

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

Master Thesis

So You Think You Can Appreciate Dance? Insights into the visiting behavior of young adults
with a university background attending ballet performances of the Dutch National Ballet:

motivators, cultural capital and arts appreciation

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MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

Abstract

In the past years cultural institutions like the Dutch National Ballet are facing the problem of a decreasing trend in participation, a lack of diversity and the aging of the current loyal audience members. There is a need for a younger audience to visit ballet performances more loyally. Young adults with a university background were interviewed in in-depth interviews to get insights into their motivators for visiting ballet (Swanson, Davis & Zhao, 2008), their taste patterns (Van Eijck & Lievens) and the nature of the appreciation for ballet: which is informed by flow theory (Nakamura & Csikzentmihalyi, 2002), intrinsic motivation (Ryan & Deci, 2000) and the need for cognition (Cacioppo & Petty, 1982), in the light of their assumed accumulated cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1985; 2008), to uncover the underlying motivations of the visiting behavior of young adults with a university background attending ballet performances of the Dutch National Ballet. Young adults with a university background all have accumulated enough cultural capital to appreciate ballet (Bourdieu, 1985; 2008) and to experience flow (Nakamura & Csikzentmihalyi, 2002; Ryan & Deci, 2000), all have an omnivorous cultural taste with preferences across the highbrow and pop schemes (Van Eijck & Lievens) and are motivated by recreational, artistic and educational motivators to visit ballet performances (Swanson, Davis & Zhao, 2008). They differ however in the extent of dominance of their pop and highbrow cultural scheme (Van Eijck & Lievens) and some are motivated by an escapist and social motivator too. And two kind of subgroups emerged within the group of young adults with a university background: (1) currently active dancers and (2) young adults who have a preference for ballet versus young adults who appreciate modern ballet (at least) as much as ballet. Currently active dancers seem to be motivated by an inspirational motivator and they are also very likely to experience a special kind of additional appreciation of ballet through a bodily sensation of inner mimicry due to interaction of their movement vocabulary and mirror neurons (Cross & Tricini, 2011; Calvo-Merino et al., 2008). And the young adults with a university background who have a preference for ballet most probably didn't have had the childhood exposure to modern ballet pieces, and are less likely to possess an explicit need for cognition. The young adults with a university background who appreciate modern ballet and ballet have had the childhood exposure to modern ballet pieces, enjoy a higher amount of complexity and value abstract ideas and novelty, are more likely to have a dominant highbrow scheme than a dominant pop scheme, and are the ones who are most likely to possess a high need for cognition. This study thus informs the National Ballet and other cultural institutions through what factors these young adults with a university background (subgroups: active dancers and preferring ballet / appreciating modern ballet and ballet) could be stimulated into visiting ballet performances more loyally.

Key words: ballet, Dutch National Ballet, cultural capital, distinction theory, motivators, motivation, visiting behavior, cultural taste, omnivorousness, cultural omnivore, attendance frequency, flow theory, intrinsic motivation, and need for cognition.

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

Chapter overview / Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction	<u>pp 1-6</u>
Defining the problem	pp 1-3
Need for a younger audience	pp 3
Target group and cultural capital	pp 3-4
Frequency of visiting behavior	pp 4
Taste patterns	pp 5
Motivators	pp 5
Arts appreciation	pp 5-6
Chapter 2: Theory	<u>pp 7-28</u>
Cultural Capital	pp 7-11
Introducing Bourdieu’s Distinction Theory	pp 7-9
Habitus	pp 9-10
The acquirement of cultural capital	pp 10- 11
Audience segmentation: Omnivore & taste groups	pp 11-14
Audience segmentation: Tripartite audience segmentation	pp 14-16
Motivators of performing arts attendance.	pp 16-19
Education	pp 19
Arts appreciation	pp 19-25
Flow theory	pp 20-21
Intrinsic motivation	pp 21-24
Need for cognition	pp 24-25
Expectations	pp 25-28
Chapter 3: Methods	<u>pp 29-42</u>
Case	pp 30-31
Sample	pp 31-37
Operationalization and materials	pp 37-40
Acquirement of cultural capital	pp 37-38
Accumulation of cultural capital	pp 38
Motivators	pp 38-39

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

Taste patterns	pp 39
Arts appreciation / aesthetic experience	pp 40
Procedure	pp 40-42
Chapter 4: Findings	<u>pp 43-66</u>
Motivators	pp 43-52
Recreational motivator	pp 44
Artistic motivator	pp 45
Educational motivator	pp 45-46
Fandom	pp 46-48
Inspirational motivator	pp 48-50
Social motivator	pp 50-51
Escapist motivator	pp 51-52
Taste pattern	pp 52-54
Appreciation of ballet and cultural capital	pp 55-66
Complexity / Abstract / Familiarity	pp 55-57
Need for cognition	pp 57-59
Skill / Beauty / Elegance	pp 59-61
Mirror neurons	pp 61-62
Flow experience	pp 62-66
Chapter 5: Discussion	<u>pp 67-76</u>
Main findings	pp 67-69
Motivators	pp 67
Taste pattern	pp 67-68
Arts appreciation: Complexity and need for cognition	pp 68
Arts appreciation: Skill and mirror neurons	pp 68-69
Arts appreciation: Flow experience	pp 69
Conclusion	pp 69-76
Reference list.....	<u>pp 77-81</u>
Appendices.....	<u>pp 82-97</u>
Appendix A. Interview topic list (Dutch)	pp 82-85

Appendix B. Interview topic list (English)	pp 86-89
Appendix C. Untranslated quotes (Dutch) in Chapter 4: Findings	pp 90-97

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

Foreword and acknowledgements

Everyone who knows me a little, knows one thing: I love dancing. I've danced since I was little, I think I started with ballet classes when I was six years old. Over the years my passion for ballet and dancing only grew, I've explored different styles and I am still enjoying ballet and dancing. I even considered to enroll in a Bachelor Dance Education at the Amsterdam School of Arts, but decided to enroll a second Master program: Master Arts, Culture and Society at the Erasmus University Rotterdam, considering that in this way I am able to combine my academic background in social psychology with my passion for dance and my overall deep interest in arts and culture. Without my partner Tim van der Voorn I probably wouldn't have considered the possibility to follow another Master program, and I am thankful for his and Lisanne van Koperen their thoughts on my research project and thesis. And thanks to the loving and simple advice of my grandma Meta Boelee – van Rij to follow my heart, but choose wisely while considering the most important thing: aiming to do things I love, I was able to make my decision to enroll in this second Master program. Furthermore, without Annemarie Kersten, I would not have had the amazing opportunity to do this research project in collaboration with the Dutch National Ballet, and thus would never have embarked on this research project, which has been interesting and exactly entailing what I love from the beginnings till the end. And I would like to thank the Dutch National Ballet as well for generously and willingly providing their help. Finally, I thank all the lovely young adults who have generously taken time to participate in this study, and openly have shared their thoughts and experiences.

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

So You Think You Can Appreciate Dance? Insights into the visiting behavior of young adults with a university background attending ballet performances of the Dutch National Ballet: motivators, cultural taste, cultural capital and arts appreciation

Chapter 1: Introduction

Throughout human history we have expressed ourselves through dance. Dance is a universal human behavior, like the visual arts and music, it is recognizable across cultures, across social classes, generations, and the world. The earliest expressions of dance can be traced back to performances related to rituals and social expression, like celebrations. Specific to dance as a form of art is the expression through the body moving in space and through time (Cross & Tricini, 2011). Over all the years of expressing ourselves through bodily movement, the dance genre ballet evolved to the genre classical ballet as we know it nowadays. The gradual evolvments were stemming from dissatisfaction with the status quo of the prevailing practice in the past and these evolvments has led to the typical technical characteristics of the present-day classical ballet. Ballet was born as a refinement of folk practices, as it was brought into the Court, with developments following from that moment on. Important development in the characteristics of ballet were a display of courtly manners, the relocation from performing in the ballroom to performing on a raised platform, the emphasis toward an audience, the five feet and arm positions, the codification of ballet technique, professionalization of ballet dancers, maximum turnout of the legs, artistic independence as ballet d'action or choreodrame, i.e. story-telling through movement, the introducing of pointe shoes, and maximum linear extensions (Hammond & Hammond, 1979).

Defining the problem. Ballet has grown into a well-established highbrow art form (Bourdieu, 2008) in the Western industrialized society, with theatres hosting the grand production of classical ballet pieces with the impressive sceneries, enchanting costumes and the execution of the movements aimed to equal perfection. But a problem is arising: the number of visitors of dance performances has decreased over the past years and there is not much diversity in the audience. In the Netherlands it has been observed for example that the majority of visitors of dance performances in general is mainly female, it is mostly visited by a group older than the age of 41, and dominated by people with a high educational attainment. (DOD, 2007; Het Nationale Ballet, 2015). In 2014 71% of the visitors of the Dutch National Ballet was female, and 29%

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

male. Concerning age, which was divided in six different age groups, 1% of visitors of the Dutch National Ballet was between 13-17 years old, 15% between 18-30 years old, 13% between 31-40 years old, 31% between 41-55 years old, 22% between 56-65 years old, and 19% older than the age of 65. Furthermore, the most astonishing difference is to be found in educational attainment, with 4% having a low educational attainment, 23% having a middle educational attainment and 73% having a high educational attainment (Het Nationale Ballet, 2015). The Dutch National Ballet is a professional ballet company of world-class housed in the ‘Muziektheater Amsterdam’, located in Amsterdam, the capital of the Netherlands and part of the cultural institution Dutch National Opera & Ballet. Within the Netherlands, Dutch National Opera & Ballet strives to keep opera and ballet traditions alive, and to generate enthusiasm while reaching a large and diverse public. They are one of the cultural institutions in the Netherlands observing a less than diverse audience in their theatres (Stichting Het Muziektheater Amsterdam, 2012) and are thus clearly striving to improve this.

Practical applications drawn from the findings of this study could be useful for other cultural institutions too. Ed Wubbe, the house choreographer of Scapino Ballet, acknowledged in the report of DOD recognizing the same problem and stated that for the future the biggest challenge for them [dance companies] all will be to make more people enthusiastic for dancing. Artistic leader of ‘Dans Werkplaats Amsterdam’ Ger Jager mirrors the findings of DOD in expressing the need for a more diverse audience (DOD, 2007). And besides the problem of diversity, there is a general decreasing trend in arts participation observed, even outside the Netherlands. According to a research report on the 2008 survey of NEA about arts participation in the U.S. (Novak-Leonard & Brown, 2011) the percentage of U.S. adults reporting arts attendance of a ballet performance in the past 12 months declined over the years (1982, 1992, 2002 and 2008) with a significant decline between 2002 and 2008 (-2.9%). This significant decline between 2002 and 2008 was also observed for the performing arts music: jazz (-3.0%), classical music (-2.3%) and opera (-1.1%), plays: non-musical plays (-2.9%), for the visual arts in art exhibitions: art museum/galleries (-3.8%) and art/craft fairs and festivals (-8.9%) and for the visual arts in parks and historical sites (-6.7%).

Implications drawn from this research project, which will explore the motivations of visiting behavior of ballet performances of young adults with a university background, could

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

possibly also partly help resolve this decreasing participation trend situation outside the Netherlands, and could even be applicable to the other fields of performing arts facing the same situation.

Need for a younger audience. This trend of a decreasing participation and lack of diversity isn't even not the complete story: the current cultural elite who is visiting ballet performance currently predominantly and loyally is aging. There is an inescapable need for a younger audience, and most importantly, this younger audience has to be stimulated to visit the high arts ballet more loyally. But which target group will be promising? And why would this specific target group be promising? What is the cultural taste of this target group? What are their motivations to visit dance and ballet performances? This research will draw on the theory of cultural sociology and social psychology to get these insights, and to be able to answer the main question: what are the motivations of the visiting behavior of the audience segment young adults who are currently enrolled in a university Bachelor or Master program, or recently graduated from the university, and how to stimulate them to visit ballet more loyally? Implications will be based on the analysis of in depth-interviews conducted with the young adults with a university background about their childhood exposure to cultural products, cultural taste, motivators, and aesthetic experience of ballet. For the purpose of this research the Dutch National Ballet in Amsterdam and Erasmus University Rotterdam initiated a collaboration, and due to the Dutch National Ballet the possibility was created to offer individuals who had visited the Dutch National Ballet at least once before and who had ordered a ticket with student discount, the opportunity to participate in this study in exchange for a free ticket to the ballet performance *Jewels*. This recent visit to the ballet performance *Jewels* of the Dutch National Ballet will endow the participant with a recent experience and this recent experience will enable them to talk about their aesthetic experience of ballet more easily.

Target group and cultural capital. The upcoming cultural elite among the younger generation, i.e. university students or the ones just graduated from the university, is assumed to have one important resemblance with the current cultural elite: relatively high cultural capital. Cultural capital is understood as to entail education, level of familiarity and ease with abstract discourse and ideas, or symbolic mastery (Bourdieu, 1984; as in Atkinson, 2011). The high educational attainment of the current audience of the Dutch National Ballet illustrates the

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

possible major part cultural capital plays in the appreciation of ballet, and therefore the manifestation of visiting behavior. Therefore, the upcoming cultural elite among the younger generation is thought to be a promising target group for a cultural institution like the Dutch National Ballet to attract and seduce into being a more loyal audience, since there is a high probability that they will possess adequate cultural capital to understand and enjoy high culture (Bourdieu, 2008). It is necessary to augment the group of frequent visitors by attracting these young adults, to increase the amount of audience members of the Dutch National Ballet and with that, to help sustain the cultural institute.

One could ask oneself, however: when are individuals frequent visitors? When is a visitor visiting the Dutch National Ballet more loyally? And why do visitors choose to visit for example ballet, or a concert of a popular singer? Audience segmentation can be used to get a more structured insight into the audience of dance performances, and related to these reflections there are two useful ways of audience segmentation, one based on attendance frequency (Roose, 2008) and one based on taste patterns (Peterson, 1993; van Eijck & Lievens, 2008).

Frequency of visiting behavior. Using the frequency of attendance as the criteria of a tripartite audience segmentation, three audience segments can be distinguished: ‘the inner circle’, ‘the interested participant’ and ‘the passer-by’ or ‘outer circle’ (Roose, 2008). The inner circle visited at least thirteen performances in a six-month period, the interested participant visited between one and twelve performances and the passer-by didn’t attend any performance in a six month period. So especially members of the passer-by or the lower frequency end of the interested participant audience segment (i.e. with an interest in attending ballet performance) would be a promising segment to stimulate to visit the Dutch National Ballet more frequently and more loyally. The young adults with a university background and an interest in ballet are expected to be incidentally visiting ballet performances already, perhaps varying between 1 to 12 visits in a year. Thinking back to the main question, which was: ‘what are the motivations of the visiting behavior of the audience segment young adults who are currently enrolled in a university Bachelor or Master program, or recently graduated from the university, and how to stimulate them to visit ballet more loyally?’, this ‘visiting ballet more loyally’ thus means increasing the frequency of visits from a low frequency (passer-by or the lower frequency end of the interested

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

participant audience segment) to a higher frequency, and in a continuing trend, not for just a short period of time.

Taste patterns. Social and economic characteristics are known to produce taste (Bourdieu, 2008) and young adults with a university background are expected to have a higher chance of having a (pre)disposition for the high arts, such as ballet, considering their probability of having a relatively high cultural capital. However, even among individuals with high cultural capital taste patterns can differ (e.g. univorousness vs. omnivorousness; Van Eijck & Lievens, 2008). Taste patterns can be used to illustrate why visitors choose to visit for example ballet, or a concert of a popular singer, or both. This manner of audience segmentation will provide a more structured insight into the accompanying motives and characteristics of cultural consumers with a specific taste pattern. Several taste patterns and the accompanying motives and characteristics were identified by Van Eijck and Lievens (2008). It will be investigated which taste pattern will describe the taste of the young adults best, which will inform the outline of their motivations and their needs.

Motivators. Thinking back to the main question again, which was: ‘what are the motivations of the visiting behavior of the audience segment young adults who are currently enrolled in a university Bachelor or Master program, or recently graduated from the university, and how to stimulate them to visit ballet more loyally?’, these ‘motivations’ could be approached in yet another manner. In the field of social psychology there is literature available on the identification of specific motivators. According to researchers specializing in this kind of research individuals will be seeking and wanting to satisfy different needs through attending live performances (Swanson, Davis & Zhao, 2008). Artistic, education, recreation and self-esteem enhancement motivators were found to be significant predictors of visiting behavior of the performing arts in a study considering the motives of arts patrons (Swanson, Davis & Zhao, 2008). It will be investigated if the young adults with a university background will have these motivators too. And furthermore, the social and escapist motivators will be included as well, which weren’t found to be significant predictors in the study of Swanson, Davis and Zhao (2008). And to be able to get a detailed insight into the motivators, needs and the cultural taste of the young adults with a university background, it is needed to explore their appreciation for the arts, and specifically, for ballet.

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

Arts appreciation. The ability to appreciate ballet is assumed to be present in these young adults already visiting ballet performances, however, the manner of their appreciation could be manifested in different ways, dependent on the motivators of their behavior and dependent on their cognition. Arts appreciation is associated closely with (intrinsic) motivation, which is dependent on several contextual factors. This means that motivation is dependent on contextual factors too. And very importantly, the exploration of arts appreciation, and specifically the appreciation of ballet, and the relationship between this appreciation and cultural capital is needed to assure the assumption that the young adults with a university background could be regarded the upcoming cultural elite, and it will furthermore inform us about important (contextual/motivational) characteristics that will stimulate young adults with a university background to visit ballet performances more loyally.

To restate the main question of this research more specifically: what are the underlying motivations) of the visiting behavior of young adults with a university background attending ballet performances of the Dutch National Ballet? And to recap the sub questions: what taste patterns do define these young adults, in which manner is their cultural capital developed, what are their motivators of visiting ballet and what is the nature of the appreciation for ballet of these young adults? This research aims to base the practical implications on an academic foundation of how to stimulate the young adults with a university background to visit ballet more loyally.

In the following chapter there will be elaborated respectively on theory and literature about cultural capital, cultural omnivorousness, attendance frequency, motivators of performing arts attendance, and arts appreciation: flow theory, intrinsic motivation, and need for cognition. These theories are useful to explain the visiting behavior of individuals interested in attending the high arts like ballet, and the underlying motivations and aesthetic experience of these individuals.

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

Chapter 2: Theory and Literature

Cultural capital

As mentioned, the upcoming cultural elite among the younger generation, i.e. the young adults with a university background, is assumed to have one important resemblance with the current cultural elite: relatively high cultural capital. And therefore the young adults with a university background are thought to be a promising target group for a cultural institution like the Dutch National Ballet to attract and seduce into being a more loyal audience, since there is a high probability that they will possess adequate cultural capital to understand and enjoy high culture (Bourdieu, 2008). There are three forms of cultural capital in existence: (1) the embodied state of cultural capital, i.e. long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; (2) the objectified state of cultural capital, i.e. cultural goods; and (3) the institutionalized state of cultural capital, i.e. objectifications such as educational qualifications (Bourdieu, 2008). This research focuses on the first form of cultural capital, the embodied state of cultural capital, and will be referring to this form of cultural capital when cultural capital is discussed. Cultural capital is understood as to entail education, level of familiarity and ease with abstract discourse and ideas, or symbolic mastery (Bourdieu, 1984; as in Atkinson, 2011). Cultural capital is an important (cultural) sociological concept coming from Bourdieu's theory on social classes and cultural taste, which will be introduced first.

Introducing Bourdieu's Distinction Theory. In a general sense, sociology attempts to construct the social world like a space with several dimensions on the basis of principles of differentiation or distribution according to the specific active properties of the social space in question. Individuals and groups of individuals are defined by their relative positions in that space, and it is only possible to occupy one position or a precise class of neighboring positions, i.e. region, of this space. And all the actual positions of the individuals in the social space can be defined as a system of co-ordinates and the values of these co-ordinates correspond with the values of the accompanying variables of the social space in question. According to Bourdieu (1985) individuals are distributed in this social space like a two-dimensional map according to (1) the overall volume of the capital they possess, and (2) the composition of their capital, which he refer to being the relative weight of the different kind of active properties within their overall capital. This capital is often considered to be economic, cultural and social property (Bourdieu,

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

1985), thus economic capital (money, wealth, etc.), cultural capital (education, level of familiarity and ease with abstract discourse and ideas, or symbolic mastery) and social capital (networks and connections), as well as symbolic capital, commonly called prestige, reputation, etcetera, which is the form in which the three different forms of capital are in fact perceived and legitimized by other individuals. And particularly through these properties (i.e. capital) and their distribution the social world acquires the status of a symbolic system, which is organized according to the logic of difference, i.e. distinction. This two-dimensional map is very clearly described by Fiske (1992; 31):

He [Bourdieu] models our society first as a two-dimensional map in which the vertical, or north-south, axis records the amount of capital (economic and social) possesses, and the horizontal, or east-west, records the type of capital (economic or cultural). Those on the west, or left, are higher in cultural capital than economic capital (e.g. academics, artists, etc.), whereas those on the east or right possess more economic than cultural [capital] (e.g. business people, manufacturers). In the top center of the map reside those rich in both forms of capital – the professions such as architects, doctors, lawyers and so on, the educated ‘tasteful’ capitalists! The south, or bottom, of the diagram is occupied by those deprived of both, whom Bourdieu calls ‘the proletariat’.

This social space with the differences that exists within it tends to function symbolically as a space of life-styles, i.e. tends to be constructed by groups characterized by different lifestyles. All consumption is visible and therefore functions as a distinctive sign, whether or not it is performed to be seen. And the innate tendency of individuals to categorize the (social) world gives them the ability to recognize these distinctive signs and leads them to regard these ‘spontaneous’ distinctions as an appropriate category (Bourdieu, 1985). It follows that they are also capable to intentionally emphasize these differences in life-styles, by pursuing distinction. The pursuit of distinction produces partitions intended to be observable, known and recognized as legitimate differences, as if it is a natural distinction (Bourdieu, 1985). Distinction thus is the difference implied and legitimized in the structure of social space when it is perceived in categories. Another name for distinction that Bourdieu (1985) has introduced is thus the symbolic capital and distinctions are in fact the consequence of the applications of schemes of how the

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

world functions, which are constructed and internalized, to help comprehend the everyday world (Bourdieu, 1985).

And a specific division of the social space thus constructs the social classes. The distribution of the different classes are understood to range from those who are best provided with economic, cultural and social capital to those who are most deprived in economic, cultural and social capital. Commonly a distinction is made between three social classes, which respectively can be called the dominant class, the office workers or middle class, and the working class (Bourdieu, 1984), or the dominant, the *petit bourgeoisie*, and the dominated (Atkinson, 2011). A much quoted comment of Bourdieu is: ‘Nothing more clearly affirms one’s “class”, nothing more infallibly classifies, than taste in music’ (Bourdieu 1984: 18). He argued that the dominant class prefers difficult and indistinct forms of music, especially classical music, while the middle class give away their position in the middle by aiming for the dominant life-style and distancing themselves from the working class, however, having insufficient resources and dispositions to appreciate the same preferences in taste the dominant class appreciates. And the working class tends to prefer ‘music whose simple, repetitive structures invite a passive, absent participation’, not simple because they do lack the resources and dispositions too, but also because they accept what is presented by them by the experts and artists in the field of the musical production (Bourdieu, 1984). However, the provision of the forms of capital are understood not to be static, instead it is understood that at all times there is a trajectory, or evolution of capital over time in play, with individuals as well as whole clusters of people moving within social space, and thus creating a possibility to cross the boundaries of the social classes eventually at some point over time (Atkinson, 2011). Cultural capital can be inherited or acquired. Acquired cultural capital is cultural capital obtained through education and consists of knowledge and the appreciation of ‘the canon’, a particular set of cultural products in literature, art, music and increasingly film. Inherited cultural capital presents itself in lifestyle rather than cultural preferences, like fashion, furnishing, manners, choice of restaurants or clubs, in sport or vacation preferences (Fiske, 1992). Cultural taste is thus something an individual acquires, albeit the acquirement of cultural taste is mostly produced through *habitus*.

