

**MODES OF LISTENING AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS TO AUDIENCE EXPERIENCE
OF ORCHESTRAL CONCERTS, WITH A CASE STUDY OF THE TORONTO
SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA**

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Abstract

Although listeners adopt similar behaviours according to sociocultural norms in the concert hall, they do not all experience an orchestral performance in the same way. Stockfelt's theory of Adequate Modes of Listening provides the framework necessary to examine contemporary listening practices in the modern orchestral context, and provides an alternative to the dominant marketing paradigm. Using a representative case study of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra, the current research performs interviews, document survey and analysis, and concert observation to answer questions such as; do facilitators, orchestra, and audience members agree on a single (or related group) of genre-normative modes of listening? What happens when there is a breakdown in the assumed sociocultural conventions? How can the orchestra facilitate its listeners? By examining the way in which a listener experiences orchestral music, we can strengthen our understanding of contemporary listening practices and develop nuanced approaches to promoting sustainable audiences.

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1. Introduction

Sitting side by side in the lofty concert hall, it is not unusual for two listeners to have completely different experiences of the orchestral performance to which they are witness. Through the course of a single work, each member of each row may focus on something entirely different than their neighbours—for some, it is the visual spectacle of the occasion, for others the technical virtuosity of the soloist or the conductor. It may be the character of the soaring adagio passage in the second movement or the excitement of the bombastic march. Perhaps it is the compositional skill of the long-dead composer, or the memories elicited by the work which had not been heard since childhood. Another listener may have fallen asleep in the second movement, not waking until the final applause, bored and a little annoyed he had been dragged to the concert by his friend, while two rows away, someone else is annoyed and disappointed in what he sees as a mediocre performance; another sits riveted to his seat unable to look away. How can the same work—experienced in the same moment and in a single environment—evoke such different reactions? Are some of these listening practices more correct than others and how do they impact the experience of listening? Rather than answering this question through an enumeration of the benefits of art music to society, fervently defending the value of the orchestras in an anxious bid for their preservation, I aim to look at the underlying structure of listening and how it can be facilitated. Many researchers have successfully advocated for the relevance of art music, but while this line of research is very important, particularly in the context of promoting arts-friendly public or cultural policy, it stops short of creating meaningful discussion around *how* listeners engage with art music.¹ What is needed in the literature is a more comprehensive exploration of what underlies the significant theories of taste, value, or the study of works or style; a framework for understanding the listener and listening practices. What do the listening practices look like in the context of live orchestral art music, and how do contemporary orchestras address them? Can multiple expectations of an adequate listening style co-exist?

¹ I use the term “art music” in the research to distinguish the genre from pop or folk idioms. This choice has been made for the purposes of clarity. While the arts administration literature usually opts for the more popular term “classical music,” this term is easily confused with the period ranging roughly from 1730-1850, which, coincidentally is often less played in the modern orchestra than its Romantic counterparts. I choose instead to adopt the term “art music,” more commonly found in the musicological literature. Furthermore, much of our contemporary orchestral canon draws from the period where composers consciously intended their work as art intended for the concert hall. It is important to note however that the research recognizes the debate and contentiousness of the term which, due to its use to distinguish it from pop and folk music and longstanding colonial and elitist practices associated with the genre, can be problematic. See Denise Von Glahn and Michael Broyles. "Art music." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed April 11, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/A2227279>.

In examining these questions, we can ask how musicians, researchers and industry professionals can better understand the variations of listener experience and, importantly, how they can be addressed in the contemporary orchestral concert. If we better understand the listener, we can serve the art music world in helping them develop sustainable audiences.

Although the research into listening practices is directly concerned with study of music, it has only recently been included in the broadening field of musicology. Traditionally, musicology is dominated by the historical study of the art, its creators, and its works. For much of its history, the listeners were seen mainly as an inconvenient and imperfect medium for understanding the art without being themselves a major focus, with the possible exception of essays exploring the topic of the philosophy of music. Particularly in the twentieth century, this vacuum was filled by various branches in the humanities and social sciences; examining the listener and listening practices through the lenses of sociology, philosophy, psychology, communication studies and the like.² In the latter half of the twentieth century, research on the subject's experience of music has risen to the forefront, particularly interdisciplinary research in New Musicology, spurred by Joseph Kramer's 1980 work, "How we Got into Analysis, and How To Get Out," calling for an interdisciplinary lens influenced by the social sciences, and a stronger examination of the links between music and society.³ Further writings by Kramer and scholars such as Leonard B. Meyer, Susan McClary, Christopher Small, Rose Rosengard Subotnik, and Nicholas Cook contributed to the shift in perspective from the work and the artist to the more eclectic range of themes such as the symbiotic relationship of music, society, and the listener.⁴

Despite its growing prominence in the musicological literature, contemporary research on the topic of listeners and listening practices in the context of art music is dominated by business-centric arts management discourse that interests itself in the growth of its audience numbers and developing the orchestra under the most lucrative business model. Often, like in business and management more broadly, the literature is founded on marketing principles or consumer product business models that have been

² The philosophy of music did treat the subject of the listener substantially earlier than other branches under the branch of musical aesthetic often considered to be founded by Eduard Hanslick, although mention of musical listening dates back to ancient Greek texts. See Eduard Hanslick, *The Beautiful in Music: A Contribution to the Revisal of Musical Aesthetics*, trans. Gustav Cohen, (London: Novello, Ewer and Co., 1981), 7th ed.

³ Joseph Kerman, "How We Got into Analysis, and How to Get out," *Critical Inquiry* 7, no. 2 (1980): 311-31. Accessed April 11, 2017, <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/stable/1343130>.

⁴ Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist, *Rethinking Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Susan McClary, *Conventional Wisdom: The Content of Musical Form* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Leonard B. Meyer, *Emotion and Meaning in Music* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956); Christopher Small, *Musicking: The meanings of performing and listening*, (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 2011); Rose Rosengard Subotnik, "Towards a Deconstruction of Structural Listening: A Critique of Schoenberg, Adorno, and Stravinsky," In *Explorations in Music, the Arts, and Ideas: Essays in Honor of Leonard B. Meyer*, eds. Eugene Narmour and Ruth A. Solie, Festschrift Series No. 7 (Hillsdale New York: Pendragon Press, 1988), 87-122.

adapted to the artistic context. Treating the orchestra as a commercial business is not new. The development of the public concert and certain operatic concerts, (along with their respective repertoires,) owes a great deal to profit-led commercial business models.⁵ The primary issue with the marketing lens is that, unchecked, it holds fundamentally different guiding principles than those commonly found in the philosophy surrounding art and its value held since the mid-nineteenth century. In the marketing paradigm, listeners are viewed under a consumer model similar to that of other forms of consumer goods or services, centered around profit maximization and business expansion. While this is an effective strategy in many industries, it is often detrimental when applied to those sectors with different goals such as public or social institutions where profit is not the primary aim. Equating the listener to a consumer and the musical work to a product is reductive and negates the non-pecuniary aspects of the art, often overlooking the long-term objectives such as artistic excellence, social outcomes, long-term audience development, or public education.⁶ While there have been many important and positive contributions in the arts management literature, the researcher and musician must be critical in their approach and wary of profit-led models.

As a result, many musicians, composers, practitioners, and philosophers experience disenchantment with the current paradigm governing the relationship between listeners and the arts institution under the marketing paradigm.⁷ The artist or art-form centric musicological literature has primarily aesthetic, social, cultural or artistic objectives, with financial sustainability acting as means to an end.⁸ Conversely, the business lens places profit in the centre, with artistic, audience, or other objectives as potential means to an end. This can result in the treatment of art music in the same way as any entertainment; an unsuitable

⁵ While it is tempting to think of art music as wholly separate from commercialism, profit-led performances are not new. One of the earliest and most striking examples was the commercial boom of the public opera in Venice during the mid-seventeenth century. Seven theatres and their impresarios competed for the most popular divas (usually women or castrati,) to attract paying audiences. Although a lucrative business, the demands of the public and the high cost of production dictated changes to the genre's structure itself: operas generally were cut down to three acts, choruses and dances were all but eliminated, while recitative and the number of arias increased in order to show off the virtuosity of the prima donna. The lead singers, often the main draw for the public, began holding international reputations, were exorbitantly paid, and had so much influence as to even demand that all operas in which they performed contain a particular signature aria. J. Peter Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout, and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music, 8th ed.* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2010), 322-5.

⁶ Njordur Sigurjonsson, "Orchestra Audience Development and the Aesthetics of 'Customer Comfort'," *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society* 40 no. 4 (2010): 266-278; "Variations on the Act of Listening: Twenty-one orchestra audience development events in light of John Dewey's 'art as experience' metaphor" (PhD diss, City University, London, 2009); Derrick Chong, *Arts Management* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 2nd ed.

⁷ Njordur Sigurjonsson, "Orchestra Audience Development and the Aesthetics of 'Customer Comfort'," *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society* 40 no. 4 (2010): 266-278; "Variations on the Act of Listening: Twenty-one orchestra audience development events in light of John Dewey's 'art as experience' metaphor" (PhD diss, City University, London, 2009); Derrick Chong, *Arts Management* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 2nd ed.

⁸ Jo Caust, "Putting the 'art' back into arts policy making: how arts policy has been 'captured' by the economists and the marketers," *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 9 no. 1 (2003): 51-63, Accessed, 27 November 2015, DOI: 10.1080/1028663032000089723

paradigm considering the vastly different logistical considerations between art music and other genres. While many orchestras and other arts institutions manage to tread the balance between the various stakeholders or can angle themselves to address a choice segment or find similar niches that allow financial sustainability, the tension between the apparently conflictual governing principles often causes mutual dissatisfaction.

In the literature, the split between orchestra management and orchestra members, of audiences and artistic excellence appears deep. Sigurjonsson writes of his experience planning a strategic review at the Iceland Symphony Orchestra, and the reason for his own research on listening practices. He writes about the discussions on the orchestra's future focus, noting that;

Much of these discussions focused on the theme of audiences: what the orchestra could do to attract them and how it could serve the public better. An important question was what kind of activity was appropriate for the orchestra to engage in to attract audiences. What kind of concerts could, and importantly *should*, the orchestra promote and programme as it sought to attract new audiences, while still staying true to its nature as a respectable symphony orchestra? Alarmingly there seemed to be a kind of trade-off between artistic integrity and course or 'banal' audience development.⁹

Sigurjonsson observes the often-seen dichotomization that places musical value and excellence and the potential to attract audiences and profit on opposite sides of the spectrum. Often, the differences in approaches to the orchestral institution, with strong financially-or artistically-centered goals leads to unresolved tensions and a surplus of literature deepening the divide; the vilification of arts management, or dangerous arguments of cultural superiority of the art music genre. While it is important to understand the benefits and value of art music and the arts more broadly through philosophical or benefit-based research, it should not be framed in such a way that precludes other genres from having value through their social, economic, cultural, or other benefits. Furthermore, concentrating on this important, yet superficial, layer further disenfranchises and polarises listeners (of any genre) by professing art music's subcultural superiority. In this research, I dismiss the dichotomization of these two literatures and approaches to the modern orchestra. Instead of focusing on their differences, I acknowledge the frustration while looking deeper at the root of the issue; the relationships between the listener, the music and the musical institution. By examining the way in which a listener experiences the music, we can strengthen our understanding of music as art, as well as contributing to audience development by providing the tools for sustainable audience development and artistic integrity. Rather than arguing over disparate and polarized literatures, I aim to look at the structures underlying them both, finding common

⁹ Sigurjonsson, "Variations on the act of listening,"19.

ground in their mutual aim to facilitate sustainable development of arts institutions and their audiences. As such, I will be relying on the connected literatures in musicology (and its subdisciplines) and arts administration in order to examine the listener.

To address the experience of the listener's relationship and experience with art music, it would be possible to advance a case for an aesthetic lens or else use Bourdieusian theories of taste and its contemporaries such as Peterson's theory of omnivorous consumption.¹⁰ It could be equally tackled with typologies, such as the many that find their roots in Adorno's typology of the listener.¹¹ In Lilliestam's nuanced work, he effectively charts the course of the literature on listening, remarking on several common issues. He explains how theories tend to rely too heavily on valuative language, often assuming European art's cultural superiority, and the subjective nature of the research methods.¹² I would add that too often, an entirely sociologically-based approach problematically considers music as a homogenous actor without considering the effect and makeup of its specific content or its cultural context's effect on the system of relationships.

Lilliestam identifies Swedish musicologist Ola Stockfelt as one of several contemporaries who has implemented theories that are "productive for developing a deeper and more realistic understanding of how people listen to music than simple typologies of listeners."¹³ Stockfelt theorizes the phenomenon of listening practices and its effect on our ability to listen; a process which he names *modes of listening*.¹⁴ Stockfelt's theory of modes of listening provides a way of understanding listeners' relationships to music, their expectations of their experiences, all the while allowing a degree of listener agency often missing in the literature. Remarkably, its framework takes into account both the specificity of musical understanding and a broader appreciation for its social and cultural context through theorizing genre-normative practices.

Stockfelt's theory of adequate modes of listening allows for an understanding of the listeners and their experiences within the larger social, cultural, and environmental context within which they find themselves, and does so without the valuative language of many earlier musicological studies on the listener. The various branches of the literature argue different aspects of the modern orchestra, largely

¹⁰ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984); Richard A. Peterson, and Roger M. Kern, "Changing Highbrow Taste: From Snob to Omnivore," *American Sociological Review* 61, no. 5 (1996): 900-07. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2096460>.

¹¹ Lars Lilliestam, "Research on Music Listening: From Typologies to Interviews with Real People," *Volume! / Ecoutes* 10 no. 1 (2013): 1-23. Accessed January 2, 2014, <http://volume.revues.org/3733>.

¹² Lilliestam, "Research on Music Listening," 4-6.

¹³ Lilliestam, "Research on Music Listening," 7.

¹⁴ Ola Stockfelt, "Adequate Modes of Listening" trans. Anahid Kassabian and Leo G. Svendsen, In David Schwarz, Anahid Kassabian and Lawrence Siegel, *Keeping Score: Music, Discipline, Culture* (University of Virginia Press, 1997), 129-146.

falling into the trap of quarrelling over ideologies and the comparative value of art music in a changing world. Instead, Stockfelt focuses on the existence and choice between the various ways in which listeners approach art music. Using Stockfelt's framework, I examine the relationship between the institution of art music and listener. Given the fragmentation of the genre-normative modes of listening in art music, I ask how orchestras approach their audiences and how contemporary listeners can be understood. My research aims to explore how orchestras facilitate audience members' perceived listening experiences, using the representative example of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra (TSO) as a case study. Stockfelt's theory can be used to explore the temporally and culturally situated norms of the art music genre, particularly important in modern studies of audience development. Finally, it contributes to the academic literature on Canadian orchestras, which historically has been underrepresented.

According to Stockfelt, people spend their lives experiencing, learning and assimilating various ways of listening. He uses the term modes of listening, "to denote these different ways of listening, to denote the different things *for which* a listener can listen in relation to the sound of the music."¹⁵ He theorizes how the balance of the situation, the environment, and the genre and other factors all contribute to the choice of mode, positing that it is most successful in a small overlapping area of "adequate modes of listening."¹⁶ He problematizes listening, creating a framework that takes into account the degree to which listening is a background or foreground activity and its integration with other activities, such as in the cases of film, opera or intended background music. He further defines the social and cultural relationship between the different participating agents—of the individuals, the work, the "cultural expressions, and the construction of society."¹⁷ Whichever mode is chosen (irrespective of its adequacy,) deeply impacts the experience, role, and meaning of the work.¹⁸ Stockfelt attributes problems—such as listener dissatisfaction—to implementing an inadequate mode of listening. That is to say that the listener has not chosen one of the most adequate modes particular to the context, or that one of the factors (such as environment, situation, or the listener's repertoire of modes,) does not allow for one of the appropriate choices. In order to exemplify his theory, Stockfelt demonstrates the variations in listening practices using an analysis of the historical performance reception of Mozart Symphony no. 40, demonstrating the shifts in listening practices and their relation to ideology, philosophy, and society, particularly the changing and fluid nature of what is considered "adequate" listening. He dismantles the misconception that only the single, concentrated, autonomous and educated listening style that is often perceived as uniquely appropriate to the genre is the only "correct" type of listening. Charting the attitude towards the work,

¹⁵ Italics in the original. Stockfelt, "Adequate Modes of Listening," 132

¹⁶ Stockfelt, 132.

¹⁷ Stockfelt, 138.

¹⁸ Explored further in the next chapter, Stockfelt does not stop at stating that it impacts the experience of the work, but the fundamentally alters the work itself. Stockfelt, 139.

performance and audience practices of the time, Stockfelt demonstrates how there is not a single correct way of listening to art music (or any music,) or that autonomous reflexive listening is even dominant; proving that listening is not a fixed concept, but fluid.

Despite the assumption of concentrated, autonomous and educated listening, art music—particularly in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries—does not have a single and ubiquitously implemented mode of listening.¹⁹ A key component of Stockfelt’s theory is that there are a finite number of suitable modes of listening appropriate and attainable in any given situation, environment, and genre. Through the use of a tacit social contract, the determination of a mode’s adequacy reflects a common social or cultural ideology within the group of listeners particular to the genre. Furthermore, it must be within a subject’s scope of assimilated modes of listening. What happens when, at a single event, listening practices have diverse modes of listening which do not align; when there is not a single (or group of similar) modes of listening? What happens when there is not a single perceived adequate mode of listening, but rather several opposing versions due to an ill-defined sociocultural understanding of the listening event? By exploring the audience using Stockfelt’s framework, we are able to better understand some of the issues facing the modern orchestral institution, how musicians and institutions address them currently, and how best to move forward.

Interestingly, once he has established his theory, Stockfelt largely dismisses the questions concerning what he terms as “idealized bourgeois concert hall listening” in order to focus on the case of “background” or “parallel” listening.²⁰ This omission is similar to the general trend in the interdisciplinary New Musicology which examines overlooked areas of listening; an important step to a more inclusive and accurate examination of contemporary interactions with music.²¹ However, while Stockfelt uses his theory to legitimize these neglected practices, I posit that his theory provides us equally with an underpinning for theorizing modern listening practises in the live orchestral genre and related art music genres. It is essential to the health of musicological literature to update often outmoded assumptions of audience listening habits and for the arts management literature to adopt a more nuanced approach to discussing the listener. Stockfelt’s theory provides the framework necessary to examine current listening practices in the modern orchestral performance context just as well as it helps problematizes other forms of listening.

In this research, I examine the relationship between the institution of art music and listener using Stockfelt’s theory of adequate modes of listening. Stockfelt’s theory allows for an understanding of the

¹⁹ Stockfelt asserts that there has never been a single ubiquitously applied mode of listening. Stockfelt, 139.

