevoel dat u beschikt over voldoende informatie over wat er allemaal te doen is in de stad?</p>	<p>- Welke?</p> <p>- Welke?</p> <p>- Waarom wel/niet?</p> <p>- Waarom wel/niet?</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Motieven/ voorkeur toneel 	<p>- Hoe vaak per jaar bezoekt u een toneelvoorstelling (ook buiten bezoek aan het Ro Theater)?</p> <p>- Wat zijn voor u redenen om een bezoek te brengen aan toneelvoorstellingen?</p>	<p>- Waar? Ro Theater? Andere plekken? Buiten Rotterdam?</p> <p>- Waarom gaat u naar het toneel?</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Gevolgen 	<p>- Waarom zijn die redenen belangrijk voor u?</p> <p>- (<i>Uitleggen 16 kaartjes motieven toneel</i>): Welke motieven voor het bezoek aan toneel zijn op u bezoek van toepassing? Foto 4 maken</p> <p>- Is een avond toneel voor u vergelijkbaar met een andere culturele activiteit?</p>	<p>- Wat is het gevolg?</p> <p>- Wat is de volgorde van meest naar minst belangrijk?</p>

<p>o Smaak</p>	<p>- Met wie gaat u meestal naar een voorstelling? Zijn dat altijd dezelfde mensen of niet?</p> <p>- Welke voorstelling heeft u voor het laatst gezien?</p> <p>- Van wat voor soort toneel houdt u? Is er een bepaalde stijl waar u van houdt?</p> <p>- <i>(Uitleggen kaartjes 5 keer kiezen tussen 2 begrippen):</i> Wat betekent toneel voor u?</p> <p>- Wanneer is uw interesse in toneel ontstaan?</p> <p>- Met welk idee over kunst en cultuur bent u opgegroeid of opgevoed?</p>	<p>- Zo ja welke? Zo nee, wat is uniek aan een avond toneel?</p> <p>- Hoe ziet jullie avond er vervolgens uit? Wat doet u ervoor en erna? Hoe belangrijk is de locatie?</p> <p>- Omschrijving, plek, met wie?</p> <p>- Kiest u vaker voor de bekende repertoire stukken of de meer experimentele stukken? Waarom zo vaak het Ro Theater?</p> <p>- Hoe ontstond dat?</p> <p>- Veranderd? Toegenomen? Waardoor?</p> <p>- Ondernam u als kind activiteiten gerelateerd aan toneel?</p>
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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Is het voor u belangrijk het verhaal van de voorstelling te begrijpen? - Is toneel voor iedereen toegankelijk? 	<p>u dat kennis over de kunstenaar(s) invloed heeft op u waardering van het stuk? Op welke manier dan?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hoezo? Hoe komt dat? - Heeft toneel vaak een thema/moreel/boodschap? - Waarom wel/niet? Wat is er voor nodig om dit te waarderen?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Overwegingen totaal <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Toneel 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Is het besluit om naar toneel te gaan altijd snel gemaakt of zijn er ook nog andere activiteiten die langskomen als optie? - Als u heeft besloten om naar een voorstelling te gaan, waar wordt u dan meestal door verleidt? - Komt die beslissing van u of wordt u vaker meegenomen/overgehaald door anderen? - Als iemand anders voor u beslists; waarom is hij/zij daar goed in? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Bijvoorbeeld de film? - Promotiemateriaal van de voorstelling (posters/flyers, programma's op tv/radio), recensies of ervaringen van bekenden? - Als u mensen overhaalt; gaat dit moeilijk/ makkelijk?

