

The Art of Listening:

How Cultural Capital, Contextual Knowledge, and the Mere Exposure Effect Influence Experiences with Classical Music

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ABSTRACT

Classical music is viewed as belonging to the high arts, and the attitude that the audience needs to have acquired a certain kind of knowledge and cultivation to be able to appreciate the genre the “right” way, is expressed by academic researchers as well as experts within the field of classical music. This view creates a clear distinction between those who have acquired the necessary cultural capital and those who have not. This distinction will be a recurring theme in the investigation of the following research questions:

- (1) How can classical music become more appealing to a broader audience?
- (2) How do people with varying levels of music education experience repeated listening to a classical piece?
- (3) How are their experiences influenced when they are given an introduction to the piece and the composer, and are invited to listen in a personal way?
- (4) How does cultural capital impact the way people engage themselves in music?

My sample consists of people with varying degrees of music education, whose experiences with classical music I investigate through qualitative interviews and listening diaries.

The examination of the research questions has provided different insights. Firstly, that contextual knowledge not only can contribute to and positively impact the appreciation of the music for those who are not acquainted with the genre in advance, but also for professional musicians and conservatory students. Secondly, that the conservatory students are not only engaged in the “highbrow”, analytical way of listening, but also listen in a quite personal way which actually seems to be supported by their theoretical knowledge. Thirdly, that there, regardless of level of music education, occur what I introduce as contextual associations as a part of the listening experiences. And fourthly, that even though insight one and two indicates that individuals with more cultural capital have several things in common with those with less cultural capital, as both groups are engaged in personal listening, and both react positively to contextual knowledge, there are clear differences in how the groups generally engage themselves in music. An example of such differences is the finding that musicians have quite theoretical conversations about music in their everyday lives which creates a sphere where only those who have acquired the necessary knowledge have access. Moreover, I suggest that not only cultural capital within the domain of music, but cultural capital in general, as well

as educational level, influence not only how individuals express themselves about their listening experiences, but, potentially also, to some degree, shapes the actual experiences with music.

These insights provide knowledge which can contribute to strengthen the connection between the domains of cultural capital and highbrow culture, and the domains of audience development and responses to music, as I find that the link between these two clusters of related domains are currently under-researched.

KEYWORDS: Classical music, Listening experiences, Cultural capital, Music education, Audience development

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1 Introduction

Do you like listening to music? And if you do, have you then ever thought of exactly how you listen? Several books have been written on the topic of how to listen to especially classical music, as; *What to Listen for in Music* (Copland, 1957), *Inside music* (Haas, 1984), and *How to Listen to Great Music* (Greenberg, 2011), to mention a few. So apparently, listening is something that can be done in more ways, and that you can be educated in doing. If we compare the listening experience to the experience of reading, a comparison I find suitable since: “enormous energy has been put into interpreting music, architecture, and song along the lines of literature” (Shklovsky, N/P), I will claim that it gives you a far better foundation for understanding an interpreting the text if you have some tools to analyze it as knowledge of symbols, style, and plot-structures, as well as if you have some contextual information about the author, when the work is published, and intertextual references. The interesting question is: Is it the same with music listening? Do you listen differently when you know something about the composer and how the work is placed within music history, and when you have acquired theoretical knowledge that enables you to distinguish the different instruments from each other, and recognize the changing structures in the music?

Bourdieu (1984: 18) describes classical music as “the pure art par excellence [that] [...] says nothing and has nothing to say”, and claims that works of art, and thus also classical music, “has meaning and interest only for someone who possesses the cultural competence” (ibid. 2). This competence can be knowledge about composers and the different musical styles that characterizes the different historical periods (ibid. 2) which gives the listener the opportunity to place the piece of music in a broader context. However, it is not everybody who has had the opportunity to obtain such kind of knowledge.

Roose (2008) finds that the core audience for classical concerts is very well-educated, old, and possesses a lot of knowledge about the music. This draws a picture of a quite homogeneous segment, and in the Netherlands several initiatives are taken by orchestras to try to attract a more diverse audience. For instance, Rotterdam’s Philharmonic Orchestra has arranged Core Classics concerts where the tickets were cheaper and an introduction was given about the music (see https://www.rotterdamphilharmonisch.nl/nl/agenda/themas/3/Core_Classics/),

and the Hague’s Residentie orchestra arranges family concerts where children are invited to try to play instruments together with the musicians (see:

<https://www.residentieorkest.nl/en/family/>).

Listening at home is another way of appreciating classical music. However, research shows that the typical home-listener has the same profile as the concertgoer (Prieto-Rodriguez & Fernandez-Blanco, 2000). Nevertheless, Stoller (2018) finds that the segment who listened to classical music on the radio changed from the above described one which, in Bourdieu's terminology was very cultural competent, to one that was less culturally aware, when the way the music was presented was changed from being very technical to more non-theoretical, and when shorter pieces were played instead of longer ones.

Thus, Stoller's findings point in the direction of that the music itself is not necessarily disliked by those with less cultural competence, but that the way it is usually presented can constitute a barrier for engagement of this group. Furthermore, Dobson and Pitts (2011) find that first-time classical concert attenders express a strong wish for contextual knowledge about the music they were listening to, which indicate that such knowledge are certainly useful, when it is introduced in a way and with a content that matches the prerequisites – or lack hereof - of the audience.

On the basis of the above findings, the topics that will be examined in this thesis are firstly, whether anything can make classical music more appealing to a broader audience, secondly, whether music education, that provides a high degree of cultural competence within the domain of music, influence how people listens, thirdly, whether listening experiences are influenced by repeated listening, and when additional information about personal listening and the context of the music is provided during the listening trajectory, and fourthly, whether different degrees of cultural competence creates different ways of dealing with music.

To investigate this, I will search for the answers to the following research questions:

- (1) How can classical music become more appealing to a broader audience?
- (2) How do people with varying levels of music education experience repeated listening to a classical piece?
- (3) How are their experiences influenced when they are given an introduction to the piece and the composer, and are invited to listen in a personal way?
- (4) How does cultural capital impact the way people engage themselves in music?

I will examine these questions by discussing the themes of audience development, music-related taste and habits with my research participants, and by asking them to listen to a classical piece eight times and describe their experience after each listening in a listening diary. In addition to the listening trajectory, I will introduce the participants to contextual knowledge and inspiration on how to listen through two podcasts. Thus, the data that provides the foundation for the thesis is interviews from non-musicians, expert-musicians, and amateur-musicians, as well as listening diaries from the two former groups. The reason for asking the research participants to write listening diaries in addition to the interviews, is that they can describe their experiences gradually during the listening trajectory, which is likely to give a more detailed impression of their experiences than if they were asked to describe the trajectory in a follow-up interview later on. Besides my own data set, I am drawing on data collected in connection with another, forthcoming, study on classical music, from which I have also adapted parts of my research design.

With this project, the purpose is to procure insights there are of relevancy for both the academic and the societal sphere. Thus, there are two primary aims with examining the music-related impact of cultural capital, audience development from the perspective of arts institutions as well as the audience, and how factors as repetition, contextual knowledge, and music education impact how people listens to classical music. The first is to contribute to the corpus of academic research on audience development and classical music. Much research has concentrated on concert audiences (Roose, 2008; Dobson & Pitts, 2011; Dobson, 2010), and with this project I want to explore how people listens at home and how they deal with music in their everyday lives, as I find that this perspective is also of interest for audience development. The second aim is to offer concrete knowledge on how people with differing levels of music education listens which can be taken into consideration by orchestras in their efforts to attract different audience segments.

Even though the research presented here is concerned with symphonic music, I have chosen to use the more overarching genre-appellation “classical music” because it is my conviction that there would have been no appreciable difference of the outcome of the project, if I had selected e.g. a piece of chamber music and not a movement from a symphony. Therefore, I also believe that the conclusions contain the same degree of relevancy for other sub-genres than the symphonic, especially those that do not include lyrics.

The structure of the project will be as follows: I will begin by giving an overview of the existing concepts and theories relevant for the topic, from which I will derive some key concepts that will

provide the basis for the questions I will ask the interviewees. According to Erdbrink et al (forthcoming) classical music is: “considered to be one of the most highbrow of cultural forms”, and I will start by examining how the genre has got its highbrow status as well as whether the highbrow/lowbrow distinction still makes sense today. The cultural competence referred to by Bourdieu (1984) seems to be the key factor when dealing with highbrow culture, why I will continue by looking at the concept of cultural capital and music education as a form of this capital. I will go on by investigating the typical characteristics of classical music listeners, those who apparently have acquired this cultural capital, followed by a look at audience development and the experiences of those who are not that acquainted with classical music. Lastly, I will investigate different experiences with and expectations to music listening. Then, I will present my method and the way the data collection is done. The following analysis of the results will be divided into three main areas; audience development, ways of listening to the piece in the listening trajectory, and finally – since classical music is a part of highbrow culture, and have an audience rich in cultural competence – a section on the “highbrow” way of dealing with music. Lastly, the results of the analysis are discussed and concluded on.

2 Theoretical framework

2.1 Classical music and highbrow culture

In the endeavour to investigate how people engage themselves with classical music, the first thing that is interesting to look at is how this genre is positioned within the many-faceted spectrum of cultural products. These products can be divided into two overarching categories; highbrow ones, that have products themselves as the central focus and appeal to an audience segment mainly consisting of well-educated, middle-class consumers, and the lowbrow ones, that are market-orientated and appeal to a broader audience with varying degrees of income and education (Colbert, 2003). However, as I will discuss later, this hierarchy has not always existed, and some researchers argue that it has either changed or is simply disappeared today. In the following, I will investigate how this development has taken place, and which consequences it has had for classical music with regard to how it is viewed and the characteristics of its audience.

2.1.1. Classical music becomes highbrow

Researchers generally agree that highbrow culture is constituted of art forms as ballet, classical music, classical literature, opera, and visual arts (Purhonen, Gronow, & Rahkonen, 2011; Levine 1988: prolog). Levine (1988) illustrates how the understanding and valuation of works of specific artists as Beethoven and Shakespeare, as well as most of the above-mentioned branches of art, went through an extensive change in the U.S. during the twentieth century. Before this period, culture was accessible to, and consumed by, a quite diverse audience, but this altered with the emerging distinction between high- and mass-culture. In the case of classical music, this change of attitude was influential on more areas; the working conditions for the musicians, the concert programmes, and the behavior of the audience. A few dedicated individual persons were crucial for this development, namely the founder of Chicago Symphony Orchestra Theodore Thomas (1835-1905) and the founder of Boston Symphony Orchestra Henry Lee Higginson (1834-1919). Common to them was the point of view that classical music was an art form which, because of its grandeur and purity, should only be presented to the elite who, contrary to the masses, were able to understand and appreciate it properly (ibid.: 115; 126-127). By implying initiatives built on the foundation of these opinions, Thomas and Higginson were of great significance to what Levine designates the practice of “segregating the musical spheres” (ibid.: 127), a practice that I find is still quite effective today. Throughout the nineteenth century, the boundaries between orchestras and bands were blurred. Musicians often played in both orchestras and bands, and the repertoires were not strictly linked to one of these two organizations, but mixed, which meant that a band easily could perform music that we nowadays only connect with orchestras or ensembles (Ibid.: 104-105). This changed when Higginson prohibited his musicians to play elsewhere, and decided that only the great symphonic works should be performed by the orchestra (Ibid.: 124), a pattern repeated in Chicago where Thomas made the same kind of music the foundation for his permanent orchestra, even though he also, occasionally, arranged concerts with music that he found was suitable for the less cultivated and educated people from the lower classes (ibid.: 118).

Before the rise of the idea that certain branches of art were meant to be enjoyed only by the elite, the audience of cultural events used to be quite heterogeneous and to behave rather differently than what is the norm today. In concert halls and theatres, they were somewhat active to a degree that most of today’s spectators probably would find disruptive – talking loudly, and expressing their attitudes towards the performers rather spontaneously in ways Levine compares to how spectators behave to nowadays’ sport events (ibid.: 26-27; 178-179). As the concept of high art was thriving, the

audience needed to be taught to behave properly which meant being passive, disciplined and quiet (ibid.: 184-188). In other words, the norms for the decorum we find suitable today were introduced. Thus, the emergence of the distinction between highbrow and lowbrow, in the case of classical music, meant that the genre, instead of being mixed with other genres, performed for a relatively diverse audience, by musicians who were not necessarily only classical musicians, was given the context and the form that it has today; separated from other genres, performed for a narrow, well-behaved audience segment, by highly educated, professional musicians.

2.1.2 Highbrow/lowbrow today

It is indisputable that the highbrow/lowbrow distinction has had significant impact on how classical music has been viewed throughout the last century. The question is whether or not cultural products still are viewed within this frame today? I will examine this by looking at some of the arguments for the weakening of the hierarchy, then discuss examples of nobrow and middlebrow, and how the products within these categories possibly are perceived differently by different consumer segments.

Douglas (2007) describes the connection between culture and categorization as follows: “classification [...] is the creation of culture, or equally one could say that culture is the creation of classifying processes”. As described by Levine (1988), the aim with the classification was the distinction from, and exclusion of, the lower classes, something that Petersen (2005) claims is not as easily done nowadays as back then due to more factors. Firstly, the influence of the mass-media, that not only make highbrow culture accessible to the lowbrow segment, but also have an influence by introducing the higher classes to lowbrow culture, secondly, the geographic migration, that results in a more direct influence from individuals with different taste patterns, and thirdly, the increased access to financial means and education.

Another development that has contributed to a more nuanced picture than that of two opposing poles of highbrow and lowbrow, is the emergence of products with more ambiguous characteristics that makes the classification less easy. One type of such products is examined by Ursulesku (2016), namely the tendency to refer to canonic literary works in lyrics of popular music. Hereby, the spheres of highbrow and lowbrow are intertwined, why Ursulesku suggests this tendency to be between the two extremes in the continuum.

Two terms are usually being used to describe products that do not fit into the domains of highbrow and lowbrow; middlebrow and nobrow, and even though it might sound similar, they have different

characteristics. Where the purpose of middlebrow culture is to be appealing to an audience from the middle-class by still containing some degree of cultural seriousness, nobrow culture are not distancing itself from either highbrow or lowbrow, but combines elements from the two areas without prioritizing one over the other (Driscoll, 2017).

Two examples that illustrate this difference are the following. The novel *Blood Meridian, or The Redness in The West* by Cormac McCarthy (1985) can be connected to genres as horror and western which are regarded as lowbrow, but is simultaneously viewed as being highbrow due to its discussion of matters of philosophical value, and does therefore exemplify the concept of nobrow by combining elements from both spheres (Vanhanen, 2017). An example of middlebrow that is very interesting in relation to the topic of this thesis is an overview of radiobroadcasting of classical music in the U.K from 1945-1995. Stoller (2018) shows that the appeal the genre had to different audience segments varied depending on how the radio programmes were produced. If the music was presented in a way that made sense for people who did not have any theoretical knowledge of music, the amount of listeners increased, compared to programmes where the way the music was discussed were more technical and serious. Stoller views the latter approach as being preferable for the elite, while the former made music accessible to a broader audience.

This shows how something regarded as highbrow can be moved in the direction of middlebrow, and an audience segment from the middle-class, by making an effort to introduce it in a meaningful way, and by taking into consideration that the prerequisites are not the same for the two segments, in this case, the middlebrow segment has not gained the knowledge of classical music obtained by the highbrow listeners.

Differing prerequisites are also the basis of a point made by Ursulesku (2016) which is that even though some elements from highbrow culture are crossing the boundaries and are being intertwined with cultural products that are regarded as middlebrow or lowbrow, this does not mean that the meaning of these elements necessarily are recognized or understood by the non-highbrow audience segment. In the case with literary references incorporated into popular music, Ursulesku mentions two barriers that can get in the way for this understanding; firstly, for some listeners, characteristics of the music, as for instance rhythm, are way more important than the lyrics, which means that not much attention is paid to whether or not the song contains a message. Thus, this first barrier has to do with potentially distracting elements included in the cultural product itself. The second has to do with previous obtained knowledge. If people are focusing on the lyrics, but do not know the

literature that is referred to, the meaning of this reference is not being fully understood. I find that it is the same with McCarthy's novel, as readers are doubtlessly able to read the book without reflecting on the themes that place the novel in the category of highbrow literature.