²⁰ Stockfelt, 138.

²¹ Lilliestam, “Research on Music Listening,” 5-7.

listeners and their individual experiences within the larger social, cultural, and environmental context within which it finds itself, and does so without the valuative language of many earlier musicological studies of the listener. To tackle the breadth of such a task, I examine a representative case of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra (TSO). The research aims to explore how orchestras facilitate audience members' perceived listening experiences, directed by such questions as; what are the assumed (or one could argue, encouraged or dictated,) genre-normative mode of listening at the TSO as representative of the trends in contemporary orchestras in Canada? What does the relationship and its connected ideology of listener, music, and institution look like at the TSO? Do facilitators, orchestra, and audience members agree on this "social contract" of a single (or limited number) of adequate modes of listening? What does it look like when they do agree? When they don't? What can be done, and what has the TSO attempted to do to address potential discrepancies? Can multiple expectations off adequate modes of listening co-exist?

While Stockfelt's framework is applicable (and intended) to inclusively analyse any listening style within any genre, I am using it exclusively as a tool of analysis of live performances of orchestral music. Furthermore, within the case study of the TSO, I am restricting myself to studying a single season; a preliminary application of the theory aimed at being explorative rather than exhaustive. This necessarily narrows the scope of the research by singling out exclusively live performance unique to a specific geographic and temporal space, despite the rich research available in studying listening practices of other genres, environments or listening practices connected to mediating technology such as the radio or personal listening devices. Likewise, although I examine the listening practices of the contemporary audience, it examines to the way in which listening is facilitated and perceived by the orchestral institution. The obvious next step is a large scale mixed-method research initiative on listeners' experiences of the orchestral performance using interviews, surveys and/or questionnaires directly targeting the listeners themselves, similar to the 2009 Swedish study *Music in People's Lives* by Lilliestam and Bossius.²² Like their subsequent paper "Research in Music Listening: From Typologies to Interviews with Real People," I hope that my own research encourages other researchers to continue the interdisciplinary research into listening practices that can simultaneously benefit the academy and art music institutions.²³

The study provides a preliminary means of examining and implementing Stockfelt's theory. Although he uses the theory to explore traditionally marginalized modes of listening, I operationalize his theory to explore the realities of listening that are less uniform than other theories suggest. By speaking to

²² Lilliestam, "Research on Music Listening."

²³ Lilliestam, "Research on Music Listening."

musicians and concert facilitators, we can better understand the orchestra's perception of their audiences' listening practices. In conjunction with a breakdown of the types of programmed works and the Orchestra's extramusical activities, we can furthermore understand the modes of listening privileged and encouraged by the orchestra, by what means this is achieved, and whether those perceived to be practiced, compared to those that are encouraged, are indeed similar.

The case study approaches these questions by analysing data drawn from the concerts and programming of the 2015/2016 season, with some additions drawn from the 2016/2017 season. The data draws primarily on interviews, with additional data coming from an analysis of printed programs, print and online media, as well as concert observation. The data is restricted to views of members of the administrative team and of musicians, creating a foundation of preliminary research for a project that has the means of interviewing audience members directly. A secondary aim of this research is to encourage both academic and industry actors undertaking audience research to work more closely together. By designing a study that bridges the gap, I hope to encourage others to do the same and take a more nuanced approach to audience development through the lens of listening practices.

The TSO case study is designed by triangulating different sources in order to comprehensively examine perceived listening practices and audience facilitation initiatives. The methods can be grouped into three complimentary instruments. Firstly, I conduct research on the printed and web materials relating to the TSO and provided for the benefit of the listeners. Subsequently, I perform interviews with members of the orchestra and administrative team in order to learn more about their perception of their audiences and their listening practices, as well as their view of the educational and extramusical activities the Orchestra undertakes. Finally, I perform several observational studies of the orchestral concerts and the interactions between audience and Orchestra, designed to check the reception of the initiatives and my own conclusions, without developing this last method exhaustively.

As a qualitative study, I assess the data through determining key trends triangulated across the different sources. These trends are then further analysed and discussed in terms of their exploratory implications. In particular, I focus on the data drawn from the interviews, addressing individually some of the issues and observations made by the musicians and administrators.

In the design of the case study, I assume that the Toronto Symphony Orchestra can be seen as representative of certain trends in audience development and programming, and that it has similar ideological aims as far as its goals to attract and sustain larger audiences, to perform more outreach and social programs, and to maintain a high level of musical and artistic excellence. I also assume that the interviews that I have undertaken are representative of the organization for the most part. Nonetheless,

although themes may appear, with a small sample size and the subjectivity of the topics, there will be ideological outliers. Furthermore, different backgrounds, experiences, and vocations are likely to influence opinions on questions of audience development. For example, it is likely that musicians may see issues around audiences differently than their administrative counterparts, as well as generational differences of opinions. In order to minimize these effects, I use observation, TSO documents, available statistics, and outside research to contextualise the results.

The Toronto Symphony Orchestra performed 134 concerts to 268,409 audience members in the 2015/2016 season.²⁴ The Orchestra has its home in Roy Thomson Hall, putting it in downtown core of Toronto with easy public and private transportation systems. The TSO also played 3 concerts at George Weston Hall in order to make the orchestra more accessible to Torontonians North of the downtown core. With 88 full-time musicians, it has a comparatively large size, allowing it to perform large works and invite prominent guest musicians. In addition to their regular season performances, the Orchestra frequently goes on international tours, records on its own recording label, (TSO-live,) in addition to recording with the Chandos label. The TSO is currently managed by interim-CEO Gary Hansen, after the abrupt resignation of Jeff Melanson in March 2016.²⁵ A not-for-profit organization, it is strongly involved in educational initiatives, in the public school system and in their artistic development and excellence such as the Toronto Symphony Youth Orchestra (TSYO). Its activities are generally representative of the activities of other large orchestras in North America and Europe. Like other North American orchestras, it maintains support from several levels of government, and its structure typifies the standard orchestral management model. Despite its history of financial and political difficulties (which also are also unfortunately representative of the industry,) it has the financial and creative power to keep up with many international players. While maintaining a relatively standard management model, it has the freedom to innovate in typical areas for the industry such as audience development, technology and education.

The research results indicate that the Orchestra perceives that its audience largely segments itself according to age and the relative depth of their previous knowledge of the genre. Furthermore, while the Orchestra demonstrably encourages relaxed variation of genre-normative autonomous reflexive listening (Stockfelt's idealized bourgeois concert hall listening,) the orchestra takes efforts, through their language and supplementary activities, to welcome and make comfortable listeners who practice other forms of listening so long as they did not interfere with other audience members' experiences. Interestingly, although traditional forms of art music listening are encouraged, the interviewed musicians often felt that

²⁴ [Dr. Hannah Chan-Hartley], "Resonate: The 2015/2016 Annual Report", *Toronto Symphony Orchestra*, [October 2016], 6.

²⁵ Toronto Symphony Orchestra, "Statement of Leadership Change," press release, March 30, 2016, <https://www.tso.ca/news-release/tso-statement-leadership-change>

the more sensorial aesthetic mode of listening had become normative to the hall and which they tried to adopt when acting as audience members.

Based on the research, I suggest that additional formal and informal art music education should be incorporated in large modern orchestras in order to help dispel harmful preconceptions of the genre. Additionally, art music institutions must approach their audiences and institution in terms of long term (rather than immediate) development activities, avoiding the gimmick. Finally, it is necessary to take into account the agency of listener in any analysis. All of these suggestions fall under the conclusion that modern orchestras must address the unnecessary elitist image of the genre and the near sacrosanct aura that it projects, alienating their audiences. This must be achieved using a balanced approach informed by listening practices and the role that experience and sociocultural norms play in the orchestral concert experience, like in all musical interactions. The current research is designed as a preliminary study that can be continued with a more rigorous and far reaching study of orchestral listeners in the future.

In this thesis, I hold the position that art music should not be regarded with any more or less value than other types of music. Christopher Small writes about the necessity of keeping his term “musicking” from accruing value-based language, saying that the term is;

...*descriptive*, not *prescriptive*. It covers all participation in a musical performance, whether it takes place actively or passively, whether we like the way it happens or whether we do not, whether we consider it interesting or boring, constructive or deconstructive, sympathetic or antipathetic. The words will remain useful only for so long as we keep our own value judgements clear of it. Value-laden uses.... destroy its meaning, weaken its usefulness as an investigative tool, and plunge us back into futile arguments about what music or musicking is. Value judgements come later, if they come at all.²⁶

While he is specifically talking about the verb musicking, it can be read more broadly to encompass the study of listening practices, which Small would consider a principle part of musicking. While the term is not central to my thesis, I embrace the ideal of music research being descriptive of listening practices rather than judging them for their validity compared to the restrictive traditional definition of “correct” listening. Stockfelt holds a similar position upon which I build, proposing a framework that gives value to the appropriateness of the choice of the mode of listening, rather than to the mode of listening itself. He

²⁶ Christopher Small, “A place for hearing,” *Musicking: The meanings of performing and listening*, (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 2011), 9.

elucidates his claim when he describes how the “traditional” autonomous, educated and concentrated listening mode usually considered appropriate to art music disintegrates and becomes unpleasant when it is applied to an environment and genre for which it is ill-suited. However, building on the idea that art music or particular ways of listening to it do not have *intrinsic* value, I am not blindly asserting that all genres and listening styles are the same. Art music has a unique historic, cultural, and institutional history and makeup which make it distinct from other genres which have their own cultural histories and innate social and musical value. Art music has historically held a privileged position in the Western cultural life. While it is irrefutable that art music has been studied, developed, and refined over the last several hundred years, it is important to make the distinction between recognizing its development or even its importance to Western culture, and asserting its superiority over other forms of music or developmental directions. That is to say, studying art music and its performance cannot be confused with arguing (or assuming) its superiority. Similarly, I cannot take the cultural norms associated with classical music, such as autonomous, educated, and concentrated listening, or the bias towards complex musical structures or language as the only (or even most valid) direction of musical development. In a culture that has adopted many musical and cultural practices concurrently, I am careful not to conflate arguments of description with arguments of prescription.

The present research is divided into five chapters. Chapter Two examines Stockfelt’s theory of adequate modes of listening and demonstrates how listening practices are spatially and temporally bound. The chapter begins with a brief literature review of the musicological, sociological and arts administration literatures relevant to the current research. After briefly highlighting the shifting nature of genre-normative listening practices through Western musical history, it loosely defines modern genre-normative modes of listening affiliated with the modern orchestral concert hall in North America and Europe. The chapter then goes on to contextualises the case study. It outlines the methodology and its instruments used over the course of the research. It then gives a brief background of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra and its institutional context in the Canadian and Torontonians cultural landscape.

Chapter Three presents the results of the research, in particular as it pertains to the interview subjects’ perceived segmentation of their audiences, the perception and comparison of musician and non-musician listening practices, and the apparent special case of young audiences, which the TSO refers to as TSOundcheckers, after the name of the discount program targeted at that demographic.

In Chapter Four, I analyse and discuss the trends in the perceived modes of listening practiced by audiences in relation to the supplementary and ancillary activities designed to facilitate their listening. In

this chapter, I examine the orchestra's perception of the modes of listening considered most ideal for the live orchestral concert situation, and how this occasionally comes in conflict with their own perceptions of how audiences approach listening. It further defines modern autonomous reflexive listening, as well as autonomous aesthetic listening referred to by the interview subjects as "washing over." The chapter demonstrates how the Orchestra can work to nudge and educate listeners into more genre-normative listening practices, as well as some insight into their strategies of attracting sustainable audiences.

The final chapter draws conclusions from the present research and suggests further areas of study. Additionally, it cautions the reader and orchestral institutions more generally to treat two areas of modern audience development with care: the careful use of segmentation, and the deceptive use of the gimmick. It finds that long term formal and informal music education and is essential for the future of orchestral music. It reasserts that a greater exchange of knowledge between arts administration, musicology and the social sciences would benefit the literature and current practices in audience development. It calls for a balance between artistic and business goals in the industry, particularly stressing the necessity for long-term audience strategies over gimmicks and pandering, and allowing musicians and other practitioners a larger voice when designing programmes and audience facilitation. It encourages further research into listening practices using Stockfelt's theory of modes of listening, particularly, a larger study of listeners at the Toronto Symphony Orchestra.

2. Setting the Stage

The intention of this thesis is to examine the orchestra's activities in relation to their audience's perceived listening practices using the lens of Stockfelt's theory of modes of listening. In this chapter, I present a foundation upon which the perceptions of genre-normative listening and the facilitation of audiences can be examined. I expand on the issues surrounding the institutional philosophy of the orchestra and some of the varying approaches to contemporary performances of art music. Suggesting an alternative paradigm from which to examine the institution and its relationship to the public, I present the literature surrounding the act of listening and the roots of this literature in the peripheries of the study of music, concluding by highlighting several recent works that attempt to marry listening theories with the quotidian experience of music. Stockfelt's theory of adequate modes of listening, the theoretical framework from which I examine the TSO, provides a comprehensive means of understanding modern listening practices in their infinite variability. Expanding on his article, I demonstrate that rather than a rigid and inflexible act, listening, specifically in the context of the orchestral concert, is flexible and constantly evolving as I chart its progress through modern Western history. The apparent crisis in the orchestral concert and the shift in audience behaviour do not result from a sudden rejection of an age-old tradition, but rather a reflection of the continuous evolution of the way in which we listen.

Having established the context for the research, this chapter concludes with the methodology of the case study. Finally, I present a brief contextualization of the TSO within the Canadian and Torontonion cultural landscape, and a summary background of the TSO itself.

2.1 Literature Review

There are many avenues with which it is possible to examine the orchestra, its activities, and its audiences. In this section, I relate the current research to the literatures with which it is connected, teasing out its major themes and issues. The research on the topic of listening practices in the art music context largely falls under theoretical or philosophical discussions of the nature of listening; the degree (if any,) with which it differs from hearing, the depth and manner in which one listens, the suitability of particular environment or approaches to the act, or similar. Related, there are psychological or cognitive studies of a particular aspect of the listening act. Other studies still look at the listening within its social and cultural role. Finally, there are industry studies and reports on the outward manifestations of the listening practice within the framework of the business of musical institutions; that is to say, statistical data on attendance and behaviour or self-declared opinions on taste, facilitation, and experience. All of these approaches contribute valuable research on the subject of listening, which has historically been absent in traditional

musicological research normally centering on the objects of listening and its actors (compositions, musicians, and composers,) thereby assuming a particular listening experience.

The current research intentionally places itself at the crossroads between literatures. While the subject of the listener and listening practices in the orchestral context inherently places it under the purview of musicology as the study of music, it has also been treated—and often in more depth—by subdisciplines, interdisciplinary initiatives, or other fields altogether.²⁷For instance, a large body of the literature on the listener can be found in the sociology of music (also termed sociomusicology,) the psychology or cognitive psychology of music (psychomusicology and cognitive psychomusicology respectively,) or similar. Thus, taken at its broadest, the subject is treated in New Musicology, the philosophy of music, sociology, psychology, and arts administration and audience development. For the purposes of this research, I build on sociological theories and studies of the listener found in New Musicology, as well as arts management and administration. I operationalize Stockfelt’s theory of adequate modes of listening which provides a means of contextualising and examining listening practices in the orchestral context. This theory is especially useful as it does so without falling into the trap of polarising polemical debates surrounding the value of art music, while at the same time taking a more nuanced approach than some work in the arts marketing and administration literature. It does this by examining the issues of audience expectations of the concert experience within the context of listening; that is, with the listener’s experience as primary object, rather than the concert as a product to be packaged and sold. It further takes into account the genre’s unique sociocultural situation, culturally engrained rituals and codes, and goals that do not fall under profit maximization.

Its large presence in the arts management, administration, and marketing industry is very large relative to the traditional academic disciplines, and arguably boasts much richer data sets from which to work. As such, industry research is very important to the study of listening. However, it does so with the danger of framing the orchestral concert within a restrictive framework of listener-as-consumer and often examines the broader event of the concert without fully considering than the distinct relationship between listener and music. This is particularly relevant in the current study where the sociocultural specificity of the orchestral concert is likely to be lost in the marketing discourse.

The arts management literature often centers on marketing techniques and practices. Some of the key works in the literature include; Philip Kotler and Joanne Scheff’s *Standing Room Only: Strategies for*

²⁷ In the musicological literature, the study of listening sometimes coincides with reception studies: the history of a particular work, composer, or style’s reception by the public contextualised by the sociocultural events at a particular moment or over time. However, while this is incredibly useful to understanding the changing values that audiences have had over time, it does not investigate the individual’s relationship with listening itself. While it does not appear in the current research, it is another possible avenue of research for the scholar of listening in the future.

Marketing the Performing Arts; Derrick Chong's *Art Management*; Heather Maitland's *A Guide to Audience Development*; Marilyn Hood's "Staying Away: Why people choose not to visit museums," Danny Newman's *Subscribe Now!*; Donna Walker-Kuhn's *Invitation to the Party: Building Bridges to the Arts, Culture and Community*; and Bonita Kolb's *Marketing for Cultural Organizations*.²⁸ This research is substantial and indispensable to our modern understanding of the art music listener, often establishing the types of music, activities, and facilitation strategies most popular with its audiences. Furthermore, it provides tools for orchestras to maximize their audience and contribute to sustainable audience sizes through strategies such as subscriptions, series, or alternative concert structures. These guides are designed as practical tools, using case studies and marketing data in order to help arts organizations function as a business. In addition to the practical guides, there is also a large body of literature found in journals or put out by arts organizations or government bodies that focus more on studying a single aspect of these events or initiatives, including: the *International Journal of Arts Management, Music & Letters*, and *Statistical Insight on the Arts* (essential to the Canadian context as it provides all of our nation's statistical data sponsored both by government and major arts organizations,) among others. In addition to these, influential research and case studies include those done by Bonita Kolb, Melissa Dobson, H. Roose, and especially Njordur Sigurjonsson, and Stephanie Pitts.²⁹ This research in the form of articles and individual case studies take a more rigorously academic view than the larger works, often working towards furthering the literature in a particular area, rather than creating broad guidelines for arts organizations. Writing on orchestral music in particular, Sigurjonsson, Roose, Dobson, and Pitts have a nuanced and critical perspective of current practices while also undertaking new research in the same areas as arts administration, often with the purpose of addressing issues in listener alienation or declining

²⁸ Philip Kotler and Joanne Scheff, *Standing Room Only: Strategies for Marketing the Performing Arts* (Boston:Harvard Business Press, 1997); Derrick Chong, *Arts Management* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 2nd ed; Heather Maitland, *A Guide to Audience Development* (London: Arts Council of England, 2000); Marilyn G. Hood, "Staying away-Why people choose not to visit museums," *Museum News* 61, no. 4 (1983): 50-57; Danny Norman, *Subscribe now!: Building arts audiences through dynamic subscription promotion* (New York: Theatre Communications Group, 1981); Donna Walker-Kuhne, *Invitation to the Party: Building bridges to the arts, culture and community* (New York: Theatre Communications Group, 2005); Bonita Kolb, *Marketing for Cultural Organisations: New strategies for attracting audiences to classical music, dance, museums, theatre & the opera* (London: Thomson, 2005).