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Welke vormen niet ○ Drempels Ervaringen/ vooroordelen/ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hoe oriënteert u zich op het aanbod? - Neemt u wel eens de gewaagde keuze om een voorstelling te bezoeken zonder gelezen recensies, eigen ervaringen of ervaringen van bekenden? - Zoekt u na een voorstelling thuis nog wel eens naar recensies of extra informatie? - Vind u het prettig om achteraf uw ervaringen met mensen te delen? <p><u>De kunstvormen waar de geïnterviewde geen bezoek aan brengt</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - De kunstvormen waar u geen bezoek aan brengt; houdt u hier niet van of zijn er andere redenen waarom u hier niet komt? - (<i>Uitleggen kaartjes 7 drempels</i>): Kunt u 1 of meerdere van deze drempels bij de vormen plaatsen waar u nooit een bezoek aan brengt? Foto 5 maken 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Brochure/nieuwsbrief/ flyer/posters/social media/website/kranten/tv/informatie van vrienden/ eerdere ervaringen gezelschap acteurs of regisseur/kennis over het onderwerp - Beslist u dan op de titel, het thema, de foto's? - Waarom? Wanneer? Veranderd uw mening daarna wel eens? - Waarom wel/niet? Met wie, wanneer? Social media? - Alle vormen afgaan - Ervaart u nog andere drempels die niet op de kaartjes staan?
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<p>bijgedachten/ houding</p>	<p>- Bent u wellicht wel geïnteresseerd in het bezoeken van 1 of meerdere van deze kunstvormen?</p> <p><u>Ingaan op klassieke muziek (geen klassieke muziek)</u></p> <p>- Klassieke muziek is net als toneel performing arts; maar toch komt u hier niet. Wat is hier de reden voor denkt u?</p> <p>- Heeft u wellicht toch ooit wel eens klassieke muziek bezocht?</p> <p>- Hoe denkt u over klassieke muziek?</p> <p>- Hoe heeft dit beeld zich gevormd denkt u?</p> <p>- Luistert u thuis wel eens naar klassieke muziek?</p> <p>- Staat u open voor het bezoek aan klassieke muziek?</p> <p>- Wat zou er volgens u moeten veranderen om de stap naar klassieke muziek wel te maken?</p>	<p>- Welke? Waarom?</p> <p>-Wat is voor u het verschil?</p> <p>- Hoe was dat?</p> <p>- Wat voor beeld heeft u van klassieke muziek?</p> <p>- Opvatting/oordeel en gevoel /gedachten</p> <p>- Dachten uw ouders hier ook zo over? Is dit u aangeleerd? Heeft u dit overgenomen van anderen?</p> <p>- Waarom wel/niet? Momenten/redenen</p> <p>- (locatie, korter, meer informatie, combinatie andere genres)</p>
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	<p><u>Ingaan op klassieke muziek (wel klassieke muziek)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Klassieke muziek is net als toneel performing arts; maar toch zijn het twee verschillende disciplines. Is er voor u ook een verschil? - Is het bezoek aan toneel en klassieke muziek een zelfde soort ervaring of is dit voor u verschillend? - Hoe denkt u over klassieke muziek? - Hoe heeft dit beeld zich gevormd denkt u? - Hoe vaak bezoekt u KM? Luistert u thuis wel eens naar klassieke muziek? - Kunt u begrijpen dat toneel bezoekers geen klassieke muziek bezoeken? - Zou er volgens u iets moeten veranderen zodat u vaker de stap naar klassieke muziek zou maken? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Zo ja, in welk opzicht verschillen deze disciplines? - Zo ja, welke? Redenen? Met wie? Heeft u dan een andere avond? (Emotie/perceptie) - Opvatting/oordeel en gevoel /gedachten - Dachten uw ouders hier ook zo over? Is dit u aangeleerd? Heeft u dit overgenomen van anderen? - Waarom wel/niet? Momenten/redenen - Hoe komt dit denkt u? - Wat?(locatie, korter, meer informatie, combinatie genres
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8.2 Interview scheme visitors de Doelen