The example of classical music, however, seems to be more ambiguous. Following the arguments of Ursulesku, it could be suggested that the problem with not having the necessary prerequisites to reflect on the content disappears, at least when it comes to symphonic music, as the music does not have any lyrics that it requires any previously obtained knowledge to understand. However, a viewpoint that, in my view, seems to be more reasonable is Bourdieu's (1984: 2) claim that art only has meaning for those who know how to understand it. From this perspective, it seems more likely that the non-vocal quality makes the music less easy to interpret than the other way around because the narrative - in a novel or in the lyrics of popular music - guides the interpretation, a guidance which potentially is more important to those with less cultural competence than those with more. No such guidance is offered in symphonic music which Dobson and Pitts (2011) suggest can make the interpretation more difficult, a topic I will discuss more in detail later. Thus, research point in the direction that the lack of linguistic narrative is a potential hindrance for engaging with classical music for an audience with a less degree of cultural competence, a condition which, as Stoller (2018) shows, makes the context an important factor in making the music more accessible.

Having examined the above examples, it seems to me that there are more reasons to stick to the distinction between highbrow and lowbrow, with classical music positioned as highbrow, and that the view expressed by Seabrook (2001) - that the emergence of nobrow has led to that the boundaries between high and low are blurred - is not necessarily right. Firstly, neither middlebrow nor nobrow products are launched as an attempt to deny the categories of highbrow and lowbrow, but are, on the contrary, shaped on the basis of the existence of these (Driscoll, 2017). Secondly, even though middlebrow and nobrow are added to the classification system, this does not mean that highbrow elements are being understood the same way by different audience segments. And thirdly, the highbrow/lowbrow distinction is quite often used in current research, some of which, dealing with music genres, I will review in the following section.

In the above, I have examined a couple of examples of how music can be positioned within the highbrow-lowbrow spectrum, and which factors that have the potential to change this position. In the following, I want to briefly look at whether or not there exists a common consensus of where different genres belong. Prieto-Rodriguez and Fernandez-Blanco (2000) distinguished between

those who listened to classical and popular music, and this distinction is apparently clear and widely recognized as: “Classical music is globally often regarded as part of high culture and genres from popular music may be categorized as low culture” (Søderman, Burnard, & Hofvander-Trulsson, 2015: 3). However, if the genre division are going to be more nuanced it gets interesting. Several researchers have investigated musical preferences in different ways, and I will only review a few of the results in the following.

Petersen and Kern (1996), Leguina (2015), Reeves, Gilbert, and Holman (2015), and Veenstra (2015) all find that classical music is highbrow. But the endeavor to find out which other genres that are correlated with this genre seems to be more difficult. Even though the four studies have other shared conclusions, as for instance that musicals are middlebrow (Petersen & Kern, 1996; Veenstra, 2015), or that jazz is either highbrow (Veenstra, 2015), middlebrow (Petersen & Kern, 1996; Leguina, 2015) or both (Reeves, Gilbert and Holman (2015) designates it as “middle or even highbrow”), the results are contradictory when it comes to other genres. Petersen and Kern (1996) find that genres as country and blues are lowbrow, while Veenstra (2015) concludes that blues is highbrow, and Reeves, Gilbert, and Holman (2015) refer to the finding by Bennett et al. (2009) that the preference for classical music is positively linked to that of country and thus also place it in the highbrow category. Therefore, I find that the conclusion that can be derived from the genre divisions is that there - with classical music as the only exception - is not an unambiguous definition of which genres that are highbrow. The lack of a clear genre-hierarchy and the crucial role the degree of prerequisites have for how music is understood and appreciated according to the above research by Stoller (2018) and Ursulesku (2016), do, in my opinion, point in the direction of that the distinction between highbrow and lowbrow is not necessarily based on which specific products people consume or appreciate, but has more to do with the way this consumption and appreciation takes place. This form of distinction has been investigated and confirmed by more researchers, as Holt (1997), Jarness (2015), and Daenekindt and Roose (2017). Bryson (1996) finds that musical taste can function as a means to draw symbolic boundaries. However, based on the above, focusing on how music is consumed and appreciated, the openness or lack hereof towards disliked genres, and the possible tendency of omnivorousness, seems to be a more reasonable way of judging taste instead of focusing on preferences for specific genres.

2.2 Cultural capital

Acknowledging classical music as a part of what it still makes sense to designate as highbrow culture, the next step is to find out what characterizes the people who like the genre. But before dealing with concrete studies of the common features and taste patterns of classical music listeners, I want to briefly discuss how those who engage themselves with highbrow culture have gained the competence and acquired the taste to appreciate this culture.

Bourdieu (1986) states the existence of two types of capitals besides the economic capital; social capital, that is made up by a person's social connections, and cultural capital, that refers to what he also designates a person's cultural competence. Both of these kinds of capital have the potential to result in economic profit, and are thus a form of power.

There are three types of cultural capital; embodied, objectified, and institutionalized. The acquisition of embodied cultural capital is to some degree unconscious, and has to do with cultivation, manners, and taste, things that it takes time to acquire, and that a person is taught primarily by the family. Thus, this form of capital is reproduced from generation to generation. The objectified cultural capital refers to the possession of objects belonging to the domain of highbrow culture as instruments or paintings. Such objects are transferable like economic capital, but it still requires embodied capital to play the instrument or appreciate the painting. Therefore, this kind of capital illustrates that there is a distinction between economic and cultural capital, as a person with a lot of economic capital can buy a costly Stradivarius violin without knowing how to play on it because he lacks embodied cultural capital. The last kind is institutionalized cultural capital that refers to education and the opportunity to transmit embodied cultural capital into something concrete and measurable in the form of academic qualifications. It is notable that the embodied capital, which is mostly transferable through the family, is of crucial significance for the institutionalized as well as the objectified capital, insofar as the owner of the objects, in the last case, are going to be able to understand the cultural value of these objects, in accordance with what Bourdieu (1986: 247) calls their "specific purpose". Due to the important role of the family, I will take a closer look at the effect of parental education.

Lee and Bowen (2006) find that children of well-educated parents obtain considerably higher academic achievements than children of less educated parents due to different types of parent involvement. Regarding the preference for classical music, this conclusion is interesting as the educational level impacts this preference, according to Prieto-Rodriguez and Fernandez-Blanco (2000). Van

Wel et Al. (2006) find that adolescents' cultural participation is also highly influenced by parent involvement, and claim that this is much more significant than the youth's educational level and the arts education offered in schools, an assertion supported by the finding that an arts course implemented in Dutch schools had a somewhat limited effect on cultural participation (Nagel, Damen, & Haanstra, 2010). Finally, parents' preference for highbrow music is likely to be carried on by their children, who acquire the same taste patterns (Bogt et al. 2011). Thus, the parental influence impact academic achievements (institutionalized cultural capital) as well as taste (embodied cultural capital), and cultural participation.

Having dealt with embodied cultural capital in the form of the parental impact on different areas, I now want to briefly examine the education of classical musicians, which seems to be connected to all three forms of cultural capital. Firstly, as illustrated in the example of possessing a violin without knowing how to play on it, music education requires embodied cultural capital which concretely can be understood as the physical effort to: "constraining and conditioning the body to be obedient" (Sagiv & Hall: 113). Secondly, musical training requires objectified cultural capital in the form of having access to musical instruments which seems to be linked to a high economic capital as well, as Currid-Halket (2017) finds that: "in the case of musical instruments, the wealthy, from the top 10% to the top 1%, all spend significantly more than the middle class" (Currid-Halket, 2017: 67). Finally, in the case of conservatory students, the music education are aiming at leading to a career as a musician and is thus comparable to the academic qualifications that constitute the institutionalized cultural capital.

Even though the age differs a bit depending on the instrument, children can begin their musical training quite early. For instance, a two or three-year-old can start taking piano or violin lessons, while six or seven is a more reasonable age for starting with lessons in woodwind instruments and brass. The idea that the earlier a child starts receiving musical training the better is widely recognized (McPherson & Davidson, 2006). From a parental perspective, there are good reasons for encouraging one's child to be engaged in music education, since research shows that this can have an advantageous impact in areas as; empathy, teamwork ability, personal development, self-belief, well-being, creativity, self-regulation, and academic achievements (Hallam, 2016). From a societal perspective, music education is relevant as a means to create "creatively engaged" individuals (Pitts, 2017).

An objection to the theory of cultural capital has been that it seems to be place-specific to some degree. An example of this is given by Purhonen, Gronow, and Rahkonen (2010), who claim that the Finish society, including the culture, is far less hierarchical due to the welfare state model that aims at eliminating the societal inequalities to a certain extent, and that the differences in cultural capital thus are smaller than in Bourdieu's French sample. Others claim that the influence of cultural capital are decreasing when it comes to arts participation (Yukse, Dumais, & Kamo 2019). However, in spite of such findings, Roose (2019) designates the theory "a central concept in the social sciences", and it has, besides the connection to participatory tendencies, also been linked to research on cultural preferences.

Moving from the acquisition of cultural competence to how this competence is being translated into taste, it is relevant to mention two theories; the homology thesis and the omnivore thesis. The homology thesis (Bourdieu, 1984) suggests that individuals' taste is shaped by their cultural capital or lack of it, and due to the fact that cultural capital is accumulated by the elite, this elite will develop similar taste patterns for high art, while the lower classes prefer popular culture that do not require the same level of cultural competence to make sense. Thus, according to this point of view, the hierarchy between highbrow and lowbrow should remain quite persistent. The omnivore thesis (Petersen & Kern, 1996) suggest that this is not the case, and that the elite has a broader taste including elements from highbrow as well as lowbrow culture, while the original lowbrow segment is not interested in highbrow culture. There is an ongoing debate about the two viewpoints, and research provides results in the favor of either the homology thesis, the omnivore thesis, or both of them simultaneously (Leguina, 2015).

2.3 What characterizes classical music listeners?

Having reviewed some of the influential theories underlying the studies of cultural competence and taste, I now want to go on examining what research actually reveals about classical music listeners. In the endeavor to find out whether certain common features characterize individuals who prefer the genre, I want to include as many facets as possible. Therefore, I will look at and link domains as taste and participatory practices in the following. Those domains have often been studied separately, and Petersen (2005) sums up the limitations and advantages of dealing with them; reports of musical preferences are suitable for examining individuals' taste, however, the problem is that there are no "reality-check, and therefore it is suggested that concert attendance gives a more accurate picture, as individuals here are spending money as well as time. However, Petersen mentions an

objection to this viewpoint; namely that not all individuals have equal possibilities to go to concerts which means that when people reports a low degree of cultural participation, it is not necessarily due to a lack of interest but, potentially, instead to a lack of time, money, or access to cultural venues. Purhonen, Gronow, and Rahkonen (2011) state that the two domains can be understood as complementary (together with a third domain, knowledge, which it is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss). Therefore, I will not draw a sharp distinction between the two areas, but instead make an effort to include them in an overarching characterization of classical music listeners.

Prieto-Rodriguez and Fernandez-Blanco (2000) have investigated Spanish classical and popular music listeners respectively, and find that certain tendencies are common for the former group. Firstly, the parental education level has what the authors describe as a “positive and significant effect on classical music listening”. Secondly, the listeners’ own education has the same effect. Thirdly, the study shows that engagement in classical music is only likely to increase when people are 30-45 years old. And fourthly, the authors find that classical music listening is more common in urban than in rural areas.

That the parents’ education plays an important role, is in line with Bourdieu’s idea of embodied cultural capital which acquisition takes place within the family, and as discussed earlier, other studies confirm the importance of parental activities.

The above-mentioned second common feature for classical music listeners – that they are well-educated - is supported by Veenstra (2015) who finds that: “[...] the odds of disliking classical music was more than eight times as high for the least educated respondents as for the best educated ones”. The importance of education is supported by Relish (1997) who confirms the connection between level of education and highbrow taste. However, the author also states that factors as geographical mobility and social networks impact individual’s taste and make it more diverse, but also that even though the well-educated who are involved in many social contexts and are geographically mobile like a broader range of genres, it does not mean that there is a preference for the lowbrow genres - only that more highbrow genres are preferred.

Besides showing yet another correlation between level of education and the liking of classical music, Purhonen, Gronow, & Rahkonen (2011) also reveal that the older the audience is, the more does it favour the genre. Similarly, Kolb (2001 a) claims that concert attendance for classical music is

decreasing, and that the tendency is that audience segments borne after 1955 are considerably less likely to participate in classical concerts.

The last finding of Prieto-Rodriguez and Fernandez-Blanco (2000) – that engagement with classical music can be linked to urban areas – is also mentioned by Petersen (2005) who, as mentioned above, regards this as a reason for dealing with taste and not cultural participation because such activities can be less accessible for those living in rural areas. A more elaborated view on which problems the position of cultural venues can occasion is provided by Farrell (2008), who states factors as expensive car parking charges, and the lack of convenient public transport connections as potential hindrances for cultural participation.

In addition to these characteristics, I want to mention two more topics that are of interest with regard to the classical music listener profile; namely audience segments and the hierarchy of musical genres.

Roose (2008) finds, when investigating classical music audiences, that these can be divided into three segments, depending on the degree of engagement. The outer circle segment, whom Roose also designates the “passers-by”, are the youngest and the least well-educated group, but - as Roose notices – 60% of this segment have a Bachelor degree, so this reveals that the other segments are very highly educated. Roose finds that the most important motivation for all the three groups is an interest in specific musicians or orchestras, but in addition to that, the passers-by often has a social motive for attending concerts, as for instance going together with friends. The inner circle segment has some of the above-mentioned general features for classical music listeners; they are well-educated and old. Moreover, they are selective and choose which concerts to attend on the background of an interest for and knowledge about certain musicians, and favour music they do not know in advance and that contains innovatory elements. The group positioned between the former two, the “interested participants”, constitutes the third segment.

Having looked at different audience segments, I now want to investigate this domain further by looking at audience development.

2.4 Audience development

Lindelof (2015) designates audience development as: “an umbrella term that covers the financial, social, artistic, and educational aspects of institutional efforts to address the audience in new ways

{...}“, and points at three different perspectives within its discourse; that of cultural policy, that of arts institutions, and that of the audience, whereof only the two last will be of concern here.

From the perspective of the arts institutions, here symphony orchestras, it is indisputable that it would be advantageous if something could be done to attract new audiences. Kolb (2001 a) finds that not only are the existing audiences for classical music aging, but the younger generations are apparently not taking over the interest for attending concerts and are thus less likely to constitute a loyal audience segment when they grow older. This tendency can result in less public funding which is essential to the existence of symphony orchestras (Kolb, 2001 b). Moreover, the typical audience for classical music is a somewhat homogeneous group, as discussed earlier. Therefore, a lot of initiatives as a mobile app designed to increase participation, concerts with popular- or film music, inclusion of visual elements, reduced ticket prices for young people, and school concerts containing elements of audience participation have been launched in the endeavor to reach out to new audiences (Sigurjonsson, 2010; Crawford, Gosling, Bagnall, & Light, 2014). To support such initiatives, it is crucial to investigate the potential barriers that can occur when it comes to arts participation (Kemp & Poole, 2016). A way to do this, in the case of classical music, is to look at studies dealing with concert attendance by audiences who do not usually go to classical concerts, and hereby moving to the perspective of the audience.

Dobson and Pitts (2011) find that factors that, in my view all have to do with context, were of great importance for the experience of the first-time classical concert attenders. The knowledge – or lack hereof – were essential to the participants, and the authors found that they: “[...] expressed a perceived need for information about what they were hearing (both about the works and the performers) in order to heighten their enjoyment of the concert experience”. It is suggested that the reason for this need for information can be the symphonic music’s lack of lyrics that can guide the interpretation, and that the information thus becomes what the lyrics is in popular music; a means for the audience to relate to the music. The authors draw a conclusion that is relevant – not only for new concert audiences - but also for people listening to classical music at home; namely that to appreciate classical music, it seems to be an advantage to have acquired knowledge about it to some extent. Dobson (2010) comes to the same results, and finds that the participants responded especially positive when one of the musicians was playing a passage from one of the pieces in three different ways, showed how it could be connected to the genre of jazz, and how different interpretations were possible. For the participants who were used to listen to jazz, the connection between the two genres

was quite meaningful. Dobson concludes that by linking classical music to a genre they were already acquainted with, they could add the new knowledge about classical music to their prior obtained knowledge of jazz which contributed to their appreciation of the music.

Having found out that contextual knowledge is crucial to first-time concert-attenders, I would like to go on examining responses to music listening.