²⁹ Melissa C. Dobson, "New Audiences for Classical Music: The Experiences for Non-attenders at Live Orchestral Concerts," *Journal of New Music Research*, 59, no. 2, (2002): 111-124, accessed March 4, 2016, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09298215.2010.489643>; Stephanie Pitts, Melissa Dobson, et al., "Views of an Audience: Understanding the orchestral concert experience from player and listener perspectives," *Participations Journal of Audience & Reception Studies* 10 no. 2 (November 2013): 66-95; Bonita Kolb, "You call this fun? Reactions of young first-time attendees to a classical concert," *Journal of the Music and Entertainment Industry Educators Association* 1 no.1 (2000):13-28; Henk Roose, "Many-Voiced or Unisono? An inquiry into Motives for Attendance and Aesthetic Dispositions of the Audience Attending Classical Concerts," *Acta Sociologica* 51 no.3 (September 2008): 237-253; Njordur Sigurjonsson, "Variations on the act of listener: Twenty-one orchestra audience development events in light of John Dewey's 'art as experience' metaphor" (Doctoral thesis, City University, London, 2009).

listener numbers in the genre of art music. Pitts along with Melissa Dobson, Kate Fee and Christopher Spencer in particular analyse audiences of art music performances in their article: “Views of an Audience: Understanding orchestral concert experience from player and listener perspectives.”³⁰ Their ethnographic research finds results very similar to my own, surveying audience members and musicians of a particular orchestra. Sigurjonsson, also discussed below, is especially valuable for his critique of the current arts management paradigm and his introduction of alternative guiding philosophical principles in order to analyse the arts event in the context of arts administration.³¹

As Chong and Sigurjonsson demonstrate, the critical lens imparted by these scholars is important.³² The focus on marketing and the means of packaging and advertising the concerts are liable to overshadow the core of the activity; the music and the listening experience. While valuable in its own way, arts management and marketing literature may also neglect other possible goals of the orchestra. Among other considerations, some issues to be considered are that the most popular works of music that are often seen to attract the largest audiences may not be musically challenging for the musicians, may contribute to the homogenization of regularly performed repertoire, and may disincentivize orchestras from programming difficult, challenging, or more diverse works. These more varied works are often less widely popular but function under artistic aims such as the growth of the genre, commitments to musical or artistic excellence, or the exploration of new ideas or social or political themes.

As governments increasingly turn towards mandating quantitative economic or social benefits to artistic institutions to receive funding, government studies, reports, and theories (as well as institutions’ business practices more generally,) also tend towards these kinds of aims. As Caust concludes, based on the Australian context:

In managerial terms, it could be said for instance, that Australian governments... decided to put to one side the core business of the arts (arts practice) and concentrate on peripheral benefits as the justification for their government’s involvement. These benefits focused on such issues as employment creation, cultural tourism, cultural

³⁰ Stephanie Pitts, Melissa Dobson, et al., “Views of an Audience: Understanding the orchestral concert experience from player and listener perspectives,” *Participations Journal of Audience & Reception Studies* 10 no. 2 (November 2013): 66-95.

³¹ Njordur Sigurjonsson, “Orchestra Audience Development and the Aesthetics of ‘Customer Comfort,” *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society* 40 (2010), Accessed February 26, 2016; Sigurjonsson, “Variations on the act of listening.”

³² Chong, *Arts Marketing*; Sigurjonsson, “Variations on the act of listening.”

explore, and the market-multiplying effect of cultural activity. These are all arguments for the economic benefits of the arts.³³

What follows is a natural shift in the literature to facilitate research on the economic maximization of orchestral institution, a trend found in other genres. We see similar results in the Canadian context with Toronto's report *Mastering of the Music City*, and other work done in conjunction with Toronto's Music Advisory Board, both based on the work done in Austin, Texas; an economically successful project stimulating the city's growth through boosting local live music performance.³⁴ Reports such as these are based on Richard Florida's prevalent, yet highly criticized, theory of the Culture Class which positions the arts and its workers in this kind of economic frame.³⁵ Although alluring by its promise of growing economies in areas with falling industry, it takes a simplistic view of the arts and its artists as economic resources to be exploited, not to mention its culpability where exacerbating inner-city gentrification and inequality is concerned.³⁶ While on a first examination, this kind of culture-driven economy seems alluring to the arts manager who may see this language as a means of framing the organization in a manner likely to increase funding and support, in the long term, it can fall into the trap of delegitimizing value systems and justifications outside of purely economic terms.

Alternatively, many reports created by not-for-profit or government arms-length organizations rely on validating the arts through their social or community benefit. While I strongly agree that we *should* promote and expand the arts organizations in their community initiatives, it is necessary to be cautious; too strong a reliance on these kinds of validation for an institution's existence may also obfuscate artistic goals or delegitimize projects that do not squarely align with community outreach goals such as the performance of new music, or promoting musical talent development.³⁷

³³ Jo Caust, "Putting the "art" back into arts policy making: how arts policy has been "captured" by the economists and the marketers," *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 9 no. 1 (2003): 51-63, accessed November 27, 2015, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1028663032000089723>.

³⁴ Amy Terrill, Don Hogarth, and Alex Clement, *Mastering of a Music City: Key elements, effective strategies and why it's worth pursuing*, Music Canada, 2015. <https://musiccanada.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/The-Mastering-of-a-Music-City.pdf>

³⁵ Richard Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class Revisited: Revised and Expanded* (New York: Basic Books, 2004); Rausch, Stephen, and Cynthia Negrey. "Does the creative engine run? A consideration of the effect of creative class on economic strength and growth." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 28, no. 5 (2006): 473-489; Peck, Jamie. "Struggling with the creative class." *International journal of urban and regional research* 29, no. 4 (2005): 740-770. Accessed March 26, 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2005.00620.x>;

³⁶ Jon Paul Catungal, Deborah Leslie and Yvonne Hii, "Geographies of Displacement in the Creative City: The Case of Liberty Village, Toronto," *Urban Studies* 46 no. 5-6 (2009): 1095-1114. Accessed April 3, 2016, <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0042098009103856>.

³⁷ Jo Caust, "Putting the "art" back into arts policy making: how arts policy has been "captured" by the economists and the marketers," *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 9 no. 1 (2003): 51-63; Sigurjonsson, "Variations on the act of listening," Chong, *Arts Management*.

In his nuanced dissertation, Sigurjonsson observes the apparent false dichotomy that is often present at the center of these arguments quoted above. He accuses marketing-centered orchestras of constructing a false dichotomy; an impossible choice “between artistic integrity and coarse or ‘banal’ audience development.”³⁸ Marketing is seen as a means of “saving” the orchestra, but at the expense of musical excellence. The marketing and audience development literature focuses primarily on the structure and format of the event; its advertising, its location, its amenities and supplementary activities or diversions, more so than the music or concert experience itself. In particular, Sigurjonsson identifies Heather Maitland’s *A Guide to Audience Development*, Kolb’s *Marketing for Cultural Organisations*, and Philip Kotler and Joanne Scheff’s *Standing Room Only*, suggesting that they portray overly rosy and simple marketing solutions centered around a narrative that depicts marketing’s ability to drag classical music out of a decrepit past.³⁹ Although much of the research is good, these kinds of marketing texts employ a pleading, apologetic tone, trying to legitimise the continued relevance of the arts, evidenced by titles such as Kolb’s “Classical music can be fun: The success of BBC Proms.” Often, the narrative reinforces examples of orchestras that were turned around by the introduction of new casual-concert formats or similar marketing makeovers, with an exclusive focus on repackaging. While each takes a slightly different approach to the issue of audience development, the discourse focuses on the need to make the concert format less austere, intimidating, and dry with a focus on gaining new audiences (referred to as ‘customers’ or ‘consumers,’) to experience a concert for the first time. Undoubtedly important points, these programs are not necessarily negative in nature, however, any change to the concert structure must be nuanced. Sigurjonsson is particularly critical of the predominance of marketing trends in shaping orchestral concert structure;

The question arises if the classical music listener concepts of a ‘consumer’ or a ‘customer’ which are favored by the market-transaction conception of musical experience, necessarily lead us to think of audience development in terms of comfort and risk aversion...audience development is a much broader subject than is usually recognized and far too important for the future of the art form to be theorized solely in terms of dominant marketing conceptions.⁴⁰

He finds fault with the overreliance on marketing and strategic change in order to bring in larger audiences or revenue, to treat them as the only means of saving the symphony, without considering the effect of the changes on the aesthetic or artistic experience of the art, both in the long and short term.

³⁸ Sigurjonsson, “Variations on the act of listening,” 19.

³⁹ Sigurjonsson, “Variations on the act of listening,” 28-31.

⁴⁰ Njordur Sigurjonsson, “Orchestra Audience Development and the Aesthetics of ‘Customer Comfort,” *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society* 40 (2010): 266. Accessed February 26, 2016, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10632921.2010.502011>.

Within the body of audience development literature, the idea of creating “customer comfort” or mitigating the appearance of risk becomes a key lens from which the industry’s issues is often viewed. In *Stop Reinventing the Wheel*, Baker collects the results of several audience development studies in order to assess audience preferences, particularly noting the audiences’ perceptions of the genre of art music and the live concert format, broken down into categories of non-attenders, infrequent attenders, and those who attend relatively frequently. In addition the categorization of audiences according to their likelihood of attending a concert, he also organizes those who do attend by their musical preferences and other correlating factors, providing a simplified means of segmenting audiences, or “potential” audiences. He determines that consumers’ decision on whether or not attend the orchestral or other art music events is based on the nature of the art form (orchestral music being more abstract than other forms and therefore less popular,) social factors, (lack of) knowledge or relevant information, or its competition with other leisure activities.⁴¹ Like Maitland, who writes that part of the job of audience development is: “helping people to feel comfortable with the conventions shaping the presentation of the arts and changing those conventions in order for more people to feel comfortable.”⁴² For Baker and Maitland, customer comfort is the central means of bringing in new audiences.

Maitland and Baker are not alone in advocating for a more “comfortable” or less “risky” experience: Kolb describes how classical music ritual is designed to alienate and therefore must be overcome.⁴³ Similarly, Card and Cova find that audiences have a negative experience when they feel detached from the experience through lack of necessary knowledge.⁴⁴ Customer comfort can be a useful placeholder for expressing the listener’s *familiarity* with a particular situation or music, but has not gone without criticism. Kolb’s study, “The effect of generational change on classical music concert attendance and orchestra’s responses in the UK and US,” found that contrary to the marketing strategy proposed by Maitland and Baker, that audiences under 45 are more likely to embrace risk and new experiences.⁴⁵ Similarly, in both of Pitts’ studies on chamber music festival listeners and orchestral audiences, she found that audiences were “cautiously open-minded,” and while some chamber music listeners would avoid music with which they were not familiar, others displayed opposite views and would not attend concerts of works with which they felt they already knew.⁴⁶ In her case study with orchestral audiences, she finds similarly that: “challenging repertoire choices need not be a barrier to new attenders; indeed the

⁴¹ Baker, *Stop Reinventing the Wheel*, 43-44.

⁴² Maitland, *A guide to Audience Development*, 10.

⁴³ Kolb, “Classical Music can be Fun,” 18

⁴⁴ Kolb, “Classical Music can be Fun,” 18; Antonella Caru and Bernard Cova, “The Impact of Service Elements on the Artistic Experience: the case of classical music concerts,” *International Journal of Arts Management* 7 no. 2 (2005): 48 accessed November 19, 2015 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41064841>.

⁴⁵ Kolb, “The Effect of Generational Change,” 19.

⁴⁶ Pitts, “What Makes an Audience,” 9.

comments from our respondents show a high level of exploration amongst listeners, and a willingness to extend the boundaries of existing repertoire knowledge.”⁴⁷ However, while Baker also accedes that younger audiences were more likely to enjoy new experiences, these conclusions may be a product of a general predisposition to novelty, risk, and experientialism within this particular generation, representing only a small minority of attendees.⁴⁸

Although a particular aspect of the literature, the idea of customer comfort is not only relevant to the current research, but representative of the debates that take place between the various branches of the study of listening. Beneath these arguments, we see a fundamental debate on which stakeholders and aims should take precedence, and within this, to what degree should actual listener preference or habit be facilitated. How can these differing claims be reconciled? I agree in part with Sigurjonsson who posits that examining audience development solely through the lens of customer comfort or risk-aversion is harmful and too narrowly focused, and can lead to the homogenization of the art music genre. I would also add that these particular marketing-focused theorizations rely too heavily on the non-agency of their listeners. They often pander to the lowest common denominator and diminish the importance and role of art as a means of exploring unknown, uncomfortable, or different experiences or themes. Nonetheless, the notion of customer comfort or risk aversion should not be dismissed completely. Rather, instead of approaching audiences in this marketing framework, we can approach it through the lens of Stockfelt’s theory of modes of listening which balances these aspects. As Stockfelt explains, a certain level of exposure (and therefore familiarity,) is necessary in order to assimilate adequate modes of listening in any given situation. Maitland, Baker and others propose risk-aversion and customer comfort as the primary means of facilitating audience development. Instead, it should be treated as a natural, secondary by-product of the listener’s navigation of the listening experience. Looked at from this perspective, it is possible to facilitate modes of listening and understand the balance between the necessity of a certain amount of familiarity for understanding, without completely removing all challenge or resorting to a small repertoire of well-worn favourites. In addition to returning agency to the listener who has the ability to expand their approaches to listening and the concert experience through exposure or education, Stockfelt’s theory allows for the musical experience to remain at the center of the discussion.

This is not to say that the entire arts administration and management literature is uncritical of marketing discourse in the orchestral institution; Derrick Chong’s key text *Arts Management* advocates for a nuanced approach to the way in which the orchestra views its audience, particularly warning against programming designed solely for mass appeal as well as highlighting the issues surrounding audience

⁴⁷ Pitts, “Views of an Audience,” 83.

⁴⁸ Baker, *Stop Reinventing the Wheel*, 46.

segmentation.⁴⁹ It is important to also be aware that it is possible to be critical of the conclusions or suggestions drawn from a work without dismissing the validity or utility of the research or data altogether. Although research done by Kolb, Maitland, and others may advocate an orchestral model too strongly tied to marketing practices, much of their research and findings are still sound and provide valuable data that would otherwise be difficult to attain. Their work has an unparalleled ability to mobilise large data sets on listening habits in the UK, as Baker has done, or determine listener motivations like Kolb achieved in her study on the BBC Proms.

The connected disciplines (or interdisciplinary regions) of sociology, the sociology of music, the philosophy of music, and new musicology provide an alternative means of examining the listener in the orchestral concert context. Even as early as the late nineteenth century, theorists such as Edouard Hanslick attempted to explain the various ways with which the listener understood music through the lens of aesthetics. Allowing for a more broad definition of what we classify as theorizing listening, it is possible to go as far back as Plato's discussion of music in *The Republic*. Largely under the heading of the philosophy of music, scholars such as Jerrold Levinson, Peter Kivy, Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht and others attempt to define how the listener goes about listening, advocating for how the mind makes sense of music and the relative depth of musical structure the mind can comprehend.⁵⁰ Often, this is understood in terms of dichotomies between passive, aesthetic, experiential, or moment-by-moment listening, versus more active, intellectually-informed, structural listening. These theories focus predominantly on the experience of music, rather than of the social event of the concert; they examine the relationship of the cognitive process and the sound rather than other extramusical aspects. Other theorists such as Bennet Reimer, James Mursell, Roger Sessions, and composers or musicians such as Arnold Schoenberg, Leonard Bernstein, Aaron Copeland, and John Cage also write about the listener and their relationship to music in terms of how it is processed in the mind, but also elaborate on the relationship between the listener and the composer and the artwork.⁵¹ Particularly among the above-listed composers and musicians, there is a concerted attempt to theorize the agency and involvement of the listener in interpreting the music to the point of calling the listener a musician in their ability to decipher and interpret the incoming sounds.⁵² While it is essential to include the experiences and perspectives of these voices that have an extremely highly specialised understanding of the listening process through practical

⁴⁹ Derrick Chong, *Arts Management* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 2nd ed.

⁵⁰ Jerrold Levinson, *Music in the Moment*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997); Peter Kivy, *New Essays on Musical Understanding*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 2001); Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, *Understanding music: the nature and limits of musical cognition*, translated by Richard Evans, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

⁵¹ Bennet Reimer and Jeffrey E. Wright, *On the Nature of Musical Experience*, Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 1992.

⁵² Bennet Reimer and Jeffrey E. Wright, *On the Nature of Musical Experience*, Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 1992.

lifelong experience, it lacks wider applicability or rigorous scientific study. Also, due to their own rigorous musical education, it may be difficult for these kinds of theories to take into account musical experiences of people who are less practiced in these kinds of niche and highly-specialised approaches to listening. However, they are instrumental in providing a variety of different perspectives and vocabularies from which it is possible to perform further research.

More scientific in method are a group of theorists who work to explain the listening process through the lens of psychological principles. This is achieved either through the study of individual phenomena or the analysing music based on the way it is grouped and understood, often using a modified version of traditional musical notation. At its root is traditional harmonic analysis upon which Heinrich Schenker based his own theory for analysing deep musical structure, now widely adopted in musicology under the name of Schenkerian Analysis and which allows for a reduction of immense works into its most basic harmonic components.⁵³ Lerdahl and Jackendorf build on this model of hierarchical structure through their Generative Theory of Tonal Music which charts the ingrained rules that the listener has assimilated to understand music as such.⁵⁴ Meanwhile, Narmour's Implication-Realization model similarly attempts to understand how listeners understand music, but instead through the way in which a composer creates expectations of further developments, influenced by the work of Leonard Meyer.⁵⁵ Theorist Leonard Meyer theorizes that musical meaning comes from the complex interplay of expectations which can be fulfilled, thwarted or left incomplete, in a complex interplay of tensions and releases.⁵⁶ Related to the psychological Gestalt principles, it is connected to other psychologically-informed theories such as David Huron's ITPRA (Imagination, tension, prediction, reaction and appraisal) theory of expectation.⁵⁷ This fascinating body of literature is often used as a means for musicians, composers and theorists to better understand the structures of music.