Topiclijst	Interviewvragen	Doorvraagmogelijkheden
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introductievragen 	<p><i>Uitleggen waar het interview over gaat, volgorde, kaartjes en opnemen</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Wat is uw leeftijd? - Waar woont u? - Wat is uw hoogst behaalde diploma of voltooide opleiding? - Wat doet u in het dagelijks leven? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Baan/met pensioen
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Behoeften vrije tijd 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Om u beter te leren kennen: stel u heeft morgen plotseling een vrije dag zonder verplichtingen; wat gaat u dan het liefst doen? - Als u moet kiezen tussen de volgende 3 opties in uw vrije tijd; wat kiest u dan? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ik heb de behoefte om tijd voor mijzelf vrij te maken. 2. Ik heb de behoefte om met anderen te zijn. 3. Ik heb de behoefte om de leukste en meest bijzondere uitstapjes te maken. - Gaat u in uw vrije tijd liever op stap of bent u liever thuis? - Wat doet u graag in uw vrije tijd binnenshuis? - Wat doet u graag in uw vrije tijd buitenshuis wanneer u op stap bent? - Zijn er activiteiten in uw vrije tijd die u graag alleen onderneemt? - Welke plek neemt het bezoek van kunst en cultuuruitingen in binnen uw vrije tijd bestedingen? (theater, musea, film, muziek) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Waarom is dat zo belangrijk voor u? - Hoe ligt deze verhouding? - Heeft u hobby's? - Wat zijn uw favoriete uitstapjes? - Grote/kleine plek. - Hoe belangrijk is het voor

	<p>- Bent u zelf actief binnen de culturele sector?</p>	<p>u? Waar blijkt dat uit?</p> <p>- Op welke manier? (baan, vrijwilliger, bespelen instrument, dans- of theaterles etc.)</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Culturele activiteitenpatroon • Bezoek kunst en cultuur <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Motieven 	<p>- (<i>Uitleggen 10 kaartjes kunstvormen</i>): Kunt u deze kunstvormen rangschikken op basis van interesse?</p> <p>- (<i>Uitleggen 6 kaartjes soorten participatie</i>): Kunt u deze soorten participatie linken aan de kunstvormen? Foto 1 maken</p> <p><u>Vormen waar de respondent een bezoek aan brengt</u></p> <p>- In welke volgorde van meeste bezoek naar minste bezoek zou u de kaartjes leggen?</p> <p>- (<i>Uitleggen 2 kaartjes plezier</i>): Bezoekt u deze kunstvormen puur om uzelf een plezier te doen of ook wel eens voor het plezier van anderen?</p> <p>- (<i>Uitleggen 5 kaartjes met wie</i>): Met wie brengt u een bezoek aan deze kunstvormen? Foto 2 maken</p> <p>- Ziet u bezoek aan deze gekozen vormen als ontspanning of heeft u misschien ook andere motieven om deze activiteiten te ondernemen?</p> <p>- (<i>Uitleggen 6 kaartjes motieven</i>): Kunt u 1 of meerdere motieven bij deze kunstvormen plaatsen? Foto 3 maken</p>	<p>- Waarom staat deze vorm op nummer 1?</p> <p>- Wie zijn die anderen? (partner, vrienden, kinderen)</p> <p>- Welke? Waarom kunst en cultuur?</p> <p>- Zijn er motieven die niet op deze kaartjes staan?</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Patroon 	<p>(Wanneer 1 vorm meerdere motieven heeft hiernaar vragen)</p> <p>(Wanneer meerdere vormen dezelfde motieven hebben hiernaar vragen: is er hierin een verschil tussen de kunstvormen?)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Merkt u dat u een bepaald patroon ziet in uw bezoek? Bijvoorbeeld plekken waar u vaak komt of dingen die u graag bezoekt in de stad? - Vindt u dit prettig of zou u dit wel eens willen doorbreken? - Heeft u het gevoel dat u beschikt over voldoende informatie over wat er allemaal te doen is in de stad? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Zijn deze motieven altijd tegelijk aanwezig of verschillen die per event? Hoe komt dat? - Welke? - Waarom wel/niet? - Waarom wel/niet?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Motieven/ voorkeur KM ○ Gevolgen 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hoe vaak per jaar bezoekt u klassieke concerten? (los van jazz, wereldmuziek en andere genres. Orkesten en kleinere ensembles) - Wat zijn voor u redenen om een bezoek te brengen aan een klassiek concert? - Waarom zijn die redenen belangrijk voor u? - (<i>Uitleggen 16 kaartjes motieven KM</i>): Welke motieven voor het bezoek aan klassieke muziek zijn op u bezoek van toepassing? Foto 4 maken - Is bezoek aan een klassiek concert voor u vergelijkbaar met een andere culturele activiteit? - Met wie gaat u meestal naar een klassiek concert? Zijn dat altijd dezelfde mensen of niet? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Andere plekken dan de Doelen? Buiten Rotterdam? - Waarom gaat u naar klassieke muziek? - Wat is het gevolg? - Wat is de volgorde van meest naar minst belangrijk? - Zo ja welke? Zo nee, wat is uniek aan een avond KM? - Hoe ziet jullie avond er vervolgens uit?