Habitus. *Habitus* is a concept describing the process by which economic and social conditions produce (pre)dispositions in taste (Bourdieu, 2008). Therefore, taste is not random or

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

self-chosen at all, it is deeply-rooted in our internalized cultural practices. And individual differences in habitus lead to individuals seeking out different kinds of leisure activities, such as visiting ballet performances. Taste is thus important as a precondition of the appreciation of ballet, since without ballet belonging to someone's taste pattern, individuals won't seek out ballet performances.

The acquirement of cultural capital. As mentioned, social and economic characteristics produce taste, and it follows that cultural capital is closely associated with social class, since not everyone has the means to accumulate cultural capital equally. And as mentioned, cultural capital can be inherited or acquired. According to Bourdieu (2008) inheritance is an important means of transfer of cultural capital. Acquirement of cultural capital, i.e. the cultivation of an individual, is a process that can get a head start if an individual had the benefit of domestic (cultural) education / cultivation from the start of an individual's socialization (early childhood). This initial socialization with culture is the precondition for the acquirement of future cultural capital, and it only starts at the beginning of socialization in families with (high) cultural capital (for example by the presence of cultural goods in the home that exert an educative effect by their mere presence). Cultivation is mainly achieved through personal investments and the investment of time. When the family can provide an individual with the free time, i.e. time free from economic necessity, the individual has more time to invest in the acquisition process of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2008). Bourdieu (2008) regards this time freedom from economic necessity as the precondition of the initial socialization with culture and initial acquirement of cultural capital. But in essence, every form of cultural education exerts its educative effects on the acquirement of cultural capital, with the time to invest in the accumulation of cultural knowledge and early socialization with culture giving an individual a head start. This means that university students who are originally from a middle class family will also have the opportunity to accumulate and acquire cultural capital, although without the head start of early socialization.

This association between (the embodied state of) cultural capital and higher education is important for the assumption that university students are the upcoming cultural elites and thus have a relatively high cultural in common with the current cultural elites in the Netherlands. As can be derived from Bourdieu's thinking on the acquirement of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2008), it can be assumed that, since university students are enrolled in higher

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

education, there is a higher probability that they have acquired cultural capital, thus a preference in taste for the more difficult and obscure forms of art, in other words for the high arts.

Audience segmentation: Omnivore & taste groups

While discussing taste, it is common that scholars who want to discuss different taste patterns (Bourdieu, 1984), art worlds (Becker, 1982) or cultural discourses (Frith, 1996) are differentiating between three cultural schemes, namely highbrow, pop, and folk. Van Eijck and Lievens (2008) argue that taste patterns containing aspects of more than one cultural scheme define an omnivore taste pattern and taste patterns containing aspects of one cultural scheme define a univore taste pattern. The concept of the cultural omnivore was introduced by Peterson (1993), which describes the phenomena of that higher-status group members do not just consume highbrow cultural items, e.g. opera and classical music, but also consume low-brow cultural items. Many higher-status group members turned out to have a broad, or omnivorous, cultural taste (Peterson, 1993) and that especially the younger ones within this group pursue variety and eclecticism, naming preferences in cultural taste across ‘brows’, whilst the lower-status group preferred cultural activities and genres within a more limited spread of the lower brow activity (Atkinson, 2011). The concept of omnivorousness challenged the highbrow-lowbrow model of cultural consumption advocated by Bourdieu (1984), which argued that higher-status group member consumed highbrow culture and the lower-status group member lowbrow culture, due to the amount of accumulated cultural capital. Omnivorousness argues for a distinction between high-status omnivores and low-status univores.

Van Eijck and Lievens (2008) described different types of omnivores and their relationship to social networks. Van Eijck and Lievens (2008) argue that taste patterns containing aspects of more than one cultural scheme define the omnivore taste pattern. This illustrates that the specific combinations of elements from highbrow, pop and folk are able to represent different ways of being a cultural omnivore (van Eijck & Lievens, 2008). These different omnivore taste patterns also emerge in the differentiation of Schulze (1992; as in van Eijck & Lievens, 2008), between five social milieu groups, with three primarily focused on one scheme, named the (1) high milieu, (2) harmony milieu, and (3) entertainment milieu, and two are combining two schemes, of which the (4) integration milieu could be seen as combination of highbrow and folk and the (5) self-fulfillment milieu is a combination of highbrow and pop. The taste pattern of

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

these young adults with a university background will provide insights into the characteristics and underlying motivations of their visiting behavior. The most common manner to observe the appropriate taste pattern is to retrieve the preferences in cultural taste, and most often the preferences in musical taste are explored, which are categorized according to the three cultural schemes: highbrow, pop, and folk.

According to Van Eijck & Lievens (2008), the highbrow scheme entailed an preference for classical works, opera, baroque music, operetta, and contemporary classical music, the cultural scheme pop pop/rock, dance, world music, and jazz/blues/soul/funk, and the folk scheme popular Flemish music, brass band, (Flemish) folk music and chansons. They noted that jazz is argued to have become increasingly highbrow over the years, but that due to the design of their questionnaire, it was grouped together with a number of more popular genres, and they noted that although they used music, the same logic could be applied across different art forms. As is mentioned by Atkinson (2011), one of the difficulties is how to classify these categories, like music, since there are different ways of consuming, and different meanings that may be attributed to the classifications that are used. Therefore, sensitivity to the way an individual is consuming and the attributed meaning to a category is needed, but will always be subject to subjective interpretation. In this research the pop scheme will be viewed as to entail music like pop, rock, R&B, funk, soul, world music, dance, and electronic music, visiting things like popular music festivals or concerts, family production musicals, and the movies, and appreciating entertainment. The highbrow scheme will be viewed as to entail music like classical works, opera, baroque music, operetta, contemporary classical music and jazz, visiting things like classical music concerts or jazz festivals, museums, art galleries, ballet, modern ballet/dance companies, and the opera, and appreciating complexity, like abstract ideas. The folk scheme will be viewed as to entail music like folk music and brass bands, visiting things in community settings, and appreciating harmony and coziness.

(1) The high milieu, which matches the highbrow scheme or discourse, is characterized by intellectual motivators. Individuals in the high milieu enjoy activities that require intellectual activity and appreciate in arts participation the complexity, which is to be understood to be enjoyed (van Eijck & Lievens, 2008). (2) The second ‘univorous’ milieu is the harmony milieu, which is oriented towards the folk scheme. Art should be authentic and should fulfill the social

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

function of creating a sense of community or solidarity. Art and life are not distinct domains, as is the case in the high milieu, and the same needs (harmony, coziness and conformity) that are met by folk culture are as much met by simply staying at home. Members of the harmony milieu are most probably working class (van Eijck & Lievens, 2008). (3) The entertainment milieu is the participation in popular culture, is all about fun, commerce and indulgence, it is about attempts to adapt the world to their own personal needs, and a prominent theme is the intense stimulation of the senses, e.g. loud music, exciting movies and sensational sports. Members of the entertainment milieu are most probably of the younger generation and working class (van Eijck & Lievens, 2008). (4) The integration milieu is one of the milieus orientated at two aesthetic schemes, i.e. one of the two omnivore taste patterns, and is the combination of the highbrow and the folk schemes. Van Eijck and Lievens (2008) bring forward that these people might match best Bourdieu's concept of cultural goodwill, which is referring to the middlebrow culture, as a *'diluted version of highbrow culture'* (van Eijck & Lievens, 2008: 7). They appreciate art that is somewhat difficult, but it shouldn't be too difficult, eccentric or incompatible with their needs for harmony, coziness and conformity (van Eijck & Lievens, 2008). (5) The final milieu, which is an omnivore milieu, is the self-fulfillment milieu and this milieu combines the highbrow with the pop schemes. Combining the highbrow and pop schemes would be the most inclusive cultural taste and have characteristics that have also been put forward as typical of the cultural omnivore. They value spontaneity and complexity, narcissism and perfection, action and contemplation. Like in the often young entertainment milieu, reality is evolving around the self, and they try to develop a unique self. Characteristics of the highbrow culture, like contemplation and complexity, are used as tools (instead of that their status are used as goals in the highbrow discourse) to develop themselves. Members of the self-fulfillment milieu are most probably from the younger generation too (van Eijck & Lievens, 2008).

Furthermore, Van Eijck and Lievens (2008) bring forward that there is a possibility of a sixth social milieu with an omnivorous taste pattern, combining the folk and pop schemes, which could be described as a lowbrow omnivorous taste pattern. Van Eijck and Lievens (2008) also argue for a seventh social milieu group, what would absolutely be the most omnivorous taste pattern, reflecting the combination of highbrow, folk and pop schemes. These two omnivorous taste patterns, which aren't described as elaborate as the first social milieu groups and aren't

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

validated in research yet, are nevertheless interesting taste patterns to keep in mind, although based on the known characteristics of the young adults with a university background, it is not expected that they will have either of the taste patterns. It is however expected that the majority of the target group would fulfill the description of members in the self-fulfillment milieu (Van Eijck & Lievens, 2008), the fifth social milieu, considering that they are of the younger generation and that they have enough cultural capital to appreciate and have a preference for the high arts, meaning that it is most probable that they will express preferences in cultural taste across both the highbrow and pop cultural schemes.

As mentioned before, audience segmentation can be used to get a more structured insight into the audience of dance performances, and the possible accompanying motivations of their visiting behavior. The audience segmentation based on taste patterns is already discussed, we will now turn to discussing the audience segmentation based on frequency. This is yet another manner in which motivations and nature of the visiting behavior of the young adults with a university background could be approached and explored.

Audience segmentation: Tripartite audience segmentation

As mentioned in the introduction, especially members of the passer-by or the lower frequency end of the interested participant audience segment (i.e. with an interest in attending ballet performance) would be a promising segment (of the upcoming cultural elite), since they are incidentally visiting ballet performances already, to stimulate them in visiting the Dutch National Ballet more frequently and thus more loyally. Thinking back to the main question, which was: ‘what is the motivating force of the visiting behavior of the audience segment young adults who are currently enrolled in a university Bachelor or Master program, or recently graduated from the university, and how to stimulate them to visit ballet more loyally?’, this ‘visiting ballet more loyally’ thus means increasing the frequency of visits from a low frequency (passer-by or the lower frequency end of the interested participant audience segment) to a higher frequency, and in a continuing trend, not for just a short period of time. But what does it mean to be a frequent visitor? What are the accompanying motivations and characteristics of these audience segments? And on which ideas is the segmentation based? Answers on these question will provide more insights into the possible motivating forces of the visiting behavior of the young adults with a university background.

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

The tripartite audience segmentation, which categorizes attendance on the basis of frequency in the segments inner circle, interested participant and passer-by (Roose, 2008), was based on the ideas of Becker (1982) and Laermans (2002). Becker (1982) named the first group ‘the innermost circle’ and described it as consisting of people who usually are professionally involved in the arts. They visit performances of the performing arts most often, encourage experimentation, are familiar with all the conventions and semantics of a genre and open to learn more innovative conventions. The innermost circle functions as a peer-group or as gate-keepers. The second group participates less frequently than the innermost circle and are less capable of understanding all semantic details, however, they are well-interested and well-informed participants. According to Becker (1982), this audience segment is a considerable large audience. The third group consists of students of the arts, which overlaps with the other two. In Beckers tripartite audience segmentation (1982) the criteria of extent of professional involvement, experience with the arts, and knowledge of and capability to understand the semantics and conventions of a genre are loosely combined. Laermans (2002), on the other hand, called his inner circle the ‘core audience’, who are usually highly educated and a small segment of the audience. His second circle is the ‘interested participant’, who are frequent visitors. The third circle consists of ‘incidental visitors / participants’, who incidentally participate and whose motives to visit a performance are not out of sincere interest, but more often grounded in extrinsic / social motivators. In Laermans tripartite audience segmentation (2002) the criteria of experience with the arts and the frequency of attending are given priority.

The tripartite audience segmentation of Roose (2008) rather used the frequency of attendance as the criteria and was used as a measure of experience with the art genre. The inner circle visited at least thirteen performances during the six-months prior to his survey, the interested participant visited between one and twelve performances and the passer-by didn’t attend any performance during the six months prior to the audience survey.

With these three audience segments being validated and analyzed by Roose (2008) a more refined image of the researched audience could be sketched on the basis of his findings. The inner circle audience segment (11%) was found to be slightly older than the rest, with 8% being younger than 34 years, and higher educated than the other two segments, with almost 61% having a master degree. This resembles the descriptions of the majority of visitors of dance performances

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

in the Netherlands, i.e. the current cultural elites (DOD, 2007; Het Nationale Ballet, 2015). Professions and pensioners were well represented in the inner circle. It was found that internal motivations (i.e. motives related to the cultural institution) were most important. The interested participant audience segment (71%) is relatively in the middle regarding age and educational attainment, with 9% being younger than 34 years and 49.5% having a master degree. Their primary motive for attendance was the specific programming. The passer-by audience segment (18%) is generally younger than the rest of the audience, almost 17% was younger than 34 years old, and 33.4% had a master degree. Students were slightly overrepresented in the passer-by audience segment, as were the unemployed, the (un)skilled workers and the employees. Their main motive for attendance was sincere interest in the specific performers/performance, immediately followed by external motives like being invited / advised to go or to spend the evening with friends.

Applying this tripartite segmentation to the audience segment of young adults with a university background, one could expect that these young adults would probably be fluctuating between the interested participant and the passer-by segment, based on frequency, thus will be fluctuating between one and six performances (interested participant) or will have attended no performance during the six months prior to the audience survey. The accompanying motivators for attendance of these two audience segments could be possible motivators for the young adults with a university background too, which are sincere interest, external motives like being invited / advised to go or to spend the evening with friends, and the specific programming. However, besides such very specific motivators for attending live performances more general motivators of visiting behavior have been identified in the field of social psychology.

Motivators of performing arts attendance.

According to some (Swanson, Davis & Zhao, 2008; Ryan & Deci, 2000), motivation is the main answer to the question why someone is or is not visiting dance performances. Motivation concerns direction, persistence, energy and equifinality, which are all aspects of activation of behavior and intention. This equifinality means that a finality can be achieved by different motivators, and one motivator can direct behavior to different finalities. And it is important to consider the fact that people are motivated by different kind of factors, which thus could lead to highly varied consequences and experiences (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Related to the visiting

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

behavior of ballet performances, this means that different individuals will be seeking and wanting to satisfy different needs through attending live performances and these needs, which are motivators of behavior, will be different in each arts segment. Swanson, Davis and Zhao (2008) for example found for their sample that the (1) artistic, (2) education, (3) recreation and (4) self-esteem enhancement motivators were significant predictors of visiting behavior of the performing arts. Swanson, Davis and Zhao (2008) also found that these significant predictors had more predictive power when people were visiting live performances more (Swanson, Davis and Zhao, 2008). This could mean that artistic, education, recreation and self-esteem enhancement motivators are especially important for the audience that is already there. And the audience that is already there are presumably the current cultural elites. However, the expected upcoming cultural elites aren't exactly the same and other motivators could be in play. For this purpose, the other motivators described in the study of Swanson, Davis and Zhao (2008) will also be included: (5) the escapist motivator, and (6) social motivator.

(1) The artistic motivator stimulates behavior to satisfy the need for experiencing cultural enrichment and expect to derive pleasure from the beauty and grace found through the artistic expression in live performances. This motivator could be assumed to be most closely related to *having* cultural capital. (2) The education motivators directs behavior to satisfy the desire to learn and know more about the arts and individuals driven by an education motivator seek out situations to educate themselves. This motivator could be assumed to be the most closely related to *accumulating* cultural capital. (3) Individuals with a recreation motivator directing behavior simply attend live performance, such as ballet performances, to be entertained. Individuals having such a motivation to pursue the arts appreciate participatory activities, such as after show parties. (4) The self-esteem enhancement motivator directs behavior to satisfy the desire to enhance self-esteem (i.e. create or maintain a positive self-concept) and to attain and maintain a positive social identity via the social association with an activity or organization or via the social identification with the rest of the audience. (5) The escapist motivator directs behavior to satisfy the desire for finding a diversion or escape from daily routines. They attend live performances to find a departure from the normal routines of everyday life, and possibly to forget about their troubles. (6) The social motivator directs behavior to satisfy the desire for a social experience. They attend live performances as a social occasion or a chance to spend time with and socialize with others.

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

They enjoy a performance more if they are visiting in a group situation, rather than when they are visiting alone, which allows them to share the experience with others and feel connected (Swanson, Davis & Zhao, 2008).

Regarding demographic characteristics, Swanson, Davis and Zhao (2008) found that female individuals indicated higher levels of the artistic, educational and recreational motivators than men, that the level of artistic, educational and recreational motivators increased as the individuals were older, that the self-enhancement motivator was only important to individuals older than 50 years, and that the artistic, educational and recreational motivators were greater as the level of education increased.

Considering that these young adults have a high education, and therefore most probably have accumulated enough cultural capital to understand (and appreciate) the ballet performances, they will be wanting to accumulate further cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2008; Atkinson, 2011; Cacioppo & Petty, 1982) and they also will enjoy (seeking) the challenge of the aesthetic situation, an artistic, recreational, and education motivator could be expected to be at least one of the motivators (Swanson, Davis and Zhao, 2008). However, the foundation of the expectation that a recreational motivator is possibly directing the visiting behavior is solely based on the association between the demographic characteristic that the artistic, educational and recreational motivators were greater as the level of education increased. Nevertheless, one could argue that if taste patterns are considered, the recreational motivator seems to be associated closely to the characteristics of the entertainment and self-fulfillment milieu groups, and since the young adults are of the younger generation a recreational motivator seem to be plausible. And the plausibility of expecting the escapist motivation becomes clear when the experience of flow is considered. As will be explained, an individual operates at full capacity when it is experiencing flow, meaning that all attention is focused on for example the ballet piece the individual is watching, and no attention is left for the everyday routine. Lastly the social motivator is found to be a motivator for the incidental visitors (Laermans, 2002) and passer-by audience segment (Roose, 2008), which are showing resemblance with the expected characteristics of the young adults with a university background.

A positive attitude to dance performances was also found to be one of the strongest predictors of intentions to visit a performance (Andraesen and Belk, 1980) and intentions to

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

perform behavior will lead to actual behavior (Ajzen, 1991). However, the intention-behavior-gap has to be taken into account, which states that intention can usually explain 20%-30% of the variance in actual behavior and that the remaining variance could be explained by other predictive factors (Norman & Connor, 2006; Web & Sheeran, 2006; Gollwitzer, 1999). In other words, although there may be intentions to go to dance performances, it is still possible that people are not able to fulfill these intentions (Gollwitzer, 1999). In the case of the passer-by / interested participant audience segment of the upcoming cultural elites, there is clearly already a positive attitude to dance performances. This means that one barrier between going and not going is already dissolved for the target group of this study.

Education

Another important predictive factor of visiting dance performances is arts and culture education (Borgonovi, 2004). Arts and culture education is, according to Borgonovi (2004), the most important predictor of the visiting of the arts. Borgonovi (2004) stated that arts education is important for the reason that it is common practice in the arts to use metaphors to convey the meaning of the part and to understand this meaning it is necessary to have certain skills. Arts and culture education will also provide an environment where people are able to get acquainted with the arts (Borgonovi, 2004), which relates to acquiring cultural capital. Research by Borgonovi (2004) showed that arts and culture education in a specific area will influence the visiting of that particular area only. Arts and culture education on the area of dance will only increase the visiting of dance performances. Bergonzi and Smith (1996) also found that arts and culture education is predicting visiting of performances. This illustrates the importance of cultural capital in arts appreciation (Bourdieu, 1984).

Arts appreciation

The ability to appreciate arts is one of the first steps in visiting the highbrow art form ballet. And since it is assumed that the young adults with a university background will have accumulated enough cultural capital, it follows that the ability to appreciate ballet will be present in these young adults. Flow theory is an important and useful theory explaining the interest in seeking out challenges, like the challenges that are typically faced in an aesthetic situation. Flow is a specific cognitive experience, observed to be present in these aesthetic situations. The specific manner of their appreciation could be manifested in different ways, valuing different aspects of the specific

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

art work. Besides that it is dependent on the motivators of their behavior, it is very much dependent on cognition and on social and environmental contextual factors too, and the nature of arts appreciation is assumed to vary among individuals according to certain cognitive dispositions. These social and environmental preconditions in an art situation will enable an individual to experience intrinsic motivation, which refers to initiating an activity for the inherent satisfaction of the activity itself, which is also closely related to the experience of flow. And an important cognitive disposition in relation to the appreciation of arts is the extent of the need for cognition.

Flow theory will be introduced first and intrinsic motivation and the need for cognition thereafter respectively. Flow theory, the preconditions of intrinsic motivation and the disposition need for cognition will be guiding the exploration of (being able to engage in) arts appreciation, and specifically the appreciation of ballet. And besides the introduction into flow theory and the preconditions of intrinsic motivation and the disposition need for cognition, the exploration of the relationship between this ability to appreciate the arts and cultural capital is needed to assure the assumption that the young adults with a university background could be regarded the upcoming cultural elite. Flow theory, intrinsic motivation, and the need for cognition will each be connected theoretically to the concept of cultural capital.

Flow theory. Flow theory is a useful theory explaining the interest in seeking out challenges, like the challenges that are typically faced in an aesthetic situation. According to flow theory (Csikszentmihalyi & Robinson, 1990) the aesthetic experience occurs when information coming from the artwork interacts with information already stored in the viewer's mind. The result from this interaction might be a sudden expansion, recombination, or ordering of previously accumulated information, which could produce a variety of emotions. Whenever we experience a certain emotion, our experience will have the same structure, even though their informational content is different. Flow theory (Csikszentmihalyi & Robinson, 1990) emphasizes that an individual is in search of new challenges that suit newly acquired skills. Flow, specifically, is defined by flow theory as the subjective phenomena of *intrinsically motivated* activity (Nakamura & Csikzentmihalyi, 2002). Being in flow is described as the subjective experience of engaging just-manageable challenges, continuously processing feedback about progress and adjusting behavior based on this feedback. When in flow, an individual operates at

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

full capacity. Respondents in the study of Nakamura and Csikzentmihalyi (2002) emphasized the enjoyment as the main reason for pursuing an activity. The optimal experience of flow results from an organized set of challenges and a corresponding set of skill, or more precisely, the optimal experience of flow occurs when there is a balance of challenges and skills and when both are above the actor's average level (Nakamura & Csikzentmihalyi, 2002). This reflects a process of the accumulation of knowledge and the same process of accumulating knowledge occurs in the acquirement and augmentation of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2008). An important characteristic of flow is the intrinsic motivation, which will be discussed next. After the discussion of intrinsic motivation the cognitive disposition need for cognition will be introduced. Both are closely related to the interest in seeking out challenges that suit newly acquired skills.