2.5 Responses to music listening

In the investigations on how people are responding to music, it makes sense to distinguish between unconscious and conscious experiences, even though these might be intertwined in a concrete listening situation. Since the former type of experiences are unconscious, it is not possible for participants to share those through interviews or listening diaries, and thus they are not relevant to elaborate on in this thesis. The conscious experiences, on the contrary, refers to the listening experiences that make music meaningful to the listener; what is heard and felt (Bharucha, Curtis, & Paroo, 2006), and this is the topic of interest here. The authors suggest three conscious experiences listeners can have. The first is the musical structure, as for instance tempo, tonality, passages where the focus is primarily on one instrument, or themes in a piece. The second is affective experience, that can refer to emotions experienced by the listener as well as emotions linked to the music. And the third is the experience of motion, which for instance include the sense of movement through a psychological space. Moreover, the authors mention that the degree of previous exposure to a musical genre can define how it is to listen to, and give the example that jazz for instance can make less meaning to a listener that is not use to listen to this genre due to the unfamiliarity. A possible explanation why the degree of familiarity plays a role in how different musical genres are perceived is the mere exposure effect; the finding that the more people are exposed to something, the more they like it (Hekkert, Thurgood, & Whitfield, 2013). In the case of listening, Prior (2013) finds that familiarity increases listeners' awareness of musical structure by enabling them to recognize recurring themes and to distinguish different sections of the piece from each other.

Regarding the experience of the musical structure, Gabrielsson and Lindstrøm (2010) describe that certain musical elements create certain emotional responses, and that passages with high-intensity of tempo and loudness creates more intense emotions, while responses to other structural elements seemingly are more context-dependent. A lot of research has been concerned with music and emotion, and according to Pitts (2005) listening to music can be consciously done by people with the

aim of either escape or emerge themselves in moods, and can thus be a means of controlling emotions.

The experience of motion in an inner, psychological space is, in my view, equal to a narrative trajectory, as motion requires some kind of movement from one point to another. Micznik (2001) confirms the connection between classical music and inner narratives in the listeners, and presents the following three elements that are widely recognized as criteria for a narrative trajectory: “(1) a ‘representation’ or ‘recounting’ (2) of at least two real or fictional events or situations in a time sequence (3) by at least one - actual or implied – narrator”. In addition to this, Janata (2009) finds that listening to familiar music can trigger autobiographical memories. Prior (2013) suggests that different experiences constitute what she designates “patterns of listening”, and that these varies from person to person. Thus, she finds that: “For some listeners, structure is important; for others it is musical associations, and for others still, narrative.” (Prior, 2013). The idea that a certain focus are more in the foreground for listeners than others is, as I view it, in compliance with three kinds of listening styles, introduced by Erdbrink et al (forthcoming).

The authors suggest that the way people listens can be divided into three overarching categories or listening styles; the analytic, the personal, and the physical. The analytical listening mode requires theoretical knowledge about music that enables the listener to concentrate on the technical details of the music which, according to the authors, adds an extra layer to the appreciation of the piece, since it is possible for analytic listeners to: “[...] enjoy the music not purely as an emotional utterance but also as a piece of craftsmanship.” (Erdbrink et al. forthcoming). Furthermore, the authors refer to literature (Adorno 1956) as well as statements from their own research participants, who can be viewed as experts on classical music, that confirms the idea discussed earlier in this thesis; that this musical genre can only be appreciated and understood by those who have obtained the necessary cultivation in the form of theoretical knowledge that enables them to listen this way. The second listening style refers to the occurrence of all kinds of thoughts, images, associations and memories for the listener, and is thus, in contrast to the analytic mode, purely personal in its character. The third category, the physical listening, has to do with being absorbed in and melting together with the music which can lead to the enriching feeling of being part of a “sumptuous wholeness”.

To draw a more nuanced picture of the responses to music, it is interesting to look at not only the experiences listeners can have, but also how they want to be influenced by the music. Roose (2008) examines what audiences specifically want to gain from their concert-attendance. The investigation

of the different aesthetic dispositions builds on five types of expectations about the wanted influence of art, suggested by Van Heusden and Jongeneel (1993), that Roose measures in relation to level of education and frequency of concert-attendance respectively. He finds that the first aesthetic disposition dealing with emotions is quite significant, and that: “people's judgment of a musical performance is primarily shaped along emotional lines [...]”. This means that this disposition is important to all three categories of concert-attenders, regardless of their educational attainment, even though the findings also show that the connoisseurs weight the emotional component less than the audience less acquainted with the genre. The second disposition, escapism, deals with the ability of the music to give the listener the feeling of forgetting the everyday life or of being transported to another place or world, and no difference is found in the degree of importance ascribed to this in relation to concert-attendance, while education, in contrast, plays a role as the lower educated weight the escapism more than the higher educated audience. Familiarity is another element that is more important for those with lower educations, as well as those whose frequency of concert-attendance is low, while the experienced, well-educated concertgoers like to be challenged by unfamiliar pieces. Roose states that this wish for being challenged is therefore not a hindrance for this latter segment to be engaged in escapism. Normativity, dealing with societal critique, is not a significant expectation for the audience, while innovative elements are important for experienced concert-attenders, but is not influenced by educational attainment. On the basis of the investigation, Roose also finds that a variable as gender is significant for the patterns of the different aesthetic dispositions. Especially relevant for this thesis are Roose's conclusions that the emotional and innovative dispositions are most important for the experienced concert-attenders, and that escapism – though impacted by level of education – is also a significant element for this group. For less experienced concertgoers, emotions and familiarity have a great importance. Likewise, the suggestion that the connoisseurs' intellectual and detached way of listening contributes to: “a thorough emotional appreciation” is interesting.

2.6 Research questions and expectations

The above literature review has revealed that classical music earlier was regarded as a highbrow product that only the cultivated audience knew how to appreciate. A look at how different cultural products are positioned nowadays, shows that even though the hierarchy of highbrow and lowbrow apparently is less rigid due to the emergence of middlebrow and nobrow, and that mixing highbrow elements into lowbrow products does not mean that the audience of lowbrow products necessarily

understand – and thereby consume – these elements and products the same way as consumers of highbrow products. Instead, a focus on how things are consumed and appreciated seems to have gained more significance than which products there are consumed, which means that the same products can be used differently by consumers with a different degree of cultural competence. However, the blurring of the cultural boundaries does not seem to have much influence on the consumption of classical music. The genre is the only one that is regarded as highbrow in all the reviewed studies of musical genres, and the typical segment of classical music listeners apparently possess a quite high degree of cultural capital – especially the loyal “inner circle” listeners, who are extremely well-educated, and have obtained a lot of knowledge about the genre. Music education within the domain of classical music is also related to more types of cultural capital.

Regarding the experiences of new classical music audiences, it is clear that knowledge about the music and other contextual factors are crucial as a means to interpret the music, as well as that it is good if the genre can be connected to an already known genre. This need for contextual knowledge to appreciate the genre, and the assumption that such knowledge is obtained through music education, leads to the following expectations:

Contextual knowledge is significant for enhancing the interest of new audiences in classical music.

The level of music education impacts how people listen to classical music.

When contextual knowledge is provided during the listening trajectory, and when people are invited to involve themselves personally in the listening, the experience of the piece will be more positive for the listeners without music education.

The mere exposure effect shows that the more you are exposed to something, the more you like it. Thus, the third expectation is as follows:

People – especially those who have not been used to listen to classical music before – will come to like the piece better the more they listen to it.

The typical classical music listener has a lot of cultural competence, and thus the fourth expectation is that;

People with a high degree of cultural capital has an omnivore taste, and is mainly engaged in music from an analytical perspective.

I presume that these expectations will be entirely or partially confirmed by the answers to the research questions:

- (1) How can classical music become more appealing to a broader audience?
- (2) How do people with varying levels of music education experience repeated listening to a classical piece?
- (3) How are their experiences influenced when they are given an introduction to the piece and the composer, and are invited to listen in a personal way?
- (4) How does cultural capital impact the way people engage themselves in music?

In the reviewed research, there is a clear connection between the concepts of cultural capital and highbrow culture, as the former enables individuals to be engaged in and appreciate the latter in the “right” way. Similarly, the link between audience development and responses to music is obvious to make, as Roose (2008) for instance does when he argues that a more nuanced picture of the audience, including knowledge of aesthetic dispositions of the different segments - which I find fits into the category of music responses - can be advantageous with regard to targeting marketing strategies. Thus, even though cultural capital and highbrow culture, as well as audience development and responses to music respectively are connected in the previous research, I find that there seems to be a gap between these two clusters of related research. Therefore, I hope to decrease this gap by linking these separate domains and examine how they are related in my analysis.

3 Method and data collection

3.1 Research design

As briefly mentioned in the introduction, the research design of this project is inspired by the research design used in the, forthcoming, listening diary study conducted by Koen Van Eijck and Janna Michael. Their study is a part of the GAMPSISS research project - Gameful Music Performances for Smart, Inclusive, and Sustainable Societies (see <https://rasl.nu/research/gampsiss/> for further information) - and Van Eijck and Michael investigate participants' experiences with repeated listening to the 1st movement of Dvorak's 8th symphony by asking them to gradually describe these in a listening diary as well as conducting interviews before and after the listening

trajectory. Therefore, the access to use the listening diaries from the research conducted by Michael and Van Eijck gives me the opportunity to examine how people listen without guidance, as this was not provided in the study by Michael and Van Eijck. In the listening diaries, the participants are asked to freely describe whatever thoughts and associations they have during the listenings. The listening diary form (see appendix 6) is adapted from the PhD-work of Helen Daynes (see <https://hydra.hull.ac.uk/resources/hull:753>).

To make the data I collect as comparable as possible to the data from Van Eijck's and Michael's study, I have tried to make my own research design as similar as possible to the one they have used, with the exceptions that I do not ask the participants to listen to - and write a listening diary about - a piece of music of their own choice, that I do have some specific criteria for my participants, and that I give these participants some guidance in the listening process. The following procedure is identical with the procedure used by Van Eijck and Michael; Using a qualitative approach, I begin by conducting an in depth interview with the participants, then I ask them to listen to the 1st movement of Dvorak's 8th symphony eight times and report their experiences in a diary after each listening, and lastly, I conduct a follow-up interview. What distinguishes my project from Van Eijck's and Michael's, is that our interview questions are not the same, although touching upon the same topics, and that I, besides the movement by Dvorak, also ask the participants to listen to two short podcasts; the first between the second and third listening, dealing with the composer, and the second between the fourth and the fifth listening, dealing with personal listening. The podcasts are made by Micha Hamel who, as composer, artistic researcher, and the project-leader of GAMPSISS, is experienced in giving introductions to classical music concerts. Hamel, my supervisor and I had a meeting to discuss the information in the podcasts, and the podcast notes I sent to Hamel and my supervisor with suggestions for the recording are provided in appendix 4 and 5. The idea of the information presented through the podcasts is to provide the participants with some contextual knowledge about the composer and the piece, as well as provide inspiration about how to listen to it. In this way, the purpose is to examine whether or not it makes a difference for the participants' listening experience when they are given guidance, using my data set, or whether it is the same as when no guidance is given, as it is the case in Van Eijck's and Michael's data set. By adjusting my research design to the one used by Van Eijck and Michael, it is my intention to create as similar conditions as possible for the participants, and thus make it more comparable to draw on data from the two different data sets in the investigation of my research questions. Moreover, the research design is suitable for creating circumstances a bit similar to the situation reviewed by Stoller (2018).

People was listening to the radio at home and was at the same time provided with some information about what they were hearing through the radio programmes. Similarly, the participants in my experiment can do the listening sessions whenever they want, and are given some information about the piece through the podcasts.

3.2 Method

Since the answers to the research questions will be based on individual, subjective experiences, the qualitative method is suitable for the investigation as it, contrary to quantitative methods, is allowing an in-depth examination and discussion on details and nuances. This is also the case for semi-structured interviews because this interview method allows for preparation of questions that guarantee that the relevant topics are covered and at the same time, because of the open questions and prompts, gives space for moving to topics relevant for each single participant, and to ask for more details about a certain topic (Olsen, 2012: 33-38). I expect that the possibilities this method provides are quite useful when you want to investigate a topic as intangible and personal as experiences with listening. As I, due to the previous research that provides the foundation for the questions I ask in the interviews, can have certain suppositions about the outcome of these, I will do my best to let these suppositions influence my way of asking questions and interpreting the answers as little as possible. Moreover, I am aware that the fact that the participants know that I am concerned with classical music in my research are likely to influence their focus, and possibly also the way they express their attitudes about this musical genre in the interviews.

3.3 Sample and procedure

As one of the research questions is about how people with varying levels of music education listen to music, diversity within this area has been the main criterion for the selection of the participants. Thus, my sample consists of four participants who are studying classical music at Codarts Rotterdam, and three participants who are not conservatory students and who have received a less comprehensive music education. As the former group of participants consists of students, one of the participants in the latter group has studied tourism and the two others are working as waitresses. Thus, two of the three participants in the latter group are not university-trained which presumably brings more diversity to my data set. Moreover, I have conducted an interview with Martin Baai, the innovator of Rotterdam's Philharmonic Orchestra, about the initiatives taken by the orchestra to enhance audience development.

I have used quota sampling which means that the participants were non-randomly selected on the basis of the above-mentioned criteria. In the case of the conservatory students, I have used snowball sampling as well. My intention was to put up a poster at Codarts to invite students to participate in the project, but this was not feasible due to the corona outbreak. Instead, one of the participants, whom I got in touch with through a personal contact, has facilitated contact to other fellow-students who were interested in participating in the project (Olsen, 2012: 24-30).

Hansen, Wallentin, and Vuust (2013) divide, in their study of musicians and non-musicians, the participants into three groups; non-musicians, amateur musicians, and expert musicians. I find these three categories suitable for my analysis as well, since the participants in the two data sets have varying levels of music education and knowledge about music, and therefore, it would be too one-sided to distinguish only between conservatory students and non-conservatory students. The criteria of the categories are as follows: Non-musicians (five participants) have not been involved in non-mandatory music education or played an instrument within the last couple of years, and do not demonstrate any theoretical knowledge about music in the listening diaries. Amateur musicians (five participants) are currently involved in music education, are playing an instrument, have been engaged in such activities within the last couple of years, or demonstrate an acquisition of theoretical knowledge about music in the listening diaries. Expert musicians (four participants) are conservatory students (For an overview of participants, see appendix 1).

3.4 Operationalisation of concepts

From previous research, I have derived highbrow and lowbrow culture, cultural capital, audience development, and responses to music as core concepts which I find relevant for illuminating the topic of my research. The following considerations underlie the selection of certain interview questions, and how I expect that these are going to generate information that is connected to - and of relevancy for - the concepts, and thus, information that will contribute to answer the research questions.

Due to the status of classical music as high art, I find it reasonable to draw a parallel between the genre and highbrow culture in general. To get an impression of the participant's relation to highbrow culture, I ask whether or not the participants' attitude to classical music has been influenced by the experiment, as well as, in some interviews, what the participants expect or expected before or after the listening trajectory. To evaluate their attitude, I will use adjectives as "elitist", "snobbish",

or the like, as indicators of the participants' view of the genre as highbrow, as well as statements that relate to the physical barriers that Farrell (2008) suggests are frequently common in cultural venues. Consequently, contradictory views of the genre as more easily accessible, non-elitist, and less influenced by the above-mentioned barriers, will make me draw the opposite conclusion. Secondly, I ask about music preferences to find out whether the participants have a diverse taste and can be characterized as omnivore. And thirdly, I am looking for indications of, probably unconscious, drawing of cultural boundaries, and am therefore asking about differences between genres the participants like and do not like, openness towards disliked genres, whether anything could be done to make these genres more appealing, and common characteristics of the music that they find important.

As mentioned in the section on previous research, classical music can reasonably be linked with cultural capital. Thus, questions about music education, whether or not anybody in the childhood home played an instrument, relation to classical music, and when the participants were first introduced to this genre, are meant to cover this concept, as all of these topics indicates the degree of cultural capital in relation to music.

As discussed earlier, parental and own educational status is significant in the characterization of classical music listeners. Therefore, questions about education and occupation of the participants and their parents are interesting with regard to the concept of cultural capital as well.

I am getting concrete examples of the concept of audience development by asking the innovator of Rotterdam's Philharmonic Orchestra to explain what initiatives the orchestra takes in that field, and what he knows about endeavors, either to educate the audience, or to make the music more appealing. Moreover, to include the perspective of the audience, I ask the participants whether or not they think that classical music is an art form that can be difficult to relate to, and whether any kind of initiatives possibly can be taken to make the genre more appealing and accessible from their viewpoint. Moreover, I ask about concert habits and motives for attending concerts to get an impression of which factors that influences why the participants choose or choose not to go to concerts, how they choose which performances they want to see, and whether or not it is a social activity.