Although each of these theorists approach the listening process differently, all of them attempt to understand the listening process based on the knowledge that the mind makes sense of music based on learned codes and memories of past musical experiences. It does however neglect to take into account social, cultural, or environmental factors in the listening experience and often assumes a high (or perfect) degree of musical knowledge on the part of the listener, particularly in the cases of Schenkerian or related

⁵³ Allen Cadwallader and David Gagné, *Analysis of Tonal Music: A Schenkerian Approach* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

⁵⁴ Fred Lerdahl and Ray Jackendoff, *A Generative Theory of Tonal Music* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1985)

⁵⁵ Eugene Narmour, *The Analysis of Cognition and Melodic Complexity: The Implication-Realization Model* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Leonard Meyer, *Emotion and Meaning in Music*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956).

⁵⁶ Leonard Meyer, *Emotion and Meaning in Music*.

⁵⁷ David Huron, *Sweet Anticipation: Music and the Psychology of Expectation* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2006).

analysis. Although for the purposes of this paper which looks at the totality of the musical event, this kind of analysis is too granular, this literature is incredibly rich in nuance and helps explain the way in which listeners find satisfaction in the listening process (or complete dissatisfaction and boredom,) based on the mind's ability to organize and make sense of the aural information it receives. These psychologically-informed studies compliment the current research's implementation of the Stockfelt's modes of listening. While Stockfelt does not attempt to break the experience of listening to this level of detail, it could be used to better understand his notion of the role of exposure and the assimilation of modes of listening. He proves, like Meyer and others, that listeners rely on the past experiences and exposures to a particular genre or subgenre of music:

Each hearing person...has been forced (in order to be able to handle her or his perception of sound)—to build up an appreciable competence in translating and using the music impressions that stream in... [which results from] different everyday listening processes as we teach ourselves which of the sounds... should be clustered together and understood as music.⁵⁸

As such, these theories of the psychological understanding of music are fundamentally compatible and complement Stockfelt's theory. Stockfelt's theory of modes of listening does not however fully reside within the psychological or philosophical perspectives of music listening. It instead finds itself in a small but growing realm of sociologically-informed research adopted into the interdisciplinary area of New Musicology. This approach largely concerns itself in understanding or classifying listeners based on the way in which they approach, organize, or treat music. Lilliestam traces this as far back as a scholar in the eighteenth century who divided listeners into those who listened for enjoyment, and those who knew about Western art music.⁵⁹ However, it is Adorno who established the idea of the typology of listeners and whose work is most cited in that regard, although it is largely criticised contemporaneously.⁶⁰

For Adorno, works of music are “objectively structured things and meaningful in themselves, things that invite analysis and can be perceived and experienced with different degrees of accuracy.”⁶¹ The task of the listener is then to attempt to perceive this work with as much fidelity to the composer's intention as possible. His system of classifying listeners is according to the accuracy with which he

⁵⁸ Stockfelt, 132.

⁵⁹ Rösing Helmut & Bruhn Herbert, 'Typologie der Musikhörer', in Bruhn Herbert, Oerter Ralf & Rösing Helmut (eds), *Musikpsychologie. Ein Handbuch, Reinbek bei Hamburg, rowohlt's enzykloedie* (1993): 130-136 In Lars Lilliestam, "Research on music listening: From Typologies to Interviews with Real People," *Volume!* 10 no. 1 (2013): 3 accessed January 2, 2014, <http://volume.revues.org/3733>

⁶⁰ Theodor Adorno, *Introduction to the Sociology of Music*, trans. E.B. Ashton (New York: Seabury Press, 1962).

⁶¹ Adorno, *Introduction to the Sociology of Music*, 3

believes they can perform that task, along with other traits he associates with those abilities such as socioeconomic group or status, predisposition to particular genres of music, attitude towards or knowledge of music. His 8 classifications are the expert listener, the good listener, the culture consumer, the emotional listener, the resentment listener, the jazz listener, the entertainment listener, and the indifferent/unmusical/anti-musical type.

The expert listener has quasi-mythical perfect listening in which he can “spontaneously follow the course of the music, even complicated music, he hears the sequence, hears past, present and future moments together so that they crystallize into a magnificent context.”⁶² This is structural hearing at its most advanced, and Adorno believes it only belongs to a small group of professional musicians. This kind of perfect listening is a model which comes into play when we talk about musical analysis. Formal analysis permits the perception through study of all of the compositional details that may or may not be heard but nonetheless makeup a work of music. The next classification is the good listener, which Adorno feels has been mostly replaced by the culture consumer (who is the “conformist”, a “copious, sometimes a voracious listener, well-informed, a collector of records,” who replaces comprehension of musical structure with a wealth of musical information which is a “subject for hours of inane discussion”).⁶³ In opposition to the good listener and the cultural consumer are the resentment listeners who disparage the use music as a means of “triggering instinctual stirrings.”⁶⁴ The resentment listeners instead reacts to modern musical life and finds solace in period music, conservatism and historicism; (“If the emotional type tends to corn, the resentment listener tends to a spurious rigor, to mechanical suppression of his own stirrings in the name of shelteredness in the community.”)⁶⁵ The jazz listener gets its own category, although Adorno links it to the reactionary listener; “the jazz listener also shares the resentment type’s aversion to the classic-romantic ideal of music; but he is free of the ascetic-sacral gesture. He boasts of precisely his memetic side even though he has reduced it to a pattern of ‘standard device.’”⁶⁶ The above represent only a small fraction of listeners. Adorno asserts that the majority of listeners are those who view music as entertainment, for which “the culture industry is made for, whether it adjusts to him, in line with its own ideology, or whether it elicits or indeed creates the type.”⁶⁷ He describes the listeners of this type as being addicted and who uses the sounds for the illusion of “‘being with’ no matter what,” and are passive to the point of “fiercely opposed to the effort which a work of art demands.”⁶⁸

Contemporaneously, Adorno would likely classify the majority of the Western listening population into

⁶² Adorno, *Introduction to the Sociology of Music*, 5

⁶³ Adorno, *Introduction to the Sociology of Music*, 5-6.

⁶⁴ Adorno, *Introduction to the Sociology of Music*, 6.

⁶⁵ Adorno, *Introduction to the Sociology of Music*, 10

⁶⁶ Adorno, *Introduction to the Sociology of Music*, 13

⁶⁷ Adorno, *Introduction to the Sociology of Music*, 14.

⁶⁸ Adorno, *Introduction to the Sociology of Music*, 15-16.

this category. The final antimusical group are those who “are not deficient in natural talent” but rather result from repressive tendencies in childhood, for which he evokes Freudian-style causes.⁶⁹

Adorno’s pessimistic and deprecating description of the types of listeners, while it does stem from the classification of certain observable behaviours by some listeners, is more attuned to grotesque cynical caricature than rigorous sociological process. However, it has nonetheless been influential in the way musicology thinks about the listener, seeping into the literature as a means of distinguishing and explaining the different types of listeners that exist. The *Sociology of Music* and his article “On the Fetish-Character in Music and the Regression of Listening,” have had a strong impact on the way in which listening is conceived in the Western tradition. In particular, he has contributed to the way in which we often delineate between those that listen for entertainment purpose from those who listen for intellectual enjoyment, as well as solidifying the theory that listening has “regressed” with advent of the mass-media and popular genres which adopts passive listening practices.⁷⁰ Other theorists such as Knut Wiggen and Helmut Rösing, have also theorized typologies along these lines, and the common usage of passive and active listening is taken for granted in musicological circles.

Lilliestam astutely addresses the issues inherent in these kinds of typologies, accusing them of implying “that people *are* a certain kind of listener type i.e. you always listen to music in the same way.”⁷¹ Furthermore, the classification systems assume that music is an autonomous activity, despite modern lifestyles and habits, and furthermore that they are not founded on rigorous study but are rather “speculative constructs of the scholar’s own experiences and conceptions.”⁷² Lastly, he identifies that the typologies privilege autonomous, informed listening performed with concentration and that they value only the recognition and enjoyment of the structural aspects of the work rather than any other emotional or aesthetic experience. Even in Lilliestam’s chosen title for the article, “Research on Music Listening: From Typologies to Interviews with Real People,” we understand his (and others’) frustration with the disconnected nature of listening research and what he perceives as ivory tower or armchair theorizations of listening.⁷³ Like Stockfelt, his study determines that listening is much more complex than the simplistic theories suggest; it cannot be easily classified in either typologies or in blanket dichotomies such as active versus passive listening. Lilliestam concludes that: “the categorizations in listener types and listener

⁶⁹ Adorno, *Introduction to the Sociology of Music*, 17

⁷⁰ While Adorno speaks of regression, Stockfelt would posit instead that the “regression” actually constitutes a shift in dominant modes of listening and the dominant philosophy towards to the role and position of music in society and culture. Rather than practising autonomous reflexive “idealized bourgeois concert hall listening,” entertainment-focused recognition-based popular genres became the norm, with its associated behaviours and philosophies, thus diminishing the degree to which listeners held or developed the competencies normative for the art music genre.

⁷¹ Lilliestam, “Research on Music Listening,” 4.

⁷² Lilliestam, “Research on Music Listening,” 4.

⁷³ Lilliestam, “Research on Music Listening.”

strategies or techniques fails to capture this complexity [of listening] and often stand out as simplified, superficial and permeated with values, often outdated.”⁷⁴ They furthermore; “strike a discordant note with real human behaviour...[and] listening is turned into a question of ethics.”⁷⁵ The study finds instead that “listening is a complicated and multidimensional phenomenon. There is an infinite number of ways of listening, perceiving and experiencing music... Music listening cannot be separated from its context.”⁷⁶ Lilliestam’s work, like those of others in the discipline, attempts to contextualise the genre-normative autonomous reflexive listening within its broader context, taking into account historical Western (art music) privilege. He rightly demonstrates how the assumptions relating to how we listen do not match the everyday experience of the genre. Ending with a rallying cry for further research in the area, Lilliestam singles out Stockfelt, along with others such as Eric Clarke, Åsa Bergman, and Lucy Green who question these suppositions and address the variations in listening practices and experiences.⁷⁷

The present research is greatly indebted to the way in which both Lilliestam and Stockfelt approach the study of listening. These theorists examine listening in the cultural and social context within which it finds itself and they re-examine the often oversimplified dichotomies describing the listening experience widespread in the literature. However, while these literatures make valuable steps towards opening the research to all types of situations and genres, particularly those exciting possibilities in the areas of technologically-mediated listening and parallel listening often associated with Stockfelt’s work, there is a lack of research on the way that this nuanced approach can be used to further examine art music or the orchestral concert hall context. This is an important oversight that needs to be addressed in order to further the musicological field. As audience development, the philosophy, sociology, and psychology of listening have all determined, listening is more complex than previously assumed and the experience of art music through traditional concert settings should not be treated any differently.

In this thesis, I address Lilliestam’s call for multidisciplinary studies of the listener. Using Stockfelt’s theory of modes of listening, I perform preliminary research into genre-normative modes of listening in the modern Western orchestral concert hall. The research examines the persistent perceptions of both real and idealized modes of listening in the concert hall situation, thereby setting a framework that puts into question the assumptions of listener experience, facilitation, and attitude found in the modern live orchestral music experience. It asks how the orchestra navigates the complex problem of assumed

⁷⁴ Lilliestam, “Research on Music Listening,” 19

⁷⁵ Lilliestam, “Research on Music Listening,” 19.

⁷⁶ Lilliestam, “Research on Music Listening,” 18.

⁷⁷ Åsa Berman, “Växa upp med musik. Ungdomars musikanvändande i skolan och på fritiden” (Diss. Göteborg University) 2009; Eric F. Clarke, *Ways of listening: An ecological approach to the perception of musical meaning*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Lucy Green, *How popular musicians learn: A way ahead for music education*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001)

traditional listening practices historically inherent in the art music and musicological context in which its orchestra members are habituated and educated, against the real human behaviour they perceive in their audiences. In response to Lilliestam and Stockfelt, the current research examines the context of the listening experience, avoiding the pitfalls of other outmoded theories that view listening in a vacuum. Furthermore, it dialogues with the connected literature of arts administration, aiming to bring the sociologically informed theories of listening to the field in order to address some of the most pressing questions in the modern orchestral institution. To begin, I establish the theoretical framework established by Stockfelt in order to examine the infinitely broad range of listening practices, and focus its lens on the orchestral situation and experience.

2.2 Stockfelt's Theory of Adequate Modes of Listening

While Stockfelt uses his wide ranging theory of adequate modes of listening to examine background, concurrent, or other forms of non-autonomous listening omitted from traditional musicological literatures yet widely practised contemporaneously, I apply it to the case of Western orchestral concert hall listening, for which it is equally well suited. I strongly agree with Stockfelt that research on alternative forms of listening is essential but I conclude that it is equally important and interesting to examine the changing listening practices of art music listeners whose practices may not necessarily fit into the category Stockfelt labels "idealized bourgeois concert hall listening." Rather than being a homogenously practiced and understood mode of listening, idealized bourgeois concert hall listening is an idealized form assumed (although in different forms) in the literature but whose everyday practice comes in many variations often straying from the theoretical abstract notion.

Ola Stockfelt frames "Adequate Modes of Listening" with an anecdote which acutely demonstrates the localized and environment-specific nature of listening that strays from our image of the historically informed listening we assume at the orchestral concert. During boarding, an airline plays a highly-altered version of Mozart Symphony No. 40 over its sound system. While it provides a soothing experience while Stockfelt listens to it as an aural backdrop, it alarmed and irritated when he gave it his full attention and found it to have been cut and altered with a heavy hand. Rather than a recording of the work performed as it would be in a concert hall, it was without its complex development section and had its sudden changes and dynamics smoothed out. As a result of this jarring experience, Stockfelt undertakes to examine Mozart's Symphony No. 40 through the transformation in its reception and changes to its performance practice, orchestration, and interpretation throughout history, asking himself

whether the airplane's Muzak-like rendition was in any way different than any of its other evolutionary changes.

Stockfelt demonstrates the significant contrast between Mozart's Symphony's initial reception: an avant-garde, technically demanding work both in terms of the virtuosity of its performers and the education required of its listeners, which was followed by its gradual fall into a routine, "old-fashioned" relic in the repertoire that needed an orchestration facelift in order to maintain its clout in the standard symphonic repertoire. Interestingly, he demonstrates its concurrent movement to symbolic prestige as a cornerstone of the classical repertoire; "the work, as it was recreated by the educated listener through established performance praxis, could in this way become its own norm," as a "refuge for the higher art."⁷⁸ This was particularly relevant in the concert hall and its nineteenth century ideologies that contributed to the sacralisation of the symphonic work and gradually allowed for new avenues of expression, particularly as a "medium for interpretation" by individual orchestras and their conductors.⁷⁹ Concurrently, the symphony was also heavily adapted in order to work in other environments such as the bourgeois salon, the restaurant, or other locations where there was an assumption of its subservience to simultaneous activities such as drinking or socialising. However, because these adaptations were largely ignored in academic circles and held little ideological frame, the autonomous and ideological listening became—while not the most widespread in its use—the norm that was to become almost synonymous with the genre itself. Overall, Stockfelt argues how each of the new listening situations elicited new meanings in the work, and even new interpretations or versions of the work. He concludes that "soundbite listening" like he experienced on the plane was simply a response to the act of listening as an overwhelmingly simultaneous or subservient activity which necessitated music that suited an intermittent or a low-level of attention. When the symphony acted as supplementary to another activity, the attention is placed on "single musical moments that become increasingly dependent and free-standing."⁸⁰ He concludes that;

Renditions of Mozart's Symphony no. 40, or indeed of any work, has hence always been adjusted to the activity of the listener and to the listeners way of listening: partly according to the different musical contexts; partly according to different views of the relation between music, the individual and society; and partly according to the different activities the listener could be expected to perform at the same time as listening to the music. As contemporary society and the role of music in that society have changed, new

⁷⁸ Stockfelt, 131.

⁷⁹ Stockfelt, 131.

⁸⁰ Stockfelt, 132.

ways of listening have developed that have made the experience of the symphony a meaningful part of these new contexts.⁸¹

Stockfelt uses the term modes of listening to denote the different ways of listening. These modes are infinite in number. The listener may choose which mode of listening they choose to implement but is restrained by aspects including: the repertoire of modes the listener has at their disposal, the adaptability of the mode to the particular type of music or work, and the appropriateness of a mode to the environment or situation. Finally, it is also restricted by the effectiveness of a given strategy in a particular context; whether a particular mode will suit a particular work that might bring additional challenges or the degree to which a listener is aware of their control over the negotiations of modes. The overlap of these areas, demonstrated in Figure 1, represent the field of possible modes of listening. The mutability and broad definition of listening which takes into account many different ideologies, attitudes, and activities of listening allow for an inclusive definition of listening suitable for the variations of twenty-first century practice. Stockfelt allows for the analysis of listening within the concept of listening not as single experience, or practiced in a single way or even with a single aim; but rather constituting “variations on the act of listening,” as Sigurjonsson and Lilliestam both conclude.⁸²

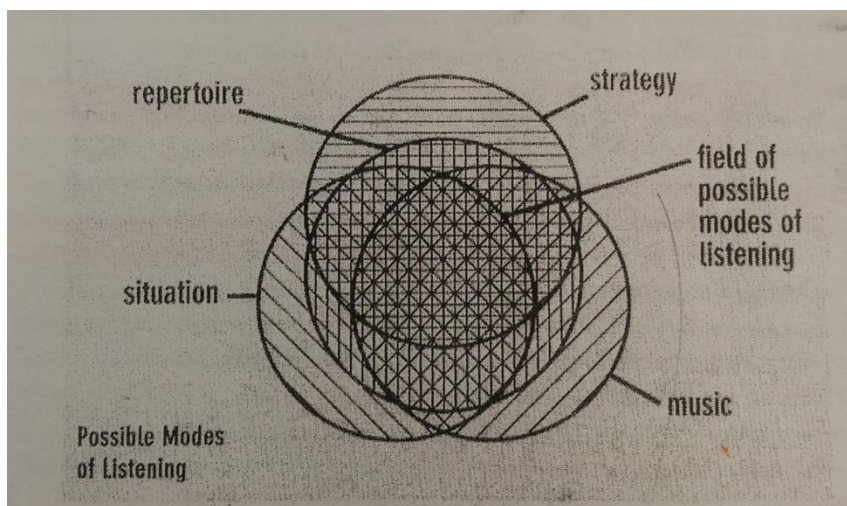


Figure 1 Possible Modes of Listening.⁸³

Importantly to the current research, he theorises that not all modes of listening are equally applicable to all instances, but rather that there are a set of *genre-normative modes of listening* and *genre-normative listening situations*, each of which limit the modes of listening which are conducive to particular genres or environments. As Stockfelt demonstrates in his reception history of Mozart’s

⁸¹ Stockfelt, 132.

⁸² Sigurjonsson, “Variations on the act of listening,” and Lilliestam, “Research on Music Listening.”

⁸³ Stockfelt, 132.