<p>○ Smaak</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Welk klassiek concert heeft u voor het laatst gezien? - Van wat voor soort klassieke muziek houdt u? Is er een bepaald genre, vorm, tijdsperiode waar u van houdt? (met of zonder vocalisten?) - <i>(Uitleggen kaartjes 5 keer kiezen tussen 2 begrippen):</i> Wat betekent klassieke muziek voor u? - Wanneer is uw interesse in klassieke muziek ontstaan? - Met welk idee over kunst en cultuur bent u opgegroeid of opgevoed? - Met wie heeft u het gevoel u smaak te kunnen delen? - Vind u het belangrijk wat andere mensen van uw smaak vinden? - Bezoekt u hetzelfde klassieke concert wel eens meerdere malen? - Wat vind u van cross-overs in concerten? (een combinatie met een populairdere muziekstijl of combinatie muziek met film/spel) 	<p>Wat doet u ervoor en erna? Hoe belangrijk is de locatie?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Omschrijving, plek, met wie? - Kiest u vaker voor eigentijdse muziekstukken of bekende oudere stukken? - Hoe ontstond dat? - Veranderd? Toegenomen? Waardoor? - Ondernam u als kind activiteiten gerelateerd aan klassieke muziek? - Ouders/vrienden - Overeenkomsten/verschillen - Waarom? - Bezoekt u deze wel eens?
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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Is klassieke muziek voor iedereen toegankelijk? - Luistert u thuis ook naar klassieke muziek? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Waarom wel/niet? Wat is er voor nodig om dit te waarderen? - Welke redenen/momenten?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Overwegingen totaal <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Klassieke muziek 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Is het besluit om naar een klassiek concert te gaan altijd snel gemaakt of zijn er ook nog andere activiteiten die langskomen als optie? - Als u heeft besloten om naar een klassiek concert te gaan, waar wordt u dan meestal door verleid? - Komt die beslissing van u of wordt u vaker meegenomen/overgehaald door anderen? - Als iemand anders voor u beslist; waarom is hij/zij daar goed in? - Hoe oriënteert u zich op het aanbod van klassieke muziek? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Bijvoorbeeld de film? - Promotiemateriaal van het concert (posters/flyers, programma's op tv/radio), recensies of ervaringen van bekenden? - Als u mensen overhaalt; gaat dit moeilijk/ makkelijk? - Brochure/nieuwsbrief/ flyer/posters/social media/website/kranten/tv/informatie van vrienden/ eerdere ervaringen/ componist dirigent of orkest/onderwerp