To investigate responses to music, I draw on what the participants report about their experience in the listening diaries as well as ask about their opinions of the podcasts, to get information on the reactions on the Dvorak movement. I ask in which situations the participants usually listen to music,

to get some contextual information about their listening habits, and what they specifically focus on in the music when they listen.

Lastly, I am also interested in how the participants discuss music and with whom because this says something about the evaluation that takes place after the first response when dealing with music, and the topic of conversations reveals what is of most importance to the participants.

3.5 Data collection

The data collection consisted of an initial interview, a listening diary, and a follow-up interview per participant. The data collection process has been quite delayed due to reasons I will explain in the following.

Firstly, the podcasts were finished a bit later than I expected, which would not be a disadvantage worth mentioning, if I had not been convinced that I needed to have everything ready, including the podcasts, before I arranged interview appointments with the participants, in case they wanted to do it immediately. However, it turned out to often take quite a long time from I asked the participants when it would be convenient for them to participate in the interviews, until these were actually conducted. So, in a similar future situation, I would certainly get in touch with the participants and agree on when to conduct the interviews long before in the process. A second reason for the delay was that I made five initial interviews with participants who did not write the listening diary and, because of this, also did not take part in a follow-up interview. I assume that the participants did not find that it was possible for them to finish the experiment due to the corona outbreak. Looking back, I perhaps spent too much time waiting for them to do this, before I started to search for new participants.

Because of the Corona-situation, most of the interviews were conducted online which sometimes result in insufficient passages in the transcriptions due to bad internet connections and a bad sound quality. Moreover, transcribing the interviews have made me notice that I sometimes ask two questions at the same time which can seem unclear to the participant, and which I would be careful not to do in a future similar situation.

I am not using all of Michael's and van Eijck's data set, as this, besides the listening diaries in English I have used, also consists of initial and follow-up interviews with the participants who have written the diaries, as well as interviews and listening diaries in Dutch. Thus, the data I use is

constituted by 7 listening diaries from Michael and van Eijck's data set, and three listening diaries, four initial and three follow-up interviews with conservatory students, three listening diaries, initial and follow-up interviews with my other group of participants, as well as the interview with the innovator of Rotterdam's Philharmonic Orchestra from my own data set. The reason why one of the conservatory students only took part in the initial interview was that he got sick and could not continue the participation in the project. I have 14 interviews that in all last 7.81 hours. Do to the scope of this thesis, I will only use Michael's and van Eijck's data in the analysis of the listening trajectory, which means that they will not be used in the sections on audience development and highbrow ways of dealing with music.

3.6 Data analysis

Having derived some core concepts from the previous research, and having formulated an interview guide on the basis of these through operationalization, I want to pay attention to these concepts in the data analysis by using theoretical thematic analysis. The advantage of this method is that the data analysis is closely connected to the research question, due to the fact that the coding of the data takes theory as its starting point. Thus, because a more or less theory-based selection takes place, the coding will possibly give a somewhat fragmented picture of the data, but it allows for a more purposive coding process in contrast to inductive thematic analysis, where the data is coded only on the basis of the data itself (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The authors suggest that the analysis is divided into six phases, even though they recommend going back and forth between these in the process. In the first phase, I have transcribed the recorded interviews. I have made an effort to make the transcriptions as verbatim as possible which means that I did include grammatical and linguistic mistakes that, however, are corrected in the quotations used in the final analysis. Unclear words and sentences are indicated by italics. Longer breaks in the conversations are marked by "...", and repetitions of words are marked by commas. This distinction is made as an attempt to differentiate between the situations where a participant is searching for the correct way to formulate the answer without being in doubt of what he or she wants to express, and those where it takes time for a participant to formulate answers due to the topic of the conversation. I have given each participant from the two data sets a number, and when making in-text references to the transcriptions, I designate Michael's and Van Eijck's participants mvep and then the number, and my participants sp and the number. Initial interviews are indicated by "ii", listening diaries by "ld", and closing interviews by "ci". Thus, sp2ci, refers to the closing interview with participant two from my data set. After the

transcriptions, I have continued the coding process by reading the interviews and listening diaries a couple of times. In the second phase, I have found initial codes, and thus, I have collected all the text fragments that either are related to my theoretical concepts or that are relevant because they contribute to the understanding of the research questions in another way. In phase three, I have investigated which themes could be derived from the coded material, and in phase four, I have found out whether the themes I chose were representative of the coded material and of the data set, and have re-examined and changed them, if this was not the case. In phase five, I have chosen the final names for the themes, as well as started to consider how these are going to be presented in the reporting of the results. In phase six, this report has been written. I have divided it into separate paragraphs on the different themes, and chosen illustrative quotations from the text fragments I have coded to back up my arguments and interpretations. Finally, I have ended the report by linking the analysis back to the theoretical concepts that provided the foundation for it in the conclusion.

Throughout the coding process, the theoretical position from which the data has been assessed has been realistic, as the purpose has been to investigate the individual, concrete experiences and views expressed by the participants. This means that the focus has been on the semantic content of the interviews; namely, what the participants say explicitly. However, an approach that gives the opportunity to look beyond the surface, and where the context is given more importance, has been appropriate in the final interpretation of the coded material, due to the fact that I have wanted to link the participant's views and experiences to broader contexts and theoretical concepts, e.g. musical preferences to cultural capital (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

Lastly, I want to briefly state my reason for the layout of the coding lists. I am blind, and due to my visual impairment, it is easier for me not to use tables, why I, as per agreement with my supervisor, have made the lists as plane text in Word instead.

3.7 Validity and reflexion on quality

I have made an effort to obtain a high degree of validity, firstly by using the follow-up interviews as an opportunity for member check, by, when necessary, asking the participants whether I interpret and understand the initial interviews and the listening diaries correct. Secondly, I have taken some overarching criteria regarding qualitative research into consideration which I will review in the following.

Tracy (2010) suggests a model for quality in qualitative research consisting of eight criteria. The model is meant to be universal in the sense that it is applicable, not for a specific domain within the field of qualitative research, but for all of them, and will provide the foundation for the following considerations of the validity of this thesis. All of the criteria cover different facets of meaning, the criterion worthy topic does for example cover relevancy, interest, significance, and whether or not the topic is timely. The undermentioned is thus a review of the eight criteria, but the different meanings linked to these are selected due to their relevancy for this project, and therefore, it is not an exhaustive overview of the model as such.

Worthy topic is the first criterion, and I find that the chosen topic is relevant, interesting and timely, academic as well as societal. Academic, because it is an addition to the ongoing research on more areas related to classical music, and societal, because orchestras are taking concrete initiatives to enhance the interest in classical concerts for a broader audience, and because one of the aims here is to investigate the audience perspective by gaining information about different kinds of listening experiences and thereby offer insights for further development of such initiatives.

Rich rigor refers to an appropriate scope of the different phases of the project. I aim at presenting varying arguments in the literature review, using the best suitable methods for data collection and data analysis, and having a diverse sample and including as many different views as possible to illuminate the research topic sufficiently, and hereby I endeavour to comply with this requirement.

Sincerity has to do with self-reflexivity and honesty about personal biases and challenges that has occurred in the research process. In the section on data collection, I have described the challenges I have experienced in this phase of the research; with organizing the interviews, as well as with the mistakes I find that I made during the interview séances. In the method section, I mention my awareness of my own and the participants' risk to expect and interpret in certain ways, for me due to my knowledge of findings of previous research, for the participants because of their knowledge about my focus on classical music. Sincerity also refers to transparency of the different steps in the research process which I have endeavored to document sufficiently by interview transcriptions, interview guides, and coding lists.

Credibility refers to trustworthiness of the research. The means by which I make an effort to establish this is firstly, by supporting the arguments I state in the analysis by a suitable amount of quotations, secondly, by acknowledging the nuances and the complexity of my data, and thirdly, by using

a multivocal research technique that weights the presenting of various different views in the analysis, and also encourages collaboration between researcher and participants which, in this case, has consisted of my endeavor to make the participants elaborate on topics or answers that seemed unclear to me, and by asking them to further explain passages in their listening diaries to check whether I have interpreted these correctly.

Resonance refers to the ability of the written report to affect the reader. Factors as how the content is presented, and how transferable this content is, for the readers as well as for other contexts than the one dealt with in the research, are of importance here. I make an effort to obtain resonance through a suitable layout of the text, as well as through aiming at clarity in the writing style. The findings of this study can, in my view, be useful when dealing with other art forms than classical music and is therefore transferable.

Significant contribution has to do with heuristic significance; whether the research influences readers or research participants to a changed understanding or behavior. Suggesting topics relevant for future research, as I will do in the conclusion, as well as influencing some of the research participants' opinion on classical music, complies with this criterion which also is the case for the new theoretical insights provided through my analysis.

Ethics refers to whether the researcher act ethically by, for example, informing research participant about the study in advance, obtaining written consent, agreeing on making the results of the research available to the participants, anonymizing data, and being kind and respectful towards research participants which are factors that I have made an effort to live up to.

Lastly, meaningful coherence has to do with whether the aim of the research is achieved, and whether the different parts of the project are linked in a reasonable way which I am of course aiming at in this thesis, by referring to my research questions throughout the project, and by endeavoring to argue sufficiently for the theoretical and methodological choices I make.

Thus, by engaging in considerations like those mentioned above, I hope to have obtained a sufficient degree of validity in this project.

4 results

4.1 audience development

In the theory section, I dealt with two of the perspectives from which audience development can be viewed; that of the arts institutions and that of the audience itself. In the following, I will return to these perspectives, investigating the viewpoints regarding audience development of expert-musicians, non-musicians, and the innovator of Rotterdam's Philharmonic Orchestra respectively.

4.1.1. Experiences from Rotterdam's Philharmonic Orchestra

Giving introductions during classical concerts is a practice occasionally used by many symphony orchestras (see for instance Dobson 2010). Since the foundation of this thesis is to investigate how people listen to a classical piece – especially when they are given some guidance in form of the podcasts during the listening trajectory – it is of great relevancy to look at how the audience of classical concerts reacts when such introductions about the piece are given before a concert, as well as the way these introductions are made. Martin Baai is working as innovator for Rotterdam's Philharmonic Orchestra, and he throws light on these topics by sharing his experiences with planning and giving introductions to classical concerts for different audience segments.

For Baai, the purpose of providing the audience with information about the music they are going to listen to is clear; he wants to intensify the experience of the concert attenders, and the audience to say "wow!". But, this "wow-factor", as he designates it, is different to different people, he explains. This means that for some, it is knowledge that can trigger this intensity, and for others, it is guidance that draws their attention to details in the music. The foundation of the introductions is the classical piece itself which means that there is not a fixed frame of the content. Instead, the composer, the background of the piece, or details in the music can be brought into focus, depending on the characteristics of the piece. Baai even gives an example where he wants the audience to relate to the piece in a quite personal way by drawing parallels from the unhappy love story that was the background of a piece to the audience's personal experience with being unhappily in love. The important thing is to engage the audience and enabling them to recognize something in the piece; a recurring theme, a feeling, a story. Wikipedia is a great source of exploring which information that is most suitable to present, Baai explains.

Drawing on experiences with introducing children to classical music by linking the music to a story, he finds that the technique that worked when dealing with them, also works when it comes to adults. He sums up his work with the introductions like this: “So this is what I do – I tell stories.” (Interview Martin Baai).

Audience participation is another means to make the audience relate to the music. Baai exemplifies how this can be done by asking the audience to sing a small passage from a piece to recognize the changes between major and minor, or by make them clap the rhythm of one of the recurring themes of another piece. Just like the content of the introductions, the audience participation differs depending on the characteristics of the piece that is introduced.

Rotterdam’s Philharmonic Orchestra has arranged concerts with reduced ticket prices and introductions about the pieces to get a younger audience to come. The expectation is not that this audience segment will become regular classical concert attenders, but instead that if they know how it is to go to a classical concert, and if they have a positive experience with it, there is a chance that they will return when they grow older and possibly develop an interest for the genre. While the young audience to these concerts was quite positive about their experience, the orchestra had the opposite reactions when they gave introductions to a regular audience. This audience segment is not interested in information about what they are going to hear, according to Baai because they are too well-educated. This observation is in compliance with Roose’s (2008) findings about the inner circle as connoisseurs and experts of the genre, who are likely not to learn anything new from such introductions.

However, not only the audience but also the orchestra is present when Baai is telling his stories about the music, and even though not all audience segments are equally interested, the musicians seem to get something out of the information about the pieces they are going to play. Baai describes the reactions from some of the musicians like this: “[...]it [the introductions]works as much for new audiences as for our own musicians who are coming to me like, “oh wow, I didn’t know this”, or, “**I** really play it different” [...] [or]“I had this solo in this piece, and now you’ve talked about it, and I played totally different, because I didn’t know it was about it”. So this is education for this soloist [...]” (interview Martin Baai).

Thus, what Baai wants to do with the introductions is not necessarily to educate but rather to “enrich” the audience, by means of narrative trajectories, associations to personal emotions and

experiences of the audience members, audience participation, and focus of recurring themes in the music, depending on the introduced piece. While the older, regular audience segment is not especially enthusiastic about the introductions, the younger audience who has less experience with classical music is positive, and the same is the case for the musicians who even report that the new information influenced their way of playing. An interesting factor is Baai's emphasis on the importance of acknowledging the differences; different factors make different people engaged and interested in the music, and different pieces need to be introduced differently due to their different background and musical structure. However, regardless of these differences, Baai expresses certainty about the positive contribution guidance can provide the listening experience: "[...]if you're reading a happy [...] book, if you don't know how to read it, how to get the real story beneath it, then you just read lines and words, and it doesn't mean anything to you. SO you need some guidance, or you need to have some education before, to get to know what this book really is about. So this is what I try to do with the people who are kind of unexperienced in our hall." (Interview Martin Baai).

Having reviewed the perspective of an arts institution, I now want to look at audience development from a different angle.

4.1.2. Ideas on attracting a broader audience

In the chapter of previous research, I found that those who engage themselves with classical music in general is a somewhat homogeneous segment, consisting of old, highly educated people. This made me curious to explore the attitudes of the non-musicians and the expert-musicians regarding whether anything can be done to make the genre more appealing to a broader audience.

Four participants – two expert-musicians and two non-musicians – view an increased degree of knowledge and familiarity as two central elements when it comes to attract a more diverse audience. One participant (sp1ci) thinks it would make a significant difference over time if music education was prioritized because this would lead to an increased degree of familiarity with the genre. The reason why this is necessary, he argues, is that classical music is not present in people's everyday environments the way other music genres are. The result of this is that: "[...]the amount of unintended listening, subconscious listening, is less." (sp1ci). One of the non-musicians (sp4ci) also mentions education as a way to make more people interested. She emphasizes the importance of creating inspiring and interactive education trajectories for children, and refers to the podcasts used

in this listening experiment as being more interactive than reading a text about classical music. Another and more personal way of handling the idea of – if not educating, than at least involving - others is practiced by one of the musicians who explains how he tries to share his perspective with those of his friends who are not musicians themselves: “[...] what I do, [...] I really try to show people that they are able to appreciate it, you know. I mean, I try to bring it close to my friends, to play in front of them, to show them what I do, to try to translate to them which is my way of listening, what does it mean for me, why I’m so mad about classical music, why I’m like, six hours per day, studying alone in my [...] room. You know what I mean, at the end, to explain them this kind of perspective, to show this *passion* as it is, not as an elitist thing, [...] I try to... yeah, to translate it to them as I experience it.” (sp2ci). Besides touching upon topics as how to listen to and appreciate the music, the quote also reveals something that is mentioned by some of the other participants as well; namely the view on classical music as highbrow, described in the quote as “an elitist thing”. One of the non-musicians suggests that a way to attract the audience is through the media that could contribute by viewing the genre in a different way: “[...]more as something normal, as something beautiful that’s, you know, a form of art, not something meant for the elite or snobbish people.” (sp3ci).

One of the expert-musicians (sp5ci) elaborates on some of the reasons why classical music can seem inaccessible to younger audiences. She describes the decorum around classical concerts as “cold” and “formal”, and says that there is a barrier distinguishing the musicians from the audience. She illustrates how this barrier can be less pronounced by giving an example of an orchestra where all the musicians had learned the music by heart, and were able to pay more attention to the audience whilst playing because they were not focusing on the scores. She stresses the importance of breaking down the barrier and: “connect[ing] with the public [on] a personal level” (sp5ci). At the same time, she acknowledges that being freer and adapting the way of playing to the context, for instance by playing more casually and improvising, is not possible in classical music like it is in other genres because of the focus and concentration it requires of the musicians to play the pieces.