Intrinsic motivation. Intrinsic motivation is defined as the innate tendency of humans to seek out challenges and novelty, to augment and exercise one's capabilities, to explore and to learn (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Key studies in social psychology on intrinsic motivation are based on the self-determination theory (SDT). SDT is an approach to human motivation and personality highlighting the importance of the evolved inner resources for the development of personality and for the behavioral self-regulation. It is preoccupied with the inherent growth tendencies of individuals and their innate psychological needs, which are the foundation for self-motivation and personality integration (Ryan & Deci, 2000). SDT was at first mainly concerned with self-motivation, i.e. the motivation behind the choices people make without external influences, which evolved to studies on SDT comparing intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. When an individual is initiating an activity for its own sake, because it is interesting and satisfying in itself, it refers to intrinsic motivation. This is opposed to extrinsic motivation, which refers to doing an activity to obtain an external goal.

Cognitive evaluation theory (CET; Ryan & Deci, 2000) was introduced as a sub theory within SDT aiming to specify factors that explain the variability in intrinsic motivation, by framing social and environmental factors that facilitate versus undermine intrinsic motivation. It began with repeated demonstration that extrinsic rewards are prone to undermine intrinsic motivation. However, social and environmental rewards that communicates towards a feeling of competence (e.g. positive performance feedback, optimal challenges, freedom from demeaning evaluations) during performing an action are prone to stimulate intrinsic motivation. Studies on

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

CET further has shown that feelings of competence will not enhance intrinsic motivation unless there is also a sense of autonomy (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Thus for intrinsic motivation to occur people must experience competence or efficacy and must experience behavior as self-determined, i.e. autonomous. And besides that social and environmental factors communicating feelings of autonomy and competence facilitates intrinsic motivation, a third factor, relatedness, is prone to stimulate intrinsic motivation too. Although it is most clearly observed by attachment theorist observing a higher degree in intrinsic motivation when the infant was securely attached to a parent, studies on SDT has shown that a similar dynamic occurs in interpersonal settings over the life span: intrinsic motivation is more likely to be optimal in social contexts communicating a sense of security and relatedness (Ryan & Deci, 2000). However, many behaviors which are intrinsically motivated are performed in social isolation, meaning that social and environmental factors communicating relatedness may not be necessary for intrinsic motivation. To sum it up: the pursuit for satisfying three psychological innate needs thus initiate intrinsic motivation: needs for competence, autonomy and relatedness (CET; Ryan & Deci, 2000). Ryan and Deci (2000) note that it is of utmost importance to remember that individuals will only be intrinsically motivated for activities that are intrinsically interesting for them, activities that are characterized by novelty, challenge or aesthetic value.

And probably because activities that are characterized by novelty, challenge or aesthetic value are intrinsically interesting, intrinsic motivation is also associated often with participation in leisure activities (Mannel & Iso-Ahola, 1987; Majnemer et al, 2008; Nakamura & Csikzentmihalyi, 2002). One definitional approach identified two major factors as the conditions necessary for an activity or experience to be defined as leisure by an individual. These are the degree of freedom or choice (i.e. need for autonomy) perceived in choosing the activity, and the extent to which the activity is engaged in as to an end itself, i.e. being intrinsically motivated to do the activity (Mannel & Iso-Ahola, 1987). But this definition also works the other way around. A motivational force to participate in a leisure activity, such as arts participation, is the individual tendency to seek psychological intrinsic rewards from participating in such leisure activities. The intrinsic rewards consist mainly of self-determination, i.e. the ability to have the freedom in choosing a leisure activity, the sense of competence or mastery, challenge, and exploration (Mannel & Iso-Ahola, 1987). This approach is thus interesting, considering that SDT and CET

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

regard the need for competence and the need for autonomy as being necessary for intrinsic motivation to occur, and this approach suggests that the need for competence *and* intrinsic motivation are the necessary conditions for an individual to experience an activity as a leisure activity, however, it notes that motivations for arts participation are driven by seeking intrinsic rewards, mainly consisting of self-determination: social and environmental factors communicating feelings of autonomy and competence. This demonstrates again the importance of the need for autonomy and competence to experience intrinsic motivation.

This means that intrinsic motivation will be understood to be the innate tendency of humans to seek out challenges and novelty, to augment and exercise one's capabilities, to explore and to learn (Ryan & Deci, 2000) in a context / setting where the activity is self-chosen. Intrinsic motivation thus also describes the inclination of individuals to assimilate information, to master skills, to be spontaneously interested and to explore, which are all essential to cognitive and social development and also an important source of enjoyment and energy throughout life (Csikszentmihalyi & Rathunde, 1993; Ryan & Deci, 2000). This also illustrates that intrinsic motivation is closely related to the educational and social motivators (Swanson, Davis & Zhao, 2008) and to the concept of flow (Nakamura & Csikszentmihalyi, 2002). The need for competence is closely related to the educational motivator and the need for relatedness to the social motivator (Swanson, Davis & Zhao, 2008). And to repeat the definition of flow and thereby clarify the relation between intrinsic motivation and flow, flow is defined by flow theory as the subjective phenomena of intrinsically motivated activity and is described as the subjective experience of engaging just-manageable challenges, continuously processing feedback about progress and adjusting behavior based on this feedback (Nakamura & Csikszentmihalyi, 2002). This could suggest that the experience of flow occurs while one is engaged in satisfying the need for competence, in a setting in which the activity is self-chosen (i.e. having satisfied the need for autonomy).

The theory on intrinsic motivation highlights that intrinsic motivation is dependent on contextual factors, since for intrinsic motivation to occur people must experience competence or efficacy and must experience behavior as self-determined, i.e. autonomous. This means that arts appreciation and arts attendance is thus dependent on wanting to satisfy specific need (i.e. motivations) *and* on contextual factors. Furthermore, the theory on intrinsic motivation also

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

highlights that the process of acquiring and accumulating cultural capital can also be understood as a (high) culture orientated intrinsic motivation, considering the situation in which individuals are seeking out challenges in an aesthetic situation in which cultural capital is challenged and skills to appreciate the aesthetics of the art piece are mastered. This means that the accumulation of cultural capital is in fact due to the tendency of humans to seek out challenges and novelty related to (high) culture, to augment and exercise one's capabilities to understand (high) culture, to assimilate information related to (high) culture and to (further) explore (high) culture, what is all essential to cognitive and social development and also an important source of enjoyment and energy, throughout life.

The need for cognition. The need for cognition is the tendency for an individual to engage and enjoy in thinking, which differs in magnitude among individuals (Cacioppo & Petty, 1982). This need for cognition could be expected to play an important role in explaining individual differences in the motivation to seek out new challenges that suit newly acquired skills and in the expansion of cultural capital. And Dimaggio (1982) operationalized cultural capital as the mastery of elements of a prestigious status culture. And it makes sense that cultural capital is often associated with education. Research has demonstrated for example that cultural capital was the best cultural predictor of school success (DiMaggio, 1982) and had positive effects on educational attainment, college attendance, college completion, graduate education and marital selection (DiMaggio and Mohr, 1985).

The need for cognition reflects a stable intrinsic motivation, and is thought to be a cognitive motivation and must not be mistaken for an intellectual ability, since it is motivating behavior of individuals to satisfy the need to contemplate things, which they enjoy, and which typically leads to seeking out new challenges. The tendency to seek out new challenges will result eventually in the expansion of knowledge and it follows that it closely related to intellectual ability, but it is not thought to be the same (Cacioppo, Petty, Feinstein & Jarvis, 1996). It was confirmed in research of Cacioppo, Petty, Feinstein and Jarvis (1996) that the need for cognition was moderately related to intellectual ability measures, such as verbal intelligence and high-school and college grades.

Considering that the need for cognition is a cognitive intrinsic motivation and has a strong conceptual association with the 'cultural need' of cultural capital, the theory on the need for

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

cognition highlights the importance of another characteristic of cultural capital: it could be understood that cultural capital is also partly a cognitive intrinsic motivation. This would sum up with the translation of intrinsic motivation to the concept of cultural capital to the observation that the ‘cultural need’ of cultural capital can be understood to be a culture orientated cognitive intrinsic motivation. Considering the close conceptual association between intrinsic motivation, the need for cognition and cultural capital and considering the fact that cultural capital is understood to entail education, level of familiarity and ease with abstract discourse and ideas, or symbolic mastery (Bourdieu, 1984; as in Atkinson, 2011), it is no wonder that they all are associated closely with education. Furthermore, considering that this motivator of symbolic mastery is described by Atkinson (2011) as the ‘cultural need’ of the origins of the large stocks of cultural capital, in other words as the need to seek out culture orientated cognitive challenges, the conceptual and theoretical relationship to flow theory, intrinsic motivation, and the need for cognition is very clear.

Furthermore, young adults with a university background are all likely to possess the need for cognition in a certain attitude, but even among these young adults some will possess a more explicit need for cognition (i.e. higher in magnitude). They are all likely to possess the need for cognition considering that they all are / have been enrolled in university, which provides the highest challenge to the cognitive abilities of young adults, and considering that these young adults are also already visiting ballet performances, enjoying the challenges posed to their ability to understand the abstract discourse of ballet.

Expectations

The main question of this research is: what are the underlying motivations of the visiting behavior of young adults with a university background attending ballet performances of the Dutch National Ballet? And the sub questions are: what taste patterns do define these young adults, in which manner is their cultural capital developed, what are their motivators of visiting ballet and what is the nature of the appreciation for ballet of these young adults? This research aims to base the practical implications on an academic foundation of how to stimulate the young adults with a university background to visit ballet more loyally. To be able to get a structured insight into characteristics of the motivating force of the visiting behavior of individuals visiting ballet performances, this research has drawn on literature related to cultural capital, taste patterns,

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

attendance frequency, motivators and arts appreciation. The implications will be based on the analysis of in depth-interviews conducted with the young adults with a university background about their childhood exposure to cultural products, cultural taste, motivators, and aesthetic experience of ballet. The specific motivators for attending ballet (Swanson, Davis & Zhao, 2008), the most appropriate taste pattern describing the (majority of the) target group (Van Eijck & Lievens, 2008), the nature of their appreciation of ballet, considering the nature and extent of their flow experience (Nakamura & Csikzentmihalyi, 2002), intrinsic motivation (Ryan & Deci, 2000; Mannel & Iso-Ahola, 1987) and the need for cognition (Cacioppo & Petty, 1982; DiMaggio, 1982), and the extent of their cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; 2008; Atkinson, 2011) will be explored and analyzed to get the required insights into the motivating force of the visiting behavior of the your adults with a university background, to be able to make those implications about how to stimulate the young adults with a university background to visit ballet more loyally.

One of the assumptions in this research is that the target group of young adults with a university background would probably be fluctuating between the interested participant and the passer-by segment, with a tendency to the lower frequency end of the interested participant segment. Very specific motivators for attendance could therefore be sincere interest, external motives like being invited / advised to go or to spend the evening with friends, and the specific programming (Roose, 2008). And since it is aimed to find the motivational force of the visiting behavior to make practical implications about how to stimulate the young adults with a university background to visit ballet, increasing the frequency of the visits to the Dutch National Ballet means changing belonging to the passer-by / lower frequency of the interested participant audience segment to the higher frequency interested participant audience segment (Roose, 2008). Another assumption in this research is that the university students have (at least) one important resemblance with the current cultural elite in the Netherlands being the majority of the audience of dance performances in the Netherlands: relatively high cultural capital, based on the association between education and cultural capital and Bourdieu's thinking on the acquisition and accumulation of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2008).

It is expected that the majority of the target group would fulfill the description of members in the self-fulfillment milieu (Van Eijck & Lievens, 2008), the fifth social milieu. And this taste patterns could inform practical implications too. It is also expected that the majority of

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

the target group will have a positive attitude to ballet performance, since the target group is selected on the basis of a previous visit to the Dutch National Ballet, meaning that they are most probably already visiting ballet performances incidentally. And it is expected that the majority of the university students will have enough cultural capital, since this is associated closely with high education, to understand the ballet performances, and thus will enjoy (seeking) the challenge of the aesthetic situation, although it is not assumed that they understand all the details (Bourdieu, 2008; Atkinson, 2011; Csikszentmihalyi & Robinson, 1990). Therefore, an artistic motivator could be expected, based on enjoying (seeking) the challenge of the aesthetic situation (Swanson, Davis and Zhao, 2008). And it is expected that the majority of university students will be wanting to accumulate further cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2008; Atkinson, 2011; Cacioppo & Petty, 1982). Therefore, an education motivator could be expected (Swanson, Davis and Zhao, 2008). And the recreational motivator seems to be associated closely to the characteristics of the (entertainment milieu group and) self-fulfillment milieu group, and since these young adults are of the younger generation a recreational motivator seem to be plausible. And the plausibility of expecting the escapist motivation becomes clear when the experience of flow is considered. An individual operates at full capacity when it is experiencing flow, meaning that all attention is focused on for example the ballet piece the individual is watching, and no attention is left for the everyday routine. Lastly the social motivator is found to be a motivator for the incidental visitors (Laermans, 2002) and passer-by audience segment (Roose, 2008), which are showing resemblance with the expected characteristics of the young adults with a university background.

To sum it up, this research aims to find the underlying motivations of the visiting behavior of young adults with a university background attending ballet performances of the Dutch National Ballet and will explore the taste patterns of these young adults, the extent of cultural capital, their motivators for visiting ballet and the nature of the appreciation for ballet. The specific motivators for attending ballet (Swanson, Davis & Zhao, 2008), the most appropriate taste pattern describing the (majority of the) target group (Van Eijck & Lievens, 2008), the nature of their appreciation of ballet, considering the nature and extent of their flow experience Nakamura & Csikzentmihalyi, 2002), intrinsic motivation (Ryan & Deci, 2000; Mannel & Iso-Ahola, 1987) and the need for cognition (Cacioppo & Petty, 1982; DiMaggio, 1982), and the extent of their cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; 2008; Atkinson, 2011) will be

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

explored and analyzed. It is expected that the university students will fulfill the description of members in the self-fulfillment milieu, the fifth social milieu, or possibly even the seventh social milieu, if this social milieu exists. And it is expected that that their visiting behavior is at least directed by an artistic, education, recreational, escapist and/or social motivator. Furthermore, related to the nature of their appreciation of ballet the presence of experiencing flow is expected.

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

Chapter 3: Methods

This study uses the qualitative method of conducting in-depth interviews. Qualitative research is used to explore the social world from the perspective of the actor and its methods are also much more flexible and fluid in comparison to quantitative methods. This means that qualitative methods advocates a much deeper engagement with one individual, and it enables researchers to discover novel and/or unanticipated findings and offers the opportunity to change research plans when such interesting findings occur. With the ability of a researcher to get close to its subjects and to see the world from their point of view, qualitative research produces data with depth and details (Bryman, 1984). Qualitative results are in fact the textual accounts of the individual's lifeworld, and qualitative researchers aim to understand the patterns, similarities and differences in these representations of the lifeworlds of the different individuals (Erlingson & Brysiewics, 2012).

Quantitative methods on the other hand are characterized by the distance between the researcher and its subject to maintain objectivity; by its concern for operational definitions, replicability, causality, and the like. Quantitative methods tend to limit researchers to view the event or experience in question from the outside and from the 'perspective of empirical concerns which are imposed upon social reality' (Bryman, 1984: 78) with little concern to and interest in what the observations of the subjects in question actually mean to these subjects. In quantitative methodology people are viewed to be rather passive and in qualitative methodology they are viewed to be active actors, with research focusing upon their experience and cognitions (Bryman, 1984).

Most importantly is the fact that qualitative research produces this 'rich' data, with a lot of detailed information, in comparison to the abstract and general data quantitative research produces (Bryman, 1984). Although it is possible to conduct a quantitative research to answer the questions posed in this study, this would limit the horizon of possible implications about how to stimulate the young adults to visit ballet more loyally. Considering that quantitative research is entirely dependent on being informed by existing literature and theory, it often leaves no room for discovering novel and unanticipated findings. Qualitative research on the other hand is guided by existing literature and theory and enables researchers to discover these novel and/or unanticipated findings. In the case of the aim of finding the underlying motivations of the visiting

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

behavior young adults with a university background, the guidance of theory and literature about cultural capital, taste patterns, attendance frequency, motivators, and arts appreciation will lead the way, but there will still be room for exploration, which is needed to come to useful implications, specifically tuned to satisfy the needs of the young adults with a university background.

The qualitative method of conducting in-depth interviews was thus chosen considering that in-depth interviews elicit much more detailed information from a small sample of the target group than would be available when other data collection methods are used, such as the quantitative method of conducting a survey (Boyce & Naele, 2006). And in face-to-face interview, compared to other interviewing techniques that aren't face-to-face, like telephone interviews or e-mail interviews, there is no delay between question and answer: answers are more spontaneous instead of reflective and researchers have the ability to react immediately on what the subject says or does. And especially when a semi-structured interview is conducted, the interviewer is able to formulate questions with sensitivity to the interaction (Opdenakker, 2011).

Case. The in-depth interviews were be conducted with 15 interviewees to get an insight into the characteristics of the motivating force of the visiting behavior of young adults with a university background attending ballet performances of the Dutch National Ballet. The in-depth interviews were conducted shortly after the participants attended the ballet performance *Jewels*, on either February 22nd or 26th. *Jewels* is a trilogy from the choreographer George Balanchine and besides evolving around the theme of jewels, it is also an homage to the French (*Emeralds*), American (*Rubies*) and Russian (*Diamonds*) styles of ballet dancing. In *Emeralds* Balanchine portrays the elegant and fashionable world of France. *Rubies* is the most modern piece of the three choreographies and this dynamic piece refers to florescence of jazz and Broadway in America. And in *Diamonds* Balanchine depicts the glory and beauty of the tsar's court in a majestic manner (<http://www.operaballet.nl/en/ballet/2014-2015/show/jewels>). During the in-depth interviews, detailed information on the general background, childhood exposure to cultural products, cultural taste, the aesthetic experience of ballet performances, expectations related to visiting ballet performances, motivations to visit ballet performances, experience of the attended ballet performance, reasons to visit the Dutch National Ballet specifically and recommendations for the Dutch National Ballet to improve the experience of the target group are collected to get a

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

refined image of the characteristics of the motivations of the visiting behavior of young adults with a university background attending ballet performances of the Dutch National Ballet.

Sample. The unit of analysis is the individual being interviewed. The individuals being interviewed are young adults with a university background who have visited the Dutch National Ballet in the past year and who have used student discount to buy their ticket(s). The criteria of having visited the Dutch National Ballet in the past year satisfies the requirement of the young adults with a university background being of passer-by audience / lower frequency interested participant segment and the criteria of having used student discount to buy their ticket(s) approximates the requirement of the young adults being young adults and having a university background. Although students with a middle educational attainment are allowed to use the student discount too, the chance is slim that students with a middle educational attainment will use this discount considering the fact that individuals are assumed to need a certain amount of cultural capital to appreciate ballet and students with a middle educational attainment have a smaller chance achieving this. The interviews were conducted with in total 15 individuals. This allows an introduction of all the 15 interviewees individually, including a short description of their educational background and, if applicable, their dancing background.

Kate (interview 1) lives in Amsterdam, and is originally from Haarlem. She started her Bachelor ‘Algemene Sociale Wetenschappen’, which could translated to General Social Sciences, in 2010 at the University of Amsterdam and is currently enrolled in the Master program European Politics. Kate saw her first classical ballet piece (Snowwhite) when she was young with her parents, but couldn’t recall the exact age. She often visited family friendly museums with her parents, and as a teenager started visiting museums like van Gogh museum too. She started visiting concerts as a teenager in Haarlem. As soon as she went to the University she started attending ballet performances a lot. Kate loves to visit live performances, and is interested most in opera, ballet, cabaret, pop and classical music, and visiting rock concerts and the cinema.

Claire (interview 2) lives in Amsterdam, and is originally from Valso. She is currently enrolled in the Bachelor program International Businesses and Languages at the Amsterdam University of Applied Science, and is planning to enroll in a Master program like Organisational Psychology. Claire saw her first classical ballet piece when she was around 10 years old. She always dreamt of doing ballet, but couldn’t. She started attending street dance and hip-hop

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

classes when she was young, and participated in National Competitions. She visited theater and musicals a lot with her mother, it started with visiting local theater production and evolved to a lot of Joop van den Ende productions when she was around 14 years old. Currently she is practicing salsa once a week at an advanced level. Claire is very interested in opera, jazz-ballet and ballet, and classical, pop and jazz music and is attending a live performance every week.

Ward (interview 3) lives in Amsterdam, and is originally from Monnickendam. He is currently job-seeking and has graduated from the Bachelor programs Physics and Mathematics and the Master program Theoretical Physics. He started at one of the lowest educational levels (VMBO) during high school, proceeded eventually, after being tested dyslectic with a positive result, to the University of Applied Sciences, enrolled in a University Bachelor program after one year, graduated from two Bachelor programs and one Master program. Ward wasn't very interested in arts and culture when he was younger, but did enjoy listening to pop music and classical music, and started playing the flute in his childhood. He visited museum occasionally with his parents. He is able to appreciate modern visual art, but isn't very interested. He once visited a classical ballet piece with his mother when he was younger. During high school he also started playing bass guitar and attending a choir class. Two years ago Ward attended his second classical ballet piece, which stimulated his interest in ballet. Ward just started practicing ballet, he is attending ballet classes twice a week for almost 2 years now. Ward is interested most in pop music and ballet.

Hester (interview 4) lives in Amsterdam, and is originally from the province Brabant. She is 26 and currently a student for 8 years already. She has graduated from the Bachelor program Psychology at the University of Leiden, and lived there during her enrollment in Leiden. After that she enrolled in the Master program Neurosciences at the VU University Amsterdam, and moved to Amsterdam, and she is currently specializing in Clinical Neurosciences. Hester went to ballet classes when she was little, but isn't dancing for a long time now anymore. She visited museums and cities rich in architecture a lot with her parents. She saw her first classical ballet piece (Swan lake) when she was 15 years old. She wasn't very interested in arts and culture as a teenager, and started exploring the arts when she went to the University. Hester is currently interested most in the classicist visual arts, jazz ballet, modern ballet, ballet, jazz and pop music and visiting museums, classical concerts and techno music festivals.

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

Esther (interview 5) lives in Amsterdam, and is originally from Alkmaar. She is 24, has graduated from the Bachelor program History in Amsterdam and is currently enrolled in the Master program ‘Politiek en maatschappij in historisch perspectief’, which could be translated to Politics and Society in a Historical perspective at the University of Utrecht. Esther started attending ballet classes when she was little, and saw her first classical ballet piece (Swanlake) when she was 14. She saw her first modern ballet piece (NDT) when she was around 9 years old, which stimulated her to start attending jazz-ballet classes. She visited modern ballet pieces, theater, classical concerts and museums very often with her parents. And when they visited the cinemas, they visited the art-house cinemas. Esther has attended theater classes for several years and was interested a lot in theater during that period. During high school she discovered musicals. And now since that she went to the University she is discovering modern art. Esther is currently not dancing anymore. She has a big interest in opera, ballet, musicals, jazz-ballet, modern ballet, impressionist visual arts, and pop and classical music.