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Welke vormen niet ○ Drempels Ervaringen/ vooroordelen/ bijgedachten/ houding 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Neemt u wel eens de gewaagde keuze om een klassiek concert te bezoeken zonder gelezen recensies, eigen ervaringen of ervaringen van bekenden? - Zoekt u na een klassiek concert thuis nog wel eens naar recensies of extra informatie? - Vind u het prettig om achteraf uw ervaringen met mensen te delen? <p><u>De kunstvormen waar de geïnterviewde geen bezoek aan brengt</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - De kunstvormen waar u geen bezoek aan brengt; houdt u hier niet van of zijn er andere redenen waarom u hier niet komt? - (<i>Uitleggen kaartjes 7 drempels</i>): Kunt u 1 of meerdere van deze drempels bij de vormen plaatsen waar u nooit een bezoek aan brengt? Foto 5 maken - Bent u wellicht wel geïnteresseerd in het bezoeken van 1 of meerdere van deze kunstvormen? <p><u>Ingaan op toneel (geen toneel)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Toneel is net als klassieke muziek performing arts; maar toch komt u hier niet. Wat is hier de reden voor denkt u? - Heeft u wellicht toch ooit wel eens toneel bezocht? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Beslist u dan op de titel, het thema, de foto's? - Waarom? Wanneer? Veranderd uw mening daarna wel eens? - Waarom wel/niet? Met wie, wanneer? Social media? - Alle vormen afgaan - Ervaart u nog andere drempels die niet op de kaartjes staan? - Welke? Waarom? - Wat is voor u het verschil? - Hoe was dat? - Wat voor beeld heeft u van
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	<p>- Hoe denkt u over toneel?</p> <p>- Hoe heeft dit beeld zich gevormd denkt u?</p> <p>- Staat u open voor het bezoek aan toneel?</p> <p>- Zou er volgens u iets moeten veranderen zodat u vaker de stap naar toneel zou maken?</p> <p><u>Ingaan op toneel (wel toneel)</u></p> <p>- Toneel is net als klassieke muziek performing arts; maar toch zijn het twee verschillende disciplines. Is er voor u ook een verschil?</p> <p>- Is het bezoek aan toneel en klassieke muziek een zelfde soort ervaring of is dit voor u verschillend?</p> <p>- Hoe denkt u over toneel?</p> <p>- Hoe heeft dit beeld zich gevormd denkt u?</p>	<p>toneel? Opvatting/oordeel en gevoel/gedachten</p> <p>- Dachten uw ouders hier ook zo over? Is dit u aangeleerd? Heeft u dit overgenomen van anderen?</p> <p>- (locatie, korter, meer informatie, combinatie andere genres)</p> <p>- Zo ja, in welk opzicht verschillen deze disciplines?</p> <p>- Zo ja, welke? Redenen? Met wie? Heeft u dan een andere avond? (Emotie/perceptie)</p> <p>- Opvatting/oordeel en gevoel /gedachten</p> <p>- Dachten uw ouders hier ook zo over? Is dit u aangeleerd? Heeft u dit overgenomen van</p>
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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hoe vaak bezoekt u toneel? - Kunt u begrijpen dat klassieke muziek bezoekers geen toneel bezoeken? - Zou er volgens u iets moeten veranderen zodat u vaker de stap naar toneel zou maken? 	<p>anderen?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Waarom wel/niet? <p>Momenten/redenen</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hoe komt dit denkt u? - Wat?(locatie, korter, meer informatie, combinatie genres
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8.3 Codebook of used codes in Atlas.ti

Codebook of both groups

Abstract feelings
Accessible
Acting
Acting too much
Actively involved
Activity alone
Activity free time indoor
Activity free time outdoor
Actors
Actuality
Addiction
Admiration
Age
Ahoy
Aken
Alize Zandwijk
Allon Pierson museum
Almere
Ambiance
America
Amsterdam
Andre Hazes
Another world
Antwerpen
Art lessons
Atmosphere
Babysitting
Barcelona
Barrier cabaret
Barrier classical music
Barrier dance
Barrier did not know
Barrier don't understand
Barrier film
Barrier financial
Barrier it did not happen
Barrier literature
Barrier musical
Barrier no need
Barrier not alone
Barrier opera
Barrier other public
Barrier pop music
Barrier theatre
Barrier time
Barrier too busy
Barrier too expensive