Symphony No. 40, genre-normative listening situations “are not absolute but are perpetually changing in tandem with the changes in society, in the same way that musical styles change.”⁸⁴ Meanwhile, genre-normative modes of listening, denoting those modes of listening most associated with a particular genre, also are mutable, changing “in relationships corresponding to styles of music, to choice of strategies of the listener, to the genre normative situations of listening, and to a series of social factors.”⁸⁵ Where these two groups of listening practices come together, we get what Stockfelt labels *adequate listening*, which occur at “each listening in a genre-normative listening situation with its situation-associated genre-normative mode of listening.”⁸⁶ He continues that: “adequate listening hence occurs when one listens to music according to the exigencies of a given social situation and according to the predominant sociocultural conventions of the subculture to which the music belongs.”⁸⁷ Unlike Adorno who uses the term adequate listening in relation to his typologies, Stockfelt takes care to indicate the value-neutrality of his theory:

To listen adequately hence does not mean any particular, better, or ‘more musical,’ ‘more intellectual,’ or ‘culturally superior’ way of listening. It means that one masters and develops the ability to listen for what is relevant to the genre in the music, for what is adequate to understanding according to the genre’s comprehensible context.⁸⁸

Here, Stockfelt institutes a framework of listening that removes the hierarchical and Western-centric structure which Lilliestam finds so reprehensible when charting the course of sociological theories of listening. This theory is of particular use to the current research because it allows for a framework that not only removes inherent value-attribution to particular styles of listening by placing them in types of listening in a hierarchy, but also allows for the same listener to practice different kinds of listening dependent on genre or situation, widespread in contemporary society. It takes into account the variability of listening experience; its makeup, its social aspects, and its situation. It takes into account that some listeners have different approaches to different genres, or may be knowledgeable experts in one particular genre, and have little to no knowledge of another. It takes into account and addresses the changing in listening modes inherent when a single listener may listen to the same work while distracted by reading, or in the background of a film, just as when they are playing it on the piano, or listening to it in the concert hall.

⁸⁴ Stockfelt, 137.

⁸⁵ Stockfelt, 137.

⁸⁶ Stockfelt, 137.

⁸⁷ Stockfelt, 137.

⁸⁸ Italics removed from original. Stockfelt, 137.

Stockfelt uses the example of Mozart's symphony's flexibility to articulate the problems that arise when listeners do not use an adequate mode of listening, how and why certain modes are more adequate in certain situations more than others, and the constant negotiation of modes undertaken by the listener. Rather than debating historically informed or period performance practice, Stockfelt demonstrates that the perception of the work is vastly altered by the environment and its respective social and cultural situation.⁸⁹ He concludes that there is a particular group of ideal listening situations specific for each historical period for each genre.⁹⁰ He emphasizes the importance of the relationship between the listener and the music in each case and its mutable and historical and sociocultural specificity. The particularity of the relationship between listener and music and the resultant (or required) situations for the musical performance created opportunities to develop new modes of listening, providing new and different musical experiences, creating *genre-normative modes of listening*.

For Stockfelt, a subject's mode of listening deeply affects how a work is understood, to the point where different modes of listening may result in experiencing distinct works. This is to say that the mode of listening utilized by the subject deeply alters not only his experience of it, but the role, meaning, or even the work itself.⁹¹ While I hesitate to accept such an extreme interpretation that the effect of a listener's mode choice has on the essence of a work, or enter into discussions on the nature of the art object in its reproducibility, or the separation between original and variation, which lies outside of the purview of this research, it is nonetheless important to consider that variations in modes of listening impact the experience of the work to a large extent.

Due to the special case of what Stockfelt terms as "bourgeois concert hall listening" in the West, listening to this genre has become disproportionately formalized, with an entire verbal and graphic language used to describe, discuss, and theorize it. The adequate mode of listening associated with the idealized notion of the idealized bourgeois concert hall listener has, over the course of the last several centuries, reified its values and become the de facto language used to describe music in any scholarly or formal capacity, irrespectively of its ability to adequately meet the values, or even musical language, of other musical styles.⁹² This in turn has, until some very recent steps in pop music and New Musicology, led to the systematic devaluation of other modes of listening, feeding the fire of debate between the art music and other musical traditions. Stockfelt also proposes that the reification of bourgeois concert hall listening values led to the logical conclusion that theories of types of listening proposed by Adorno and others, where the adequate mode of listening for the concert hall experience were seen as a universal,

⁸⁹ Stockfelt, 136.

⁹⁰ Stockfelt, 136.

⁹¹ Stockfelt, 132.

⁹² Stockfelt, 138

rather than a very niche subculture. Furthermore, he concludes that Adorno's autonomous "expert listening" is actually rarely suitable for the majority of musical styles and only covers a very small number of historically and culturally situated genres; it is an extreme form of listening. Even among the contemporary and historical advocates of "expert listening", there are variations to its methods, nature, and behaviour, demonstrated by decades of theoretical and cultural debates of both musical style and substance, and cultural behaviours. As Stockfelt concludes, the analysis of music must be done in the genre's normative environment and situation using the correct tools and language as well as the correct assumptions and associations that stem from an adequate mode of listening for the music belonging to that genre. Furthermore, it is important to remember that part of the appropriate situation suitable for everyday analysis may include associated simultaneous activities, whether that be dancing, singing, eating, drinking or purposively analysing the music as a background or secondary activity, such as in the case that Stockfelt presents to us.

In his article, Stockfelt largely dismisses idealized bourgeois concert hall listening in order to treat the music of other genres and situations. He appropriately concludes that Western art music already boasts well developed tools of analysis, a large vocabulary with which it can be discussed, a strongly enforced social behavioural code (relative to other contemporary genres,) and with that, a well-established and agreed-upon notion of adequate modes of listening. In his haste to demonstrate the variations in adequate listening native to other genres or situations and the little attention we pay to them in the literature, he omits addressing listening practices in art music genres. Ironically, it is the evolving nature of its genre-normativity on which he founds his entire premise to the paper, yet he falls into the same trap of grouping this entire spectrum of listening into a single functional category. He refers to Adorno's expert listening as the definition of the genre's adequate mode of listening, without further interrogating whether or not this idealized form can be fairly attributed to contemporary orchestral concert hall listening practices. In this omission, the present research finds its place to expand the literature by exploring listening practices and the modes of listening which are considered most genre-normative and adequate to the genre.

Stockfelt's main argument is that problems arise when the chosen mode of listening is not appropriate for the particular listening experience, whether that be from an insufficiency of the repertoire of assimilated modes of listening or perhaps the inability to correctly decipher the cues leading to an adequate choice. Unlike Adorno and others advocating for listener typologies, Stockfelt gives agency to the listener who chooses which mode of listening to develop or adopt. The intersection of the four fields represented in Figure 1 represent the field of "possible modes of listening" appropriate to a particular listening instance. Influenced by the available strategies, the listener's situation, the music, and the

metacognitive ability to decide between listening practices, different listeners will have access to a smaller or larger array of possible listening modes. While the author stresses that a mode of listening does not dictate the result of the listening experience undertaken using a given mode, it does provide a “basic structure for the experience of listening, *for whatever* a listener listens.”⁹³ The framework of possible modes of listening and their overlap with genre normative modes of listening and listening situations (and therefore adequate listening,) provide us with a means of understanding how (or if) a listener’s possible modes of listening allows for one or several of the small group of adequate modes of listening required in particular listening experience. Events such as (but by no means limited to,) the listener’s lack of competence in a particular listening practice adequate to the genre, or their inability to correctly assess the genre-normative traits of a work due to insufficient or mixed information may lead to a failure to listen adequately. These, and others, are explored further in Chapters three and four, using Stockfelt’s theory as an alternative to the “customer comfort” narrative.

This does not mean that formal music education is necessary to enjoy art music (although this can be argued for certain streams of post-tonality). Stockfelt clarifies that, “adequate listening is not a prerequisite of assimilating or enjoying music, or learning now to recognize a musical style, or how to create meaning for oneself from what music expresses; it *is* a prerequisite of using music as language in a broader sense, as a medium for real communication between composer, musician, or programmer to audience/listener.”⁹⁴ I would add that while Stockfelt claims it is not necessary to practice adequate listening to enjoy the music, his examples and his own experience demonstrate that, if not completely necessary, it is nearly indispensable except in exceptional circumstances, particularly in regards to the ability of assimilating the associated social codes or etiquette required.

As part of the development of listening skills, every person develops their own particular repertoire of modes of listening in conjunction with their inbuilt situational, cultural, social, and environmental genre attributes. Listeners are “forced” to learn to be acceptably competent in understanding and using a variety of different modes of listening in order to process the aural stimuli that are received on a constant basis, classifying them not only into categories of musical and non-musical sounds, but into particular sound-worlds and their related non-musical associations such as subculture, activity, or social context.⁹⁵ Thus, listening is shaped by the sphere in which the listener inhabits and hears. Stockfelt concludes that contemporaneously, the “mass-media musical mainstream (in the widest sense of the phrase) has hence become something of a nonverbal lingua-franca, one common cultural

⁹³ Stockfelt, 135.

⁹⁴ Stockfelt, 137.

⁹⁵ Italics in original. Stockfelt, 132

repertoire transcending traditional culture, class, and age boundaries.”⁹⁶ Furthermore, each listener often inhabits one or more subcultural worlds and each of its respective musical language, social and cultural codes, and other connotations. Throughout the course of their lives, listeners successfully and subconsciously practice adequate modes of listening suited for a variety of musical genres, styles, contexts and environments; generally, it is only when adequate listening does not occur that the negotiation of these practices come to the listener’s attention. Although he only mentions it in passing, I would also add that the listener’s agency in developing the ability to be better aware of their practiced modes of listening and the degree to which they can manipulate which mode of listening to implement in a particular instance is also instrumental to the development of listening. While this kind of metacognition is not essential to listening adequately in different situations, a better awareness of one’s own agency in performing acts of listening results in increased ability to assimilate new modes by seeking out the right kinds of information to make it possible as well as identifying and mitigating problems in either individual listening experiences, or in the social context of the listening act.

Stockfelt correctly concludes that a person can only select a mode of listening that they have assimilated and developed through exposure or through some form of instruction. The rise in popularity and near ubiquity of western pop music in industrialized Western countries along with the decline of art music as common cultural experience in terms of its presence in music education curriculums, in the home, and as a social activity, have relegated orchestral music to a niche subgenre. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century, society, starting with the upper classes and gradually including the middle (and sometimes lower) classes, listened and participated in the live performance of art music. Thus, during that period, a large portion of Western upper and middle class society assimilated the adequate modes of listening through continual exposure and formal education. As a society, art music was consumed through concerts in and out of the formal concert hall, communal music-making, informal discussion, music education programs in and outside of school, and gradually, in the form of radio and mediation technology. Highly regularized concert conventions and music education created a context whereby a large body of common knowledge of the genre was shared among nearly all participating listeners, extending to the knowledge of the core canon, rudimentary musical theory and criticism, as well as social etiquette and codes associated with them.

Contemporaneously, cultural immersion in the art music performance tradition is no longer as widespread; popular music is now considered the dominant genre in the West. This signifies that modes of listening suitable to art music are less exhaustively and less commonly assimilated (formally or informally) than they were formerly. In North America (and to a lesser extent, in Europe) art music has

⁹⁶ Stockfelt,133.

become a cultural niche not only with a strong learning curve, but cultural baggage that make its barrier to entry quite high. Furthermore, public school music education and private music lessons do not necessarily fill the gap. Meanwhile, music is a constant presence in our lives- we listen to it in public and commercial spaces, through personal listening devices while we commute or complete other tasks, in our homes and at our work. Particularly in large cities, there are many opportunities to listen to live music in bars, clubs, parks, and dedicated venues. Music in Western lives tends towards mainly pop music genres (in its broadest definition). In the Western world, listeners are overwhelmingly practising new and different modes of listening suitable to their everyday environments and genres, which are less likely to include art music genres and practices.

A key contributor has been the lack of standardization of musical education, both formally and informally. Art music is, while not unique, quite exigent in the knowledge required to navigate its subgenres with ease. Relatively uniform musical education covered the fundamentals of art music throughout the last couple centuries. Whether implicitly or explicitly explained, these included (but are not limited to); an introduction to prominent composers and works in the canon, a brief overview of the history of Western classical music including the music characteristics of the genres and movements, language (notably descriptors) that could be used to describe music verbally, as well as the ideology and attitude that one should hold towards music in addition to its social, cultural, political, (and often national,) significance. This was achieved through the public school system music classes and the relatively widespread cultural and social practices among the middle and upper classes (and in some countries, across almost all economic groups due to widespread government subsidized funding for arts education in urban centers). After-school music lessons, family or social outings to music venues or festivals to see local orchestras or bands, as well as musical assimilation more recently through repeat listening on personal or home listening devices – radio, stereos, televisions, or computers also contributed to the exposure that helped develop the listening competencies of genre-normative listening practices. In these ways, generations of Westerners inherited a relatively standardized rudimentary musical education that was shared by their community or even their nation.

Contemporaneously, relatively few people develop the very restrictive, comparatively difficult (and Stockfelt argues, extreme,) modes of listening associated with art music. Furthermore, I argue that even within the confines of the “traditional” concert hall or art music venue, there is not always an agreed upon adequate mode of listening due to the opacity and fragmentation around genre-normative practices of the genre. Furthermore, those modes that are often thought of as adequate, such as Adorno’s “expert listener,” are unlikely to be within the listening competencies of the average listener who is encultured in modes normative to other genres. Stockfelt equates adequate listening, understood with its situational,

environmental, and social context, with a language. Specifically, he describes it as a social contract and broadly ideological; relating “to a set of opinions belonging to a social group about ideal relations between individuals, between individuals and cultural expression, and between the cultural expressions and the construction of society.”⁹⁷ For a number of reasons, the ideal listening experience—the ideology of the ideal relationships between the different agents—has changed.

2.3 Genre-Normative Listening: Transformations in Listening Practices

Listening practices are informed by the listener’s culture. The set of rituals and rules that dominate modern listening; its social context, its situation, its associated behaviours and knowledge are all intrinsic to the way that we interact with orchestral music contemporaneously. By becoming aware of the changing place of art music in its sociocultural context, we can better understand contemporary issues in art music and orchestral audience listening practices.

Similar to the way in which cross-cultural comparisons help elucidate our own cultural biases, charting particular currents in art music allows a greater understanding of the modes of listening with which we engage by showing their differences throughout time and space. Particularly relevant to the current discussion are the changes in the types of interactions with art music—the role and makeup of musicking, the social context and milieu of musical performances, as well as the groups privileged with its access and the types of interactions with which they were privileged. Far from an exhaustive history of listening, far beyond the scope of this paper and which has been skillfully recorded by others, I highlight important currents pertaining to art music listening practices, and the changing role of music in the lives of Europeans and North Americans over the course of modern history. The contemporary concept of the orchestral concert is relatively new, largely drawn from Romantic currents of the nineteenth century. The following focuses on the evolution of the secular orchestral genres, (the precursor of the modern orchestral concert,) in the West rather than sacred, chamber, operatic, or other genres, unless they are particularly relevant.

Reliant on an oral tradition, of which much has since been lost, musical life in Medieval Europe is relatively unknown outside of the Christian religious context. For most medieval listeners, formalised musical performance during religious offices would have been the only interaction with formalised musical performance of a type that would be recognizable today. Monks and other religious figures sung

⁹⁷ Stockfelt, 138.

religious chants in Latin disseminated during the time of Charlemagne. While monks had some form of musical education, evidenced by the practical musical treatise dating from as early as the ninth century, there was little opportunity for formalised musical education outside of the Church or the universities opened in the thirteenth century. Outside of noble or royal circles, listeners would have had difficulty understanding the meaning of the Gregorian chant without knowing Latin, despite being familiar with the contours of the chants themselves. The music in church could often be austere; along with the architecture, it was intended to incite reverence and awe in God and the Church. Heavily ritualized and structured, most listeners had a passive and functional relationship with sacred music.

Outside of the strictures of the Church, music was a social activity. It was often improvised and was closely linked to regional traditions, played at special occasions and for dancing. Participatory communal music-making was an integral part of European medieval culture. Traveling musicians often brought with them a repertoire of songs and epic poems (such as the *Chanson de Roland*), contributing to the preservation of history and folklore. Predominantly vocal with occasional instrumental accompaniment, the bards, troubadours and other traveling musicians also acted as hired musicians in the courts of the nobility and royalty who sometimes employed them for their entertainment. For the medieval listener, music was intimately connected with its social function. Relying on an oral tradition, it held little of the preservationist tendencies with which we associate art music today. Outside of the church, music was a participatory occasion, exclusively linked to its associated activities, and local in nature.

A display of wealth and power, noble and royal patrons hired musicians for court chapels on a more permanent basis from as early the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The movement of musicians between their court appointments over the course of their lives increased the dissemination of regional musical traditions across Europe. Polyphony and the expansion of allowable intervals added to the compositional complexity of their music but also led to problems of textual and melodic clarity. Music performed in service became too ornately complex, obscuring the text with their melismatic and textual embellishments. Already suspect for its dangerous ability to arouse emotions or distract from the religious message, important members of the church attempted to tackle the opacity of the text or to remove polyphonic writing entirely.

The Protestant Reformation founded by Martin Luther in 1517, led to a radical change in the way that congregations experienced sacred music. Luther was educated in Greek writings and was greatly influenced by Aristotle and Plato's philosophy on the power of music. In order to facilitate understanding and participation, religious music was simplified by using a more triadic and chordal language, and

composers added new genres such as the chorale. Luther's reforms encouraged the congregation to take part in singing entire sections of the liturgy which had been translated into the vernacular. However, Luther did not eliminate the use of polyphony entirely, believing it an important part of music's ability to evoke the beauty and power of God; "... it is most remarkable that one single voice continues to sing tenor, while at the same time many other voices trip lustily around it, exulting and adorning it in exuberant strains... in a divine dance, so that who are not at the least bit moved know nothing amazing in the world."⁹⁸ Music was considered an edifying and powerful force, and the emphasis on its communal aspects allowed medieval listeners to take part in the religious rites, changing their mode of interaction with sacred music. Although it remained highly structured and ritualized in the Church, it also allowed for participation through communal singing and the simplified language coupled with the vernacular text allowed the listener to alter their employed modes of listening by giving easier comprehension and agency in their interactions with the sacred genre.

The Counter-Reformation within the Catholic Church also witnessed reforms to tackle the convoluted and cumbersome repertoire. The Church adopted the Palestrina's style which was typified by its intelligible chordal setting of the text, exemplified by his *Missa Papa Marcelli*, published in 1597.⁹⁹ Throughout the history of sacred music in the church, tensions repeatedly rose between those who believed music's dangerous and corrupting power and those who advocated for its ability to illustrate biblical principles and divine beauty. Instrumental music in particular was considered dangerous for congregations who could be swept away with unchristian feelings, without a religious text to temper its excesses. Calvinists wished to remove all worldly pleasures from their services and reverted to unison song, while followers of Ulrich Zwingli were banned from making music entirely; many German church organs were destroyed under their zealous hands.