Rick (interview 6) lives in Leiden, and is planning to move to Amsterdam. He is 24, is currently enrolled in the Bachelor program Japanese Language at University of Leiden, and is currently enrolled in a pre-master program Sociology at the University of Amsterdam. He is planning to enroll in the Master program Comparative organization and labour studies at the University of Amsterdam. Rick saw his first classical ballet piece when he was between 14 and 16 years old. Rick started attending ballet and contemporary dance classes at the moment he went to the University. Rick also plays the piano, and loves to play classical music. He is currently a very active dancer, attending dance classes in contemporary dance and body balance: combination of yoga, Pilates and tai chi, and is currently completing a training to teach in ‘essentrics’, a new style combining yoga and ballet. Rick has a big interest in dance, classical and pop music, modern visual arts, and visiting museums, theater and the cinemas.

Laura (interview 7) lives in Utrecht. She was 22 during the time of the interview and probably has turned 23 by now. She is currently a fifth-year Medical student in Utrecht. Laura saw her first classical ballet piece (Nutcracker) when she was young, but couldn’t recall the age, and visited musicals, theater and operas most often with her parents. Her interest in watching dance started when she started watching SYTYCD on the television on the age of 16. She just discovered that she likes visiting (live performances of) ballet a lot. Jewels was her third ballet

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

performance, she visited Cinderella recently and has visited the Nutcracker once when she was younger. She has a big interest in pop and classical music, architecture, and ballet.

Emily (interview 8) lives in Amsterdam, she moved there four years ago, and she is originally from Oegstgeest. She has graduated from the Bachelor program Communication and is currently enrolled in her second Master program Political Communications at the University of Amsterdam after she did her first Master program at the VU University Amsterdam. Emily had some experience with ballet herself when she was younger, since she received ballet classes during gymnastics too. When she was younger she trained 8 hours a week. She visited musicals most often and sometimes theater with her parents. During high school she had ‘Kunst Algemeen’ classes, which stimulated her interest in drawing, painting, architecture and the like. She saw her first classical ballet piece when she was 20. She is attending ballet classes once a week for almost two years now. Emily has a big interest in pop music, techno music festivals, photography, museums, and ballet.

Mila (interview 9) lives in Utrecht, and is originally from Amsterdam. She started a Bachelor program Media and Culture and Spanish Language at the same time in Amsterdam, but decided to switch to the Bachelor program Liberal Arts and Sciences at the University of Utrecht, and chose to specialize in Science and Innovation Management with the language track Spanish. She is currently enrolled in the Research Master program Innovation Science and has chosen the specialization life sciences. Mila saw her first classical ballet piece (Swanlake) when she was 7 years old. She visited museums and the circus once in a while with her parents or grandparents, and sometimes she visited the ballet with her father. She got acquainted with classical music through her parents at home, and studied violin until she graduated from high school. During high school she was involved in the high school productions of musicals and had CKV and KCV classes. She has a big interest in classical, jazz, and pop music, ballet, art museums, and visual arts.

Liliya (interview 10) lives in Amsterdam, and is originally from Moscow, Russia. She is currently enrolled in the Bachelor program Classical Music at the Department of Keyboard Studies with the specialization Piano at the Conservatory of Amsterdam, which is part of the Amsterdam School of the Arts. Liliya started studying classical piano when she was 5 years old, until she was 17. After a short break she continued studying the classical piano and is currently

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

practicing 6 days a week. She saw her first classical ballet piece (Nutcracker) when she was 3 years old visited, and visited classical ballet pieces and classical concerts with her mother occasionally when she was still living in Moscow. She is also interested in dancing herself, and therefore took two courses of street dance in the Netherlands, and decided to do it again when she has more time. She is currently not active in dancing. Liliya has a big interest in impressionist visual arts, ballet, and classical and pop music.

Stefanie (interview 11) lives in Almere with her parents. She graduated from Grammar School in 2012, auditioned for several Bachelor programs related to dancing and musicals but wasn't accepted, started an educational program related to sports last academic year but didn't finish and decided to do auditions for several Bachelor programs related to dancing and musicals for the last time. If she isn't accepted this year, she is planning to enroll for the Bachelor program Theatre Studies at a University, or a Bachelor program Nutrition and Dietetics at a University of Applied Sciences. Stefanie started dancing (ballet) when she was 4 or 5 years old, saw her first classical ballet piece (Swanlake) when she was 6 years old, and visited with her parents a lot of musicals, once in while a dance performance or cabaret and sometimes theatre. During high school she was involved a lot in the high school productions of musicals. And during the high school period she got acquainted with arts history and got engaged in theatre more. Currently she is still a very active dancer, dancing 8 hours a week, attending dance classes in jazz, tap, pointes, ballet and contemporary. Stefanie is most interested in dance, musicals, pop, musical, classical and jazz music, art and music festivals, theater and eclectic visual arts.

Marielle (interview 12) lives in Rotterdam, and is originally from Bergsehoek. She has graduated from the Bachelor program Psychology at the Erasmus University Rotterdam and is currently enrolled in the Bachelor program Clinical Neuropsychology in Amsterdam. Marielle started dancing (ballet) when she was 4 years old, and quitted ballet twice, the first time when she was 13 she ceased dancing for half a year, and the second time she ceased dancing for a year. She saw her first classical piece (Nutcracker) when she was between 8 and 10 years old, which was her only time visiting a ballet performance with her parents. She only visited the cinemas a lot with her parents. However, she did visit ballet performances with her ballet school. During high school she got acquainted with arts history which stimulated her interest in the visual arts. And now that she is living on her own in Rotterdam she is exploring more, and is interested in visiting

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

museums and more different kind of dance styles. Currently she is attending contemporary jazz classes once a week. Marielle has a big interested in dance, pop and classical music, abstract visual arts, and museums.

Eva (interview 13) lives in Leiden with her parents. She was 19 during the time of the interview and probably has turned 20 by now. She is currently enrolled in the Bachelor program Educational Sciences. Eva started dancing (ballet) when she was 4 years old, saw her first classical ballet piece (Sleeping Beauty) when she was 14, and visited a lot of modern ballet pieces (mainly of NDT) with her mother. She attended theatre classes for two years when she was 7 or 8 years old, was already very interested in writing, dancing, singing, and acting when she was young, visited museums very often with her parents and got acquainted with classical music through her parents at home and during ballet classes. She started attending jazz ballet classes when she was 11, developed some skills in playing the piano independently, and is currently a very active dancer, attending dance classes in dancehall, contemporary, jazz ladies style, and character ballet too for a year now besides her continued attendance of ballet and pointes classes. Eva has a big interest in singing, pop and classical music, dance, musicals, theater and museums.

Monique (interview 14) lives in Amsterdam, and is originally from Roermond. She moved to Amsterdam the moment she started her Bachelor program General Social Sciences and she is currently enrolled in the Master program Policy, Communication and Organization. Monique started dancing (ballet) when she was between 4 and 6 years old, and also explored different dance styles like Latin and ballroom dancing. She attended contemporary dance classes for a little while, and is currently still attending ballet classes. She saw her first classical ballet piece when she was 12 (Nutchacker) but visited the theater two or three times a year with her mother, visiting musicals or theater. She also visited museums a lot, and loved crafts and reading when she was young. During high school she had CKV classes which stimulated her interest in architecture. Currently she is visiting the cinemas and ballet most often, and sometimes is visiting museums too. Monique is interested most in architecture, ballet, (historical) museums, and movies.

Lara (interview 15) lives in Koudekerk aan den Rijn with her parents, and is originally from Hazerswoude. She graduated her Bachelor program Sociology and her Research Master program Sociology at the University of Utrecht. She is currently employed by 'Centraal Bureau

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

voor Statistiek' (CBS) in Den Hague as a statistical researcher on the Department Social Security. Lara started dancing (ballet) when she was 6 years old, and saw her first classical ballet piece (Nutcracker) when she was 7 years old. She visited at every year at least one ballet piece of the Dutch National Ballet with her sister and mother, got acquainted with classical music through her parents at home (every Sunday during breakfast) and during ballet classes. She didn't visit museums or undertook other cultural activities with her parents, except during holidays. She discovered musicals after high school and had a period she visited musicals a lot. Currently she is a very active dancer, dancing hours a week, attending dance classes in street dance, contemporary, tap, ballet and pointes. Lara is interested most in dance or musicals.

As could be observed here, all young adults have a high educational attainment or are planning / capable to attain a high educational degree.

Operationalization and materials

The topic list of the interview contains the topics general background, childhood exposure to cultural product, cultural taste, the aesthetic experience of ballet performances, expectations related to visiting ballet performances, motivations to visit ballet performances, experience of the attended ballet performance, reasons to visit the Dutch National Ballet specifically and recommendations for the Dutch National Ballet to improve the overall experience. These topics are designed as operationalizations of the acquirement of cultural capital, the accumulation of cultural capital, motivators, taste patterns and arts appreciation.

Acquirement of cultural capital. To explore the acquirement of cultural capital of the young adults, their general background and their childhood exposure to cultural products are explored by asking the students for example: 'Could you describe your family, like brothers, sisters, parents and the job and educational background of your parents?', 'What kind of cultural activities did you undertake in your childhood?' and 'What was your first experience with ballet?'. The general background will be used to check the educational attainment and the need for a part-time job, to get insights into possible important life events and into the educational background of the parents. To assure that all young adults have a university background it is needed to check the educational attainment, since having a university background is a requirement that the target group of this study have to possess. The need for a part-time job will inform a potential freedom from necessity, which plays a role in the ease of acquiring cultural

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

capital. Likewise, the educational background of the parents will inform the access to acquiring cultural capital and thus the likelihood of being able to acquire cultural capital. The higher the educational attainment and the higher the childhood exposure to cultural products the higher the access to acquiring cultural capital will have been.

Accumulation of cultural capital. And to explore if the young adults have cultural capital and to what extent they have accumulated cultural capital, they were asked for example: ‘Were you always able to appreciate ballet in the same way you appreciate it now?’ and ‘If you are watching a ballet performance, do you grasp what is going on?’. It is assumed that individuals with a higher amount of accumulated cultural capital will express more familiarity and will have less difficulty with abstract ideas and discourses.

Motivators. To explore the nature of the motivations of the young adults, the motivations and needs are explored by asking the students for example: ‘What are the most important reasons for you to visit ballet performances?’ and ‘When you are visiting a ballet performance, what do you expect to get in return?’. The individuals aren’t forced here to choose a motivator, instead, they are able to talk spontaneously about what they think that could be motivating their visiting behavior. Special attention will be given during analyses to the recognition of the artistic, education, recreational, escapist, social motivator and self-enhancement motivators.

The *artistic motivator* could be recognized by expressions of the individuals related to experiencing cultural enrichment and/or related to the expectation of deriving pleasure from the beauty and grace found through the artistic expression in live performances. The *education motivator* could be recognized by expression of the individuals related to the desire to learn and know more about the arts, and/or related to seeking out situations to educate themselves. The *recreation motivator* could be recognized by expressions of the individual related to ballet as a form of entertainment, and/or related to the appreciation of participatory activities, like after show parties. The *self-esteem enhancement motivator* could be recognized by expressions of the individual related to the desire to enhance self-esteem and/or related to the desire to attain and maintain a positive social identity via the social association with an activity or organization or via the social identification with the rest of the audience. The *escapist motivator* could be recognized by expressions of the individual related to the desire to find a diversion, escape or departure from daily routines, and/or related to the desire to forget about their troubles. The *social motivator*

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

could be recognized by expressions of the individual related to the desire for a social experience, to ballet as a social occasion or a chance to spend time with and socialize with others, and/or related to enjoying a performance more if they are visiting in a group situation (Swanson, Davis & Zhao, 2008). However, it is also possible that an unanticipated motivator will emerge.

Taste patterns. To explore the nature of the taste patterns of the young adults, their cultural taste is explored by asking them for example: ‘Concerning your cultural taste, in what kind of art forms are you interested?’, and ‘Which characteristics would you consider to be important for you to be able to appreciate ballet?’. Special attention will be given during analyses to the recognition of the highbrow, pop and folk cultural schemes.

The *highbrow scheme* could be recognized by individuals expressing preferences for music like classical works, opera, baroque music, operetta, contemporary classical music and jazz, visiting things like classical music concerts or jazz festivals, museums, art galleries, ballet, modern ballet/dance companies, and the opera, and appreciating complexity, like abstract ideas. The *pop scheme* could be recognized by individuals expressing preferences for music like pop, rock, R&B, funk, soul, world music, dance, and electronic music, visiting things like popular music festivals or concerts, family production musicals, and the movies, and appreciating entertainment. The *folk scheme* could be recognized by individuals expressing preferences for music like folk music and brass bands, visiting things in community settings, and appreciating harmony and coziness.

When individuals are expressing preferences for cultural products in the highbrow scheme, it is most likely that these individuals will have the taste patterns of the first social milieu group: the high milieu. When individuals are expressing preferences for cultural products in the folk scheme, it is most likely that these individuals will have the taste patterns of the second social milieu group: the harmony milieu. When individuals are expressing preferences for cultural products in the pop scheme, it is most likely that these individuals will have the taste patterns of the third social milieu group: the entertainment milieu. When individuals are expressing preferences for cultural products across the highbrow and folk schemes, it is most likely that these individuals will have the taste patterns of the fourth social milieu group: the integration milieu. When individuals are expressing preferences for cultural products across the highbrow and pop schemes, it is most likely that these individuals will have the taste patterns of

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

the fifth social milieu group: the self-fulfillment milieu. When individuals are expressing preferences for cultural products across the folk and pop schemes, it is most likely that these individuals will have the taste patterns of the sixth social milieu group. When individuals are expressing preferences for cultural products across the highbrow, pop and folk schemes, it is most likely that these individuals will have the taste patterns of the seventh social milieu group.

Arts appreciation/aesthetic experience. And to explore the nature of their arts appreciation, like the presence of flow experience, and the cognitive dispositions intrinsic motivation and an explicit need for cognition, the young adults with a university background were asked for example: ‘Could you describe your experience of watching a ballet performance during the performance of a ballet piece?’. Special attention will be given during analyses to the recognition of the flow experience, and indicators of intrinsic motivation and/or an explicit need for cognition.

The *flow experience* could be recognized by expressions of the individuals related to an interest in seeking out challenges, thinking about the ballet piece in relation to information already stored in the viewer’s mind, operating at full capacity, i.e. focusing their complete attention to the ballet piece and/or complete absorption, to the experience of enjoyment due to the flow experience, and/or related to the experience of a certain emotion due to the complete absorption in the ballet piece. *Intrinsic motivation* could be recognized by expressions of the individuals related to the tendency of seeking out challenges and novelty, to augment and exercise one’s capabilities, to explore and to learn, in a context / setting where the activity is self-chosen. When an individual is experiencing flow, it is more likely that they will express resorting on intrinsic motivation too. An explicit *need for cognition* (i.e. high magnitude) could be recognized by expressions of the individuals related to the tendency of engaging in and enjoying thinking.

Procedure

Sample selection occurred partly through contacting the target group in a database and partly on a self-selection basis. The Dutch National Ballet has a database with all the customers who have once ordered a ticket for a ballet performance. The individuals in this database who had visited the Dutch National Ballet at least once before (criteria 1) and who had ordered a ticket with student discount (criteria 2) were contacted by the Dutch National Ballet by e-mail and offered

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

the opportunity to participate in this study in exchange for a free ticket to the ballet performance *Jewels of the Dutch National Ballet*. The individuals who were contacted by the Dutch National Ballet were then able to respond by e-mailing to the e-mail address onderzoekjewelshnb.eur@gmail.com. It was asked to provide their full name and their preference for the specific date to visit *Jewels* in their e-mail to this e-mail address. The first 16 interested young adults with a university background were selected to participate in this study.

After having recruited enough willing participants and having established contact with these individuals, all selected participants were invited to attend a more contemporary piece of the programming, the production ‘*Jewels*’ showing in February. This recent visit to the ballet performance *Jewels of the Dutch National Ballet* will endow the participant with a recent experience and this recent experience will enable them to talk about their aesthetic experience of ballet more easily. As soon as the participants had attended the ballet performances of the Dutch National Ballet, interviews were planned shortly after their attendance, depending on the agenda of the participant. Unfortunately it turned out that it was not possible to interview 16 individuals in the specific time frame, so in the end 15 in-depth interviews were conducted, which is the minimal requirement to be able to deduct reliable conclusions. The interviews were preferably conducted in the home of the participant, but if preferred, the interview could be conducted in a quiet public place convenient for the participant. The in-depth interviews were conducted in Dutch in the case of Dutch participants and were conducted in English in the case of non-Dutch participants, and they lasted on average one hour. A standard order of topics to be discussed was maintained to facilitate the comparison between the interviewees, with the interviews being semi-structured instead of entirely structured. The topic list of the interview contains the topics general background, childhood exposure to cultural product, cultural taste, aesthetic experience of ballet performances, expectations related to visiting ballet performances, motivations to visit ballet performances, experience of the attended ballet performance, reasons to visit the Dutch National Ballet specifically and recommendations for the Dutch National Ballet to improve the overall experience, see appendices A (Dutch) and B (English) for the topic lists.

After having conducted the in-depth interviews with the 15 participants, transcripts of the 15 audio-recorded interviews, supplemented with written field notes describing important non-verbal communications, were written out in Atlas.ti for qualitative data analysis. Atlas.ti is

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

designed to offer social science researchers with a qualitative research orientation a means to support research involving the interpretation of texts, such as transcripts of interviews. One of the important characteristics of Atlas.ti is the fact that it leaves the creative and intellectual task of interpretation to the researcher and another that it does not include quantitative statistical methods for statistical analysis, although some quantitative methods can be applied to the data to arrange it and to display the different kinds of information effectively. More importantly, Atlas.ti is designed to support interpretation by structuring complex information (Muhr, 1991). Different aspects of the quotations of the 15 individuals were be coded to be able to gain insights into the characteristics of the motivating force of the visiting behavior of young adults with a university background attending ballet performances of the Dutch National Ballet and insights into the trends and relations among these individuals.

Firstly, two assumptions will be checked: the presence of a certain amount (i.e. enough to appreciate ballet) of cultural capital is expected, and that they have a positive attitude towards dance performances. Thereafter this research will turn to answering the questions it poses. The specific motivators for attending ballet (Swanson, Davis & Zhao, 2008), the most appropriate taste pattern describing the (majority of the) target group (Van Eijck & Lievens, 2008), the nature of their appreciation of ballet, considering the nature and extent of their flow experience (Nakamura & Csikzentmihalyi, 2002), intrinsic motivation (Ryan & Deci, 2000; Mannel & Iso-Ahola, 1987) and the need for cognition (Cacioppo & Petty, 1982; DiMaggio, 1982), and the extent of their cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; 2008; Atkinson, 2011) will be explored and analyzed. Dutch quotes will be translated to English. For the original (untranslated) Dutch quotes of the participants, see appendix C. Finally, implications about how to stimulate the young adults with a university background to visit ballet performances (of the Dutch National Ballet) more loyally will be based on the findings extracted from the in depth-interviews about the childhood exposure to cultural products, cultural taste, motivators, and aesthetic experience of ballet of the young adults with a university background.

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

Chapter 4: Findings

This research aimed to find the underlying motivations of the visiting behavior of young adults with a university background attending ballet performances of the Dutch National Ballet, through the exploration of specific motivators for attending ballet (Swanson, Davis & Zhao, 2008), the most appropriate taste pattern describing the (majority of the) target group (Van Eijck & Lievens, 2008), the nature of their appreciation of ballet, considering the nature and extent of their flow experience (Nakamura & Csikszentmihalyi, 2002), intrinsic motivation (Ryan & Deci, 2000; Mannel & Iso-Ahola, 1987) and the need for cognition (Cacioppo & Petty, 1982; DiMaggio, 1982) in the light of their cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; 2008; Atkinson, 2011). Firstly, it will be explored if the young adults will have the artistic, education, recreation and self-esteem enhancement motivators for visiting ballet performances. Thereafter, the expressions for specific preferences in or across the highbrow, pop and folk cultural schemes and the accompanying taste patterns will be explored, and connected to the motivating source of the young adults. Finally, their appreciation of ballet, entailing flow experience, intrinsic motivation and the need for cognition, and their acquirement and accumulation of cultural capital will be explored, and connected to the motivating source of the visiting behavior of the young adults with a university background.

However it is important to assure the correctness of two assumptions that have been made in this research: the presence of a certain amount (i.e. enough to appreciate ballet) of cultural capital is expected, and that they have a positive attitude towards dance performances. All these young adults with a university background who has visited the Dutch National Ballet once before have a clear cultural preference for either ballet or dance, are all able to appreciate ballet and very often do admire ballet very much, and are all extremely positive about ballet. This confirms the assumptions that the young adults have enough cultural capital to appreciate ballet and have a positive attitude to ballet and this will set the basis for answering the research questions.

Motivators

These young adults with a university background seem to be motivated to visit ballet performances by more than just one motivator at a time. They will be motivated by recreational, artistic and educational motivators to visit ballet performances and they could also be motivated by escapist and social motivators. These motivators were identified in literature as potential

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

underlying motives for attending live performance (Swanson, Davis & Zhao, 2008). As was expected, all motivators except the self-esteem enhancement were motivators of the visiting behavior of young adults with a university background. Furthermore, several young adults seem to be motivated by another motivator. This unanticipated motivator motivates the visiting behavior for young adults who are currently (still) very active dancers. These dancers among the young adults with a university background express feeling inspired while and/or after watching ballet. This inspirational motivator is closely related to the educational motivator, this will be elucidated later. In the case of that these young adults are motivated by an escapist motivator, they are most often also at least motivated by an artistic motivator. And in the case of that these young adults are motivated by a social motivator, they are most often also at least motivated by a recreational motivator. To get a more refined image of the nature of their motivators, each motivator will be described and illustrated.

Recreational motivator. The young adults with a university background motivated by a recreational motivator considered a visit to a ballet performance to be a night out, something to entertain you. Remarkable was that several times visiting ballet was compared to visiting the cinemas or a soccer match, like Eva did.

Eva: Yeah, I just think, it's a way to relax yourself and at the same time... Look, it's the same when you are visiting a soccer match, if you love soccer, you really enjoy to watch it and you are like wow, that's a good soccer player, and then afterwards you maybe try something yourself. So I think the most important reason to visit it, it's a way to relax yourself while you are engaged with something you like a lot.

And it seems to be the case that they use words like entertainment and relaxation interchangeable for the goal they want to achieve through directing their behavior to attending ballet performances. Oxford English Dictionaries defines entertainment as an event, performance or activity designed to give pleasure or cause laughter, and defines relaxation as the state of being free from tension, the act of relaxing, e.g. the act of resting or engaging in an enjoyable activity so as to become less tired or anxious. To be entertained thus means that the activity will bring pleasure and relaxation. Relaxation is thus a consequence of being entertained while participating in recreation and leisure activities and thus a distinctive aim of entertainment.