Barrier too late
Barrier too much effort
Beautiful
Beautiful melodies
Become richer
Beelden aan zee
Berlijn
Biking
Blenle
Board member
Boijmans
Bonheur
Books
Boring
Both forms of fun
Breda
Brilliant
Brochure
Buying music
Buying visual art
Calling
Capelle
Carré
Catharijneconvent
Chabotmuseum
Chairman
Challenge
Change
Charleroi
Chemistry conductor and orchestra
Cinerama
Classical composition
Classical music per year
Classical music: esthetical
Clearing
Commitment conductor
Companion
Companion classical music
Companion theatre
Comparable
Comparison
Complicated
Computing
Concentration
Concertgebouw
Conductor
Content of the play
Cooking
Cozy company
Crafts

Cross-over
CSI
Cultural tours
Curious
Daily living
Dancing
Daring
De Appel
De Bakkerij
De Doelen
De Doelen places
De tuin bij Trompenburg
Decision-making
Decor
Delft
Den Haag
Dependent on mood
Depth
Developing
Didn't meet the expectations
Different components of theatre
Different speed
Direction
Director
Distraction
Documentaries
Doing things
Doner
Dordrecht
Double-layer
Downloading dvd's
Downloading music
Dress up
Drink on a terrace
Dudok
Duitsland
Dusseldorf
Ecstasy
Eelden
Egocentric
Embarrassing
Embroidery
Emotion
Empathy main character
Enjoying
Enthusiasm conductor
Enthusiasm orchestra
Everything is possible
Exchange experience
Experience classical music

Experience dance
Experience museums
Experience musical
Experience theatre
Experience visual art
Familiar
Fantasy
Fascination
Feeling of happiness
Filmfestival
Fitness
Flea market
Flying
Food for thought
Forms intermingled
Frans Hals
Freedom
Friends
Fun for myself
Fun for others
Gardening
Generating additional income
Going out
Golfing
Gouda
Gouvernestraat
Gripped by the acting
Gripped by the form of play
Gripped by the story
Haags gemeente museum
Haarlem
Haarlems concertgebouw
Handicraft
Hannover
Happiness
Herman van Veen
Het Algemeen Dagblad
Het Chasse theater
Het Douane museum
Het Drents museum
Het Gronings Museum
Het Kapelletje
Het Kralingse Bos
Het museum van Land en Volkenkunde
Het Nederlands Danstheater
Het Onafhankelijk Toneel
Het uur van de wolf
Holding a mirror
Hollands Diep
Home

Hotel Modern
How they present the story
Huize Orkater
Image (view)
Image classical music
Image theatre
Impressed
Incisively
Indoor
Indoor & outdoor
Information on the offer
Initiator
Interaction public
Interaction public and performers
Interest
Interest cabaret
Interest classical music
Interest dance
Interest film
Interest literature
Interest musical
Interest opera
Interest pop music
Interest started
Interest theatre
Interest visual art
Internet
Into the music
Into the story
Involving public
Isala Theater
Isala theater
Isamunda
Italië
Jazz
Job
Jobs around the house
Jobseeker
Joods historisch museum
Joris Luiendijk
Judging a concert
Judging a theatre performance
Knitting
Knooppunten route
Knowing the music
Knowledge
Kralingse plas
Kralingseplas
Kunsthall
Kunststof

Kunstuur
LantarenVenster
Laurenskerk
Law en Order
Learning
Letterencafé Rotterdam
Level of education
Library
Listening at home
Listening classical music
Listening music
Listening pop music
Location
Lot of repetition
Luik
Luxor
Maastricht
Magazines
Mail
Making opera music
Making visual art
Marbella
Mariniersmuseum
MAS
Mastership
Mauristhuis
Member
Member classical music
Might go
Mix
Modern
Motive amusement
Motive art: distraction
Motive art: emotionally touching
Motive art: enriches
Motive art: esthetical
Motive art: experiencing something
Motive art: interest
Motive art: relaxation
Motive art: to be carried away
Motive cabaret
Motive classical music
Motive classical music: curious
Motive classical music: educational
Motive classical music: emotionally touched
Motive classical music: escapist
Motive classical music: interest
Motive classical music: relaxation
Motive classical music: social
Motive composer