Another of the musicians finds that the responsibility of attracting the audience has to do with the way concerts are promoted, and that symphony orchestras express an almost uninterested attitude to the younger audience segments: “*It’s like; if you [...] want to listen to this music, please come, if you don’t, that’s OK.*” (sp1ci).

One of the non-musicians expresses the opinion that because “pop culture” is so dominating nowadays, people are not even aware of the genre of classical music. She suggests that a way of making it more popular could be to use it more often in children’s movies, a suggestion similar to the above-mentioned considerations on introducing the genre through the everyday environment. Moreover, she also – as the only one – states that a reason for the lack of interest in the genre possibly can be that it is not relevant anymore: “[...]I think it’s just quite... outdated now. Yeah, I think, I think people would still appreciate it if it was relevant in this day and age [...]. But I don’t think it is as relevant.” [sp6ci).

Thus, two opposing viewpoints are expressed by both the expert-musicians and non-musicians. One focusing on the general need of making classical music more familiar to the audience through music education, increased occurrence of classical music in the environment, and through showing one’s own personal perspective. Another focusing on the barriers created by the formal and impersonal character of classical concerts, and the seemingly unwillingness of symphony orchestras to promote classical music in a way that attracts a younger audience. A third topic mentioned by more is the discourse around classical music as elitist, one mentions how this image can be influenced by showing other, more personal, aspects of the genre, another suggests that the media can be an effective means of impacting this view.

Lastly, one of the non-musicians points at the potential correlation between lack of interest in the genre from the younger audience and a lack of general relevancy.

In both of the above discussed perspectives on audience development, factors as recognition and familiarity, knowledge and education, and a personal connection to the music is emphasized as important for creating engagement in classical music. In the following, these three topics will be explored in relation to individual, repeated listening trajectories. The first podcast will provide the participants with background knowledge as well as familiarize them with recurring themes of the piece, the second podcast is an invitation to listen in a personal way, and lastly, the potential influence of the familiarity will be discussed.

4.2 Listening experiences with the 1st movement of Dvorak’s 8th symphony

The first step in the investigation of whether or not the information presented in the podcasts impacts the perception of the movement is looking at the listening experiences described in the first two diary entries, as they were written before the podcasts were introduced.

4.2.1 Listening experiences before the podcasts

4.2.1.1. Non-musicians

The piece the participants were asked to listen to is quite many-faceted and varied in more respects, and so are the responses to the two initial listenings by the five non-musicians.

Three of them write that they like the piece, one even describes being "surprisingly engaged", while another reveals an open-minded attitude: "The first time listening to the symphony made a good impression on me. I can recognize that it is not exactly my type of music, anyways can appreciate it for what it is" (sp31d).

Another does not explicitly state an attitude, but writes, like some of the others also do, that the piece has an emotional effect. Even though the piece itself is described by words as "dynamic", "diverse", "cheerful", and some of its parts as "light", "soft", and "dramatic", my overall impression from the two first entries is that the participants' focus is more on the emotion the music evokes in them than which emotions the music itself expresses.

The first conscious listening experience mentioned by Bharucha, Curtis, & Paroo (2006) has to do with the structure of the music, and is something that is only described by one participant who is focusing on the violins. Other than that, the structure is closely attached to emotions for the non-musicians, as suggested by Gabrielsson and Lindstrøm (2010). One of the participants describes this as: "The emotions were following the rhythm getting calm and relaxed" (sp51d), while another has a quite contrasting experience: "I have felt quite tense through the song, mainly because [of] the sudden changes [...] I felt it as a rollercoaster of emotions starting from calm and ending in euphoria, but in the middle it did get me sad at some point as well as, in minor degree, happy, anxious, powerful... But all of them in a positive way, as if I needed it" (mvpe71d). While both quotations show the - sometimes quite contrasting - influence of the structure on personal emotions, the latter also reveals an interesting tendency that has to do with a sense of personal reflection; "But all of them in a positive way, as if I needed it". Another participant expresses thoughts that seem to be of a similar reflective character; "[...] now I have some thought in my head about my personality and I just raised a question " does this music make me a more serious person?" (mvpe21d).

Regarding Bharucha's, Curtis', & Paroo's (2006) third experience of motion, which I suggest comes close to Micznik's (2001) definition of a narrative, I find that none of this is described.

Instead occur what I, on the basis on the data, want to introduce as contextual associations to Disney movies, singing and pretending being a Disney princess, family members who either have played or liked classical music, and thoughts of wanting to see an opera or a ballet soon. My argument for not counting these contextual associations as motion or narratives is that there, in the descriptions, nor is a recounting of motion, nor a narrator, neither a timely trajectory, the latter being criteria for narrativity. Instead, some of the associations have to do with autobiographical memories, and support Janata's (2009) finding that familiar music can create such memories, even though the familiarity does not have to do with the specific piece, but with the genre of classical music and that it is used in for instance movies. Moreover, I find that the contextual associations can be viewed as a sub-category to Erdbrink et al's personal listening style, as the latter covers all kinds of personal memories, associations and images, where the former only refers to those experiences that can be directly linked to the music within a contextual frame.

Thus, the most significant experience for the non-musicians is the emotions evoked by the structure, while the elements of the structure itself (as for instance instruments and themes) are not noticed. Likewise, associations like autobiographical memories and thoughts about orchestras and operas are reported. The experience of motion and narrative trajectories does not occur.

4.2.1.2 Amateur-musicians

Most of the amateur-musicians express that they enjoy listening to the piece, but at the same time they are generally more acquainted with classical music which means that one (mvpe4ld) already knew that she was not a fan of Dvorak but tried to listened in an unbiased way, and that another (mvpe6ld) finds that the piece is not build up like he expect it to be which is disturbing. The latter expresses what makes classical music appealing like this: "I'm still missing to see if I can find the thread that unites it all within one piece of classical music. [...]Most of the time I kept comparing it to some other classical pieces that are more appealing to me because I can feel the link between the sections and I'm overall pleased with the direction the music takes" (mvpe6ld). The missing "thread that unites it all", seems to be the same problem when another writes that: "So many contrasts that is almost schizophrenic to me" (mve5ld). However, even though the contrasts apparently are distracting for some, all of the amateur-musicians report having more detailed listening experiences than the non-musicians.

The experience of structure is present in the diaries as a focus on different instruments or instrument-combinations and themes. Even though the structure is still linked to emotions, I find that this tendency is less common here, and that the structure instead creates the experience of motion and narrative. An experience of motion is for instance an association of "walking into a garden" (mvcp1ld). More in-depth-descriptions are given of narrative trajectories, as for instance the following: "I was focusing less on the instruments and melodies and more on the story behind the music and what it reminded me of. (...) Somewhere around 8:20 I had the image of a morning in the nature in my head. Like when you're looking at a pond surrounded by trees and plants and there is a mist everywhere around you and the animals are slowly waking up" (mvcp3ld). As the impact of contextual information is one of the topics of interest here, it is interesting that one of the amateur-musicians decided to find out more about the piece and that the information turned into a narrative: "I got curious about the background of this piece so I googled it and read that it was written as a celebration piece, after that I couldn't ignore that thought throughout the listening and I kept imagining how it was performed the first time when Dvorak was alive. So I kept thinking about this typical grand orchestra hall and men sitting in their fine suits and the ladies in their corsets, quietly listening to this firework of a piece" (mvcp4ld). As these two quotes reveal, narratives can be of a quite different character, and inspired not only by the piece itself, but also by other factors.

Regarding non-narrative contextual associations, the tendency is that they were more centered around other composers or classical pieces, and less around movies and autobiographical memories, as it was the case with the non-musicians, even though such associations also occurred.

Thus, the very emotional experience expressed by the non-musicians change for the amateur-musicians, who instead have considerably more experiences related to the musical structure as well as narrative trajectories and motion.

4.2.1.3 Expert-musicians

The diaries of the expert-musicians are similar to those of the amateur-musicians in that respect that the experience of the musical structure is a lot in focus. Even though the amateur-musicians also distinguish instruments and themes from each other, the descriptions of this are more detailed here, and include comments on for instance timber. A participant gives an interesting description of how exactly the listening takes place: "I close the eyes and my ears go from place to place, highlighting the sounds here and there: now to this melodic line now to this base, now to the rapid

passage, and here oh! what a beautiful melodic line hidden in this part; and so on...” (sp5ld). As could be expected due to the higher level of music education, the expert musicians seem to notice details about the structure that the non-musicians and amateur-musicians do not. For example, instead of having the feeling of a missing “uniting thread”, the following quote shows how such a thread can be found in the piece: “[...]the second theme played by the flute [is] [repeated] by this instrument and other woodwinds all along the movement. It felt to me that this theme works as the connection between the minor dramatic parts and the major theme that keeps on transporting myself to this landscape of nature, freshness and freedom (pastorale)” (sp2ld). Not only does this quote show how a high degree of theoretical knowledge enables the participant to find meaning in a musical structure that apparently can appear confusing and contrasting, but it also reveals that listening in such a theoretically analytical way is not a hindrance for being engaged personally and imagine a “landscape of nature, freshness and freedom”.

As it was also the case with the amateur-musicians, personal emotions are not the main focus, even though they are still described. Instead experiences of narratives are common, one states that: “The sections are contrasting and the motives create an imagery/ story. It seems like Dvorak is communicating a narrative through this piece” (sp1ld). An interesting element here is that the participant – instead of creating a personal narrative – is wondering whether or not the composer wants to communicate a certain narrative. This thought can be connected to the idea expressed both by Levine (1988) and Bourdieu (1986); namely that there is a right understanding of the music/art, and that the audience needs cultural competence to understand the art work in the right way. However, the other musicians do not express this idea of a “right” narrative, but describe imaginary trajectories of a similar character to those stated above.

Associations to orchestras are also common, and autobiographical memories occur more frequently than in the diaries of amateur-musicians. Similarly, comparisons with other composers are more detailed, and the piece is placed in a broader context of periods in the music history.

Thus, the expert musicians have very detailed experiences of structure, a less elaborated – but still significant - experience of emotions, and detailed experiences of narratives, autobiographical memories, and contextual associations.

4.2.2 Listening experiences after podcast one

In this section, I am interested in whether or not it impacts the listening experience to get some contextual information about the piece. Such information is presented in a podcast where the listener is told about the composer; his background, how he was an autodidact musician and how the different political influences impacted his compositions. Different themes from the piece are played on the piano, and the positive reactions on the premiere of the 8th symphony are exemplified. Thus, by trying to “educate” the listeners to pay more attention to the themes, the podcast is touching upon topics that would be categorized as belonging to Erdbrink et al’s (forthcoming) analytical listening style, while the information about the composer are more likely to contribute to the personal listening style.

Since all the expert-musicians, some of the non-musicians, and none of the amateur-musicians have listened to the podcast, the participants from Michael’s and van Eijck’s data set, who have not done this, can function as a control group to investigate whether or not there is an impact.

4.2.2.1 Non-musicians

All of the three non-musicians who listened to the podcast describe that they liked the information and that it impacted their way of listening afterwards. Two write that they liked the background knowledge about the composer, and this even inspired one to: “wonder how different the perception of these sounds was for Dvořák and if I could do something to perceive it in a similar way” (sp3ld). Another felt “educated” by the podcast, and able to better appreciate the different parts of the piece.

The descriptions of listening to the piece after having listened to the podcast were quite positive. One writes: “This time I felt like I was listening to the piece with a bit more understanding” (sp3ld) and continues thinking of the life conditions in Dvorak’s lifetime and the effect this could have had on the music. Another describes that she: “[...] [definitely] enjoyed the piece more this time” (sp6ld), and that she was more aware of her own emotions. Yet another states that: “listening again after the [podcast] made me concentrate more on the details” (sp4ld).

Regarding the experience of structure, emotion, motion/narrative, and associations, descriptions of these experiences were less common, due to the focus on the material presented in the podcast. However, some interesting changes from the first two listening sessions are worth mentioning.

Firstly, The above-mentioned curiosity regarding perceiving the music as Dvorak did, the feeling of being more able to appreciate different “themes and moods”, and noticing more details, in my view, reveals an increased focus on - and interest in - the musical structure for all three participants. In the fourth listening session, the second session after the podcast was introduced, one of the participants realized that some parts of the piece reminded her of a song she already knew (time to say goodbye). This finding could possibly have taken place due to the increased focus on the structure created by the podcast, but as it is impossible to know how the listening trajectory would have been without the podcast, such assumptions are only hypothetical. Secondly, for at least one of the participants, the podcast also increased the experience of emotion: “after directly listening to the podcast I was a lot more self-aware of my emotions [...]. I was taken on more of an emotional journey [...]” [sp6ld). Regarding the experience of motion, the above-mentioned “emotional journey” is the only sign on this, why this possibly is referring more to changing emotions than to motion in inner psychological space, but as I do not know this for sure, I find it difficult to say whether the experience of motion is present or not. The same is the case for narrative trajectories.

The associations to nature and movies still occur, as well as autobiographical memories of playing piano and of grandparents who have a connection to classical music.

Thus, the same kinds of associations and memories occur, and there is the same lack of experience of motion, but the experiences of appreciation, focus on the structure and emotional awareness are increased.

4.2.2.2 Expert-musicians

The other group that listened to the podcast was three of the expert-musicians. Like the non-musicians, they express positive views towards the podcast, especially the information about Dvorak’s background; that he himself played viola and that this was self-taught. One finds it interesting to know that Dvorak’s music contains elements of folk-music, and says that such kind of information makes it possible to put the music and the composer in a box and make it fit in. As I see it, this refers back to the audience’s need for contextual information described by Dobson and Pitts (2011) and shows that such information can be useful for new audiences as well as for classical musicians who already have obtained a high degree of knowledge about the music. One of the participants confirms this by stating that the podcast made a difference even though the material was not new to her: “Most of the things I knew but reminding me the context just before listening to the movement

gave me another perspective in the music which I didn't connect directly in the first sessions. I felt as if I would read the libretto just before going to the opera" (sp51d).

At first glance, it might look like that the podcast influenced the listening experiences of the expert-musicians less than it was the case with the non-musicians. However, I will argue that, when it comes to experience of structure, the above-mentioned finding that the piece contains folk elements has to do with this, as well as an increased focus on the first minor theme that another participant states and ascribe to the influence of the podcast.

The podcast has no obvious impact on the experience of emotions, but I would nevertheless like to dwell on this topic for a while, since one of the participants describes such an experience in an interesting way. The piece has been described as "calm" and "relaxing" in more of the listening diaries, but it has also evoked contrasting feelings of sadness and tension. A participant gives, in the following quote, the same description, but adds a theoretical perspective on how the feelings are created by the structure that, in my view, adds yet another layer to the "uniting thread": "The moment when I hear the piccolo or the flute, when harmony goes to a major tonality, or when the texture is thin, my mind is more calm. These sections release a lot of tension from the mind. They give a breathing space for me as a listener. The warm sound of the [English] horn is also very soothing and pleasant to the ears. I breathe in these moments while listening as rest of the music creates tension and stiffness to some extent" (sp11d). Here is yet another example on how theoretical, objective knowledge supports – and brings clarity to – the, sometimes more subjective, emotions evoked by the piece.

Regarding the experience of motion and narrative, the podcast did influence the focus some of the participants had during the listening. One describes a "story" about the composer and the piece: "Once I start listening I already have a story in my head, not a forest, not just the sounds but Dvorak itself. Imagining how he created that phrase, what he was thinking in that transition, how he thought of introducing that silent passage just after a strong ff chord, how he brings the melody from one instrumental section to another" (sp11d). Such imaginations related to the composer also occur for another participant, who imagines being present to the premiere of the piece. In addition to this, there are other associations similar to the first diaries, as wanting to play with other musicians, and of music history.

My overall impression is that where the podcast possibly had a more general impact on the non-musicians, for instance by making them paying more attention to details, the impact it had on expert-musicians were only visible in the following listening session.

Therefore The conclusion is, that firstly, the podcast seems to encrease an already very strong focus on the musical structure, secondly, the information provided seems to influence the content of the narratives and associations in the following listening session, and thirdly, contextual information – even in the cases when it is already known – contributes in a positive way when presented before listening to a piece.