Evidence of rudimentary musical notation within the church has been found dating from as early as the ninth century, although it was largely unstandardized until the sixteenth.¹⁰⁰ Music notation is useful to charting the change in listening practices. Its development demonstrates the rise in musical literacy, leisure time, and general education of the upper classes in addition to facilitating its access and dissemination across larger areas. Gutenberg's press, followed by Ottaviano Petrucci's system for printing musical notation in 1501 reduced the price of notated music, although it would not become widely

⁹⁸ Martin Luther, Preface to *Symphoniae jucundae* [1538], trans. Ulrich S. Leupold in *Music in the Western World: A History in Documents*, 2nd ed. ed., Piero Weiss and Richard Taruskin (Belmont, CA: Schirmer, 2008), 87.

⁹⁹ J. Peter Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout, and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, 8th ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2010), 230.

¹⁰⁰ Ian D. Bent, et al. "Notation." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed May 31, 2016, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/20114pg1>.

affordable until the printing developments in the nineteenth century.¹⁰¹ Instrumental or vocal skill became an expected social grace of the aristocracy from as early as the sixteenth century. Composers began writing for amateur musicians to supplement their income or as part of their court appointment. Works included pedagogical studies and treatise in addition to works that could be played by their patrons and their friends as an evening's entertainment. Madrigals were immensely popular in the sixteenth century, and were gradually succeeded by other genres that suited small groups of communal music-makers of modest abilities singing or playing an instrument. Notation and an interest in music by the elite contributed to establishing a foundation for the formalization of art music. It relied less on the oral tradition, gradually preferring written transmission and eventually, the autonomy of the work itself. Notation yet again altered dominant modes of listening, introducing a new form of visual representation and way of imagining music as well as moving the genre from one largely played from memory or improvised, to one where participants could rely less on their memory. The distance between composer, performer and listener broadened.

The delineation of music according to its function and audience strengthened in the seventeenth century, aided by church reform, a musically educated elite, and printing. The church encouraged the separation of sacred and secular music, and the gap widened between attitudes towards elite and popular music. A large body of what we consider today as art music is drawn from the repertoire composed in the courts and churches of the Baroque era. Music symbolised power and wealth, epitomized by the reign of Louis the XIV of France and his cultural commissions of grandiose proportions. Among other artistic pursuits, music remained dominated by the royal and aristocratic circles, beautifully satirized in Molière's *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*. Musical literacy and skill were associated with wealth and prestige and were eagerly adopted by the growing wealthy merchant and middle classes as it became more accessible.

For the listener, music still held a primarily social function with a focus on its performance over its written score which was only considered a tool of performance. However, a gradual shift was taking place towards the philosophy of music-as-object, leading towards Romantic tendencies of the nineteenth century and continuing into modern art music philosophy. The greater rates of musical education and literacy stressed analytical and theoretical aspects of music and musical practices and compositions gradually became regularized and institutionalized. Musician-composers (the distinction would not be necessary until the nineteenth century,) were still considered little more than servants, employed by patrons to produce a continuous supply of new music for religious services, dances, festivals, events, and for the amateur musical evenings. Art music still relied on novelty, and works were often written for a

¹⁰¹ Bent, et al., "Notation".

specific occasion, rarely to be revived, unlike today's preservationist tendencies. To keep up with demand, composers freely borrowed from their own works or those of others. A composer employed by a family used whatever ensemble of musicians he had at his disposal, freely adapting to suit the available group. Without our modern concept of the artist, the individual, and the value in intellectual property, neither composers nor listeners held issue with such an arrangement that appear quite contrary to today's attitude towards art music.

The Classical era, spanning approximately the years 1750-1820, provided the foundation on which later compositional practices were built. Musical translations of Enlightenment principles permeate the clear style which emphasizes balance and symmetry in its technique as well as rigorously structured and regularized genre conventions. As the middle and upper classes grew and new technologies allowed for more efficient printing and instrument manufacturing, amateur musical skill gradually became more affordable, widening its access. For the middle and upper classes, listening and performing could be daily activities and what we consider now as art music, was the dominant genre. The fortepiano and the harpsichord were particularly popular, offering versatility and affordability ideal for home use. Notably, a musical education became essential for the well-rounded education of any respectable young women.¹⁰² The popularization of learning as a leisure activity also contributed to the interest in art music, illustrated by some of the first public lectures on music and the publication of periodicals, texts, and treatise written with the larger public in mind. Johann Nicholas Forkel, considered one of the founders of musicology, published one of the first encyclopaedias dedicated exclusively to music and some of the first biographical texts on J.S. Bach, Handel, and Mozart at the end of the eighteenth century.¹⁰³ His work, among that of many others, illustrates a shift in the attitude towards music, making its study more scientific and hinting towards retrospective and preservationist tendencies. Although it wouldn't reach its height until the Romantics of the nineteenth century, the image of the composer as artists, the reverential attitudes towards practitioners and the monolithic connotations of the genre began to take root.

The Classical style is notable in the history of art music listening because of the extent to which it regularized and codified forms, genres and styles. Unlike the ornamented and opulent style of the Baroque, the Classical period relished in symmetry, simplicity, and balance. Instrumental music without a text or reference was legitimated in its own right. The regularization of the forms and genres allowed listeners with an adequate musical education to know what they were to expect from a given work as the

¹⁰² See Mary Ann Stankiewicz, "Middle Class Desire: Ornament, Industry, and Emulation in 19th-Century Art Education," *Studies in Art Education*, 43, No. 4 (2002), 324-338. Accessed February 5, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1320981>.

¹⁰³ George B. Stauffer, "Forkel, Johann Nicolaus," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed May 2, 2016, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/09979>.

title often indicated its structure and style. Entitling a work a *sonata* told the listener they were to expect an instrumental work for either solo piano, or another instrument with keyboard accompaniment which followed a convention of three (or sometimes four) movements, the first of which was structured in the Sonata form, followed by a contrasting slow movement and a faster and lighter third. Those who were familiar with the common practices of the genre held privileged information that eventually became shortcuts for providing larger pieces of information; a listener who knew the title and composer of a work would not only be familiar with the style of a particular composer, but often the structure, instrumentation, musical connotations, and expected social etiquette associated with a work before hearing it.

During this period, the delineation of genre according to social role and performance space was more rigorously codified, often reflected in the musical content of the work. The sonata and string quartet were for domestic or private music-making in the home, while works requiring a larger ensemble such as the symphony or concerto were for the public sphere. The content of the works themselves reflected ideas associated with these kinds of spaces, occasions, and groups. The string quartet and the symphony accrued a certain level of gravitas, catalyzed in the 1820s with Beethoven's late string quartets, revolutionary for the time in their innovative compositional technique and difficulty. His symphonies also helped establish the genre, lending to its solemnity and establishing its structure which culminated in his Ninth Symphony and the introduction of a choir to the instrumental form.¹⁰⁴ Thus, the regularization of genres in the early nineteenth century at the end of the Classical period resulted in an established set of rules to be later broken as a way of expanding musical language.

The entrepreneurialism of the seventeenth and eighteenth century and the upper and middle class' interest in art music gave rise to the first public concerts. Respectable musical evenings were no longer restricted to private parties or to court life. For the city-dweller, operas and concerts featuring both vocal and instrumental works became a nightly occurrence. Centered in the cultural capitals of Europe in cities such as Hamburg, Vienna, Venice and London, it had a secondary effect of exacerbating the polarization of access to art music geographically, privileging urbanites. Concerts and operas relied on novelty to attract their audiences and comprised a constant stream of new works performed on little rehearsal time and to mass appeal. Operas, opulent and lavish occasions, starred popular vocalists and acted as a popular social evening of entertainment. The Teatro S. Cassiano was the first purpose-built public opera house, built in 1637 and run on both subscriptions and single ticket sales, allowing for a larger cross-section of

¹⁰⁴ J. Peter Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout, and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, 8th ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2010), 592-4.

society to take part.¹⁰⁵ A combination of spectacle and virtuosity attracted the paying public. Opera acted as a social meeting place for the important and successful tradesmen and aristocrats, often acting as a political and social proxy for contemporary affairs through the use of satire, metaphor, allusion, and the implication of a performer's allegiances. The *Querelle des bouffons* in 1752-1754 demonstrates the political, religious, and social importance of opera at the time. Ostensibly between supporters of Italian *opera buffa* and French *opera seria*, it acted as a proxy for the debate on the political power of the king in both artistic and constitutional matters, in addition to questions of French language and operatic style as well as a separate dispute between Jesuits and Jansenists over a religious matter.¹⁰⁶ Listeners attended in the full knowledge of the thinly veiled insults, satire, and political connotations in each seasons' productions. While extra-musical meaning had always been a part of music, (for instance, the use of music to demonstrate personal wealth and power, or the use of sacred music to evoke the power of God,) opera brought it to conflictual groups and classes with the help of the press and its larger audiences. The operas of Mozart, which seamlessly combined aspects of the both serious and comic operas, transported opera to its social, political and artistic height, and remain staple of the repertoire to this day. Although the use of satire and political commentary had long been a part of both folk and court music throughout history, the developments of this period accentuated music's ability to represent political statements or affiliations, particularly among the burgeoning middling classes. The relationship of the listener to the music and to the larger society again shifted along with these developments.

Operas were social events complete with refreshments, conversation, visiting and card games; they were a place to see and be seen. In 1767, Samuel Sharp writes about his experience at the San Carlo Opera House where he is disappointed with both the acoustics and the audience's behaviour which he attributed to a particularly Italian tradition;

It is so much the fashion at Naples... to consider the Opera as a place of rendezvous and visiting, that they do not seem in the least to attend to the musick, but laugh and talk through the whole performance, without any restraint; and, it may be imagined, that an assembly of so many hundreds conversing together so loudly, must entirely cover the voices of the singers.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Arnold, Denis, et al. "opera." *The Oxford Companion to Music*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed May 31, 2016, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/subscriber/article/opr/t114/e4847>.

¹⁰⁶ Elisabeth Cook. "Querelle des Bouffons." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed May 31, 2016, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/50010>.

¹⁰⁷ Samuel Sharp, *Letters from Italy*, 3rd Ed. (London, 1767), 82-84 in *Music in the Western World: A History in Documents*, 2nd ed. ed., Piero Weiss and Richard Taruskin (Belmont, CA: Schirmer, 2008), 196-198.

While it was the norm to treat operas as a social occasion, Sharp's observations signal that such behaviour may not have been considered universally ideal; that the public concert held competing social functions and codes dependent on location. It can also provide some nuance to the attitude towards music which was neither purely entertainment nor completely for the sake of self-improvement or artistic contemplation; a difference of opinion which would become more striking with the rise of the public concert and nineteenth century philosophies. As the opera and the public concert broadened its audiences and increased in social importance, listening practices and attitudes established but varied between nation, city, or occasion, planting the seeds for the dichotomous attitudes towards music as entertainment (later called popular music), and music as art (later termed classical or art music) that we see contemporaneously. This represents an important development in modes of listening; orchestral music's canonization and conservatism represents a shift in the way in which listeners approached and listened to the genre.

The public concert was also a social occasion, but audiences tended to treat the musical content with more gravitas, particularly as the century advanced. The commercial secular public concert, often an eclectic mix of vocal and instrumental selections, provides the precursor to today's recital (largely attributed to Liszt's virtuosic solo performances) and orchestral concerts.¹⁰⁸ Although existing in its embryonic form in the early seventeenth century, the secular commercial concert is considered to have established itself in London and Oxford later in the century.¹⁰⁹ Music societies, individuals or the musicians themselves charged a modest entrance fee for concerts held in taverns and public rooms, performing to a wide range of social classes. Although a relaxed etiquette was common at the popular social event, the music usually remained the centre of attention.¹¹⁰ As the concert grew in popularity throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century, dedicated halls were built, printed programmes were introduced, and instrumental music became more prominent, with vocal music adopting its own dedicated concerts. As Weber notes, a drastic shift occurred in the performed repertoire between 1820 and 1870; concerts went from featuring music primarily of living composers, to performances almost entirely made up of the Classical canon of past composers, paving the way for the preservationist tendencies of the modern orchestral concert.¹¹¹ Weber goes as far as to suggest that the reverence and mass popularity of

¹⁰⁸ Burkholder, Grout, and Plaisca, *A History of Western Music*, 8th ed., 628.

¹⁰⁹ William Weber, "Concert (ii)," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed June 4, 2016, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/06240>.

¹¹⁰ Weber, "Concert (ii)."

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

canonical works demonstrate an example of mass culture in its very early stages.¹¹² This accompanied other changes such as the steady move from short excerpts and vocal genres to the longer and primarily instrumental genres, aided by the nineteenth century professionalization of the orchestra and other Romantic tendencies. Rather than the continual novelty, the listeners began to familiarize themselves with a body of repertoire and could hear the same work more than once. The implications of this are diverse and established themselves over time, from the ability of listeners to become relatively “expert” on the works of the commonly performed canon, the sacralisation of this small group of composers, and an environment conducive to producing the inner circle of listeners practiced in the rituals and history of the genre and the particular works being performed.

Contemporary attitudes to art music and the conventions of the orchestral concert are largely indebted to the ideologies and practices of the nineteenth century. Art music during this period was at its most popular in the working, middle and upper classes, and was progressively introduced to certain groups of the poor or otherwise neglected classes as part of public education, nationalistic agenda, or philanthropic initiatives. There were nightly concerts and performances in most major cities, coverage in newspapers and a steady publication of dedicated periodicals and biographies. The demographic makeup of art music listeners changed with the social, political, and technological upheaval that accompanied the Industrial Revolution, and the national revolutions in France and America. A combination of social, musical and environmental factors contributed to the grandiose Romantic concert that we still associate with orchestral performances in the twenty-first century. Romantic ideals such as the glorification of the heroic, the chaos of nature, the sublime power of the senses, the importance of subjectivity, individualism, emotionalism, and spiritualism all privileged the abstract and emotional instrumental genres and the autonomy and reverence of the work associated with this period. Concert halls were built larger in order to accommodate greater audiences, and in so doing, encouraged composers to write for a much larger ensembles that would carry the sound in the space. Improved instrument manufacturing and the professionalization of orchestral musicians led to more doubling of parts, a greater interest in orchestration and timbre as well as more accurate and virtuosic performances. The concert was not only a social occasion to be enjoyed by the listener, but also offered a spiritual or mystical experience that explored complex emotions, featured star-status musicians and composers, and edified its audiences.

The popularity and commercialisation of art music broadened the gap between amateur and professional musician, only widened by the institutionalization of music education through universities

¹¹² William Weber, “Mass Culture and the Reshaping of European Musical Taste, 1770-1870,” *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, Vol. 8, 1 (1977), 5-6. Accessed June 4, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/836535>.

and conservatories and the more technically-demanding compositions (itself allowed by the professionalized body of interpreters who had more time to devote to their craft). Composers as early as Mozart illustrated how a musician-composer could be self-employed through a combination of jobs that included composing, teaching, and performing, similar to the type of employment seen contemporaneously. These independent musicians and composers became more common as social restructuring made securing a single wealthy patron rarer and alternative avenues of employment grew. Composers and musicians benefitted from a new level of freedom and often enjoyed the status of a public figure and artist, although many composers and musicians still struggled to find adequate employment as precarious employment work increased. With Beethoven as their catalyst, well-known composers were not only celebrated in popular culture, but perceived as something of a high-priest with access to a deeper, more spiritual realm; an inspired creator rather than a craftsman.¹¹³ The composer evoked the image of the tortured genius; a slave to his art.¹¹⁴ Many listeners became fixated on discovering the composers' compositional and philosophical intentions; a core tenet to the then-forming musicological tradition. His life and works were legitimized as an object of study in themselves. Combined with nostalgia for the past and a Hegelian philosophy of artistic evolution, two conflicting narratives emerged; alternatively dictating historically accurate and faithful performances of ancient music, or a modernized interpretation more suited to the nineteenth-century ear.¹¹⁵

The virtuosity of musicians was similarly celebrated, with pianists and composers such as Paganini and Liszt boasting cult-like followings obsessed by their virtuosic skills and personalities.¹¹⁶ The relatively high level of musical education among a large cross-section of society allowed for a wide interest and knowledge of musical styles, composers, and works, fueling the production of even more commercial educational opportunities in the form of the public lecture, biography, piano transcription and study score. The attention in art music was shared between its social role and the musical object itself. The importance of the score as a product of artistic genius and the performance as an imperfect interpretation contributed to the transition of the work from experience to object over the coming century.

Amateur music-making flourished in the nineteenth century. The works heard at the previous night's concert could be heard again and studied with the purchase of piano transcription. Music-making

¹¹³ Anne G. Piotrowska, "Modernist Composers and the Concept of Genius / Skladatelj Moderne I Pojam Genija," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 38, no. 2 (2007): 232-3. <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/stable/25487527>.

¹¹⁴ Piotrowska, "Modernist Composers and the Concept of Genius," 233.

¹¹⁵ Elaine Kelly, "Evolution versus Authenticity: Johannes Brahms, Robert Franz, and Continuo Practice in the Late Nineteenth Century," *19th-Century Music* 30, no. 2 (2006): 182-3. Accessed February 5, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/ncm.2006.30.2.182>.

¹¹⁶ Burkholder, Grout, and Plaisca, *A History of Western Music*, 8th ed., 628, 630.

was a popular pastime, aided by widespread piano proficiency and the ubiquity of the upright piano among the middle class.¹¹⁷ Participation in a musical ensemble and the art music genre itself were considered to embody a strong moralising force, promoting civic-minded citizens, and reducing crime in the working classes, among other lofty claims.¹¹⁸ States, factory owners, unions, businessmen, societies and charity groups created amateur orchestras, bands, and choirs for their moralising benefit. Additionally, many established state-sponsored civic musical institutions implemented democratization initiatives aimed at edifying the population by providing a limited number of reduced price seats or more accessible programming.¹¹⁹ The popular and often emulated *orphéons* program in France boasted thousands of active members from the lower and working classes. In 1860 it had reached such widespread popularity, that a group of 3000 French choristers from 137 *orphéons* traveled to perform public concerts in London's Crystal Palace, where concerts and ensembles for the lower classes were often hosted.¹²⁰

The proliferation of art music as leisure activity and the status of the composer contributed to the division of the public into those who regarded music as an edifying pastime and those who saw it primarily as entertainment. Although it often delineated along venue, genre, or style lines, some popular works could often be regarded simultaneously as both by a mixed audience, much like in the case of the visitor of the San Carlo Opera House decrying the lack of attention paid to the opera, highlighted above. The diversity of attitudes towards art music led to parallel reactionary currents of audiences' intent on maintaining the newfound sanctity and transcendentalism of music and its respective practices, or its inherent value as entertainment and important lieu for socializing, escapism, and leisure with its own social codes. Vibrant traditional, popular, and folk musical traditions (while always coexisting with its art music counterpart) became increasingly polarized musically as well as in their listening conventions. The institutionalization of art music through education, its newfound reliance on musical notation, the attitude towards art music as autonomous and edifying all contributed to its stark division from folk or popular traditions. While the end of the nineteenth century saw composers borrowing from folk music as its inherent value was (sometimes patronizingly) recognized, the remarkability of this kind of musical borrowing is only as a testament to the two genre's mutual alienation; a precursor to their seemingly dichotomous relationship in the mid and late-twentieth century and the explosion of popular genres and

¹¹⁷ See Stankiewicz, "Middle Class Desire: Ornament, Industry, and Emulation in 19th-Century Art Education," 324-338.