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

Artistic motivator. The young adults with a university background motivated by the artistic motivator expect beauty and to derive pleasure from the beauty and grace found through the ballet performances, and some also explicitly valued the cultural enrichment of visiting ballet performances, like: *“Yes, and I think that, I guess I do get the idea that that kind of cultural things, they, they develop you further in a certain way. That’s something I value too”* (Laura).

And in contrast to the recreational motivator, young adults with an artistic motivator often experienced visiting ballet performances as something special, something that isn’t something ordinary like the cinemas. Emily and Mila both experienced ballet as something extraordinary.

Emily: I think I find it very special, and very beautiful to watch, and it really gives a night, really a special night out, much more than when you would visit the cinemas. That’s also fun, but quite ordinary. If you visit a dance performance, I really enjoy that [laughs].

Mila: And it just is something different compared to watching a movie. It is in fact a performance. And people are really busy performing on that moment, I can appreciate that.

Educational motivator. The young adults with a university background motivated by an educational motivator expressed a desire to learn and know more about the arts. Esther stated for example that she in fact really enjoys knowing more. These adults commonly will have the need to know more about ballet, like background information on dancers, the choreographer or story, and will have the tendency to engage in information seeking behavior a lot, to challenge their skills and accumulate further knowledge. And a lot of the young adults were specifically interested in knowing more about the dancers of the Dutch National Ballet dance company.

Esther and Lara for example did express the desire to know specifically more about the dancers.

Lara: Maybe also comments of the dancer about the story. They already have that, that there is a short clip and dancers, most of the time principals, are talking about what they like about a specific ballet piece or something. And oh! I also really likes to TV series [‘Bloed, Zweet en Blaren’, translated: Blood, Sweat and Blisters] they produced. I really really enjoyed watching that. It was really cool to see all the stuff showed there. That’s something they should... uh... do more often, a lot more often. Uhm. Yes, they should really do that more often. If the organization of the [Dutch] National Ballet will

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

read this: You should do that [laughs]! Uhm! It was just very cool to see how it works and how dancers experience all that, and that you, in the TV series you were of course peeking into the home of the dancers, and stuff, you know, that you see their preparations and stuff like that. I really find it interesting to be able to see that. That you are able to see what they have to do to be able to give such a wonderful performance in the end. And I really consider that an additional value of that TV series.

Esther: Yeah, I think, more depth, or something like that? Uhm. They are already doing stuff with short clips, you know, I find that really enjoyable. Uhm. Maybe more about the dancers? Yes, I think just think that is very interesting. They sometimes do have interviews online, and I think that they could exploit that more ... [laughs], you know. Because they also had the 'Bloed, Zweet en Blaren' thing, which I enjoyed, and that's a way to get to know the dancers a little better of course, and I noticed that I really found it very interesting. That I later thought like oh I saw that dancer! So I think that if they uhm send out the dancers into the open world, you know, that that maybe also could convince people to go to visit ballet performances more often.

Although it is clearly an educational motivator, there also could be more factors in play than just the desire to know more and the desire to educate themselves at the same time. Wanting to know more about the (/certain) dancers of the Dutch National Ballet could also be considered to be related to fan behavior.

Fandom. Theories on fan cultures (Fiske, 1992; Hills, 2002) have utilized Bourdieu's (1984) theory of cultural taste and distinctions among social classes in their search to understand fan behavior. Fans are distinct from typical consumer in that they are an elite segment of a larger audience of (more) passive consumers (Kozinets, 2001). Fans often identify themselves as a member of a community that creates physical opportunities to participate in creative, subcultural acts (Amato, Peters & Shao, 2005). A sub-culture is understood to be part of the existing cultural plurality and has its own unique culture, a shared taste, hierarchies and communal (fluid) boundaries. Authenticity is suggested to be the most important value in a fan community, and is indicated by the possession of subcultural capital. Subcultural capital is accumulated by exposure to and consumption of the media and cultural products that are part of the specific subculture (Kozinets, 2001). Authenticity takes two forms: (1) an artistic aura of originality; or (2) being a

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

natural community member, i.e. practicing the specific sub-culture as a way of life. Authenticity can legitimize certain consumers within the subcultural context as fans (i.e. members of that subcultural community), and can act as the indicator of the member status in that community, which also sets the social communal boundaries. Authenticity thus establish what is and what not part of the fan community is (Amato, Peters & Shao, 2005). Subcultural capital can be embodied and communicated, as is the case in communities wearing particular clothing or displaying their fan related collections (Hills, 2002). And especially a struggle in identification of authenticity can lead to a consolidation of identity (Amato, Peters & Shao, 2005), thus a need to display their subcultural capital.

Fandom could evolve around certain cultural products, cultural genres, cultural institutes or artists / celebrities (Fiske, 1992), and is often a common feature of popular culture, thus cultural forms the dominant value system value less. In the case of celebrity fandom it is typical characterized by fan attachments to a certain celebrity. Celebrities function as role models for adults, and attachments are developed in much the same way it is developed in social interactions, e.g. through proximity and familiarity with the face, voice and manner of behaving of the celebrity in question. This familiarity and proximity are also important factors in fan behavior, such as valuing photographs of (the face of) the attachment object as an artifact in fan groups, spending hours gazing at media (videos and photographs) related to the attachment object, and the seeking of proximity to the attachment object. With each photograph and video the attachment intensifies. Being an eager consumer of the creative work of the attachment object is a way to seek proximity to the attachment object. And also the collection of memorabilia, in which anything touched by, used by or related to the attachment object has taken on value, is a way to seek proximity. The most common way of the proximity seeking of fans is the desire for an autograph or perhaps having their photos taken with the celebrity (Stever, 2011). The motivations related to the fan behavior of the young adults with a university background may be acting like an educational motivator in respect to wanting to know more about (certain) dancers, but thus could better be considered a way in which the young adults satisfy their innate psychological need for relatedness (Ryan & Deci, 2000), by seeking proximity. And some of these young adults indeed seem to display a fan attachment to certain dancers, like Claire, she considers Michaela dePrince to be a source of inspiration.

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

Claire: *I think that it was kind of an extra uuh kick to see Michaela dePrince during Jewels. Because she, I didn't expect to see her, that wasn't mentioned in, also not on the website. So it was really a... uuh wauw moment. It's just, she always has been an inspiration for me, you know, how she ended up being a ballerina in the end. And with her whole background story, you just have to respect someone like that, and unbelievable, and uuh, that's why, I think that was one of the most amazing things about the whole night. Yes, that you are just... And I was surprised that uhh, I thought that she had a minor role in the piece, and I would have liked it to see her having a larger role in it. Not just because of her background story, I think because of her technique, and uhm, to stimulate other people [...].*

And although some of the young adults display a fan attachment to certain dancers, there doesn't seem to be a self-identification with a fan community (yet). This could be related to the fact that there isn't really a subcultural community / fan group (yet) evolving around the Dutch National Ballet and its dancers for this age group. The Dutch National Ballet is nevertheless working on establishing a fan community for (young) adults who already have graduated university for some time: the Young Patrons Circle. This “dynamic group of young opera & ballet lovers” is specifically meant for “young professionals between 25 and 40 years old who love opera and/or ballet and who think it is important to support the Dutch National Opera & Ballet” (<https://www.facebook.com/YPCDutchNationalOperaBallet>). The official national launch of the Young Patrons Circle was on the 1st of June, 2015, with 100 founding Young Patrons being member of the circle at that moment. And furthermore, the Dutch National Ballet has a fan club for the young fans of ballet: JUMP, and is meant for ballet lovers between 4 and 17 years old (<http://het-ballet.nl/jump>). This means that there isn't an established and institutionalized fan community / group for the young adults who are currently university students or who recently has graduated from university.

Inspirational motivator. The young adults with a university background who are currently still very active dancers often experience watching ballet as a source of inspiration. Rick for example reported getting inspired by watching dance, after asking him what his experience of watching ballet was.

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

Rick: *Yeah, it [the experience of ballet] changed, because now, the first time I went, I didn't dance myself, and later I started dancing and I enjoy seeing men on stage, that's what I really like with Balanchine for example, with the more modern pieces, that there are more men on the stage. Then I feel much more, connected as when, because men just dance differently and they inspire me more than a woman is able to. So, uh. If you are, if I am sitting there and then, yeah, I don't know, that inspires me so much, to do my best, and uhm, they are just athletes and artists at the same time! That's just awesome to see in my opinion.*

And for example Eva, she reported getting inspired by watching dance was one of the most important reasons to visit dance performances.

Eva: *I think it also inspires, if you are watching [dance]. Because sometimes I really feel like pff, dancing, again, I'm not in the mood... Then, if you are watching somebody else, then you suddenly think wow that one is só good. And then you get a kind of boost like yes, I want that too.*

The desire to learn more seems to be activated in these individuals instead of satisfied. Perhaps, in those cases, what seems to be an educational motivator could better be viewed as an inspirational motivator, to satisfy the need to get inspired, and with that, getting motivated to resume learning and enjoying dancing again. This kind of inspiration is something dancers know they can get from the experience of watching ballet. Lara remarks that for her it's not necessarily something she expects, it is something she knows she will experience after visiting a ballet performance, and probably therefore expects something like getting inspired after visiting a ballet performance.

Lara: *And I... Yes, kind a, expect a kind of, inspiration, or anyway, motivation regarding my dancing. Because I always do notice that if I have visited such a performance, as soon as I am back in the dance studio, I'm thinking like oh! I really want to do my best, and that... Isn't necessarily something I expect from such a performance, but something you will get in return. Automatically, actually. Because when you see dancers with such skills, then you just want to put even more effort into it. To be as skilled, although I know I will never be like that, but nevertheless.*

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

And Stefanie really expects getting inspired by the ballet performance, since this is a consequence she usually experiences: *“Usually, when I visit a performance, I am really inspired afterwards, so I guess I’m kind of expecting that too”*. Of the young adults with a dance background mentioning watching ballet being a source of inspiration, all were currently active and motivated dancers, who were enrolled in multiple dance classes in a week, dancing different dance styles.

Social motivator. The young adults with a university background motivated by a social motivator attend ballet performances as a social occasion, a chance to spend time with friends and socialize with others. They also tend to enjoy visiting a ballet performance with company, rather than alone, since it allows them to share the experience with others. For example Emily, she came to the conclusion that for her the most important reason to visit dance performances was to spend the evening together with friends.

Emily: Yeah, I just like it of course, but I, it’s, it’s more like I uhm, yes. That’s a good one... I think it’s that it draws me. And I also always know people who wants to join me. It’s more that. In the case of Jewels, I also didn’t go alone. I did receive just one free ticket, but I thought, I won’t go alone, I don’t really like that. So I bought another ticket for 15 euros for a friend of mine. Just went together.

And Kate believes that you shouldn’t visit a ballet performance alone: *“Yeah, if you can attend it with a group, that just so much fun. Well, I mean, of course you don’t attend it alone”*.

Furthermore, the social motivator seems to be colliding in some cases with the educational motivator or recreational motivator. For example Monique prefers to visit ballet performances with friends so that she is able to talk about it afterwards and because she thinks it is a nice activity to do with friends.

Monique: I always attend with friend... I mean, there are people who visit alone, but... That... I think I prefer to... be able to talk afterwards. And I also think that it’s a fun activity to undertake with friends.

Although a chance to spend time with friends and sharing the experience are interpreted to be part of the social motivator, they also could be interpreted as *wanting to be entertained* and they feel that this will even be better in company with others, and as *wanting to share knowledge*

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

related to the arts. In these cases, the social occasion is still most clearly expressed as to be the motivator, and accompanying consequences could be part of their motivational source.

Escapist motivator. The young adults with a university background motivated by the escapist motivator express the desire to escape daily routines of everyday life and to forget about their daily hassles, and appreciate being absorbed into the world of ballet. This escapist motivator collided often with the experience of flow, which isn't that odd at all considering that having your full attention focused on ballet and the experience of flow will provide the individual a situation in which they can forget their daily hassles by getting absorbed into this world of ballet, elegance and beauty. Mila, for example, describes her experience of ballet being optimal if she isn't thinking about anything else except the performance.

Mila: I think that, for me, the optimal experience will be when I am really, uhm, thinking about nothing else except the performance. For example, that I am not checking my mobile phone if I am getting an incoming call or not. But also... uh, music is very important. Live music in my case. If I really appreciate it, I can be totally into it, you know.... Then, I don't get distracted that easily. Uhm, yes, then you are able to enjoy something with a lot of attention, which is quite difficult in daily life with all the hassles. It's because everyone always gets distracted, by the TV, commercials, and cellphones. I like it a lot when I am attending a performance and am able to let go of everything else, that I know that I will be here for the next 2, 3 hours, or whatever, and that I will be occupied with the performance completely. So I think for me just being concentrated on the performance is the most important factor in relation to my experience.

And escaping the daily routine, through the experience of flow, doesn't seem to be the only source of their motivation, although it was the specific desire they wanted to satisfy: the pleasure they derive from escaping their daily routine with the result feeling more relaxed also seem to be a source of motivation. Being distracted from the daily hassles seem to be a consequence of the flow experience, and a means to enjoyment. Take for example Liliya, who describes her experience of watching ballet as starting with worry and a lot of thoughts, and as soon as she is absorbed she is able to relax totally.

Liliya: Uhm... Uh, at first, I am... a tense a little bit. I am expecting, what is it going to be, how is it? Because I always worry [37.00] about everything [laughing]. And

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

uuh... Well. It just started, well, if i like it or not... And then, in, in... In the middle of the performance... I, I am already so relaxed, so much relaxed, I am like... very much inside. Like there already. I forget everything. And I don't want it to stop. Then. I am disappointed when it's done. So... I am... uh... going more and more... inside the performance... while it's... going on...

It is interesting that the escapist and the recreational motivators are both capable to bring about relaxation, albeit through a different experience and thus a different motivator. The difference between the two motivators thus seem to be the nuance in describing the desire for a diversion from daily routines with the consequence that they are able to relax (escapist motivator), or the desire just to be entertained and to relax (recreational motivator). Both are probably related to the necessity of having the ability to relax while watching a ballet performance, which means that this experience of relaxation when one is attending a ballet performance is related to cultural capital, and thus to the habitus and cultural taste of the young adults with a university background.

Taste pattern

Young adults with a university background unanimously seem to have an omnivorous cultural taste, expressing having preferences in cultural taste across the ‘brows’, combining the different cultural schemes, although they differed in the extent to how broad their taste was. Some of them named a lot of different preferences in music / dance / visual art styles and/or various or all art forms, others just named a few different preferences in art forms, and/or music / dance / visual art styles. However, they all named cultural preferences in the highbrow and pop schemes. This means that the young adults will have characteristics like the typical member of the self-fulfillment milieu (fifth social milieu group). Members of the self-fulfillment milieu, as identified by Van Eijck and Lievens (2008), value spontaneity and complexity, narcissism and perfection, action and contemplation. Like in the often young entertainment milieu (cultural preferences in the pop scheme), reality is evolving around the self, and they try to develop a unique self. And like in high milieu (cultural preferences in the highbrow scheme) contemplation and complexity are valued, however, they are used by members of the self-fulfillment milieu as tools to develop themselves, instead of that their status are used as goals in the highbrow discourse.

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

And although they all named preferences in the pop and highbrow schemes, it seems that the specific manner in which these cultural products are consumed differ among the young adults with a university background. For example, Claire made an interesting remark about her taste and her preference for theatre and dance performances.

Claire: You would much sooner see me visiting uuh theatre productions, or a dance performance as you would see me dancing and drinking in a club. Because I am not the type for that. I'm just the calm, just, I just want to do stuff I enjoy. So I would rather spend my money on things I enjoy, thing I can do without friends, things... And those things just relax me. So I prefer those things much more than busting a move in a club.

The way in which those cultural products were consumed could be related to specific motivators, or perhaps even to the personality of the individual. However, this research didn't focus on and thus didn't explore the personalities of the individuals being interviewed. Furthermore, it could also be explained by the specific composition of the cultural taste, with certain values (i.e. the values related to the highbrow and pop schemes) being more dominant in some than others. Young adults having a more dominant preference in the highbrow scheme versus the pop scheme could differ in the specific manner of consuming cultural products compared to the young adults having a more dominant preference in the pop scheme versus highbrow scheme. This means that the associated characteristics of each of the related cultural schemes could differ in intensity in the members of the self-fulfillment milieu, with some (dominant pop scheme) who will value spontaneity, narcissism and action somewhat more, and others (dominant highbrow scheme) who will value complexity, perfection and contemplation somewhat more. Even within this self-fulfillment milieu one could expect different gradations in values related to the balance of preferences across the 'brows'.

And furthermore, many young adults experienced a substantial change in cultural taste since their period as a student. For example, Emily mentions that she think that although upbringing influences cultural taste, it is also a different surroundings that will allow changes and development.

Emily: I also think that, my last four years in Amsterdam, that you just change too, you develop through the contact with the people surrounding you, in your direct

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

environment. From that perspective, I think it's not just your upbringing, but also who your friends are.

And Monique reported visiting the theatre and ballet more often since she went to the university and thus since she is living on her own, and she explains why she thinks she is currently visiting it more often.

Monique: Yes, because right now I am more able to choose what I prefer, and where to go to, and uh... Maybe it's the friends I have here too. I think that's a possible factor too. Because it is nice to visit together. And of course, when you are in high school, you aren't that... into it, I guess. And they are offering more over here. That's also important.

And also Claire explains why she became more open minded, and began to give different kinds of cultural products a try.

Claire: Right now I am more able to divide my own time, you can do what you want to do, and you can go where you want to go, so that's why I regularly think like okay, I don't have any plans tonight, well, let's see what I can do tonight.

The last-minute deciding to go visit a ballet performance especially applies to the young adults who moved out of their family home when they went studying or already were studying. This means that their acquisition of freedom allowed them to explore their cultural taste more freely. And it means that now they were living on their own, the persons that they were in contact with the most are probably peers, meaning that they are prone to being influenced by peers, possibly more than ever before, resulting in an possible exploration of their cultural taste according to the cultural taste of peers. And these adults also moved to a city with a lot more choice in cultural products in quantity, quality and diversity compared to where they originally came from, since most universities are located in cities with more choice in cultural products. This will also have the merit that visiting the arts and exploring culture is more accessible. Thus the life stage of being a student will bring about an acquisition of freedom, renewed exploration of taste, heightened peer influence in the exploration of cultural taste, and greater accessibility to and more choice in cultural products.

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

Appreciation of ballet and cultural capital

All the young adults clearly appreciated ballet very much, meaning that all individuals are possess at least enough cultural capital to understand and appreciate ballet. Cultural capital entails education, level of familiarity and ease with abstract discourse and ideas, or symbolic mastery (Bourdieu, 1984; as in Atkinson, 2011). Cultural capital is thus closely involved in the extent of the appreciation of complexity, abstract discourses and the familiarity with both.

Complexity / Abstract / Familiarity. Besides that all the young adults with a university background have accumulated enough cultural capital to appreciate ballet, some of them also appreciated modern ballet (at least) as much as they appreciate ballet. Ballet pieces of the three biggest ballet companies in the Netherlands were compared often to one another, to explain which level of abstract discourse they appreciated. The three biggest ballet companies in the Netherlands are the Dutch National Ballet in Amsterdam, ‘Nederlands Danstheater’ (NDT) in Den Hague and Scapino Ballet in Rotterdam. The young adults had more difficulty appreciating the modern ballet pieces of NDT and especially the modern ballet pieces of Scapino Ballet compared to the modern ballet pieces of the Dutch National Ballet. Almost all the young adults appreciated the Rubies part of Jewels, however they still expressed having a clear preference for the romantic classical ballet pieces in comparison to the modern ballet pieces of the Dutch National Ballet. This means that the modern ballet pieces of the Dutch National Ballet were experienced as more accessible than the modern ballet pieces of NDT, and the modern ballet pieces of NDT were experienced as more accessible than the modern ballet pieces of Scapino Ballet. Young adults with a university background described finding the modern ballet pieces of Scapino ballet to be absolutely more abstract in comparison to the ballet pieces of the Dutch National Ballet.

The young adults with a university background who didn’t have had the childhood exposure to modern ballet pieces, and/or didn’t possess a very explicit need for cognition, i.e. the tendency to seek challenges and novelty, were the ones who clearly preferred the classical ballet pieces. One could infer that they have accumulated less cultural capital, perhaps due to a less forthcoming need for cognition, in comparison to their counterparts who did appreciate modern ballet (at least) as much as classical ballet. And it is plausible that the young adults with a university background have accumulated this required cultural capital to be able to appreciate

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

ballet due to higher familiarity with ballet and the accompanying abstract ideas, i.e. the mildly abstract discourse of classical ballet, and that not all the young adults with a university background have accumulated the required cultural capital to be able to appreciate modern ballet, for which familiarity with the specific discourse is required and the ease with abstract ideas has to be more developed for appreciation to occur.

These individuals thus can handle and appreciate complex, but not too complex. For example, Marielle, she likes ballet, but thinks modern dancing / ballet is too abstract.

Marielle: Really modern, modern dancing... That's something I won't prefer, because... It is actually a bit like... like with visual art... I like figurative art too, I kind of like figurative... dancing... When it's fluent... Uhm... That I can picture what it means in my mind, and not... With abstract... With modern dance, I think it can be so abstract, that you... completely lost the meaning of it. And that's something I dislike. I think... I like it when a story is told, I guess.

And she elaborated on this by giving an example, telling that she once visited Scapino Ballet, and that she thought that the movements of modern dance didn't make any sense, because she was familiar with ballet, in which, according to her, everything was smooth and flowing into another. And she disliked modern dancing/ballet for example because people suddenly stop moving, or suddenly start screaming. And she told that she therefore preferred classical ballet. And furthermore, she noted that a theme as a story was enough for her, but as soon as it gets abstract she didn't regard it a theme anymore.

The young adults with a university background who did enjoy a higher amount of complexity valued abstract ideas and novelty, like innovation and estrangement. This shows that these young adults are clearly in search for new challenges suited for their skill, and showing an intrinsic motivation to augment / exercise their ability to understand ballet and the tendency to seek challenges and novelty. For example Eva, she is one of the young adults with a university background able to appreciate modern dancing / ballet as much as classical ballet, due to a lot of childhood exposure to such modern ballet pieces. She appreciates the estrangement, novelty and innovation of, for example the Nederlands Dans Theater.

Eva: I really appreciate Nederlands Dans Theater. That's modern... Yeah... They are sometimes also like it's a peculiar kind of ballet, like, with strange movements, that

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

you are thinking like huh... Is that... Is that even possible? In fact, it's kind a ugly, but that's also why it's really cool. With those kind of things, I don't really know what to expect actually, because you have for example a triptych, what you are planning watching, and then I just go there with... Well, let's see. And then there are such cool things in it... [...] For example, that time with the big piece of carpet [during 25 years Léon & Lightfoot] ... That really exceeded my expectations concerning what was possible to do with it, so much, like wow! That's really cool.

This tendency to seek challenges and novelty is part of the need for cognition which some of the young adults with a university background possess in a higher magnitude.