4.2.2.3 Amateur-musicians

As mentioned above, it is impossible to judge whether or not the listening experiences would have been different if the podcast had or had not been introduced. Therefore, the following analysis is based on a comparisson between the listening experiences of the amateur-musicians described in the two first listening sessions (addressed in a previous seccion) and those described in session number three and four.

I find that the experiences described are similar to those analyzed above in many respects. The focus on structure and the narratives still play a bigger role than emotions, even though emotions are also reported. Associations to orchestras and movies also occurs. What, in my view, makes the two groups of entries most different is the reported degree of increased familiarity with the piece that, for some, result in a higher degree of appreciation, which I will discuss later in connection to the mere exposure effect.

I do not find that the focus on or intencity of the reported experiences of structure, motion, or emotion (with appreciation due to familiarity as the exception) change, and on the basis of this I will suggest that this – the changed focus and intencity – seems to be the diference between those who have been introduced to the podcast and those who have not.

4.2.3 Listening experiences after podcast 2

In the second podcast, the participants are invited to listen in a personal way, and to explore which feelings, imaginations, memories, and associations they experience while listening. Thus, this podcast has to do with Erdbrink et al's personal as well as physical listening styles. Similar to the

first podcast, this was only introduced to three of the non-musicians and three of the expert-musicians, why those will be the groups in focus in the following.

4.2.3.1 Non-musicians

For the non-musicians, the reactions on the second podcast were quite varied. One writes that the podcast do not effect the listening experience, another finds that it was “thought provoking”, and the third finds that it influenced the listening afterwards a lot. Thus, the impact seems to be quite limited.

However, for one of the participants, the link between the musical structure and emotions seems to be strengthened, as she reports being able to feel the music in the body and observe which emotions the different parts of the music evoked. Another reports being more aware of inner images, which also seems to be the case for the participant who reports bodily feelings, as she gives the following description:

“I could see a picture in my head of a beautiful sunny day in the forest or country side surrounded with flowers and birds.” (sp31d). Even though this is not a timely trajectory and therefore cannot be characterized as a narrative, I find that it comes closer to the above-quoted narratives than any earlier descriptions given by any of the non-musicians.

Thus, even though the impact of the second podcast apparently was less significant than that of the first, it looks like that it, for some, had a positive and inspiring effect on emotions as well as on imagination/narrative trajectories.

4.2.3.2 Expert-musicians

Even though it looks like the podcast does not impact the expert-musicians’ listening experiences that much, they express a quite positive and interested approach to it. One states being “happy” to

find that he is already a personal listener, and another concentrates on the suggestion presented in the podcast that the piece can be seen as improvisational.

I find no direct influence on any of the conscious listening experiences suggested by Bharucha, Curtis, & Paroo (2006), but the same kind of autobiographical memories and contextual associations to orchestras, versions of the piece, and other composers.

However, one of the participants gives a detailed example on how the listening can be influenced by factors from the outer world and how this can impact the thoughts of the listener: “[...] a Merel (type of bird) stopped in front of my window and started to do his unpredictable melodies. Changing rapidly the timbers from very high to low and repeated rhythms. I was hearing that while the Symphony was going on. That improvised polyphony between a live sound and the recording was so beautiful, it seemed that the Merel came to join the orchestra and become one more sound. Then I thought of the piece *Le Merle noir* for flute and piano from Messiaen. So what happens while you are listening to something also involves how you listen to it and then the thoughts that come as a response to that.” (sp51d). In my view, this can be seen as an illustration of personal listening due to the melting together of the music, the bird’s song, and the subjective impression and thoughts this created.

Therefore, rather than concluding that the podcast did not have any effect at all, I find it more suitable to suggest that the way the expert-musicians listen is already quite personal, and that the presented information therefore did not contribute with anything new for them.

4.2.3.3 Amateur-musicians

Since the effect of the second podcast was somewhat limited for the non-musicians as well as for the expert-musicians, I find it unnecessary to search for differences between those groups and the amateur-musicians, as it would be difficult to measure the differences between no effect and a very direct limited effect.

Instead, I now want to look at a factor that seems to be influential for all three groups of participants in different ways; namely the gradually increasing familiarity with the piece.

4.2.4 The mere exposure effect

As mentioned earlier, the mere exposure effect refers to the finding that the more people are exposed to something, the more they like it. The eight diary entries written after each listening are an interesting opportunity to observe how the participants' relation to the piece change with the degree of exposure.

4.2.4.1 Non-musicians

As discussed earlier, the impression the participants had of the music in the beginning of the listening trajectory varied from being very emotionally touched, to reporting that the music did not evoke any strong emotions, and those who had emotions reported a wide spectrum from relaxation to tension. Likewise, the described emotions and degree of preference is quite individual throughout the eight sessions.

Especially two participants seems to have developed a changed attitude towards the piece. However, it is difficult to know whether or not this has to do with the podcasts, as the participants were from the two different data set, which means that one was introduced to the podcasts and the other was not. One writes in the beginning that even though the music makes a good impression, it is not her kind of music. However, during the trajectory, she reports noticing more details, getting a better understanding of the piece, being more emotionally engaged, and enjoying the listening more due to increased familiarity. The following quote sums up her thoughts in the eighth session: "Another thing I realized is that it is not necessary to have a lot of knowledge about classical music to be able to appreciate it. The important thing is to set your thinking mind a side and try to feel what you are hearing." (sp31d). Here it looks like the mere exposure, and possibly the influence from the podcasts, has made her think about classical music as something that can be subjective and personal, and that listening to it is something you can do regardless of prerequisites and level of cultural competence.

Three other listening trajectories (sp41d, sp61d, & mvvp21d) have that in common that the effect the music has, and the motivation to listen to it, decrease between the fourth and the sixth listening. Two of those participants report that they still like the piece, but regardless of this it is hard to do the listenings, and the third even interrupted her listening before the piece was finished in session 6. It looks like there are different reasons for the lack of engagement; one writes that listening was the same as the previous times, another that she found it difficult to remember to do the listening

sessions due to an “inconsistent schedule”. Thus, factors linked to the lack of effect the piece has, as well as to the outer context – the inconsistent schedule – apparently play a role for the lack of the mere exposure effect.

In the last trajectory, I find that the attitude towards the music is not expressed as explicitly, but the emotions described reveals a development from feeling a bit “uneasy”, over a more neutral feeling in the third session, to increased enjoyment in the last two sessions.

Thus, out of the five non-musicians, two seem to enjoy the piece more by the end of the experiment, while three have found it difficult to be motivated for the listening sessions.

4.2.4.2 Amateur-musicians

Even though the initial experiences with the piece were quite different also for the amateur-musicians, some feeling that the music had no strong emotional effect (mvep4ld, mvep6ld), one feeling tens due to the many contrasts in the piece (mvep5ld), one having positive emotions (mvep3ld), and one being curious to familiarize with the piece (mvep1ld), the mere exposure effect and the degree of increased engagement and enjoyment seems to be more markedly for the amateur-musicians than for the non-musicians.

The familiarity is described as something positive by more of the participants (mvep1ld, mvep3ld), while others expressed being more engaged without directly connecting it to the repeated listening. More participants are reading background information about the piece (mvep4ld, mvep6ld), listening to other versions (mvep6ld) or to the whole symphony (mvep1ld, mvep6ld), and some are paying attention to how they listen. One writes these concluding thoughts on listening in the last diary entry: “It has come to a point now where I can remember the different tunes that comes here and there in the piece and I [realized] that I have never really tried to listen to a piece in an analytical way, I’ve always listened to a classical piece to relax or reflect. [Perhaps] this is something I should start to do now as well, try to understand the piece itself instead of just using it to relax?”

(mvep4ld). Here, I find that a development similar to that mentioned in the previous section has taken place; the participant has been moved to be more personally engaged and “try to understand”. Another interesting example of reflective listening is provided by a participant (mvep6ld) who was not very touched by the piece after the first session. However, this changed gradually, as he decided to have an “active” approach to the listening which meant paying more attention and being “musically open” by listening to music right before the session. The result of this was that he went from

being not especially engaged, to being emotionally touched (in a positive way), enjoying the piece, and being curious about it; listening to other versions as well as the whole symphony, and reading about it on Wikipedia.

Yet another example on increased engagement is a participant (mv5p5ld) who is quite affected by the contrasts in the piece in a way described as confusing. Gradually the focus in the diary entries shifts from the parts of the piece that creates tension to those that she finds enjoyable, and especially the two last entries are very deep and philosophical, as for example: “When the song started I could picture a baroque environment. A place with marble and trinkets, with gold ornaments. The ecstasism clashing with the staticism of what is represented, the waving drapes of the robes eternally carved in stone, the reproduction of what is fluttering or of what is soft in the cold, white, rigid material. The infinite distance between with the eye perceives and what the hand would. Art made for the observer, for him or her to keep the distance and only contemplate, maybe holding his/her hands into each other behind his/her back.” (mv5p5ld). In my view, starting with confusion and even the feeling of being a bit scared, and ending with the above imagination, shows a high degree of development in relation to the piece which I find can be ascribed to familiarity. It could be argued that some of the elements in the piece that are viewed as scary is transformed into symbols in the imagination; “the cold, white, rigid material”, but even if this is the case, the contrasting “fluttering” and “soft” elements, that can be compared to the quiet parts, are still there – even only as a representation.

Thus, even though one (mv5p1ld) claims that, having listened so many times, she does not think she will be listening to the piece for the next couple of months, I find that the mere exposure effect is definitely present for the amateur-musicians. There is an overall tendency to a higher degree of curiosity about the piece and its context, as well as, in some cases, an increased reflexivity about how to listen. In my view, it is not possible to judge whether the increased engagement is the result of the mere exposure effect or the other way around, as it takes place at different points in the listening trajectories.

4.2.4.3 Expert-musicians

The three expert-musicians responded with differing degrees of enthusiasm to the eight listening sessions. One (sp1ld/ci) stopped listening after the fifth time as he found it boring to know the piece so well that there were no new surprises during the listening and nothing more for him to observe.

He reports that the trajectory has made him aware of more details in the piece, but nothing about whether or not he likes it better than before.

The two other participants seem more engaged, even though one describes that listening many times after each other without brakes can be hard. This is yet another proof that the music itself is not all that influences the experience, but that other factors, as here the frequency of exposure, can have an impact. In this case, having waited a while before listening to the piece again, the participant felt motivated for the last session: “This time I could sing the phrases that were coming each time. Knowing what is going to happen. And it doesn't mean it's less interesting, the fact of knowing the piece more in detail is also a very nice feeling. It seems you become part of it. Yet there are still many details that I didn't listen to before and this time they appeared more clearly.” (sp5ld). The quote expresses the influence of the mere exposure effect as the feeling of becoming part of the music, and at the same time, stresses that the piece is still interesting as new details continues to stand out.

I interpret the third participant's (sp2ld) view on being familiarised with the piece as quite positive as well. In session seven he writes: “I almost know by heart the movement!” (sp2ld) and describes later in the diary entry how he would “love” to play the piece with an orchestra which I see as a sign of appreciation and engagement.

Thus, even though the many listening sessions appear to be boring for one of the expert-musicians, the two others remained quite engaged throughout the whole trajectory and appreciated the increased degree of familiarity. One thing that distinguishes the former from the latter two is that the participant seems to be less personally involved in the listening and instead very focused on the theoretical perspective. This is something he states directly himself: “[...] my listening has been more technical and less personal from the beginning, and with repeated listening it gets less and less personal.” (sp1ld).

4.3 “Highbrow” ways of being engaged in music

It became clear from the analysis dealing with audience development that classical music is viewed as an elitist art form – at least in some spheres – and that this can create a barrier for engagement of a more diverse audience. Similarly, the investigation of how people with varying levels of music education listens shows that the degree of education impacts which elements the participants are paying attention to in the piece. As discussed in the literature review, music education is closely

connected to all three kinds of cultural capital. On the basis of these findings, I find it reasonable to view the expert-musicians as individuals who have acquired a considerable degree of cultural capital and who, as conservatory students, are actively engaged in, and acquainted with, highbrow culture in the form of classical music. Thus, I want to take a closer look at what insights the data on these participants reveals about the highbrow culture consumer segment.

I am aware that education in classical music obviously is not the only way of acquiring cultural capital, and that my categorization of the expert-musicians as connoisseurs of highbrow culture can be seen as a way of defining the non-musicians as being less culturally competent. However, this is not the intention. An example that contradicts this distinction is that one of the non-musicians have followed a course in arts history as a part of her education in tourism (sp4ii) which undoubtedly has made her culturally aware within certain domains. Likewise, the level of parental education, that I earlier found is significant for the acquisition of cultural capital, does not vary between the two groups of participants to a degree that, in my opinion, justifies the division in more a less culturally competent. However, as mentioned earlier, there is not always a correlation between cultural and economic capital – the latter being linked to the level of parental education - and it is worth noticing that two of the expert-musicians' father or mother have been involved in artistic activities, one being a poet (sp1ii), and another an art teacher and book illustrator (sp5ii). Nevertheless, without taking the participants' cultural competence on other domains than classical music into consideration, I find it suitable to view the expert-musicians as representatives of the highbrow consumer segment, and, through comparisons with the musically less competent non-musicians, investigate differences between these highbrow and lowbrow participants.

4.3.1 Concert habits

Roose (2008) mentions in his suggestions for future research that his distinction between audience segments could be examined further and applied to audiences of lowbrow culture as well. On the basis of that, I find it reasonable to compare the concert habits of the non-musicians with those of the expert-musicians despite the genre differences of the concerts they prefer to attend.

The most striking way the expert-musicians distinguishes themselves from the non-musicians in relation to concert-attendance, is that the former group without exception is very interested in attending concerts, while the latter does not go to concerts that often. Ticket prices is mentioned by two expert-musicians and one non-musician as a factor they consider as either a hindrance for attending

(sp1ii; sp4ii) or - due to a student discount – as an opportunity for participation (sp2ii). For the non-musicians, the lack of concert-attendance does not seem to have a significant connection with the expenses of tickets. Instead, one of them expresses that she is not that interested in live music, one that she went more as a teenager, while the third seems to be more interested as she intent to attend some music festivals in the future but has not been to many concerts up until now. If I look at the interest in concert-attendance in general and disregard the barrier for actual participation created by ticket prices, I find that the non-musicians undoubtedly belong to Roose's passers-by segment, while the expert-musicians, on the contrary, express a degree of interest that makes them belong to the inner circle.

While Roose (2008) found that the interest in specific musicians was a significant motive for all three audience segments, this is given considerably more importance by the expert-musicians than the non-musicians. The social aspect, in contrast, matters to both groups to some degree. For instance two of the expert-musicians stress the importance of this, one stating that: “[...] it's also a social thing, so you go with friends and then you comment about what you heard.” (sp5ii). This differs from Roos's finding that the social does not play a significant role for the inner circle. However, I would like to suggest that a potential explanation to this can be that a lot of the inner circle segment in Roose's data set was old, while the expert-musicians I am studying are between 20-25 years old and a part of an environment with a lot of fellow students with whom they share the interest of music.

Thus, the incentives to concert-attendance for the expert-musicians are the interest in certain musicians – either colleagues from the conservatory or professional musicians or orchestras – the social aspect, as well as an engagement and interest in concerts in general.

4.3.2 Everyday listening

Having concluded that the expert-musicians have quite different concert habits than the non-musicians, it will be interesting to examine whether or not the two groups also listen differently in everyday situations when they are not taking part in this listening experiment, and whether they have different expectations to the music they like.