¹¹⁸ Pasler, Jann. "Use, the Useful, and Public Utility: A Theory of Musical Value." In *Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France*. University of California Press, 2009. California Scholarship Online, 2012. doi: 10.1525/california/9780520257405.003.0002.

¹¹⁹ Pasler, Jann. "Use, the Useful, and Public Utility: A Theory of Musical Value." In *Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France*. University of California Press, 2009. California Scholarship Online, 2012. doi: 10.1525/california/9780520257405.003.0002.

¹²⁰ Paul Gerbod, "L'institution Orphéonique En France Du XIX E Au XX E Siècle," *Ethnologie Française* 10, no. 1 (1980): 28. <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/stable/40988588>.

mechanical reproduction. The sum of these changes inculcated of divisions between the purposes, social conventions, and roles of the art music genre which was framed in opposition with other genres. Furthermore, the relationship between the genre and the situation, along with its social etiquette, acceptable secondary activities, or its class-orientation are more firmly entrenched, giving each genre more strict ideas of genre-normative modes of listening.

Perhaps the greatest change to the experience of art music in the twentieth century was the advent of recording and broadcasting technologies. An early prototype of the telephone exhibited at the Paris 1889 *Exposition Universelle* allowed visitors to listen to the opera being performed concurrently across the Seine, dazzling listeners and causing some to clap at the end of the performance, so realistic was it felt to be.¹²¹ Over the course of the twentieth century, the phonograph, record, tape, compact disc, and audio file (among many other formats,) allowed progressively cheaper, more reliable and more compact distribution of music across greater distances. Recordings and live performances could be broadcasted over the radio to an audience of unparalleled size. Listeners could now listen to music without being physically present at its performance, and favourite performances could be heard over and over again. The loss of visual stimuli in audio recordings was reintroduced with the televised concert and other mediums such as the VHS tape, DVD, and digital video formats. The radical improvements in both audio and video recordings created an experience of recorded music that was more faithful to its non-mediated counterpart, which, coupled with the decline in participatory musical culture, contributed to the drastic fall in art music attendance in the twentieth century.¹²²

Recording, broadcasting, and distributing technologies radically altered the listeners' relationship with art music. Listening to music could be divorced from its creation, and reproduced exactly for the first time, allowing for individuals to hear their choice of work at almost any time.¹²³ As mediation technologies became more affordable, music had the potential of being a private and personal activity, rather than a social one. While music still had strong ties to ideas of belonging, identity, and community, the focus was not necessarily on the performance's social aspects, but on the work, artist or composer whether or not it was performed live in a concert hall, or in the privacy of the home. Many cultural groups formed around different popular genres, while art music remained primarily for the upper classes. Like

¹²¹ Nemo, "Le Théâtre par telephone à l'Exposition," *Le Figaro*, 2 July 1889, 2 in Annagret Fauser, *Musical Encounters at the 1889 Paris World's Fair* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2005), 283-7.

¹²² Leo Botstein, "Music of a century: museum culture and the politics of subsidy" in *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Anthony Pople (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 41-42.

¹²³ See Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Visual Culture: Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural Studies*, Vol. 4, ed. Joanne Morra and Marquard Smith (New York: Routledge, 2006), 114-136.

many other cultural forms, music had the potential to be an object to be consumed.¹²⁴ The sum of these changes radically altered the modes of listening practiced by the listener on a regular basis. In addition to those modes most suited for the concert hall, or concerts in pop venues, bars, restaurants or in public places, new modes of listening adequate to background and parallel listening normative to music played over loudspeakers in malls, supermarkets, or in the car were perfected. Additionally, music was added to enhance the mood on movies and TV shows, requiring yet another new relationship to the sounds. The advent of personal listening devices further allowed the listener to listen in any environment, adopting a mode of listening with behaviours that mirrored those of other occupiers of the space, rather than in association with the music to which they listened. While genre-normative modes of listening for the concert hall were practiced less overall, the scope of possible modes of listening and means of interacting with music increased exponentially during this period and into the present.

The division between listener and performer widened further; there was much less need for the listener himself to play an instrument or sing, previously very important to the ability to listen to music. Recordings allowed musical performance to be perfected as performers could make several takes, or even splice performances together.¹²⁵ Recordings often aimed to be faithful and perfect interpretations of scores, thus reinforcing the Romantic ideals of inalterability and infallibility of the art, although famous conductors and musicians were still prized for their unique interpretations. Many theorists commented on the change in listening habits, including Benjamin and Adorno, often unhappy with the separation of performance and work.¹²⁶ Some composers in the second half of the century turned to entirely electronic performances, bypassing the musician altogether as their works became so virtuosic as to becoming virtually unplayable.¹²⁷ As a whole, technological mediation divided the average listener from art music's production, making it a relatively more passive and abstract experience. While the average Western listener of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries receives a limited musical education as part of their public education, they are less likely to attend a live art music performance than previously, or to play an instrument themselves, as this is no longer a necessity to the hearing of music. However, technologies such as music digitization have democratized its access to such an extent that listeners can conceivably

¹²⁴ See Theodor Adorno, "On the Fetish-Character in Music and the Regression of Listening," in Andrew Arato and Erike Gebhardt, ed. *The Essential Frankfurt School Reader* (New York: Continuum Publishing, 1985), 270-299.

¹²⁵ See Greg Milner, *Perfecting Sound Forever: An Aural History of Recorded Music* (New York: Faver & Faber, 2009).

¹²⁶ Although they are polemically opposed, both Adorn and Benjamin think strongly on the disassociation of listener and performance and the consequent proliferation of passive listening achieved by recording. See Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," 114-136 ; Adorno, "On the Fetish-Character in Music and the Regression of Listening," 270-299.

¹²⁷ Burkholder, Grout, and Plaisca, *A History of Western Music*, 8th ed., 948.

become familiar with any number of musical genres, histories, and theories if they choose with little financial or social barrier, relative to previous periods.

The historical and social events that spurred the invention and development of recording and broadcasting technology, notably the World Wars, also contributed to changes in the ideologies and musical styles of the twentieth century. Disillusioned, many composers felt that the musical style and language of the Romantics had been exhausted. They felt unable to express themselves in the same way, confronted with the horrors of war and a changing social, political and cultural landscape. Composers, conscious of the enormity of the art music repertoire and embracing individualism, tried to create their own modern voice. Art music witnessed such diverging styles as Impressionism, Expressionism, Primitivism, Neo-Classicism and Neo-Romanticism, Minimalism, Atonality, and Serialism, among many others, in addition to variations according to national schools. New technologies expanded the compositional tools available, (such as recording-reliant styles such as *musique concrète*), and accelerated the cross-dissemination of genres. Post-tonal styles often disregarded tonal conventions and forms entirely, relying on theoretical and mathematical systems of composition rather than relying on traditional harmony or the ear. Many of the modern (and particularly atonal or serial) currents left listeners alienated and ill-equipped to make sense of the music. A good understanding of musical analysis, knowledge of the particular work or composer, and many repeat hearings were necessary for even a cursory understanding of some works. The relationship between the composer and the listener changed; some composers chose to disregard listener discontent in mutual alienation.¹²⁸ While some composers turned back to tonality and tried to bring in audiences by expanding music in other ways, composers like Schoenberg took it as a signal to turn his back on the public entirely, having his works only performed in select, invited circles.

Over the course of the century, popular music and popular culture supplanted art music as the dominant social and escapist entertainment for the middle and upper classes. Art music was associated with the moneyed elite and its niche audience was distanced from the public at large through its image and its barriers to entry. However, it continued to play a large institutional role with government subsidy, expanding university and conservatory programs which became the new patrons of high art music, civic and state operas and orchestras, as well as many classical radio stations and recordings. It remained the genre privileged by the state in most Western nations. Art music traditions also permeated the film, television and most recently, video game industries, providing new directions for composition and larger audiences.

¹²⁸ Milton Babbitt, "The composer as Specialist" [originally published as "Who Cares if You Listen?"] in *The Collected Essays of Milton Babbitt*, ed. Stephen Peles et al. (New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 2003), 48-54.

Adorno and others believed that music was becoming a passively consumed product rather than an artistic experience, fueled by the proliferation consumerist practices of listening mediating technologies.¹²⁹ Adorno posited that music had transitioned into a backdrop to daily life and a means of controlling mood or avoiding silence, rather than an activity in its own right.¹³⁰ Contemporaneously, a variety of factors including economic barriers and negative image have made attending a live art music performance a luxury to be enjoyed on special occasions, rather than a staple of the social calendar for the majority of listeners. However, rather than indicating a decline in live music attendance on the whole, other types of music including jazz, rock, pop, folk, and new genres provide ample social entertainment; much like popular and folk genres had done concurrently through the course of art music history. Many composers and academics have now recognized the value of some popular and folk musics evidenced by its introduction into the formal study of music in the form of pop music studies and ethnomusicology and its influence in some modern compositional practices.

Art music has witnessed immense change over its European and North American history. The gradual growth of the middle classes and the city dweller's leisure time, combined with technological development which allowed improved instrument manufacturing and printing, made amateur music-making an attractive pursuit, which has since gradually declined (in the art music genre). Art music was introduced to the public, only to be brought back into the domestic sphere with the advent of affordable recording technology. From a rare occurrence to an immersive daily experience, the nature of art music has transformed along with its reciprocal relation to its listeners.

The utility of such a brief history of listening habits and attitudes is in its ability to demonstrate the listening act's variability and gradual evolution. The cultural and temporal specificity of listening practices negates any attempt to create autonomous typologies of listeners that privilege particular types of listening. Any attempt to strictly delineate styles of listening must inherently be biased to a particular time and place. The seventeenth-century listener experiences and regards music in a way that is at odds with that of the modern twenty-first century. Similarly, a hierarchy of types of listening, while it may indicate ideal methods for comprehending particular musical genres composed for particular audiences, cannot be considered universally valid. Although the modern orchestral performance format implies its historical longevity and authority, the practices surrounding it and our attitude towards it are modern creations dating only from the last century or two.

Although considered a niche interest by many, art music continues to flourish globally, despite the struggles experienced by many musical institutions in relation to funding and audiences. Art music

¹²⁹ Adorno, "The Fetish-Character of Music and the Regression of Listening," 271.

¹³⁰ Adorno, "The Fetish-Character of Music and the Regression of Listening," 271.

has experienced enormous change in its language, its audience, and the attitude with which it is perceived. The demographic makeup of art music listeners has gradually broadened from a group almost exclusively made up of church congregations, royalty or nobility from before the tenth century, to one that can theoretically be accessed by almost all levels of society.¹³¹ Listener's access and the diversification of musical styles have also changed alongside the shift from a primarily oral to a largely written tradition.

As Stockfelt demonstrates, the relationship between the listener's choice of mode of listening and the environment in which the musical interaction takes place is particularly strong. The modern conception of what Stockfelt refers to as genre-normative "idealized bourgeois concert hall listening," characterized by its autonomous reflexivity and knowledge-based process, is largely an invention of the nineteenth century and was not practised universally even then. Incidental music, sacred text settings, and music intended for a venue characterized by its role as a social meeting place such as the opera, were both performed concurrently with their own sets of genre-normative behaviour. These genres were themselves appropriated into the normative practice of bourgeois concert hall listening as they were brought into the concert hall. Eventually, all genres and works we now categorize under the banner of art music (whether or not they were intended as such at the time of their creation,) have adopted the same sets of adequate modes of listening, provided they are performed in the concert hall environment. When they are not performed in this venue, they often bring along with connotations such as refinement, elitism, intellectualism, or the like (consider for example the atmosphere added by a string quartet at an event, a Strauss waltz or an opera to a film.)

The musical styles of the orchestral repertoire are built on the assumption of a different listening profile and modes of listening than those generally practiced in the twenty-first century. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century (from whence the majority of the orchestral music derives,) the works were composed for a public who were already well practiced in the genre-normative listening for the genre. The audience for orchestral music were often of middle and upper classes who often had already acquired some sort of formal musical education and where art music was considered a common social activity. The orchestra increasingly became associated with "higher" art as it was separated more firmly from popular music, growing in complexity and academicism beginning in the late nineteenth century. The repertoire most performed today was composed with an audience already familiar with autonomous reflexive and knowledgeable listening, and would likely have been able to play some instrument themselves. That is to

¹³¹ Although, in theory, access to art music education in North America and Europe is accessible to everyone through the public education, in reality, there exist numerous barriers to entry. The elitist image of the genre also contributes to the restricted audience. Specifically, professionalization in music has historically and systematically privileged higher-income groups as it often requires expensive materials, instruments, lessons and tuition over many years, in addition to extensive time commitments that might otherwise be spent in a more lucrative employment.

say, the ability to decipher complex structure and the privileged aspects of the genre were taken for granted by the composer and written into the musical style, as were the performance spaces for which they were intended. Stockfelt writes;

That both opera and symphonies have been performed in many different environments, and today can be listened to... in almost any environment, does not change the fact that opera concert halls, as buildings and social environments, have played a central role in the development of opera and symphony: through the development of modes of listening, these environments have created the structure and made understandable the sound structures of operas and symphonies. The opera house and the concert hall as environments are as much integral and fundamental parts of the musical genres “opera” and “symphony” as are purely intramusical means of style.¹³²

Thus, the environment of the concert hall has shaped the way that we listen to music and set much of the normative behaviour associated with the genre. It is the recognition of these environment and genre cues that allow us to decide which modes of listening are most appropriate, according to our experiences and observations of similar past events.

Adequacy of a mode of listening in a particular situation is drawn in part by the agreement of the listener to “listen to music according the exigencies of a given social situation and according to the predominant sociocultural conventions of the subculture of which it belongs.”¹³³ That is to say, like any other language, it is a contract between people; “an agreement about the relationship of the musical means of expression to this group’s picture of the world.”¹³⁴ If the group of listeners within the specific situation (the concert hall,) develop and largely agree on a different mode of listening, (or adopt a mode of listening from an external genre,) they change the normative behaviour, and thus evolve the genre-normative mode of listening. As evidenced from the above history, there are many examples of the evolution of any given genre-normative listening situation and the genre-normative mode of listening.

As Stockfelt implies, we will assume that, (taken broadly,) the mode of listening most associated with the modern orchestral concert hall is his idealized bourgeois concert hall listening, irrespective of whether or not it is practised. From this definition we can then unpack the perceived behaviours and listening practices of audiences which stray from this simplistic model.

From popular culture like television and movies, from the common cultural knowledge that are consumed in Western countries, there are a number of associations, connotations, and

¹³² Stockfelt, 136.

¹³³ Stockfelt 137.

¹³⁴ Stockfelt,138.

assumptions intrinsic to orchestral concert hall listening. The greatest marker of an art music concert is the way in which it is attended to in silence. Any conversations between listeners or between listeners and the performers are generally considered unacceptable. Satisfaction with a performance is shown through applause on the entrance of the concertmaster and the conductor before the concert onto the stage, and again when the conductor has lowered his baton and turns to accept applause at the end of a piece of music.¹³⁵ However, demonstrating the complexity of the listening experience, the rules of when it is allowable to applaud are being relaxed, and in some places (or, more likely, in some concerts or in some works,) it is acceptable to applaud between movements. In some cases, it is even acceptable after a solo, when the work demonstrates some affinity with another genre like jazz, or if the conductor demonstrates that this is acceptable. The types of communication allowable are also heavily restricted; it is normal in concert halls for no spoken interaction to take place, not only between audience members, but also between the performers and their audiences. The conductor is not required to address to the audience to introduce works or the like, except with a bow. However, the conductor occasionally speaks to the audience directly, usually before the beginning of a concert or a work which as increasingly become more popular, often used to indicate that a concert should be treated more casually. On very rare occasion, he demands some kind of collective response from the audience, although this is quite rare. The environment is conducive to this kind of listening with all of the seats facing the stage and with lights turned down except where the stage is illuminated. There are exceptions however, with the TSO raising the lights during works featuring a vocalist in order to allow audiences to read along with the printed programmes, which often feature an English translation, or similar music-specific alterations.

The social etiquette of the concert is very well developed; even appearances of spontaneity are often planned. At the end of a work, it is customary to applaud for long enough to allow for the soloist or conductor to leave and return on stage for further bows. At this time, they may also recognize the orchestra, who stands in recognition. If a soloist returns three times on stage to receive applause, he “spontaneously” decides to give an encore (if they indeed have one prepared); an “unplanned” short solo piece that demonstrates their virtuosity. Even the order of the works performed follow a certain logic, with concerti and shorter works in the first half, and symphonies in the second. Despite the strict codes associated with the genre and the environment however, like any large social gathering, the reality of each concert is slightly different dependent on those involved. Infinitely fascinating and complex, Christoph

¹³⁵ It is common for audiences to pre-emptively begin clapping due to their enthusiasm for a good performance, or through a miscommunication on the length of silence expected at the end of a work.

Small interrogates the subtleties of the environment, genre, and their implications in his descriptive book, *Musicking*.¹³⁶

The characteristics of listening associated with the orchestral concert are also fairly unique to the genre. Even more so than the other aspects of the orchestral concert, these characteristics are generalities that are *associated* with the concert situation, and not necessarily practiced, as we shall see in Chapters 3 and 4. Furthermore, the specificity and nature of these assumptions are heavily contested and debated among musicologists and philosophers, particularly where the nature of understanding and finding meaning in a work is concerned. In general, listening to the orchestral genre in the concert hall is fully concentrated, with all attention focused on the orchestra (regardless of the feasibility of this kind of all-consuming attention). Listening to the orchestra is the primary function, with the visual stimuli taking a secondary role; some audience members even shut their eyes. Listening to this genre is considered also to intellectually reflexive and knowledge-based, with less regard for emotional or sensorial experience, except as a result of these reflexive activities or for the purposes of describing the work.