Need for cognition. The young adults with a university background possessing an explicit need for cognition (i.e. having a high magnitude in the need for cognition) experience the tendency to seek challenges that will suit their skills. They thus enjoy a higher amount of complexity valued novelty, like innovation, estrangement and abstract ideas and are more likely to appreciate modern ballet pieces (at least) at much as classical ballet pieces. And the young adults with a university background who had a clear preference for classical ballet are more likely to possess a less explicit need for cognition, i.e. the tendency to seek challenges and novelty, and to engage and enjoy in thinking and/or didn't have had the childhood exposure to modern ballet pieces. The need for cognition thus plays a role in explaining individual differences in the motivation to seek out new challenges that suit newly acquired skills and can be assumed to play an important role in the expansion of cultural capital. For example Esther clearly described a flow experience, but also described that she is still thinking a lot.

Esther: Yeah, I also try to think a lot, what things could mean, or something like that, what the story, because of course nobody is talking, so you have to occupy yourself with the things that are happening. Uhm. Yes, I also notice that sometimes, that sometimes I observe things my boyfriend didn't observe. When I am discussing it afterwards. So I guess I am really occupied with it. [...] I also try to really pay attention to details. In the case of a big scenery, then there is happening a lot. It's the same case with large productions of ballet pieces. On the other hand I try not to think that much. And just being solely occupied with ballet.

And she elaborates on her tendency to think, and on her interest in learning more about ballet such as the processes behind the scenes and the dancers.

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

Esther: *I tend to think a lot about things. A lot about the process behind something. Uhm. So... It's dependent on to what extent... And that's why I really like to get dragged into it and not to think about it, however, I am still able to think thing like oh! A change of scenery. Hmm... I wonder were that went. Things like that, thoughts, they can occupy me. [...] Well, I also saw a lot of... documentaries and I have read a lot about ballet, meaning that I have a picture of how everything possibly works. I think that, that's why it is like that. I can imagine the things happening there, and then I tend to reflect on it. And because I find it interesting. Uhm. Yes, and because I thus find it personally very interesting and that you recognize the dancers, and uhm, well, those are the things I pay attention to.*

Esther tends to engage in thinking, thoughts related to the ballet are constantly occupying her mind, trying to understand how things works. She already has some knowledge about the processes behind the scenes and is interested to know more about it, to accumulate more knowledge. This interest to know and learn more about the arts is associated with the educational motivator. The young adults who possess an explicit need for cognition are at least motivated by an educational motivator.

The young adults with a university background who enjoy a higher amount of complexity and value abstract ideas and novelty are the ones who are most likely to possess an explicit need for cognition. They have the tendency to seek challenges and novelty, and to engage and enjoy in thinking. These young adults are also the ones most familiar with the abstract discourse of modern ballet / dancing, like the modern ballet pieces of NDT or Scapino Ballet. Valuing complexity and contemplation are in correspondence with having a strong highbrow scheme as a cultural omnivore in the self-fulfillment milieu. This however doesn't say anything about the intensity of the pop scheme, thus the dominance of the highbrow scheme, the pop scheme could be as well-defined as the highbrow scheme, but it follows that the young adults with a university background who value complexity and contemplation are more likely to have a dominant highbrow scheme instead of a dominant pop scheme. The likelihood of a dominant highbrow scheme or a balance between the two schemes could be estimated to be equal. In addition to the possible appreciation of complexity, abstract discourses and the familiarity with both, the

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

appreciation of skill, beauty and elegance are also involved characteristics in the admiration/appreciation of ballet by the young adults with a university background.

Skill / Beauty / Elegance. The young adults with a university background named skill and beauty most often as the source of their admiration, with elegance following up. There is a clear admiration for the tough life of the dancer, appreciating their perseverance and achieved skills. Claire for example elaborates on her admiration for the skill of dancers.

Claire: And that is for example why I love ballet. Look, everyone... perhaps not everyone, because not everyone has rhythm, however, with just practicing for a long period everyone can become a good hip-hop or street dancer. But that's not the same in the case of ballet. You don't just become a super talented ballerina. That really takes years. When, right now you actually have to start doing ballet when you are four, five years old, to become a talented ballerina. However, to get to the top, there are just several spots available. [...] Time, technique, passion and experience, and a lot of perseverance [is needed] to keep going.

And very often the young adults with a university background who preferred classical ballet to modern ballet expressed having a specific predilection for the Dutch National Ballet, explaining their preference by crediting the Dutch National Ballet with unbelievable skill in performing ballet, and therefore they expected the chance to be disappointed if they were visiting a ballet piece to be minimal. Claire for example told that she had certain expectations of the Dutch National Ballet, and didn't expect to be disappointed.

Claire: Just a certain expectation of the Dutch, of the Ballet Company [Dutch National Ballet], I just know it will be great... Like I am saying, I know it will be great, and uh... Whatever pieces I visit, I know I will be enjoying it.

And Lara told that she was fan of the Dutch National Ballet, and therefore was mainly visiting ballet pieces of the Dutch National Ballet, and that visiting other dance or ballet companies was a rare occasion.

Lara: If the choice would be entirely mine to visit something, I will always choose to visit the Dutch National Ballet, meaning classical ballet of the [Dutch] National Ballet, or modern dance of the [Dutch] National Ballet. [...] And when I'm visiting a, really like NDT, or Isabelle Beernaert or something like that, I'm like... Yeah... Hmm... I don't like

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

it as much as a real classical ballet piece, or the [Dutch] National Ballet. You could really say that I am a fan of the Dutch National Ballet. And I also love those dances on pointe shoes. So uh... I'm a bit prejudiced regarding that. [...] I rarely leave a ballet performance disappointed.

Some young adults with a university background also related the skills of the professional dancers to their own skills, making an upward-comparison to derive additional appreciation for the skills of the professional dancers, like Mila and Eva:

Mila: Why do I admire it? Uh..., you can obviously see that those people are training really hard and that they are able to achieve doing exquisite things with their bodies and that's something I really love watching. I also think that you compare it to your abilities. For example what I am able to do with my body and that's nothing compared to those people on stage, you know they are doing things they have trained very hard for.

Eva: The first thing is admiration, that I am thinking wóów, this is so amazing. [Admiration] For what they are doing. For the dancers, for... the fact that they make it look so effortless, and because I myself too, I practice dancing too, so I know how hard [laughing] it is to be able to that.

Most of the young adults with a university background who mentioned comparing the skills of the professional dancers to their own skills were currently very active dancers, with some exceptions, like Mila, who never have been enrolled in dance classes.

Monique thinks that maybe the experience of dancing yourself contributes to the realization of the though training.

Monique: I think as I grew older, I was more able... Am somewhat more concentrated on the things I recognize. For example considering I myself am dancing to of course, that I became more appreciative of uh... How hard and though everything [of a dancer's life] is. And that's how you just become aware that... uh... Yeah, that there aren't just puppets moving, but you are aware of what they are doing, and like I said, it looks like it's very easy, but in truth there has been really... processes of training... Yes... It's actually a real sport, what they are doing. And... I think you maybe realize that even more if you dance occasionally.

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

Also Rick thinks that his experience is somewhat different now since he has gained more experience in dancing.

Rick: *In the beginning I liked it, yes, the music, I think it started with the classical music, because that was familiar to me. And then I thought, oh, in combination with the dancing, that's very beautiful. And they dance beautiful and they dance nice and it all looked so nice. Uhm, yes, but it's different, because right now I can just feel it better. It's, I can feel it in my whole body, well, because I just, know these movements. Uh, and it used to be more like, oh, it's just beautiful [laughing].*

And especially these kind of descriptions, of an audience member with experience in dancing describing feeling the specific movements in their own body, relates to a mechanism known in the field of cognitive neuropsychology as the mirror neuron system.

Mirror neurons. The mirror neuron system is a proposed mechanism which enables an individual to understand the meaning and intention of a communicative signal by eliciting a representation of that communicative signal in the perceiver's brain (Molnar-Szakacs & Overy, 2006). The mirror neurons are composed of a cortical network, with more regions of the brain having the same functional properties, which is also labelled as the human action observation network (AON; Grafton & Hamilton, 2007; Cross and Ticini, 2011), with the two core components being the inferior parietal lobe and the ventral premotor cortex within the left hemisphere (Cross & Ticini, 2011). The academic field of neuro-aesthetics investigates neural activity associated with artistic creativity and aesthetic appreciation and aims to deliver a neuro-scientific portrait of art, to provide artists with an understanding of how their work influences the neural activity of the perceiver (Cross & Ticini, 2011).

One of the first studies focused on the brain's functional property to mirror action and perception, i.e. the mirror neurons, investigated the influence of prior dance experience on the perception of different styles of dance movements (Calvo-Merino et al., 2008). It was found that viewing a short video clip with movements from one's own movement vocabulary, i.e. movements from a dance style with which the participant had experience, resulted in stronger activation within the parietal and premotor components of the AON than viewing movements outside their movement vocabulary, i.e. movements from a dance style with which the participant had no or less experience, thus demonstrating an experience dependent response of the mirror

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

neurons (Calvo-Merino, et al., 2008). This is related to the stated importance of, among others, motoric familiarity with the movements of a specific dance style to the intensity and preciseness of the inner mimicry (Reason & Reynolds, 2010). But many, if not the majority, of audience members do not possess the motoric familiarity and expertise. Recent research has suggested however that the visual familiarity with a dance genre is sometimes sufficient to trigger a bodily sensation of the same movements the dancer is executing on the stage. Motor simulation was found in visually experienced dance spectators without motor expertise (Jola et al., 2012; Carroll & Seeley, 2013). What could be derived here is that a certain degree of visual experience/familiarity with ballet of an audience member of a ballet performance is needed to be capable to experience a bodily sensation of the movements executed by the ballet dancer on stage and more motoric experience/familiarity of an audience member of a ballet performance is associated with a more intense and a more precise inner mimicry of the ballet movements. These mirror neurons could thus explain the change of the experience of watching of Rick after acquiring more experience in dance, and the additional appreciation of ballet through bodily sensation and upward-comparison reported by young adults who are active dancer, with exceptions like Mila, a dance spectator without motor expertise who must be visually experienced enough to report a cognition related to motor simulation

Flow experience. While watching ballet the young adults with a university background all experienced flow. The exact nature of the experience of flow seem to differ however from person to person, but all young adults with a university experienced symptoms like being absorbed, focusing complete attention to the stage and experiencing emotions. Several interesting reports illustrating the experience of flow are the following, with Laura and Hester illustrating absorption and complete focus. “*Yes, it just grabs your attention. Your full attention. You... just get absorbed by it*” (Laura). And Hester immediately appraised her absorption and experience of emotions to the skills/effort of the dancers.

Hester: Hmm, just that I'm totally, that I, that I'm not thinking about anything else [except the performance]. That I just, that I really get absorbed, a bit like dragged into it. And that I uuh uuh, yes, on those moments I can really be like, when uuh the dance is finished, and people are applauding, I can really think like, yes, they really deserved it.

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

And Esther describes how the process of flow experience looks like in her case, starting with absorption, leading to total absorption, forgetting the daily hassles, and leading to the emotional involvement and experience.

Esther: I really let it flush over me. I really try to let what's happening carry me away. I, uh... Yes, usually I am really absorbed. For example, when there is an intermission I'm always like oh, yes... I have to do something else right now, like normal world stuff. And I can be absorbed that much that suddenly I just begin applauding, or I get tears in my eye, or I am deeply emotionally involved into it.

Also Emily and Lara are describing their flow experience quite complete, concentrating their description on the complete absorption / focus of the experience and the feeling ballet brings them.

Emily: Yes, I just... I really feel happy when I am watching. I'm watching with, a bit with wonder, you... really get dragged into another world. During Jewels I was experiencing study related stress, and uhm... Yes, over there I'm really able to let it go. It's really like that you are... while watching, that you get absorbed by it. That's my experience. And it's also wonder, and... Yes, and then I think like wow, it makes me happy, like, like oh! Wow, it's really cool that we went!

Lara: On those moments, uhm... Well, I'm really concentrated on the stage. I'm also very impressed, and full admiration for the things they are doing. Uh... And mostly I also empathize with, for example with Giselle, I had to cry that much, because of the story, with that I empathize a lot.

And for Stefanie experiencing flow means that she is able to keep her attention focused on the ballet piece. Stefanie often gets bored during classical ballet pieces and she finds it hard to focus her attention during the whole performance. She explains that keeping her attention focused is a very important reason why she preferred a ballet pieces like Jewels, with three short ballet pieces, instead of one long ballet piece. It was striking that Stefanie appreciates modern ballet / dance pieces more than classical ballet pieces compared to the other young adults with a university background, who preferred classical ballet or appreciated modern ballet as much as ballet. After close inspection of the quotes of Stefanie however it becomes clear that she meant having a preference for the *somewhat* more abstract ballet pieces, like Rubies in Jewels, but not

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

necessarily as abstract as NDT or Scapino Ballet. She mentions having a clear preference for modern dancing, and explains that she considers this to be a combination of jazz and classical ballet, or having a tendency in that direction. She never mentions the more abstract dance companies or ballet pieces, or the characteristics of them. She likes to see innovative movements, most preferable classical ballet with a modern twist. And she mentions being very critical while watching ballet, probably due to her dancer's background, thinking a lot about the imperfections, but appreciating the perfection, and indicating that she is less critical while watching musicals, because she finds it more easy to get absorbed in the musical, which she attributes to the conjunction of music, theatre and dance and the inability to be critical on all the factors.

Stefanie: Well... [I think] About a lot of things like oh she has to pointe her feet there, or I see a muscle twitching, [thinking] that must be though, or oh my, that are a lot of turns, isn't she dizzy, and uuh, focus, focus, [I] watch very attentive, and oh that one is dizzy, of over there I saw a hand going the wrong way. So it's predominantly the imperfections I'm thinking about, but the perfection that interests me. With musicals I'm less critical, because during a musical I get absorbed very easily... due to the conjunction of music, and theatre, and dance... So... It's sort of too much to pay attention to everything, and that's why I am more able to relax, in comparison to when I am just watching ballet, and have to focus on that.

Not preferring ballet would normally be explained by not having accumulated the cultural capital to appreciate ballet, however, this explanation doesn't seem to apply to Stefanie considering that she does appreciate ballet, but prefers modern ballet, and considering that she has had ballet classes since she was little, still is practicing ballet and she also visited classical ballet pieces occasionally with her parents (although most often she has visited musicals with her parents). At the other extreme end of explaining this on the basis of the amount of cultural capital, one could argue that watching classical ballet doesn't challenge her skills anymore and she is seeking a certain novelty the traditional and often romantic classical ballet pieces can't offer her to challenge her skills. Stefanie explains what she finds important to be able to appreciate ballet.

Stefanie: Uhm yes... I always look, always to the complete picture. Meaning... scenery... music, lights. And yes... especially dancing of course, I'm watching that... Yes,

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

I am always watching that, I think, with a very critical eye, in fact... So... Uh... I find it very important that they have embodied technique very well. So... [it's important] to be able to see that. The tech... I think technique has to become a part of you, so that you are not performing it, but it has to be embodied that much that in fact it is there, but you are not occupied with it. An uh... Yes... When things are performed synchronously, and... Uhm... Yes, I have noticed that in classical ballet it is often the case that, classical ballet, yes, because, yes, I have been dancing for a long time too already, so... I... am able to, you know, when I see one movement, I know which movement will come next, that it is all logic, and that's why I think it's very nice to see something you in fact didn't expect.

This explanation is probably part of the complete explanation why she prefers the somewhat more abstract ballet pieces with the combination of classical ballet and jazz. With closer inspection it seems very plausible to explain her preference for the somewhat more modern ballet pieces also to be due to a short attention span. Stefanie had mentioned that she was bored easily when she was younger, according to her due to her inability to grasp the storyline. Later on she also attributes her boredom to a lack of attention, and she told that even though she didn't really grasp the story back then, she did enjoy watching the movements, and costumes etcetera. And when Stefanie was asked to describe her experience of watching ballet, she did describe a flow experience, a very deep experience of feeling what the dancers were doing, according to her due to their shared passion for ballet, and that this is what keeps her attention focused. This indicates that she does understand and appreciates ballet very deeply, however, keeping her attention focused during the whole length of a classical ballet piece is something she has difficulty with. This means that a short attention span and the requirement of challenging her skills both challenge her appreciation of ballet. The optimal experience of flow occurs when there is a balance of challenges and skills and when both are above the actor's average level (Nakamura & Csikzentmihalyi, 2002). This balance of challenges and skills will determine if Stefanie will experience flow, and if she is experiencing flow she will be able to keep her attention focused on the stage. This accumulation of knowledge / cultural capital seem to be most optimal when a flow experience occurs, and this flow experience is dependent on the balance of challenges posed by the art work and the skills of the observer.

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

Being in flow thus means that young adults with a university background are engaging in a just-manageable challenge while they are watching a classical / modern ballet piece, and they are operating at full capacity, with information coming from the ballet piece interacting with information already stored in the viewer's mind, and with enjoyment and other possible emotions which are associated with the ballet piece a result. And since being in flow means that they are engaging in a just-manageable challenge, operating at full capacity, with information coming from the artwork interacting with information already stored in the viewer's mind, and with enjoyment as a result, it follows that the appreciation of ballet requires acquiring enough cultural capital. And classical ballet seem to pose less a challenge to skills related to having cultural capital, as modern dancing does, although (a certain amount of) cultural capital is still needed to appreciate classical ballet. Ballet and modern ballet are both capable of challenging skills to experience flow, which was defined as the subjective experience of an intrinsically motivated activity. Young adults with a university background thus clearly experience ballet as an intrinsically motivating activity.

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

Chapter 5: Discussion**Main findings**

To uncover the underlying motivations of the visiting behavior of young adults with a university background attending ballet performances of the Dutch National Ballet, the motivators of these young adults for visiting ballet (Swanson, Davis & Zhao, 2008), their taste patterns (Van Eijck & Lievens) and the nature of the appreciation for ballet, in which flow theory (Nakamura & Csikzentmihalyi, 2002), intrinsic motivation (Ryan & Deci, 2000) and the need for cognition (Cacioppo & Petty, 1982) were considered, were explored through in-depth interviews in the light of their assumed accumulated cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1985; 2008). These in-depth interviews were able to elicit detailed information about their cognitions and experiences.

Motivators. These young adults with a university background seem to be motivated to visit ballet performances by more than just one motivator at a time. They will be motivated by recreational, artistic and educational motivators to visit ballet performances and they could also be motivated by escapist and social motivators (Swanson, Davis & Zhao, 2008). Several young adults also seem to be motivated by an unanticipated motivator, which seemingly motivates the visiting behavior for young adults who are currently (still) very active dancers. These dancers among the young adults with a university background express feeling inspired while and/or after watching ballet. Furthermore, some of these young adults seem to display a fan attachment to certain dancers, however, there doesn't seem to be a self-identification with a fan community (yet). This could be related to the fact that there isn't really a subcultural community / fan group (yet) evolving around the Dutch National Ballet and its dancers for this age group.

Taste pattern. Young adults with a university background unanimously seem to have an omnivorous cultural taste, expressing having cultural preferences in the highbrow and pop schemes. This means that the young adults will have characteristics like the typical member of the self-fulfillment milieu (fifth social milieu group). Members of the self-fulfillment milieu, as identified by Van Eijck and Lievens (2008), value spontaneity and complexity, narcissism and perfection, action and contemplation, and are using contemplation and complexity to develop a unique self.

Although they all named preferences across these two 'brows', they differed in the extent to how broad their taste was and the dominance of one of the two cultural schemes in their

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

omnivorousness taste. Some of them named a lot of different preferences in art styles and/or art forms, others just named a few different preferences in art forms and/or art styles. The ones with a more dominant pop scheme will value spontaneity, narcissism and action somewhat more, and the others with a more dominant highbrow scheme will value complexity, perfection and contemplation somewhat more.

And furthermore, many young adults experienced a substantial change in cultural taste since their period as a student. The life stage of being a student will bring about an acquisition of freedom, renewed exploration of taste, heightened peer influence in the exploration of cultural taste, and greater accessibility to and more choice in cultural products.

Arts appreciation: Complexity and need for cognition. Regarding the appreciation of ballet and cultural capital, young adults with a university have accumulated enough cultural capital to appreciate ballet, although this group could be divided in respect to the appreciation of modern ballet / dancing. The young adults with a university background who appreciate modern ballet (at least) as much as ballet enjoy a higher amount of complexity and value abstract ideas and novelty and are the ones who are most likely to possess and explicit need for cognition. They have the tendency to seek challenges and novelty, and to engage and enjoy in thinking (i.e. explicit need for cognition) and are most familiar with the abstract discourse of modern ballet / dancing, like the modern ballet pieces of NDT or Scapino Ballet. The young adults with a university background who didn't have had the childhood exposure to modern ballet pieces, and/or didn't possess an explicit need for cognition clearly preferred the classical ballet pieces. These subgroups thus differ in the extent of familiarity with the abstract discourse of modern ballet, but all are familiar with the abstract discourse of ballet. Furthermore, the modern ballet pieces of the Dutch National Ballet were experienced as being more accessible (i.e. less abstract) than the modern ballet pieces of NDT or Scapino Ballet.

Arts appreciation: Skill and mirror neurons. The young adults with a university background who preferred classical ballet to modern ballet expressed having a specific predilection for the Dutch National Ballet, crediting the Dutch National Ballet with unbelievable skill in performing ballet. Some young adults with a university background also related the skills of the professional dancers to their own skills, making an upward-comparison to derive additional appreciation for the skills of the professional dancers, of who were mainly currently very active

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

dancers, with some exceptions who never have been enrolled in dance classes. They experienced a kind of a bodily sensation mirroring the movements executed by the ballet dancer on stage, which relates to the mirror neuron system. A certain degree of visual experience/familiarity with ballet of an audience member of a ballet performance is needed to be capable to experience this bodily sensation of the movements executed by the ballet dancer on stage. More motoric experience/familiarity of an audience member of a ballet performance is associated with a more intense and a more precise inner mimicry of the ballet movements.

Arts appreciation: Flow experience. While watching ballet the young adults with a university background all experienced flow, experiencing symptoms like being absorbed, focusing complete attention to the stage and experiencing emotions. Being in flow means that young adults with a university background are engaging in a just-manageable challenge while they are watching a classical / modern ballet piece, and they are operating at full capacity, with information coming from the ballet piece interacting with information already stored in the viewer's mind, and with enjoyment and other possible emotions which are associated with the ballet piece a result. It follows that the appreciation of ballet requires acquiring enough cultural capital. And classical ballet seem to pose less a challenge to skills related to having cultural capital, than modern dancing does, although (a certain amount of) cultural capital is still needed to appreciate classical ballet.

Conclusion

The findings of this study are of great significance to the problem of the decreasing numbers of visitors of dance performances in the Netherlands, the lack of diversity in the audience and the aging of the current cultural elite visiting ballet performance, since a resolution to this problem was to stimulate these young adults with a university background to visit the ballet performances more loyally and this study has explored their motivation, cultural taste and arts appreciation, in the light of their assumed accumulated cultural capital.

To sum it up, the young adults with a university background *share a lot of characteristics* with one another, like having accumulated enough cultural capital to appreciate ballet and being able to experience flow, having an omnivorous cultural taste with preferences across the highbrow and pop schemes and being motivated by recreational, artistic and educational motivators to visit ballet performances.