In the theory section, I presented the three listening styles suggested by Erdbrink et al (forthcoming); the analytical, the personal, and the physical. Common for the expert-musicians is that all of them describe being involved in two different modes of listening in their everyday life that I find

are in compliance with these listening styles; namely the analytical and the personal. The ability to switch between these two modes is central in their descriptions. One explains it like this:

“There’s so many ways, now I think the perspective widens after so much listening and it will widen more in the future. But currently, now, if I talk about listening, I... just one piece, and I can listen to it in so many ways, you know. [...] I can see it in a very analytical way, I can see the... how this version or piece of music has, in terms of interpretation, how it’s been performed, and I can see it in a compositional way, I can see the structure of it, I mean, I just analyze the whole thing sometimes. And sometimes I don’t want to do that, and so I just do a passive listening. But I think the education does this to us that when we study so much of this music [...] it’s like a reflex, your mind starts to think about the technique of things in the music, sometimes you really have to disconnect from that sphere of thinking and just... yeah, listen [...]” (sp1ii). In this quote, two factors are emphasized as important for the way the musician listens; the music education, and the fact that he has previously listened to a lot of music and that this has “widen” his perspective as a listener. The “disconnection” from the sphere of analytical listening is being described by another participant as being: “less analytical, [...] more free” (sp2ii), while a third expert-musician explains how he views the different ways of listening as different stages in his relation to the music: “[...] in general I’m trying, in everything that I’m listening, I’m trying to find a narrative, a story behind it, what is the message, either if it has a lyrics or not. So for sure, I’m trying to find the reason, [...] or the emotion, or the energy of the music. [...] there was a time that I was listening to technique and [...] I was listening [...] from the perspective of a musician. [...] So how can I improve, what can I do to improve myself. And I was looking for big musicians, what they are doing. But I think this stage is – not over – but now, I’m focusing more on the reason of the music. [...] the reason [...] why this music is played, why the composer wrote this, why this lyrics, why this sound, why... and trying to find the connections with ideas and stories.” (sp7ii). Here, emotions, a connection to a narrative, and contextual knowledge in form of the ideas behind the music are viewed as important. At the same time, the quote shows a change from a analytic listening style to a more personal where emotions and “the energy of the music” play a bigger role.

The above description might give the impression that the expert-musicians are quite attentive and focused listeners, and even though this is certainly the truth in many cases, they also describe other ways of dealing with music. One explains that when he listens to popular music, his focus is more on the lyrics and on having “a great time”. The lyrics is also the main focus of another expert-

musician, who describes how he listens to different kinds of music in different situations; when he wants to relax, explore, or be creative. A third confirms this varied usage of music by explaining how she, besides the analytical listening, also listens to background music while she is occupied with other doings.

Finally, when the expert-musicians are asked to describe which qualities they find important in music, one (sp1ii) mentions complexity, and the others points at authenticity, originality, and the link to a narrative or a message as essential. I find that there is a clear connection between Roose's (2008) innovative aesthetic disposition and the want for complexity, as both concepts entails a wish for being intellectually challenged. Similarly, I want to suggest that the importance of originality expresses – if not a wish for innovatory elements, then at least a preference for the unfamiliar. Therefore, I find that the attitudes of the expert-musicians are in line with Roose's (2008) finding that the experienced listeners prefer innovative music.

As I am mainly concerned with the highbrow way of dealing with music in this section, the following comparison with the non-musicians' way of listening will be somewhat limited. However, I find that the differences are worth noticing.

All the non-musicians describe that they listen to music that impact them emotionally by making them feel good, two mentions that music can help them to relax or fall asleep, and one states that music can help her handling difficult emotions. Common for all the participants in this group is that the emotional impact of the music is the most important, why there listening style fits with Erdbrink et al's (forthcoming) personal listening style, and with Roose's (2008) emotional aesthetic disposition. Two participants mention that they find the lyrics important, while one describes how listening to a song more times can change her focus from being mainly on the lyrics to also including the beat of the song which I find confirms that the attention on the musical structure increases with familiarity as suggested by Prior (2013). Moreover, while expert-musicians as well as non-musicians mention that different kinds of music is suitable for different situations, the non-musicians do apparently listen to music while they are doing other things far more often than the expert-musicians. Thus, I find that the music often is used as a supplement that can influence the emotions with regard to other doings which is illustrated in the above example with handling of emotions, and when two of the non-musicians mention that music motivates them when they are going to clean.

Regarding important characteristics of the music liked by the non-musicians, emotional impact and expression, as well as meaning are mentioned. To me, what this group designates as “meaningful” can be linked to what the expert-musicians refer to when they talk about authenticity. It seems to me - even though it is expressed more detailed and in-depth by the expert-musicians – that both groups are looking for a meaningful contents, a suitable expression of this contents, as well as an artistic sincerity in the music.

Thus, the overall differences in how the two groups listen is that the active, analytical listening style is almost completely absent for the non-musicians while the expert-musicians do this a lot, that music to a higher degree is a kind of supplement to regulate emotions for the non-musicians, and that the two groups both are searching for authenticity, while the innovatory element does not seem to be weighted by the non-musicians.

4.3.3 Omnivorousness

The omnivore thesis suggests, as mentioned in the theory section, that highbrow’s are more open to a wide range of music genres while the lowbrow’s are not interested in the highbrow music. I found earlier that distinguishing between highbrow and lowbrow genres was a view that was too one-sided, as this division was not agreed on in previous studies. Therefore, I instead want to focus on how the concept of music genres is viewed, as well as how open the participants are when it comes to music they do not like.

While all of the expert-musicians states that they have a quite diverse taste and listen to many different genres, two of them challenge the division of music into different categories as it is done when talking about genres. One says: “I don’t put like genres in my head, like I don’t structure it that way.” (sp5ii). She explains that, especially in the case of new music, it makes more sense to talk about “individual styles”. I find that another is refusing the genre concept by stating that: “[...] every music has some purpose, and the purpose should not be compared, you know, I shouldn’t compare any kind of music with another one” (sp1ii). A third expert-musician expresses a similar attitude: “I don’t really listen to one kind of music, no, everything is on the table, [...] I feel that everything is one, I mean, music is one thing.” (sp7ii). Two of the above quoted expert-musicians state that good as well as bad music exist within all genres, and one of them elaborates on the fact that even in genres she apparently does not like, there are exceptions. This tendency to openness is confirmed by another participant (sp2ii) who explains how his preference for Turkish music, that he at

first found was “out of tune”, changed when he got to know more about it and had listened more often to it.

On the basis of the above examples, I suggest that, instead of genres, the expert-musicians are focusing more on the qualities they find important in music than the genre-divisions, which is confirmed in the following quote: “I’m not saying that the genre is bad or the genre is not as complex or whatever, [...] Something complex can be done with techno music of course, but [...], I don’t *feel* that [...] it’s happening at a bigger extent [...]” (sp1ii). Here, it is not the genre itself that is being criticized for lack of complexity, but the fact that such a complexity is not explored and unfolded within the genre regardless of the existing potential for this. Interestingly, this critique of lack of complexity and meaning is mentioned more times despite the general open attitude expressed by all the expert-musicians. One says that he “[...] get bored really quick”, another that commercial music is not “worth my time”, and a third that those who are always listening to a specific genre that she finds especially bland and meaningless are “missing many things”.

Thus, even though the expert-musicians are quite omnivorous in terms of having a diverse taste and acknowledging that good music can be made even within genres they dislike, I find that they express an quite strong aversion to music that they find uninteresting with regard to complexity.

The non-musicians, in contrast, seem to find the concept of genres useful to describe their taste which in general seems to be less wide than the expert-musicians. While both groups express that they respect that others might like music they do not appreciate, the non-musicians states that they cannot think of anything that can change their own attitude towards specific genres, even one suggests that more focus on the lyrics perhaps could make a difference for her, and another that a way of changing one’s preferences could be to try to “go over the boundaries somehow.” (sp4ii).

Therefore, I find that the omnivore thesis is confirmed as the highbrow’s not only have a wider taste, but also seem to be more open to genres that they dislike, while the opposite tendencies are present for the non-musicians. Moreover, I suggest that my results are not in line with the homology thesis in case of the traditional distinction between highbrow and lowbrow products, as the symbolic boundaries, in form of which genres that are liked and disliked by which segments are eliminated when the concept of genres is rejected. Instead, such boundaries are apparently drawn by regarding complex music as better than music that lacks that quality, regardless of the genre.

Thus, I find that the overall tendency in the way the expert-musicians consume music – by being engaged in analytical listening to a high degree – as well as their reasons for preferring and appreciating – that are closely linked to complexity – is in compliance with research that designates the “how” to be more important than the “what” in cultural distinction (Holt, 1997; Jarness, 2015; Dænekindt & Roose, 2017).

4.3.4. “Highbrow” conversations about music

Throughout the theory section, a recurring theme was that there is a “right” way of appreciating high art including classical music (Levine, 1988; Bourdieu, 1986; Adorno, 1956). From the above investigation of how the expert-musicians are dealing with music compared to the non-musicians, I will claim that the former group can be viewed as examples of this “right” or analytical way of appreciating. What I want to investigate in the following is whether this cultivated relation to classical music finds expression in their everyday conversations.

All the expert-musicians say that they talk a lot about music, but the way they do it differs, as well as with whom they do it. One states that he discusses music more and more from an analytical perspective: “[...] I think there’s more to discuss about the analytical side of it, the abstract side of it, the *non-narrative* side of it [...].” (sp1ii). The reason for this is that he finds the more personal experiences with music quite “subjective”, and thus, the analytical perspective provides a more suitable basis for discussions. Two of the other expert-musicians express a contrasting viewpoint by regarding conversations with non-musicians, that cannot be as analytical due to the other person’s lack of theoretical knowledge, in a quite positive way. One says that he “really [likes]” it because he is bored of the analytical way of talking about music, why he tries to limit this for study-related situations. Another explains it like this: “[...] I really appreciate to talk with non-musicians because they have such a pure way of listening, and they don’t care about if the performance is this, or if the orchestra is this or that, or if the guys are out of tune, [...]. So, I think it’s more free, the way that non-musicians listen to music, and I really appreciate that point of view, it makes me learn a lot, I think.” (sp2ii). In contrast to the opinion that theoretical knowledge is a prerequisite to appreciate classical music the right way, this quote reveals that the non-analytical perspective creates a “pure” and “more free” way of listening for the musician, and that he views this as instructive.

In the section on everyday listening, one of the musicians talks about disconnecting from the analytical way of listening. This is also mentioned with regard to analytical discussions when one of the

musicians wants to limit this way of dealing with music, and by another who states that disconnecting can be difficult because he is surrounded by musicians at the conservatory as well as at home. Thus, the impression is that the world of classical music can be a somewhat isolated sphere where music is discussed in ways there might be difficult to understand and take part in for non-musicians. One of the expert-musicians confirms this, and does at the same time explain how a specific situation suddenly made her aware of this: “[...] some weeks ago, [...] I was in a meeting and I was the only musician, and then I realized how much I’m in a world of musicians, [...] I would even say that sometimes I feel like we live in another like... bubble, another world, like we talk to each other in a way with even saying like, “Yeah, if this intonation, but this structure, but if we do the cadence”, [...], like using words, even in daily life, and then yeah, if you’re with other people that are not in contact with music at all, you realize how much it’s integrated in your vocabulary.” (sp5ii). The participant continues to elaborate on how the only reason why she realized being in this world of musicians was that she was with these people who was not musicians but literature students at a French university. Therefore, this quote not only shows how isolated the sphere of classical musicians is, but also reveals that even students engaged with literature – which is regarded as another art form that is associated with a high degree of cultural capital – are excluded from this sphere.

Another way of examining how the expert-musicians express themselves with regard to music, is to look at how they report about their listening experiences from the experiment. The interviews might seem like the obvious way to investigate this because the musicians are talking instead of writing which comes closer to everyday life situations. However, I have chosen to look at the listening diaries instead, as the expert-musicians viewed writing the diaries as “interesting, and one even saw it as an opportunity to freely express himself (sp1ci; sp5ci). Moreover, an interview situation is quite different from a “normal” discussion about music with friends or colleagues, and one even says in the second interview that he was a bit nervous during the first interview which impacted his answers (sp2ci).

As discussed in the sections on the listening experiment, the expert-musicians had more varied listening experiences compared to the non-musicians. Looking at the way the listening diaries are written, I find that the former group not only report about these experiences in a more detailed way than the latter, which possibly is so due to the more nuanced experiences, but also that they are expressing themselves differently than the non-musicians. One of the expert-musicians writes the following: “The cellos and fagots starting a lyrical melody which becomes one of the main themes in

the movement. From this melody it starts to build up bringing other themes to the wind section and the brass (with its powerful volume) while strings most of the time (especially violins) create this sonorous mattress. [...] When the violins sing their fast passages, the double bass filling the background with its low register, the flute always with a very characteristic timber shining over the rest, the horns bringing the *ff* to a point I nearly need to lower the volume in my computer, fagots with that shy sound they have dialoguing with the cellos...” (sp5ld). Another writes: “The strings are prominent in most of the movement. The woodwind and brass instruments are just adding colour to the strings.” (sp1ld). I find that the above quotes are not only describing elements of the piece that the musicians find especially lyrical, but also that the descriptions themselves – at least certain parts of them - are written in a lyrical tone. Expressions as “the lyrical melody”, “sonorous mattress”, “fagots with that shy sound they have dialoguing with the cellos”, and “adding colour to the strings” are not appearing in the diaries of the non-musicians.

Thus, the expert-musicians are not only listening to and talking about music from an analytical perspectives which is excluding those who lack the theoretical knowledge and the vocabulary to take part in such conversations, but their way of experiencing the music also seems to influence and enrich their style of writing. Even though the listening experiences to a high degree are based on theoretical knowledge, the expressions pointed out above are not in themselves theoretical, why I suggest that it is not necessary the ability to listen analytical that creates this lyrical way of writing, but also, at least to some degree, that the expert-musicians might have more cultural capital than the non-musicians also in other domains than music; for instance are other branches of art than classical music taught at the Codarts where all the expert-musicians are studying. Another reason for the difference in writing style might possibly be the difference in education level between the expert-musicians and the non-musicians. Thus, not only music education but also factors as cultural capital in general, which is closely connected to education, can apparently have an impact on how experiences are reported, and therefore, potentially, on the actual experiences as well.

5 Conclusion

The foundation for this thesis has been the results of previous research showing firstly, that loyal concert-attenders for classical music concerts is a quite narrow segment with a high degree of cultural capital which also is the case of classical music listeners in general, secondly, that symphony orchestras are making efforts to attract new audiences, thirdly, that these new audiences need some contextual information to be able to better interpret and appreciate the music, and fourthly, that

preferences for something increases with exposure which, in the case of music, means an increase of those experiences that makes music meaningful to the listener.

These findings have provided the basis for the research questions, expectations, and conclusions presented below.

- (1) The expectation connected to my first research question - How can classical music become more appealing to a broader audience? – was that; Contextual knowledge is significant for enhancing the interest of new audiences in classical music. This expectation was met, as contextual knowledge was one of the significant elements in introductions given to the audience before classical concerts, and as more focus on music education was mentioned by non-musicians as well as expert-musicians as a means to make the genre of classical music attractive to a more diverse audience. However, the expectation seems to be somewhat simplistic, as my analysis shows that even though the inner circle of the loyal audience is not interested in contextual knowledge, the musicians from the orchestras found it quite inspiring which means that such knowledge can be interesting also for those who have obtained a lot of theoretical knowledge about music. Moreover, it was interesting to see that it was the expert-musicians and not the non-musicians who criticized the cultural institutions for having the wrong mindset about audience development, and the concert setting for being too formal. Acknowledging that different pieces of music have to be presented to the audience in different ways, that different things catch the interest of different people, as well as factors as familiarity, personal connections, and education were found to be significant elements to make classical music more appealing, the effort to adapt the efforts of audience development to different segments, and to make classical music a bigger part of the everyday environment seems to be crucial.

I began the examination of the second research question - How do people with varying levels of music education experience repeated listening to a classical piece? - With the following expectation; People – especially those who have not been used to listen to classical music before – will come to like the piece better the more they listen to it.

This expectation has been proven to be wrong, since the non-musicians, whom I assumed would be the group most influenced by the mere exposure effect, actually was the group who showed less motivation and engagement by the end of the trajectory, even though two of the five participants in

the group developed a more positive relation to the piece. On the contrary, the amateur-musicians revealed a high degree of engagement, appreciation, and curiosity regarding the piece. The expert-musicians showed engagement and appreciated the familiarity as well, except the one who was less inclined to listen in a personal and emotional way. Therefore, the results points in the direction that exposure in itself is not necessarily enough to be engaged when it comes to experiments of this type, especially not for those without musical training, and that factors as for instance how close the listening sessions are being executed, and the way individuals are listening (active/passive, personal/analytical) is of great importance.

I investigated the third research question - How are their experiences influenced when they are given an introduction to the piece and the composer, and are invited to listen in a personal way? – With two expectations. The first - The level of musical education impacts how people listen to classical music – was confirmed. The non-musicians focused mainly on emotions, contextual associations, and autobiographical memories evoked by the music. The musical training provided the expert-musicians, as well as most of the amateur-musicians, with a theoretical knowledge that made it possible for them to pay attention to not only the autobiographical memories and contextual associations that also occurred for them, but also the structure of the music. Another element of the amateur- and expert-musicians' listening experiences was frequently occurring narrative trajectories, something that the non-musicians almost never reported. Thus, the musical structure, narrative trajectories, contextual associations, autobiographical memories and emotions were all elements described by the amateur- and expert-musicians, where only emotions, autobiographical memories and contextual associations were the most noticeable element of the non-musicians' experiences. An interesting finding was that the theoretical knowledge obtained by especially the expert-musicians seemed to provide support for the narrative trajectories and the emotions to some degree. Some themes were common for all three groups; autobiographical memories of childhood, associations to nature, and classical music/opera/ballet. A lot of the participants also reported feeling encouraged to attend live performances of such art forms because of the experiment.