Motive dance
Motive dance: esthetical
Motive educational
Motive emotionally touched
Motive escapist
Motive esthetical
Motive film: to be touched emotionally
Motive fun
Motive musical: esthetical
Motive opera
Motive pop music: escape
Motive relaxation
Motive self-development
Motive self-esteem
Motive social
Motive theatre
Motive theatre: educational
Motive theatre: fun
Motive theatre: relaxation
Motive to dress up
Motive visual art: esthetical
Motive visual art: relaxation
Motive: to be surprised
Motives intermingled
Muhka
Multiple times
Museum de Buitenplaats
Museumclub
Music is the highest art form
Musicians don't understand/feel the music
Nature
Needed skills
News programs
Newsletters
Newspaper
Noise
Not pure
Number 1
Operadagen
Opinion of others on taste
Opium
Orientation
Others
Outdoor
Own choice
Parents
Parijs
Part of your life
Passion
Pay attention

Performance of the composition
Philosophy
Places classical music
Playing classical music
Playing music
Pleasant
Poppentheater
Predictable
Pressure
Probusclub
Programme book
Psychology
Reading
Reality
Recognition
Relate to
Relaxation
Result theatre
Retirement
Rijksmuseum
Role art and culture
Rotterdams Centrum voor Theater
Rotterdams lees kabinet
Rotterdams Toneel
Routine
S' Hertogenbosch
Scapino
Scheepvaartmuseum
Schiedam
Schouwburg
Selling literature
Sharing taste
Shopping
Showing people the other side of stories
Singing
Skills of the musicians
Sleep longer
Soldaat van Oranje
Soloist
Something extra
Spanje
Special
Spijkenisse
Stedelijk
Stopera
Story
Story classical music
Study trip
Studying
Style of classical music

Style of theatre
Subscription
Surprising
Swimming
Take along inexperienced
Tegenlicht
Telling people a true story
Tennis
Tension
TENT
Text
The beauty of the work
The most balanced form of music
The will to hear more
The work that is played
Theater
Theater de Schie
Theater Walhalla
Theatre per year
Theatre places
Theme
To be touched
To be touched emotionally
To become calm
To become happy
To become intrigued
To enjoy
To escape
To experience the music
To experience the music together
To hear other ideas on transferring the music
To hear the stratification in the music
To learn new compositions
To learn something
To see a conductor
To see a soloist
To see an orchestra
To see new things
To see people work
To think and reflect
Too easy
Too modern
Topic
Topical subject
Touched
Transferring
Transferring classical music
Traveling
Treasurer
Turns in the music

Uitagenda
Understandable
Upbringing
Upbringing children
Upbringing grandchildren
Utrecht
Vereniging verzamelde werken
Visiting bookshops
Visiting cabaret
Visiting cities
Visiting classical music
Visiting dance
Visiting film
Visiting literature
Visiting museums
Visiting musical
Visiting opera
Visiting pop music
Visiting theatre
Visiting visual art
Volkskrant
Volunteer
Vrij Theater
Vrijthof
VS
Walhalla
Walking
Watch several times
Watching cabaret at home
Watching classical music at home
Watching film at home
Watching literature at home
Watching musical at home
Watching opera at home
Watching pop music at home
Watching television
Watching theatre at home
Wim Brands op de zondagmorgen
Wim T. Schippers
Winter sport
Witteman
Writer
Yourself
Zaaltje van de bibliotheek
Zomergasten
Zomerzondagen
Zonta club
Zuidplein Theater

Total number of codes: 495