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

However, they also *differ* in aspects of taste, motivators and appreciation. Related to their omnivorous cultural taste, the young adults with a university background differ in the dominance of having preferences in the pop and highbrow schemes, and thus will differ in the gradation of values related these schemes. The ones with a more dominant pop scheme will value spontaneity, narcissism and action somewhat more, and the others with a more dominant highbrow scheme will value complexity, perfection and contemplation somewhat more. Regarding motivators, some of the young adults are also motivated by escapist and social motivators.

Furthermore, there are also several *subgroups* emerging within the group of young adults with a university background. Related to motivators there is a specific subgroup of the young adults with a university background who are currently also active dancers and this subgroup of active dancers seem to be motivated by an inspirational motivator and they are also very likely to experience a special kind of additional appreciation of ballet through a bodily sensation of inner mimicry due to interaction of their movement vocabulary and mirror neurons. However, dance spectator without motor expertise, but with enough visual experience are also able to experience this bodily sensation of inner mimicry. Regarding the accumulation of cultural capital, the young adults with a university background could be divided in respect to the appreciation of modern ballet / dancing: (1) young adults who have a preference for ballet and (2) young adults who appreciate modern ballet (at least) as much as ballet. The young adults with a university background who have a preference for ballet most probably didn't have had the childhood exposure to modern ballet pieces, and are less likely to possess an explicit need for cognition. The young adults with a university background who appreciate modern ballet (at least) as much as ballet have had the childhood exposure to modern ballet pieces, enjoy a higher amount of complexity and value abstract ideas and novelty, are more likely to have a dominant highbrow scheme than a dominant pop scheme, and are the ones who are most likely to possess a high need for cognition. Of course, this study didn't aim to compare young adults with a preference for ballet or young adults appreciating modern ballet and ballet, although this interesting pattern did emerge among the young adults with a university background participating in this study. Exploring differences in motivations and related factors between young adults with specific cultural interest, such as ballet and modern ballet in the art field of dance, would also be of value to the cultural institutes specialized in those specific styles. This study focused on ballet visitors,

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

and specifically on young adults. These young adults are found to be cultural omnivores, so it follows that they pick their cultural preferences as befits their needs.

The acquirement and accumulation of cultural capital is playing a significant role in cultural taste and the appreciation of ballet. These young adults are, because of their university background, exposed to the social and economic characteristics like education, (domestic) cultivation and the possibility to invest time and resources in cultivation and education which allows them to acquire and accumulate the cultural capital required to appreciate ballet and other forms of high culture (Bourdieu, 1985). Of course, cultural capital is also known to be something an individual could acquire, and individuals from higher classes will only be provided with more resources and time to invest in accumulating cultural capital, thus are more likely to have accumulated high cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1985), this means that ballet isn't necessarily something exclusively meant for the higher class, the higher class is only more likely to understand, appreciate and visit ballet performances. If the possibility of the acquirement of cultural capital is not considered, one could argue that according to Bourdieu's Distinction Theory (1985) the ability to understand and appreciate ballet isn't meant for the social classes in which they don't have the time and resources to accumulate enough cultural capital, meaning that cultural institutions shouldn't focus on the lower social classes to stimulate them to visit ballet performance (more loyally). This line of thought is of course inconsiderate of the complete picture, and one could say also narrow-minded. It is thus very important that cultural institutions definitely should not exclude the lower social classes and should try to keep it accessible and attractive to all social classes. They can however focus on the motivations and needs of the higher classes, since they are most likely to visit cultural institutions like the Dutch National Ballet.

As soon as an individual has accumulated enough cultural capital to appreciate ballet, visiting ballet performances complies with having opportunities to satisfy the three psychological innate needs that direct the intrinsic motivation, which were: the need for competence, need for relatedness and the need for autonomy (Ryan & Deci, 2000).

Social and environmental rewards that communicates towards a *feelings of competence* were things like positive performance feedback, optimal challenges and freedom from demeaning evaluations. Attending a ballet performance offers the opportunity to engage oneself in optimal challenges. And engaging in optimal challenges will also induce a flow experience, if of course

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

the activity is self-chosen (i.e. having satisfied the need for autonomy). And the seeking of challenges also relates to the educational motivator and the need for cognition, since an educational motivator and the need for cognition are closely related to satisfying the need for competence. The young adults with a university background with a higher magnitude of the need for cognition are also the ones who are motivated by an educational motivator. To satisfy the need for competence young adults with a university background will seek out those social and environmental rewards that communicates feelings of competence, such as seeking out optimal challenges, which are typically faced in aesthetic situations. Engaging in such challenges means that information coming from the ballet piece or retrieved in another way interacts with information already stored in the viewer's mind. This will satisfy the desire to learn and know more about the arts.

Another interesting pattern seem to be emerging here: The young adults with a university background with a higher magnitude of the need for cognition are the ones who are at least motivated by an educational motivator, and as described earlier, the young adults with a university background who appreciate modern ballet (at least) as much as ballet have had the childhood exposure to modern ballet pieces, and enjoy a higher amount of complexity and value abstract ideas and novelty are the ones who are most likely to possess an explicit need for cognition. Thus, young adults with a university background who appreciate modern ballet (at least) as much as ballet have had the childhood exposure to modern ballet pieces, enjoy a higher amount of complexity and value abstract ideas and novelty, are the ones who are most likely to possess an explicit need for cognition and are motivated at least by an educational motivator. However, considering that all the young adults are motivated by an educational motivator, it follows that all the young adults do possess the need for cognition, but it confirms at the same time that some possess an even higher need for cognition, thus more explicit need for cognition. These young adults with an explicit need for cognition, will probably enjoy the modern ballet pieces of the Dutch National Ballet more (often), and they are thus especially in search for challenges, novelty and innovation to accumulate further cultural capital and have the desire to learn and know more, for example about the specific ballet piece, backstage, the choreographer and the dancers. This subgroup of young adults will also be the ones less loyal to the Dutch National Ballet, since they have this tendency to explore and seek challenges. However, with

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

continued little innovations, the Dutch National Ballet will most likely still be able to attract their interest. Those little innovations could be something like a new choreographer of a specific classical (romantic) ballet piece.

The Dutch National Ballet will be most likely to stimulate the subgroup of young adults who prefer ballet to visit the Dutch National Ballet (more) loyally. Very often these young adults with a university background who preferred classical ballet expressed having a specific predilection for the Dutch National Ballet, explaining their preference by crediting the Dutch National Ballet with unbelievable skill in performing ballet, and therefore they expected the chance to be disappointed if they were visiting a ballet piece to be minimal. These young adults are prone to prefer the Dutch National Ballet to other dance companies in the Netherlands. And considering that some young adults with a university background were displaying fan attachments, the Dutch National Ballet will benefit from a *fan community group* specifically focused on this age group, with a consideration of their needs, motivations and expectations. And this fan community group could also stimulate the young adults with a university background who appreciate modern ballet (at least) as much as ballet, since a fan community group has the potential to provide these individuals an experience with more depth, in which they could challenge each other and share information. A fan community group for the age group of young adults with a university background will thus have the potential to stimulate the young adults who prefer ballet, the young adults who appreciate modern (at least) as much as ballet and specifically will humor the young adults with fan attachment to certain dancers.

And young adults with a university background are prone to experience a *sense of autonomy*, since at this life stage the young adults have to take the initiative to visit ballet performances and visiting ballet will thus be experienced to be a self-determined leisure activity. Especially for the young adults with a university background who have acquired additional freedom due to living on their own the sense of autonomy is enhanced in choosing how to spend their time and their leisure activities. Of course young adults who are still living with their family will also have freedom in choosing leisure activities due to the natural gain of responsibility when children grow up, however, they are still some daily liabilities to and expectations of their parents, and they are less likely to live in the proximity of cultural institutions like the Dutch National Ballet who offer the cultural products.

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

Social contexts communicating a *sense of security and relatedness* are prone to stimulate intrinsic motivation too. Especially young adults who are stimulated by a social motivator to visit ballet performances will seek to satisfy this need for relatedness too while satisfying the desire for a social experience. And of course the young adults with a fan attachment will visit ballet performances to satisfy their need for relatedness to a certain dancer, by proximity seeking. They will prefer visiting the ballet performances in which their preferred dancer is dancing the production.

For an activity such as attending a ballet performance to be an intrinsically motivating, social and environmental rewards that communicates feelings of competence, i.e. poses challenges, and autonomy, i.e. is self-determined, are thus required and is enhanced by a social context that communicates a sense of security and relatedness. Visiting ballet performances thus can be done and enjoyed alone and in groups, since satisfying the need for relatedness is not required to experience a leisure activity to be intrinsically motivating. Ballet in itself is perfectly suited to satisfy the need for competence, since the skills that are used to understand ballet can be challenged through the variations in abstract discourse and innovative ideas. This implicates that the Dutch National Ballet has to continue offering classical and modern ballet pieces varying in abstract discourses and innovative ideas. The context of visiting ballet is thus perfectly suited to facilitate intrinsic motivation, and whilst being intrinsically motivated the young adults with a university background can use the same context and even contextual factors to satisfy other needs they find important, i.e. the specific motivations that were identified in this study.

Furthermore, especially the life stage of young adults in which they move out their family home (during or after their studies) will bring about an enhanced sense of autonomy. This enhanced sense of autonomy seems to stimulate them into visiting ballet performances more, and young adults explain that this is due to the gained ability to divide their time by themselves. They are thus experiencing behavioral control and with respect to time-planning have actual behavioral control. Actual behavioral control is one of the factors assumed in social psychology to be important in influencing behavior.

In social psychology a well-known process model to explain intention and behavior is the theory of planned behavior (TPB; Ajzen, 1991; Ajzen, 2002), which had evolved to the so-called two-component model of TPB (Conner & Sparks, 2005). In the TPB model attitude, subjective

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

norm and perceived behavioral control (PBC) accounted for 40% of intentions, and intentions and PBC accounted for 27% of the variance in behavior (Armitage & Conner, 2001). In the two-component TPB attitude is split in affective attitudes and cognitive attitudes, subjective norm into injunctive norms and descriptive norms and PBC in perceived confidence and perceived control, and actual behavioral control is added between PBC and behavior as a mediator (Courneya, Conner & Rhodes, 2006; Abraham, Conner, Jones & O'Connor, 2008). Attitudes are the overall evaluations of the behavior as positive or negative, affective attitudes concern evaluations and expectations about how it will feel to execute the behavior, cognitive attitudes concerns evaluations and expectations about other consequences. Subjective norms are beliefs about significant others' approval or disapproval regarding engaging in a behavior, injunctive norms are beliefs about society's approval or disapproval, and descriptive norms are the perceptions of what others are doing. PBC are influenced by the beliefs about control concerning the access to the necessary resources and opportunities to perform the behavior successful, these factors include internal control factors, e.g. information, skills, abilities and emotions, and external factors, e.g. opportunities, dependence on others, barriers. Perceived control is related to those factors, e.g. the perceived ability to execute the behavior, and perceived confidence is most like self-efficacy, e.g. the extent to which a behavior is thought to be easy or difficult to execute (Abraham, Conner, Jones & O'Connor, 2008).

All these factors are assumed to play a significant role in predicting a wide range of behaviors. And as soon as this behavior is executed, certain techniques like implementation intentions can be used to stimulate habit formation (Lally & Gardner, 2013). Although TPB and habit formation are particularly used in the context of health behaviors, they could also be implemented in the context of attending ballet performances. For example, factors like accessibility, reachability, ease of purchasing tickets, that are contributing to an individual actual or perceived behavioral control will stimulate visiting behavior in most cases, if perceived and actual behavioral control were lacking. In the case of the young adults with a university background there was a clear enhancement of behavioral control which probably stimulated them to visit ballet performances more. Augmenting knowledge on subjects commonly associated with cultural sociology with existing knowledge from the fields like social psychology could lead to fruitful theoretical and practical insights. Future research on behavior related to arts attendance

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

shall benefit from multidisciplinary studies, and should continue this trend with incorporating TPB and habit formation into known frameworks. TPB and habit formation are especially useful theories when cultural institutions for example are aiming to base practical implications on academic research about how to predict and stimulate certain behaviors. Practical applications of academic implications, for example related to stimulating certain behaviors of a specific target group, are more successful than for example participating, education or marketing projects based on guesswork. This study thus informs the National Ballet, and other cultural institutions facing the same decreasing participation, non-diversity and aging of the current loyal audience members, through what factors these young adults with a university background (subgroups: active dancers and preferring ballet / appreciating modern ballet and ballet) could be stimulated into visiting ballet performances more loyally.

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

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MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

Appendices

Appendix A. Interview topic list (Dutch)

Interview topic list

‘Jewels’, culturele smaak, waardering van ballet, motivaties & behoeften

Theoretische pijlers: Culturele sociologie & Sociale psychologie

Algemene achtergrond

‘Allereerst wil ik beginnen met wat vragen over uw achtergrond, daarna zullen we het over uw culturele smaak ervaring van Jewels, ervaring van balletvoorstellingen in het algemeen, uw motivaties, behoeften en gaan hebben.’

‘Dus, kunt u misschien wat over u zelf vertellen?’

‘Hoe oud bent u?’

‘Bent u nog student of net afgestudeerd?’

‘Wat studeert u / heeft u gestudeerd?’

‘Hebt u ook op dit moment al een bijbaan of baan?’

- **Inschatting sociaaleconomische klasse**

‘Kunt u uw ouderlijk gezin kort omschrijven?’

‘Hebt u verder nog iets belangrijks over u zelf toe te voegen?’

Culturele Smaak (taste pattern, habitus & cultural capital)

- **Exploratie algehele culturele smaak (taste pattern)**

‘Wat betreft uw algehele culturele smaak, hoe zou u uw smaak omschrijven?’

‘Hebt u binnen bepaalde culturele genres ook absolute favorieten, qua stijlen of artiesten?’

‘Wat bezoekt u zo al? Denk aan bijvoorbeeld musea, voorstellingen, galleries, festivals en optredens.’

- **Exploratie culturele smaak dans (taste pattern)**

‘En wat betreft uw culturele smaak in de genre dans, in welke dansstijlen bent u geïnteresseerd?’

‘En welke van deze dansstijlen zou u bestempelen als uw absolute favorieten?’

- **Acquisitie cultural capital & habitus**

‘En hoe kwam u met sommigen van uw favorieten voor het eerst in aanraking?’

Indien niet zo spraakzaam: ‘Zou u voor mij per favoriet deze situatie willen schetsen?’

‘En hoe was uw ervaring hierbij?’

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

Indien interviewee niet op zijn jeugd en de muzieksmaak van zijn ouders in is gegaan: ‘En heeft de culturele smaak van uw ouders of familie nog een invloed op uw smaak, zoals uw interesse in ballet en dans, gehad?’

‘In uw jeugd, met welke kunstvormen en culturele activiteiten bent u voornamelijk in contact gekomen?’

‘Hoe zou u uw ontwikkeling van culturele smaak omschrijven?’

- **Verdieping culturele smaak (taste pattern)**

‘En als u naar uw huidige smaak kijkt, wat is voor u belangrijk binnen de genre dans om te voldoen aan uw smaak? Ofwel, wanneer vindt u dans goed?’

‘Kunt u ook voorbeelden noemen van dansstijlen waar u niet of minder in geïnteresseerd bent?’

‘En zou u kunnen omschrijven wat het is dat juist niet aantrekt tot deze dansstijlen?’

‘Zou u zich kunnen bedenken waar deze desinteresse vandaan komt?’

Culturele participatie: Motivaties / Behoeften dansvoorstellingen

- **Culturele participatie**

‘Hoeveel tijd besteedt u aan uw interesse in dansen?’

o **Actieve participatie**

‘Beoefent u zelf ook dansen?’ / ‘U beoefent dus zelf ook dansen.’

Indien beoefenen: ‘Is uw interesse in dansstijlen als consument hetzelfde als of verschillend van de dansstijlen die u beoefent?’

Indien verschil: ‘En waarin ligt dat verschil denkt u?’

o **Passieve participatie (bezoeker segmentatie: frequentie)**

‘Hoe vaak gaat u naar dansvoorstellingen?’

‘En hoe vaak hiervan naar balletvoorstellingen?’

- **Motivaties / Behoeften**

‘Wat zijn voor u de redenen om naar dansvoorstellingen te gaan?’

‘En is dit voor u hetzelfde voor ballet als voor andere dansstijlen?’

‘Als u naar voorstellingen gaat, wat zijn uw verwachtingen?’

‘Worden uw verwachtingen vaak voldaan als u dansvoorstellingen bezoekt?’

‘Gaat u ook duidelijk vaker naar voorstellingen binnen uw favoriete dansstijlen?’

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

Zo ja: ‘En spelen daar nog andere factoren bij mee, naast dat het één van uw favoriete dansstijlen is?’

‘Kunt u voor mij beschrijven hoe het proces alvorens een bezoek in zijn werking gaat?’

Bijvoorbeeld: Initieert u het voorstel, of wordt u uitgenodigd?’

‘Wat zou u, denkt u, ervoor kunnen zorgen dat u vaker dansvoorstellingen zult bezoeken?’

Ervaring van ballet

- Ervaring: Bron van interesse / bewondering

‘En tijdens de opvoering van een ballet, hoe zou u uw ervaring van het zien van ballet omschrijven?’

‘Zou u ook kunnen omschrijven wat het is dat u zo bewondert / interessant vindt aan ballet?’

- Bezit van cultural capital

‘Hebt u altijd al op dezelfde manier ballet kunnen bewonderen?’

‘Als u naar een balletvoorstelling kijkt, heeft u dan het idee dat u het begrijpt?’

‘Tijdens de opvoering van een ballet, waar wordt uw blik vooral heen getrokken?’

‘Vind u het belangrijk dat er een verhaal in een ballet zit?’

‘Welke gedachten gaan er tijdens de opvoering van de dans bijvoorbeeld door uw hoofd?’

Indien moeite: ‘Als u moeite heeft met wat te bedenken, denk dan terug aan de voorstelling Jewels.’

‘Is dit voor u ook nog verschillend voor bijvoorbeeld klassiek ballet en modern ballet?’

HNB, Jewels & Muziektheater Amsterdam

‘U bent afgelopen zondag / donderdag naar Jewels geweest, hoe vond u het?’

‘Wat waren uw verwachtingen vooraf aan het bezoek aan Jewels?’

‘Kwam u ervaring overeen met uw verwachtingen?’

- Verdieping ervaring Jewels

‘Wat vond u van elk van de drie verschillende stukken: Emeralds, Rubies en Diamonds?’

‘En kunt u ook beschrijven wat het was waarom u dit van de stukken vond?’

‘Hoe vond u de drie stukken tot elkaar verhouden?’

- Inleiding

‘Bent u ook naar de inleiding geweest?’

Zo ja: ‘En voegde de inleiding voor u nog wat toe aan uw ervaring van het stuk Jewels?’

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?**- Muziektheater**

‘Wat vond u van het gebouw zelf en de sfeer van het muziektheater Amsterdam zelf?’

‘In hoeverre vindt u het muziektheater zelf ook iets toevoegen aan de totaalbeleving van de avond?’

‘Wat zou het muziektheater Amsterdam kunnen verbeteren voor een nog betere totaalbeleving?’

- Communicatie & Mediagebruik HNB

‘Wat vindt u van het sociale media gebruik van HNB?’

‘Volgt u zelf HNB op sociale media?’

‘Welke informatie voorzieningen van HNB gebruikt u vooral?’

‘En wat vindt u hiervan?’

‘Wat vindt u interessant om te lezen of zien van of over HNB?’

‘Waar zou u meer van willen horen of zien?’

‘Hebt u zelf nog vragen of opmerkingen?’

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

Appendix B. Interview topic list (English)

Interview topic list

‘Jewels’, cultural taste, cultural participation, appreciation of ballet, motivators & needs

Academic fields: Cultural sociology & Social psychology

General background

‘First I would like to start the interview with questions related to your background, after that I would like to discuss your cultural taste, your experience with hand of ballet, your motivations to visit ballet and your expectations when you are visiting ballet and at the end of the interview we will talk about your experience with Jewels.’

‘So, for starters, could you perhaps tell me something about yourself?’

‘What’s your age?’

‘Are you still enrolled in a Bachelor or Master program, or did you recently graduate?’

‘What kind of Bachelor or Master program are you enrolled in?’

‘Do you have a side-job at the moment?’

- **Inschatting sociaaleconomische klasse**

‘Could you describe your family?’

‘Do you have something else of importance to add?’

Cultural taste (taste pattern, habitus & cultural capital)

- **Exploration general cultural taste (taste pattern)**

‘Regarding your general cultural taste, how would you describe it?’

‘Are you able to recall specific favorite artists or art styles within certain categories of art forms?’

‘What kinds of things do you visit? Think for example about museums, live performances, galleries, festivals and concerts.’

- **Exploratie culturele smaak dans (taste pattern)**

‘And considering your cultural taste in regard to dance, what kind of dance styles do you find interesting?’

‘And which do you consider to be your absolute favorite or favorites?’

- **Acquisitie cultural capital & habitus**

‘And what was your first experience with this favorite?’

‘And could you describe this experience?’

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

If the interviewee didn't mention his/her parents: 'And do you think that the cultural taste of your parents did have an influence on your cultural taste, like your interest in ballet and dance?'

'With what kind of art forms and cultural activities did you come in contact with during your childhood?'

'If you had to order, like, the main events, how would you describe your development of your cultural taste?'

- **Verdieping culturele smaak (taste pattern)**

'Which characteristics would you consider to be important for you to be able to appreciate dance?'

'Could you perhaps also recall dance styles you consider less interesting?'

'And could you describe why you consider these styles less interesting?'

Culturel participation: Motivators / Needs

- **Cultural participation**

'How much time do you spend, on average, for example in a week, on your interest in dancing?'

o **Active participation**

'Do you practice dancing yourself?'

If practicing: 'And does your interest in dance styles as a consumer differ from your interest in practicing specific dance styles?'

If difference: 'And could you explain this difference?'

o **Passive participation (audience segmentation: frequency)**

'How many times, for example in a year, do you visit dance performances?'

'And how many times do you visit ballet performances?'

- **Motivator / Needs**

'What are the most important reasons for you to visit dance performances?'

'And are those reasons the same when you are visiting ballet performances?'

'And if you are attending performances, what are your expectations?'

'And are your expectations often met when you are visiting dance performances?'

'Could you describe the process before you visit a dance performance? For example: do you initiate the proposal, or are you invited?'

'What could stimulate you to visit dance performances more often?'

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

Aesthetic experience of ballet

- Aesthetic experience: source of interest / admiration

‘Imagine, you are in the theater, watching a ballet piece, how would you describe your experience of watching the ballet piece?’

‘Could you also describe what you admire so much?’

- Accumulated cultural capital

‘Were you always able to admire ballet the same way?’

‘If you are attending a ballet performance, do you think you understand it?’

‘During a ballet performance, where is your gaze focused upon?’

‘Do you consider it very important that a ballet piece has a storyline?’

HNB, ‘Jewels’ & Muziektheater Amsterdam

‘You visited Jewels of course last Sunday / Thursday, so for starters, did you like it?’

‘What were your expectations of Jewels before you visited it?’

‘Did your experience match your expectations?’

- Exploration experience of Jewels

‘What is your opinion about the three separate pieces: Emeralds, Rubies and Diamonds?’

‘And are you able to elaborate on your opinion?’