The overall conclusion, however, is that even though some experiences were the same for the three groups, the level of musical education made a quite significant impact on how the participants were listening to the piece.

The second expectation - When contextual knowledge is provided, and when people are invited to involve themselves personally in the listening, the experience of the piece will be more positive for

the listeners without musical education – were partially confirmed. When information about the composer and the piece was provided, I found that the non-musicians paid more attention to the musical structure as well as their emotions, and that there is an increased degree of appreciation of the piece. This result confirms the findings by Stoller (2018), that indicated that information presented in a way that make sense for people without theoretical knowledge about music, can impact the appreciation of the music in a positive way. Regarding the expert-musicians who already knew most of the information, it was surprising to find that it impacted their listening positively by reminding about some contextual details, increasing the focus on the musical structure and influencing the narratives.

When it comes to the involvement in personal listening, this had considerably less influence on non-musicians as well as on expert-musicians. However, for at least one of the three participants, it influenced the intensity of the motions and inspired imaginations that had more narrative elements than what was previously reported. For the expert-musicians, the effect seems to be even smaller, but I suggest that a reason for this can be that this group already listens in a personal way. This, however, is only true for two of the three participants, as the third states that he is listening in a quite analytically (impersonal) way.

Thus, the contextual information was useful for the non-musicians as well as for the expert-musicians, while the invitation to listen in a personal way apparently had a smaller impact.

I examined the last research question - How does cultural capital impact the way people engage themselves in music – with the expectation that; people with a high degree of cultural capital has an omnivore taste and is mainly engaged in music from an analytical perspective.

I find that the expectation was confirmed as the expert-musicians showed a high degree of omnivorousness by stating that they liked a wide range of different kinds of music. Their rejection of the concept of genres as meaningful, and their focus on complexity as a quality in music that has significant importance, reveal that the symbolic boundaries are not drawn by which kind of music they are preferring, but instead by the fact that they are able to recognize, understand, and appreciate the complexity of what they listen to. Thus, the “how” is far more important than the “what”, as suggested in previous research.

Regarding the general way of dealing with music, the expert-musicians reports that they often listen to and discuss music in an analytical way due to their studies, but that they like to “disconnect”.

This is quite interesting, as the analytical listening style, as Erdbrink et al (forthcoming) explain, use to be viewed as the “right” and the highbrow way of listening. However, even though the analytical perspective plays a significant role, my findings with regard to the listening trajectory as well as the everyday habits of dealing with music reveals that the personal perspective is important – also to individuals with a lot of cultural capital.

Nevertheless, I also find that the world of classical music constitutes a quite isolated sphere, and that this concretely can be seen through the exclusion that automatically takes place when conversations about music are kept on a technical level which demands a prior acquisition of knowledge of theoretical concepts which constitutes a specific vocabulary. I find that such exclusion can be an indicator of societal inequality, both with regard to the concrete conversations that might seem impossible to take part in, even for people with a high degree of cultural capital within other domains than music, but also because I suggest – based on the analysis of the listening trajectories - that theoretical knowledge not only provide musicians with the ability to analyze the music, but also to a high degree enriches their personal experiences with the music.

Lastly I suggest that the lyrical writing style in the listening diaries of the expert-musicians potentially indicates that not only theoretical knowledge, but also cultural capital within other areas of music as well as education - perhaps can be essential – not only for the way people express themselves about music, but potentially, for the actual listening experiences they have.

The most significant limitation of this project is the small sample. The limited number of participants makes it impossible to draw certain conclusions. However, some tendencies have been revealed that can function as inspiration to expectations in future research on the topics. I find that the connection between cultural capital and concrete ways of dealing with music can be especially interesting to investigate further, and thus future research could examine more in-depth how highbrow everyday conversations about music takes place and which societal consequences such conversation possibly entails.

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Appendix 1 – overview of research participants

Participants Stine Skovbon

Participant 1 (expert musician)

Age: 25

Place of residence: Rotterdam

Music education: Bachelor in classical music, composition

Occupation: Student at Codarts Rotterdam

Participant 2 (expert musician)

Age: 23

Place of residence: Rotterdam

Music education: Bachelor in classical music, clarinet

Occupation: Student at Codarts Rotterdam

Participant 3 (Non-musician)

Age: 21

Place of residence: Os (Norway)

Music education: Non-mandatory piano lessons at a music school from age 8-12.

Occupation: waitress

Participant 4 (Non-musician)

Age: 24

Place of residence: Oostvorne (the Netherlands)

Music education: Mandatory music lessons in the first years of school.

Occupation: Operation assistant at a hotel

Participant 5 (Expert musician)

Age: 20

Place of residence: Rotterdam

Music education: Bachelor in classical music, cello

Occupation: Student at Codarts Rotterdam

Participant 6 (non-musician)

Age: 23

Place of residence: Rotterdam

Music education: Compulsory music lessons in primary school, non-mandatory participation in a choir and a school band.

Occupation: Working in hospitality.

Participant 7 (Expert musician)

Age: 25

Place of residence: Rotterdam

Music education: Bachelor in classical music, double-bass

Occupation: Student at Codarts Rotterdam

Participants Janna Michael and Koen van Eijck)

Participant 1 (amature musician)

Age: 22

Place of residence: Rotterdam

Music education: Started playing the piano at the age of 4-5, non-mandatory piano lessons from the age of 7, joined brass-band in primary school and had lessons in melodica and trumpet, played percussion in an orchestra in high school (extracurricular activity).

Occupation: Translator and volunteer work.

Participant 2 (non-musician)

Age: 26

Place of residence: Rotterdam

Music education: Sang in a girl pop group until the age of 13, played a bit piano, no information about mandatory education.

Occupation: marketing and IT-consultancy in an IT-company.

Participant 3 (amateur musician)

Age: 20

Place of residence: Rotterdam

Music education: Violin lessons from the age of 5, have played in different orchestras.

Occupation: University student (arts and culture studies).

Participant 4 (amateur musician)

Age: 20

Place of residence: Rotterdam

Music education: Piano lessons from age 10-13, worked as youth ambassador for Norwegian opera the last year of high school.

Occupation: University student (arts and culture studies).

Participant 5 (amateur musician)

Age: 30

Place of residence: Groningen

Music education: Non-mandatory piano lessons, non-mandatory guitar-lessons from the age of 13, plays guitar in different bands, reports very limited theoretical knowledge

Occupation: University student (international relations)

Participant 6 (amateur musician)

Age: 28

Place of residence: Rotterdam

Music education: Guitar lessons from the age of 13, many genres, also a bit classical guitar, is still playing

Occupation: University student (media and creative industries)

Participant 7 (non-musician)

Age: 20

Place of residence: Delft

Music education: Mandatory keyboard lessons in primary school and high school (reports disliking the lessons and not being good), can play ukulele (apparently self-taught)

Occupation: University student (biomedical engineering)

Appendix 2 – Interview guide research participants

Questions for initial interviews

Before we begin: tell interviewee that we're gonna talk about upbringing, and musical preferences. Mention Dvorak.

Introduction; ask about Name, age, education, current occupation (for appendix of participants).

Educational background and current occupation?

Parents' education/occupation?

Role of music in childhood home? (suggestion for examples if necessary: Concerts, Habits of listening, Anybody played an instrument)

Have you received any kind of musical education?

In which situations do you listen to music now?

How do you listen, what do you focus on? (background, melody, lyrics, atmosphere, technique etc...)

What kind of music do you listen to?

How were you introduced to this/these musical genre(s)?

What characterizes music that is good and important for you? Which musical qualities do you find important?

How do you think it is to listen to music you don't know, and perhaps don't like?

Can you describe the difference between the genres you do and don't like?

Could you think of anything that could make genres/music events more attractive to you?

Do you talk about music with your family, friends, colleagues? If yes, how is this topic discussed?

Attending concerts?

(If classical music has not been mentioned): What is your relationship to classical music?

How did you first get in contact with it?

How evolved from then?

Do you know the piece that you are going to listen to?

Do you know anything about the composer?

Questions for the follow-up interviews:

How has it been to listen to the music eight times?

What did you think about the music in the beginning, and how did your appreciation change?

How has it been to write the diary?

What did you think about the first podcast?

Was the information presented about Dvorak new to you, and did it change your opinion about the music or the way you listened afterwards?

How was it to listen to the different themes played on the piano?

What about the second podcast?

How was it to be invited to listen in a personal way?

Did the podcasts change your opinion about the piece in general or the way you listened?

Why/how/why not?

Ask about specific things in the diaries, check whether my interpretations are right.

Do you think your attitude to classical music in general has changed?

Why/why not?

Do you have any suggestions about what could be done to make this genre more appealing and accessible to a broader audience?

Appendix 3 - Interview guide Martin Baai

Name, education, current occupation.

Initiatives make music easier to understand/relate to?

How often introductions?

How choose which concerts that are going to be introduced?

Aim with introductions?

What is presented and how?

Audience participation?

Effects on the audience, feedback?

Impression of whether other segments are attending these concerts?

Is classical music a difficult genre to understand?

Demands something special of the audience?

Any other initiatives taken by other orchestras, either increasing audience's ability to relate or make music more accessible?

Appendix 4 - Educational Podcast Notes

Hello and welcome

Short podcast about the 1st. movement of Dvorak's 8th. Symphony; give you some information about the composer and the piece you are listening to

Antonin Dvorak; Czech, borne 1841 small village close to Prague; music in childhood home, farther zither-player – but also a butcher, which meant Dvorak in his youth both was occupied with playing music and being a butcher apprentice. But musical career; noticed as a composer because of interest from the famous German composer Johannes Brahms. His 8th. symphony (which you are listening to the first movement of); composed 1889, dedicated to an academy of arts and literature to which Dvorak was elected. Inspiration; folk music. In the movement; different themes unfolds (piano demonstration if possible...). Premiere Prague 1890, success, performed in several European cities and conducted by Dvorak himself.

Thank you for listening to this first podcast about Dvorak, please listen to the music two more times before listening to the second podcast.

Appendix 5 - Personal Listening Podcast notes

Do you think it would be possible to play the piece while the info is being presented? I think perhaps that would make sense...? Also because the presentation will probably be quite short, and then the music could create natural brakes.

Hello and welcome to the second podcast about the 1st. Movement of Dvorak's 8th. Symphony.

Here I want to talk about how you listen to music. Music can be very personal; listening can make you think of memories, make you feel in a certain way, or put you in a special mood. Here are some questions to inspire you to discover if you are listening to the piece in a way that is personal for you:

Does this piece remind you about anything from your personal life? Does the listening bring pictures or imaginations of less personal related things such as nature, movie-scenes etcetera?

Do the different themes appeal to you in different ways? Is the listening only happening in your head - or in your body as well? What feelings do you experience when you listen?

The piece has been characterized as lyrical and improvisatorial, can you recognize this in the music?

Thank you for considering whether you are listening to the piece in a personal way, and thank you for listening to this podcast.

Appendix 6 – listening diary form

Listening Diary -Dvořák

Welcome to the listening experiment!

As you already know, I am researching how people discover music and how their experience and perception of the music changes with repeated listening.

In this part, I would like you to write your ideas, thoughts and feelings on *Dvořák's 8th symphony, movement 1 (Allegro con brio)*

While your information will be anonymized further in this research, it is hand for me to know whose listening diary I have here. What is your name?

What device will you use to listen to the piece?

Could you describe your mood right at this moment?

Enjoy the music!

Session 1

Now we are really beginning with the listening diary. Please write down how you have experienced the listening.

I am interested in anything that was important to you while listening, how you were listening and what effect it has on you. So don't restrict yourself in what you are writing - your text can relate to characteristics of the music that you find noticeable or important, comparisons with other music, images, associations that the music stimulates, memories or emotions. Also, seemingly unrelated thoughts and feelings that you've had during or after listening are interesting for my research.

(feel free to use as many or few words as you wish)

What is the current date and what time is it now?

Thank you! If you have any questions or comments, don't hesitate to email me.

Session 2

Welcome back! I am again interested in your listening experience.

I am interested in anything that was important to you while listening, how you were listening and what effect it has on you. So don't restrict yourself in what you are writing - your text can relate to characteristics of the music that you find noticeable or important, comparisons with other music, images, associations that the music stimulates, memories or emotions. Also, seemingly unrelated thoughts and feelings that you've had during or after listening are interesting for my research.

What is the current date and what time is it now?

Thank you very much. Before your next listening, I would like to ask you to listen to podcast number one. If you have any questions or comments in the meantime, don't hesitate to contact me!

Session 3

Welcome back. I am interested in your experience with the podcast. How was it to listen to? How

was it to listen to the piece afterwards? Was it different than before in any way? Please describe your experience:

I am again interested in your listening experience with the music. I am interested in anything that was important to you while listening, how you were listening and what effect it has on you. So don't restrict yourself in what you are writing - your text can relate to characteristics of the music that you find noticeable or important, comparisons with other music, images, associations that the music stimulates, memories or emotions. Also, seemingly unrelated thoughts and feelings that you've had during or after listening are interesting for my research.

What is the current date and what time is it now?

Thank you

Session 4

Welcome back!

What mood were you in when you started listening?

Please write down how you have experienced the listening. I am interested in anything that was important to you while listening, how you were listening and what effect it has on you. So don't restrict yourself in what you are writing - your text can relate to characteristics of the music that you find noticeable or important, comparisons with other music, images, associations that the music stimulates, memories or emotions. Also, seemingly unrelated thoughts and feelings that you've had during or after listening are interesting for my research.

What is the current date and what time is it now?

Have you been curious about the symphony as a whole by now and have you listened further than part one?

- Yes, I've listened to the entire symphony (1)
- I don't find it very interesting to listen to the entire symphony (2)
- other, namely: (3) _____

Thank you very much. Before your next listening, I would like to ask you to listen to podcast number two.

Session 5

Hello! I am interested in your experience with the podcast. How was it to listen to? How was it to listen to the piece afterwards? Was it different than before in any way? Please describe your experience:

I am again interested in your listening experience with the music. Please write down how you have experienced the listening. I am interested in anything that was important to you while listening, how you were listening and what effect it has on you. So don't restrict yourself in what you are writing - your text can relate to characteristics of the music that you find noticeable or important, comparisons with other music, images, associations that the music stimulates, memories or emotions. Also, seemingly unrelated thoughts and feelings that you've had during or after listening are interesting for my research.

Do you still feel like listening to the piece?

- Yes, sure (1)
 - I find it difficult to find motivation (2)
 - other, namely: (3) _____
-

What is the current date and what time is it now?

Session 6

Welcome back! I am again interested in your listening experience. I am interested in anything that was important to you while listening, how you were listening and what effect it has on you. So don't restrict yourself in what you are writing - your text can relate to characteristics of the music that you find noticeable or important, comparisons with other music, images, associations that the music stimulates, memories or emotions. Also, seemingly unrelated thoughts and feelings that you've had during or after listening are interesting for my research.

What is the current date and what time is it now?

Session 7

Hello, great you are still with me! Please write down how you have experienced the listening. I am interested in anything that was important to you while listening, how you were listening and what effect it has on you. So don't restrict yourself in what you are writing - your text can relate to characteristics of the music that you find noticeable or important, comparisons with other music, images, associations that the music stimulates, memories or emotions. Also, seemingly unrelated thoughts and feelings that you've had during or after listening are interesting for my research.

What is the current date and what time is it now?

Session 8

Welcome back! I am again interested in your listening experience. I am interested in anything that was important to you while listening, how you were listening and what effect it has on you. So don't restrict yourself in what you are writing - your text can relate to characteristics of the music that you find noticeable or important, comparisons with other music, images, associations that the music stimulates, memories or emotions. Also, seemingly unrelated thoughts and feelings that you've had during or after listening are interesting for my research.

What is the current date and what time is it now?

We are at the end of the listening diary trajectory, thank you very much! I would now like to schedule one more interview about your listening journey where we discuss what happened with our listening practices (if anything happened) and your relation with the music. Will you drop me an email after finishing this listening diary, please?