‘Did you think that there was a balance between the pieces?’

- Introduction

‘Did you also attend the introduction?’

If so: ‘And did your attendance at the introduction contribute to your experience of watching Jewels?’

- Muziektheater

‘What is your opinion about the building and the atmosphere of the Muziektheater Amsterdam?’

‘To what extent do you consider this to be contributing to the overall experience of the evening?’

‘Are there things the Muziektheater Amsterdam could add or change to improve the overall experience?’

- Communication & Media usage HNB

‘What is your opinion about the social media usage of HNB?’

‘Do you follow HNB on social media?’

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

‘What kind of sources of information do you use most frequently?’

‘And what is your opinion about this source?’

‘Are there thing you would like to see more or hear more about, related to HNB?’

‘And what kind of things?’

‘Do you have something else of importance to add perhaps?’

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

Appendix C. Untranslated quotes (Dutch) in Chapter 4: Findings

Motivators: recreational motivator

E. (interview 13): Ja, ik denk gewoon, een manier van ontspanning en dan toch... Kijk, het is hetzelfde als dat je naar een voetbal wedstrijd gaat, als je heel erg van voetbal houdt, dan vind je dat gewoon leuk om te zien, en dan, ga je gewoon kijken en dan kijk je van wow, die kan goed voetballen, en dan ga je dat misschien zelf proberen of zo. Dus ik denk de voornaamste reden om er heen te gaan gewoon een manier van ontspanning is waarbij je bezig met iets wat je heel leuk vind.

Motivators: artistic motivator

L. (interview 7): Ja, en ik vind het toch wel, ik heb toch wel enigszins het idee dat dat soort culturele dingen je ook wel, dat je dat ook wel ontwikkelt op een bepaalde manier. Dat vind ik dan ook wel belangrijk.

E. (interview 8): Ik denk gewoon dat ik het heel bijzonder, en heel mooi vind om naar te kijken, en het me echt zo'n avondje eventjes avondje uit wel geeft, meer dan dat je naar de bioscoop gaat. Ook leuk, maar dat vind ik al normaler... Als je naar een dansvoorstelling gaat, dat vind ik wel echt heel leuk [lacht].

M. (interview 9): En het is ff wat anders dan een film kijken. Het is echt een performance. En mensen zijn echt bezig op dat moment om iets te doen dus dat kan ik altijd wel waarderen.

Motivators: educational motivator

L. (interview 15): Misschien een beetje het verhaal van dansers zelf. Dat hebben ze nu op zich wel al, dat dan, dat er een filmpje is, [53.00] en dat dansers dan zelf, solisten voornamelijk, dan praten over wat ze leuk vinden uh van een ballet of zo. En oh! Ik vond ook die televisie serie [Bloed, Zweet en Blaren] die ze hadden. Die vond ik heel heel leuk. Dat vond ik echt zo gaaf om dat te zien. Dat zouden ze voor mij nog echt... uh... Heel veel meer kunnen doen. Uhm. Ja, dat moeten ze zeker meer doen. Als dit terugkomt bij het Nationaal Ballet: Dat moeten jullie doen! [lacht] Uhm! Want dat was gewoon heel gaaf om te zien hoe het gewoon gaat voor, voor dansers, en dat je ook echt, daar was het natuurlijk ook dat je bij dansers thuis, en zo, weet je wel, dat je een beetje preparations en zo, dat vind ik heel erg vet om te zien. Dat je echt kunt zien wat zij allemaal moeten doen om, uiteindelijk zo'n vette voorstelling ook neer te kunnen zetten. En dat vond ik echt wel een meerwaarde aan dat programma ook.

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

E. (interview 5): Ja, ik denk dat er gewoon wat meer uhm... verdieping ofzo? Uhm. Ze doen nu wel veel met filmpjes enzo, dat is echt leuk. Uhm. Meer van de dansers misschien? Ja, dat vind ik zelf gewoon heel erg interessant. Soms staan er ook wel interviews, en ik denk dat ze dat ook wel meer kunnen uitbuiten... [lacht] ofzo. Omdat ze hadden ook dat Bloed, Zweet en Blaren, vond ik leuk, en daardoor leer je dansers natuurlijk beter kennen, en ik merkte dat ik dat zelf heel erg leuk vond. Dat ik dacht van oh die danser heb ik gezien! Dus volgens mij als ze de dansers meer uhm meer de wereld in sturen zeg maar, dat het ook echt mensen kan overtuigen om om misschien meer naar ballet te gaan.

C. (interview 2): Ik denk dat het voor mij [1.02.00] voornamelijk bij Jewels ook een extra uuh kick was om uuh Michella de Prince te zien. Omdat zij, ik had, ik had niet verwacht dat zij erin stond, dat stond niet in, ook niet op de website vermeld. Dus het was echt gewoon een uuh wauw moment. Gewoon, zij is altijd een inspiratie geweest, zeg maar, hoe zij uiteindelijk wel ballet heeft kunnen dansen. En met haar hele achtergrond verhaal, dan heb je gewoon zoveel respect voor iemand, en ongelooflijk, en uuh, daarvoor, dat was eigenlijk wel één van mijn mooiste dingen van de hele voorstelling. Ja, dat je gewoon... En het verbaaste me eigenlijk van uuh, ik vond dat ze een hele kleine rol erin speelde, en ik had eigenlijk wel willen zien dat zij daar een grotere rol in speelde. Niet per se vanwege haar achtergrond, maar meer vanwege eigenlijk de goede techniek die ze beheerst, en uhm, [1.03.00] om het nog meer te stimuleren voor andere mensen.

Motivators: inspirational motivator

R. (interview 6): Ja dat [de ervaring van ballet] is wel veranderd omdat ik nu ook, toen, toen ik voor het eerst ging, danste ik zelf nog niet, en toen later ben ik zelf gaan dansen en ik vind het ook heel erg leuk als er meer mannen op het podium, dat vind ik dus ook heel erg leuk bij Balanchine bijvoorbeeld, bij modernere stukken dat er vaak meer mannen zijn. Dat ik dan gewoon veel meer, connectie heb dan, want mannen dansen gewoon anders en mannen inspireren mij meer dan een vrouw dat doet. Dus, uh. Als je dan, als ik dan daar zit en dan, ja ik weet niet dat inspireert me gewoon heel veel, om meer m'n best te doen, en uhm, het zijn gewoon atleten en artiesten in één. Dat is gewoon heel gaaf om te zien vind ik.

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

E. (interview 13): Ik denk dat het ook inspireert, als je het ziet. Dus soms heb ik ook wel zoiets dat ik denk pff weer dansen, echt even geen zin... Als je dan even iemand ziet dansen dan denk je wow, die is zó goed. En dan krijg je wel weer een beetje een boost van ja, dat wil ik ook.

L. (interview 15): En ik... ja, soort van, verwacht beetje soort van, inspiratie, of motivatie in ieder geval voor mijn eigen dans. [...]Want ik merk wel altijd dat als ik naar zo'n voorstelling ben geweest, dan is het daarna wel echt als ik dan weer in de dansstudio sta, dan denk ik oh! Ik wil nog beter mijn best doen, en dat... Is niet per se iets wat ik verwacht van zo'n voorstelling, maar wel iets wat je ervan terugkrijgt. Automatisch eigenlijk. Want als je dansers ziet die zo goed zijn, dan wil je bijna automatisch al zelf nog beter je best doen. Om ook zo goed te worden, ook weet ik dat ik dat nooit ga worden, maar ja.

S. (interview 11): Meestal als ik naar een voorstelling ga, ben ik er na heel erg geïnspireerd, dus ik denk dat ik daar dan ook een beetje op zit te wachten

Motivators: social motivator

E. (interview 8): Ja, ik vind het gewoon heel leuk natuurlijk, maar ik, het is, het is meer dat ik uhm, ja. Het is eigenlijk wel een goede. Ik denk dat het is omdat het wel heel erg trekt of zo. Ik krijg ook altijd wel... Ik weet ook altijd wel mensen die met me mee willen. En het is ook wel gewoon meer. Ik ben toen naar Jewels ook niet in mijn eentje geweest. Het is dat één kaartje die kreeg je, maar ik dacht, ik ga niet in mijn eentje, dat vind ik niet zo leuk. Dus toen heb ik gewoon nog voor 15 euro zeg maar nog een kaartje voor een vriendinnetje gekocht. Gewoon samen gegaan.

Q. (interview 1): Ja, als je met meerdere mensen kan gaan, is dat gewoon heel erg leuk. Ja, ik bedoel, je gaat natuurlijk niet in je eentje.

Mo. (interview 14): Ik ga altijd wel samen met vriendinnen... Ik bedoel, er zijn ook mensen die alleen gaan maar... Dat... Ik vind het toch leuker om daarna te kunnen... bespreken. En ik vind ook gewoon een leuke activiteit om samen met vriendinnen te ondernemen.

Motivators: escapist motivator

M. (interview 9): Ik denk dat, de beste ervaring voor mij is als ik echt uhm, een beetje nergens anders mee bezig ben behalve met de voorstelling. Dus dat ik niet af en toe voel of m'n telefoon af is gegaan of niet. Maar ook echt, uh, muziek is heel erg belangrijk daarbij. Live muziek voor mij althans. Daar kan ik echt wel, als ik het echt mooi vind dan, dan ben ik ben wel

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

helemaal daarin zeg maar. Dan word ik niet meer afgeleid. Uhm, ja, dan kan je wel echt ergens gaan genieten met heel veel aandacht, dat best wel moeilijk is in het dagelijks leven met van alles. Omdat iedereen altijd afleiding heeft, tv, reclame, telefoons ik vind het wel heel prettig dat ik bij zo'n voorstelling zit dat ik echt, alles, al het andere even los kan laten, dat je weet ik ga hier 2 uur, 3 uur zitten of whatever en dat ik dan echt alleen maar met de voorstelling bezig ben. Dus denk ik het belangrijkste voor de ervaring voor mij, dat ik echt gewoon geconcentreerd ben op die voorstelling.

Taste pattern

C. (interview 2): Je ziet mij veel eerder naar uuh theaterproducties gaan, of een dansvoorstelling gaan dan dat je mij ziet dansen en drinken in een club. Want daar ben ik het type niet voor. Ik ben gewoon het rustige, gewoon, ik wil gewoon iets doen waarvan ik geniet. Dus dan geef ik mijn geld liever uit aan uhm dingen waar ik zelf van kan genieten, wat ik ook zonder vrienden of vriendinnen kan doen, waar, en ik kom er gewoon zelf tot rust van. Dus dan doe ik dat veel liever dan dat ik een club sta te hompen.

E. (interview 8): (Ik denk ook, mijn laatste vier jaar zeg maar in Amsterdam, dat je ook wel gewoon verandert, ontwikkelt door de mensen om je heen. In je omgeving. In dat opzicht denk ik dat niet alleen je opvoeding, maar wie je vrienden zeg maar zijn.)

Mo. (interview 14): Ja, want ik kan nu wel meer zelf kiezen wat ik leuk vind, en waar ik naartoe ga, en uh... Misschien ook wel met de vriendinnen die ik hier heb. Denk dat dat ook wel meespeelt. Want het is wel leuk om samen te gaan. Natuurlijk op de middelbare school ben je toch iets minder... mee bezig denk ik toch vaak. En hier is ook meer aanbod. Dat is het ook gewoon.

C. (interview 2): Doordat ik meer mijn eigen tijdsindeling kon bepalen, kan je zeg maar staan en gaan waar je wil, dus ik denk van oké ik heb deze avond niets te doen, nou, ik zie wel wat er te doen is.

Appreciation of ballet and cultural capital: complexity/abstract/familiarity

Ma. (interview 12): Echt modern, moderne dans... Dat vind ik wel minder, omdat... Het is eigenlijk een beetje hetzelfde als met... met kunst... Ik houd ook van beeldende kunst, ik houd van best well figuurlijke... dansen... Dat het mooi vloeiend is... Uhm... Er een voorstelling bij kan bedenken van wat het eigenlijk zou kunnen betekenen, en niet... Met abstracte... Met moderne

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

dans vind ik dat het soms zo abstract is, dat je... Het niet helemaal begrijpt. En daar houd ik niet zo van eigenlijk. Ik vind... Ik houd ervan als het een verhaal verteld eigenlijk...

E. (interview 13): Ik vind Nederlands Danstheater altijd heel leuk. Dat is modern... Ja... Die zijn ook soms een beetje dat het gek ballet is, zeg maar, dat er hele rare bewegingen inzitten, dat je denkt van huh... Kan... Kan je dat ook doen? Het is eigenlijk heel lelijk, maar daardoor is het heel cool. Daar is het meestal, weet ik niet zo heel goed wat ik moet verwachten, want dan heb je bijvoorbeeld zo'n drieluik, wat je gaat zien, en dan ga ik er gewoon een beetje heen met... ik zie wel. Maar dan zitten er echt hele vette dingen in... [...] toen met dat kledingstuk [bij 25 years Léon & Lightfoot], bijvoorbeeld... Dat overtrof echt mijn verwachtingen met wat je daarmee kon, dat ik echt dacht wow! Het is gewoon cool.

S. (interview 11): Uhm Ja... Ik kijk altijd, altijd naar het hele plaatje. Dus... Het decor... de muziek, het licht. En ja... Voor mij dansen natuurlijk, daar kijk ik... Ja, ik kijk er zelf, vind ik, heel erg streng naar, eigenlijk... Dus... Uh... Ik vind het heel belangrijk dat dat de techniek er heel goed inzit. Dus... Dat je dat wel ziet. Het tech... Ik vind dat techniek een deel van je moet worden, dus dat je het niet echt moet uitvoeren, maar dat het zo erg in je moet zitten dat het eigenlijk er is, en dat je er niet mee bezig bent. En uh... Ja... Als... Als ik dingen gewoon heel [23.00] mooi gelijk gaan, en... Uhm... Ja, met klassiek, heb je heel vaak, klassieke dans, ja, omdat, ja, ik heb dat ook heel lang gedanst, dus... Ik... Kan zeg maar als ik één pasje zie, weet ik al wat er na komt, dat dat logica is, maar dan vind ik het heel mooi om te zien dat iets komt wat er eigenlijk, wat je niet verwacht.

C. (interview 2): Ik gewoon een bepaalde verwachting van uuh, van de Nederlandse, van The Ballet Company, ik weet gewoon dat het goed zit, dus dat weet ik... zoals ik vertel, ik weet dat het goed zit, en uuh... Wat voor voorstelling ik ook heen ga, ik zal gewoon genieten.

L. (interview 15): Maar als ik zelf ga, ga ik eigenlijk altijd naar het Nationaal Ballet. Dus dan ballet van het Nationaal Ballet, of moderne dans van het Nationaal Ballet. [...] Dan ga ik kijken naar een, echt een NDT, of Isabelle Beernaert ofzo, en dan denk ik... Ja... Hmm... Vind ik toch minder dan de echte klassiek balletten, of het Nationaal Ballet. Dus ik ben gewoon een heel erg fan van het Nationaal Ballet. En ik vind ook die dans op spitzes dat vind ik ook altijd wel heel erg gaaf om te zien. Dus uhm... Ben een beetje bevooroordeeld wat dat betreft. [...] Ik ga vrij weinig teleurgesteld weg bij een ballet, eigenlijk.

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

S. (interview 11): Nou... Vooral heel veel van oh ze moet daar haar voet strekken, of ik zie een spier daar trillen, dus dan is het wel zwaar, of jeetje, dat zijn wel heel veel draaien, en uuh, ga spotten, spotten, kijk heel goed, en oh die is duizelig, oh daar ging een hand de verkeerde kant op. Dus het is vooral de imperfectie wat, wat door mijn hoofd gaat, maar de perfectie die me interesseren. [...] Met musical ben ik niet zo heel erg kritisch, omdat ik dan heel snel in het verhaal getrokken wordt... door samenkomst van muziek, en theater, en dans... Dus... Soort van te veel om soort van op alles te letten, waardoor ik me meer kan ontspannen en naar het hele verhaal kan kijken, als wanneer ik alleen naar ballet zou kijken, en me daar op kan focussen.

Appreciation of ballet and cultural capital: skill / beauty / elegance

C. (interview 2): Dat is bijvoorbeeld waarom ik dol ben op ballet. Kijk, iedereen... niet in principe iedereen, want niet iedereen heeft ritme, maar met lang oefenen kan je gewoon een hele goede hiphop of street dancer worden. Maar dat heb je niet met ballet. Je wordt niet zomaar een super goede ballerina. Dat vergt echt jaren. Vanaf, je moet nu eigenlijk in principe vanaf vierde, vijfde bezig zijn, om uiteindelijk een goede ballerina te worden. Maar om aan de top de komen, daar zijn eigenlijk maar enkele plaatsen voor. [...] Tijd, techniek, passie en ervaring, en gewoon het doorzettingsvermogen, om door te blijven gaan.

M. (interview 9): Waarom ik leuk vind? Uh... je ziet wel echt dat die mensen er heel hard voor trainen en dat hele bijzondere dingen met hun lichaam kunnen en dat vind ik wel sowieso wel mooi om naar te kijken. Ik denk dat je altijd een beetje afmeet aan jezelf. Bijvoorbeeld wat ik kan met m'n lichaam en dan is het niet wat die mensen op het podium, je weet dat ze dingen doen waar ze heel hard voor hebben getraind.

E. (interview 13): Het eerste punt is bewondering, dat ik denk wóów, dit is zó knap. [Bewondering] Voor wat ze doen. Voor de dansers, voor... hoe ze het gewoon er zo makkelijk uit laten zien omdat ik zelf gewoon ook wel, ik dans zelf ook, dus ik weet dat het [lachend] gewoon enorm moeilijk is omdat te kunnen.

Mo. (interview 14): Ik denk dat ik naarmate dat ik ouder werd, dat ik wel meer uh... iets meer naar kijk van, dat ik dingen herken. Bijvoorbeeld van omdat ik zelf natuurlijk dans, dat ik meer misschien waardering heb gekregen voor uh... hoe moeilijk het allemaal is. Daardoor zie je ook gewoon dat het... uh... Ja, dat het niet alleen maar poppetjes zijn die bewegen, maar je weet iets meer wat ze doen, en is ook zoals ik al zei, dat het soms heel makkelijk eruit ziet, maar dat er

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

echt wel... trainingsprocessen... Ja... Dat het gewoon topsport is, eigenlijk, wat er wordt uitgevoerd. En... Dat besef je misschien meer als je af en toe danst.

R. (interview 6): In het begin vond ik het wel mooi, ja de muziek, ik denk dat het allemaal begon met de klassieke muziek want dat kende ik al. En dat ik toen dacht van, oh, je hebt de dans erbij, heel mooi. En ze dansen mooi en ze dansen leuk en het ziet er allemaal leuk uit. Uhm, ja, maar dan is het toch anders want dan nu voel ik het gewoon meer. Wat ik, ik voel het nu in m'n hele lichaam zeg maar omdat ik gewoon, die bewegingen ken. Dus dat is anders. Uhm, en vroeger was het meer van, uh, ooh ja vet mooi [lacht].

Appreciation of ballet and cultural capital: mirror neurons

Appreciation of ballet and cultural capital: flow experience

L. (interview 7): Ja, het, het heeft gewoon je aandacht. Je volledige aandacht. Je... Wordt er gewoon in meegezogen.

H. (interview 4): Na, gewoon dat ik er echt helemaal, dat ik, dat ik al het andere niet meer over na denk. Dat het gewoon, dat ik er echt in mee wordt genomen, beetje mee wordt gesleurd. En dat ik uuh uuh, ja, ik kan dan ook echt, op het moment dat uuh er zo'n dans voorbij is, en mensen klappen, echt uuh denken van ja, dit is echt heel verdiend.

E. (interview 5): Ik laat het dus heel erg over me heen komen. Ik probeer me echt [...] maar mee te laten slepen door wat er gebeurt. Uhm. Ik uuh... Ja, ik zit er al, meestal al heel erg in. Dus dat ik er in de pauze altijd even van ohja... Ik moet even iets anders... gewone wereld zeg maar. En ik kan dus ook wel echt, er zo [...] dat je er zo inzit dat je opeens spontaan gaat klappen, tranen in je ogen krijgt, of dat je heel erg emotioneel er ook in zit.

E. (interview 8): Ja, ik word er... Ik word er gewoon oprecht gewoon gelukkig om daarnaar te kijken. Ik zit dan echt van, beetje met verwondering, je... wordt ook wel echt even meegenomen in een andere wereld. Ik zat met Jewels ook eigenlijk al met vrij veel studie stress, en uhm... Ja, daar kan je dan ook echt, daar kan ik dan het ook wel echt even van me afzetten. [...] Het is wel dat je echt helemaal gewoon uhm... Zeg maar naar zit te kijken, en helemaal beetje in op gaat... Dat dat wel mijn ervaring is. En dat het echt wel een beetje verwondering is, en... Ja, dat is wel dat ik denk van wow, ik kom daar wel echt gelukkiger van, van oh! Wow, echt zo vet dat we hier zo heen zijn gegaan!

MASTER THESIS – SO YOU THINK YOU CAN APPRECIATE DANCE?

L. (interview 15): Ik ben op zo'n moment uhm... Nou, heel erg geconcentreerd op het podium, [...]. Ik ben ook altijd op zo'n moment onder de indruk, en vol bewondering voor wat ze doen. [...] Uh... Ik leef me ook altijd wel in, ik heb wel ballet, bijvoorbeeld bij Giselle, toen moest ik ook wel heel hard huilen, om het verhaal en zo, daar leef ik me wel heel erg in.

Appreciation of ballet and cultural capital: need for cognition

E. (interview 5): Ja, ik probeer ook wel veel na te denken, waar dingen voor kunnen staan of zo, wat het verhaal, want er wordt niet gepraat natuurlijk, dus je moet zelf ook bezig zijn met wat er dan gebeurt. Uhm. Ja, ik merk wel dat soms, dat me soms dingen opvallen die mijn vriend niet doorheeft of zo. Als ik er dan zo later over praat. Dus ik ben er dan toch wel best wel mee bezig. [...] Ik probeer ook heel erg op de details te letten. Want als er dan zo'n heel groot decor is, dan gebeurt er ook heel veel. Ook als het heel erg grote balletten zijn. Aan de andere kant probeer ik ook niet te veel na te denken. Gewoon alleen maar met het ballet bezig te zijn.

E. (interview 5): Ik denk altijd aan heel veel dingen. Heel veel na over het proces erachter. Uhm. Dus... Het hangt er een beetje vanaf in hoeverre je gewoon... en daarom vind ik het ook fijn om meegenomen te worden en er niet over na te denken, maar ik kan ook wel oh! Een decorwisseling. Goh... Waar gaat het decor dan heen? Dat soort dingen, gedachten, kan ik me wel mee bezig houden. [...] Nou, ik heb dus heel veel ook... documentaires gezien en gelezen over ballet. Dus ik heb ook een beeld van hoe het zou kunnen gaan. Maar ik denk dat, dat het daar ook door komt. Dat ik me voorstellen wat daar dan gebeurt en dat ik er dan over ga nadenken. En omdat ik het interessant vind. Uhm. Ja, en omdat ik dus dat persoonlijk toch wel heel leuk vind en dat je dansers herkent, en uhm nou ja, dat ik daar dus een beetje op let.