Furthermore, it is taken for granted that the audience already holds, if not already familiar with the work being performed, some form of music education comprising the information needed to “unpack” the concert. These include, but are no means limited to, the ability to decipher the programme and understand the types of music performed based on the names of the composers and the subgenres of works (for example, a concerto versus a symphony); the structure of the piece based on its subgenre classification, and the further ability to follow this structure as it unfolds in performance; the ability to compare and appraise the performance of the work (which may include individual performances of a soloists or conductor,) to performances done by other performers; to compare the musical content of the heard work to others by the same or connected composers or styles; or to trace musical influence in a similar manner. The listening is characterised as reflexive because it expected that the listening experience is not only enjoyable, but an intellectual experience centered around reflecting on the micro aspects of the work’s structure and composition, and the macro aspects of the work within the larger musical or cultural context. All of these types of information are accrued through an incremental and lengthy interaction with the genre; it is assumed to be an intellectual and knowledge-based listening experience.

This type of autonomous reflexive listening, with its social, cultural, class, and other connotations is associated with the orchestral concert setting. However, the silent, concentrated, autonomous, intellectual, knowledgeable, and reflexive listening does not necessarily represent the actuality of

¹³⁶ Christopher Small, *Musicking: The meanings of performing and listening*, (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 2011)

listening, or the practices of the majority of listeners. As Stockfelt reminds us, the idealized bourgeois concert hall listening is an “extreme... [an] exception,” on the edges of what modern day-to-day listening entails.¹³⁷ Much (but not all,) of the music of the genre from the nineteenth to the twenty-first centuries was written with this kind of listening assumed, but it does not necessarily mean that it is essential to adopt this extreme form of listening, or have an extensive set of knowledge to enjoy or find meaning in the work. With the case of the orchestral genre, we are faced with a curious dilemma whereby listening to music “according to the exigencies of a given social situation and according to the predominant socio-cultural conventions of the subculture of which it belongs” becomes more complex by the opacity with which the cultural conventions in their practical implementation are understood.¹³⁸ In the following two chapters and the case study of the TSO, I examine how this genre-associated mode of listening manifests in reality, and how it differs and resembles the broad strokes of our cultural assumptions.

2.4 Methodology

I use the lens of Stockfelt’s theory of adequate modes of listening to examine perceived listening practices and their relation to programming and facilitation at the Toronto Symphony Orchestra during the 2015/2016 concert season. An exploratory ethnographic case study, it provides preliminary themes in audience listening practices and demonstrates the utility of Stockfelt’s theory to further research in the field. In order to achieve a nuanced overview of the facilitation strategies undertaken by the Orchestra, the study triangulates several methods in order to understand the various ways that the Orchestra perceives and addresses the needs of the listener.

The aim of the current case study is to explore how orchestras understand and facilitate audience members’ perceived listening experiences through the lens of Stockfelt’s theory of adequate modes of listening. Some questions leading the research include; what are the assumed genre-normative modes of listening at the TSO as a representation of the genre? What are the relationships and their connected ideologies of listener, music, and institution at the TSO? Do facilitators, Orchestra, and audience members agree on the social contract of a single (or limited number of) adequate modes of listening? What does it look like when they do agree and when they do not? What can be done to address any discrepancy? Can multiple expectations of adequate modes of listening co-exist? All of these questions

¹³⁷ Stockfelt, 141.

¹³⁸ Stockfelt, 141.

shape the research with the result of uncovering major themes that underpin facilitation practices and the relationships between the orchestra and its listeners.

The current study has a qualitative ethnographic approach that triangulates several methods. It is designed as a preliminary exploratory study that will use some of the above guiding questions to study facilitation strategies and responses at the Toronto Symphony Orchestra, representative of North American orchestras more broadly. Concentrating on a single season, the data is collected through interviews, published documents produced by the Orchestra, and observational research. The combined methods approach was chosen in order to form a comprehensive picture within the means available, as well as reaffirming the necessity of joined academic and industry research. It focuses on those audiences who have already chosen to attend the orchestra, rather than the greater public, thus assuming some initial interest in the genre leading them to their attendance.

I make a number of assumptions in the study's design. Importantly, I adopt the view that orchestras fundamentally wish to perform music of high musical caliber for their audiences and that they prioritize and serve their audience to some extent, as per the prevailing modern institutional and business practices of large public orchestras. This is to say that I view the TSO as typical of the majority of publicly-attended orchestras who serve their audience through education or providing artistic or cultural experience which they believe will be of interest to their audience to some extent. I recognize that audience-centric aims are not uniform among all Western orchestras and that many orchestras focus on other aspects. These may include the development of musicianship, (such as in the case of amateur or youth orchestras,) research, (university or historical groups for example,) or professional recording orchestras (recording soundtracks or other non-public performances,) or even the development of musical language through compositional or interpretive experimentation which cater to only very limited audiences. The case study is founded on the notion that the TSO is typical of large North American (and broadly, Western,) orchestras associated with a city's or country's publicly-attended cultural institution.

Following the work of Stockfelt, Lilliestam, and Small, I consciously frame my case study, as I do my thesis, around the necessity of descriptive rather prescriptive language and conclusions. That is to say, the study does not assume the cultural superiority of art music, nor argues for its validity. It recognizes the highly specialised and rigorously developed musical language is distinct from other genres and occasionally requires experience (either through exposure or education,) in order for the understanding or cognition of certain of its aspects, as does any other musical genre that is developed in this way. It recognizes that, like many other genres, orchestral music has a relatively strict set of social etiquette. It recognizes that the genre of art music, and especially art music performed in the orchestral

concert hall, have been historically privileged in the West. Like others in the modern sociomusicological tradition, the current research focuses on describing the phenomena as accurately as possible, being mindful of its context without reference to relative value of the genre. However, where value-based language, assumptions and conclusions are made by the interviewers or in other data, I note and contextualize wherever possible.

In order to limit the research, I have restricted by study to the programming aimed at adults, the core demographic of the orchestra, despite the fact that the TSO has a strong children's educational program and concerts specifically aimed at children and teenagers. Additionally, I selected only a few supplementary activities and facilitation initiatives to study in depth. This choice was made based on how representative these activities were to the Orchestra's activities, how central they were to the 2015/2016 programming and mission, how closely related to the subject of the current research, and finally how much data could be collected on them. Some notable programs and initiatives which were not covered, but would provide interesting further study include; the Toronto Symphony Youth Orchestra, the children's concerts and classroom integration programs, partnerships with institutions such as Luminato Festival, Second City, Toronto Sick Kids Hospital, and the Arts Gallery of Ontario, the TSO's own podcast and radio show, the Late Night concert series targeted at audiences 16-35, events and materials specifically designed for donors and subscribers, pop-up and free concerts, TSO orchestral tours including Northern Canada.

I have chosen to apply a range of qualitative measures in order to achieve a comprehensive overview of the Orchestra's overall audience development practices. Predominantly ethnographic in nature, these include a survey of publicly-available printed and digital materials produced by the TSO, interviews with musicians and administrative staff, and several instances of participant observation. Outlined below, the triangulation of these three methods allow for a more thorough overview of audience development practices and the TSO's relationship with its public than any one could achieve within the constraints of the current project. The print and digital media provides an overview of facilitation strategies and programs implemented in the TSO, as well as the language used to describe it. Interviews conducted with musicians and administrative staff provides more specific data pertaining to these means of facilitation, on the perception of listening practices among audience members, and the interview subject's own relationship to their audiences. Finally, the participant observation, undertaken as a member of the audience during select concerts, provides a means of checking the reception of the facilitation strategies and perception of listening modes in practice, as well as performing preliminary steps for later research. The participant observation is designed as a check rather than a primary means of gathering data. Listed below are each method and the details pertaining to its use in data collection:

Interviews: Eight interviews were conducted between August and December 2016, following the completion of the 2015/2016 concert season. Six of the interviews were with musicians of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra, and the remaining two were with members of the Orchestra's administrative staff. The TSO has a total of 88 full-time musicians and 74 full and part-time staff. Musician interview subjects were part of a non-random accidental sample; an email requesting an interview was sent to any musicians whose contact information was publicly available and was granted to whoever demonstrated interest. In addition to the 18 requests sent by email, some interview subjects indicated other orchestral members who may be interested in the research study, some of whom provided contact information, resulting in a 44% response rate. The choice of interview subjects from the administrative staff were selected by non-random purposive sampling; emails were sent to administrative staff according to their relevancy to the present research. Members involved closely with the overview of the TSO's operations and activities as well as those linked to producing content for the orchestra, running or organizing supplementary activities, or who had direct contact with their audiences were targeted. Any member of the orchestra or the administrative team demonstrating an interest in participating was given an interview. Due to the small number of participants, the data drawn from the interviews must be approached with caution and makes a quantitative analysis of the data unreliable.

Interviews consisted of a combination of standardized questions and open ended conversation prompts.¹³⁹ This semi-structured style was chosen in light of the exploratory nature of the study. Interview subjects were each interviewed separately, with the exception of two married interview subjects who opted to have a joint interview. Each interview lasted approximately thirty minutes, (reflecting the availability particularly of the busy musicians,) with the longest nearing fifty minutes. Five interviews were conducted in person in public spaces in Toronto while one was conducted in a private green room in Roy Thomson Hall (RTH). The final interview was conducted over the phone. Interviews were recorded and subsequently transcribed. Two participants chose to remain anonymous while the remaining six are referenced by name and title in the research with their permission.

Both administrative staff interview subjects are also active musicians and have received comparable musical training as their orchestral member counterparts, although this was not a requirement of their involvement in the interview process. Although I often distinguish between "musicians" and "the administration," these are largely a product of the subject's relationship with their audiences within the structure of the TSO's activities and the types of questions which were posed given their areas of expertise, rather than their qualifications as musicians, listeners, or administrators. Both administrators

¹³⁹ See Appendix A for interview protocol

interviewed are also highly-trained musicians. The participants represent the brass, woodwind, and string sections, with a strong majority representing the string section, representative of the orchestra's makeup.

While interview subjects were approached at random, there are still opportunities for biased results. Difficulty contacting the musicians of the Orchestra resulted in a process of finding contact information through the musicians' other affiliated organizations or work, made easier by the common practice of orchestral musicians working concurrently in several ensembles, organizations, or as a freelance artist. This gives rise to possibility of bias by the fact that the majority of contacted musicians were also professors in a music faculty; a fact which may have influenced their attitude towards education, and the role of the orchestra for instance. Additionally, while many invitations to interview were sent, data could only be collected from those who chose to respond. As one interview subject suggested, this may have influenced the results because those who were most likely to reply were also more likely to have more inclusive attitudes towards research, audiences, participation, and outreach than those who did not.¹⁴⁰

Document survey and analysis: In addition to the interviews, any publicly-available print and online materials produced by the Toronto Symphony Orchestra were collected throughout the course of the 2015/2016 season. These included:

- Issues 01-08 of the "key" concert programmes and the 2015/2016 season brochure.
- Press Releases from September 2015- January 2017 published on the tso.ca website.
- Advertisement flyers available at Roy Thomson Hall.
- Website content such as orchestra bios, concert information, and visiting information.
- The Canada Mosaic 150 micro-site, including the e-learning platform, released in December 2016.
- All publicly available educational materials, including PDF versions of lesson plans and teacher resources for classroom integration of educational activities at the TSO.
- Annual reports for the 2014/2015 and the 2015/2016 seasons.

Much of the website content was mirrored in print publications such as the season brochure. The TSO is also involved in social media (including Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube,) but these were not studied in any rigorous way. The principal focus of analysis were issues 01-08 of the "key" concert programmes, while the rest of the data obtained acting as contextual information or to provide statistics and information on ancillary activities and events. There were no strict coding attempted on the concert

¹⁴⁰ Wendy Rose, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, November 10, 2016.

programmes, rather, an ethnographic qualitative view was used in order to assess themes within its content.

Additionally, a list of all of the works performed by the Orchestra in its 2015/2016 season was compiled with the following data: date, concert title, guest musicians (if applicable), conductor, works performed, TSO series, and any additional notes, including special events, talks or other initiatives given around the concert.

Concert Observation: Lastly, eleven concerts were chosen for observational research. The observational component of the data is designed primarily as a check for confirming or questioning the data collected through the interviews and documents. The case study is designed to explore the way in which the Orchestra facilitates its audiences; it is from the perspective of the institution. However, the concert observations provide a means of informally affirming or calling into question the programming or initiatives' reception by observing broad trends in audience behaviour. Additionally, it provides a preliminary view and context for further research. Lastly, it highlights some of the facilitation initiatives that may not have been mentioned in the interviews or in the documents; overlooked or not perceived to be significant enough to mention. The concerts were chosen largely at random, although attempts were made to attend concerts that best represented all of the different series and orchestral subgenres offered as part of the TSO programming. These included: *What Makes it Great? Rachmaninoff Piano Concerto 2; James Bond: The Music, On Broadway; Mozart's Requiem; Two Memorials: Anton Webern & John Lennon; Knocking on the Hellgate; A Midsummer's Night Dream; Angela Hewitt Plays Bach; Brahms Symphony 4; Shostakovich Symphony 13; and An American in Paris*. No Toronto Youth Symphony Orchestra or Young People's concerts were attended, reflecting the study's focus on the TSO's target adult audiences. Aside from the two concerts featured as part of the New Creations Festival, the concert observation was conducted from sections C4 or R6, both located on the Mezzanine from where there is a good view of both the stage and the audience seated in each of the four levels.

Participant observation at these concerts was performed from the point of view of an audience member. No identifying features of any audience member were recorded as part of the observation, and audiences were observed in relation to their behaviour as a group rather than as individuals. Audiences were not aware of their involvement in the research observations.

Research observation was conducted in order to ascertain the general audience behaviour in the concert hall. This included paying particular attention to the audience behaviour between musical works, or during particular ritualistic activities such as applause. They were broken down in the following ways: before the concert, activities between the dimming of the lights and the downbeat of the work (including

tuning and any speeches by a person on stage,) during the work itself, between movements of a work, between the sounding of the last note and the dropping of the baton by the conductor, and receiving applause between works and at the end of the concert. These markers and categorizations were chosen based on their appropriateness according to standard nineteenth and twentieth century codes of behaviour. The following questions led the observation.

- Is the audience behaving homogenously, or are there visible differences between groups?
- How closely does the audience follow the tacitly established rules of orchestral concert hall listening?
- If/when behaviour deviates from these norms, are there aural or visual cues that may have acted as contributing factors?
- What is the reaction of the audience if a single or small group of members violate orchestral concert hall listening; for instance, coughing, unwrapping sweets, or clapping during the work?
- How do audiences respond to changes in concert hall ritual, such as speaking from the stage by a member of the orchestra or by the conductor? Is the effect restricted to the particular moment, or does it extend longer into the concert?
- Are there marked differences in audience behaviour between different concert seasons? How? Are there any obvious correlations?

Observation also extended to the concert hall, facilitation and ancillary initiatives where possible. Without any direct line of inquiry, this was designed to ascertain if there were any facilitation or ancillary initiatives not covered by documents or the interviews, and how, if at all, these were received.

My status as a minor member of staff at Roy Thomson Hall as a salesperson in the RTH Music Store allowed me a very small amount of privileged access that may not have been available to another researcher. This included; established familiarity with the Hall, its acoustics, and layout. While the majority of the concerts were attended as an employee, several (including those of the New Creations Festival) were attended as an audience member. There was no perceived difference in the relationship with the audience or the performance in either case. Interview participants were not aware of my affiliation with RTH unless it arose during the course of the interview.

The 2015/2016 season spans the period of September 24th, 2015 to June 24th, 2016. All the data referenced in the research derives from this season, aside from the interviews, which were conducted between August and December 2016, and the Canada Mosaic e-learning project launched in January 2017.

Results: Throughout the eight interviews, many interesting trends emerged regarding the perceptions of the subjects' and their audiences' listening practices, the role and place of the orchestra, and the contents of the 2015/2016 season. In general, the participants expressed similar opinions on the topics covered in the interview. Interestingly, some turns of phrases and observations were repeated verbatim without prompting between the different participants. However, of the eight, two participants expressed some opinions directly in opposition to the others on key topics. While seven participants all strongly agreed that one of the orchestra's functions was to educate audiences, (irrespective of age,) one interviewer strongly disagreed, perceiving formal education as condescending and perpetuating the notion that one must have a certain body of knowledge before expressing opinion on a piece of music. Similarly, while seven interviewees expressed tolerance to different ways of listening and behaviour in the concert hall (provided it did not disturb others,) one participant was strongly in favour of more rigorous and enforced concert etiquette such as limiting extraneous sounds such as clapping or coughing between movements. Aside from these notable exceptions, the participants expressed very similar opinions.

Drawing from interviews, with additional data from supporting documents and participant observation, a number of general observations regarding the perceived listening practices of audience members and the orchestral activities include the following:

Audiences were not homogeneous in their listening practices and desired different outcomes of their concert experience. Listening was often understood or explained by the interview subjects through audience, individual, or group behaviour. Observable behaviour and listening practices were often expressed as one and the same.

Furthermore, strong correlations appeared between demographic groupings, largely based on age, which correlated with musical preferences, behaviour, and perceived mode of listening. It is important to note that these correlations may also be reinforced by a normalization loop, and through TSO activities such as targeted marketing, or encouraging and association particular behaviours with particular subgenres. Two concert series were perceived as having particularly strong demographic correlations: the Pops series, which performs old Broadway music, was perceived as having a retired and ageing audience. On the other hand, the New Creations Festival and the Pops concerts which performed film scores were perceived to have a very young audience of listeners aged 35 and under. There was a perceived progression in "difficulty" (but not necessarily value,) which extended from Pops concerts, through Light Classics, to Masterworks which included standard symphonic repertoire, particularly of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Elsewhere, musicians distinguished their own listening practices from those of their audiences, often using perceived differences in order to further define their own. All subjects expressed some form of loss in their own ability to listen in a way that let the music “wash over” them, or otherwise separate them from listening reflexively in a concert setting.

In general, three trends emerged on the nature of the perceived listening practices of audience members;

- a. Listeners were described as “curious.” Curiosity was seen as a highly valuable trait and the central to genre-normative listening. Similarly, enjoyment was seen as a direct result of the ability to “understand” the music or the musical experience on some level. Furthermore, it was taken for granted that art music could be understood on many levels and many ways, and that this was central to the artistic value of art music.
- b. Listeners of the TSO were perceived as desiring a personal connection with the orchestra through some form of personal interaction. The musicians expressed very positive face-to-face interactions with their audiences, and believed efforts such as allowing musicians to speak before concerts, pre- and post-concert ancillary activities and the radio show as contributing factors to establishing this connection.
- c. Somewhat paradoxically, many listeners were perceived as exercising a mode of listening characterised by its lack of reflexivity: allowing the music to “wash over them.” This practice was described as an aesthetic, sensorial, emotional, and occasionally transcendental experience that was autonomous, but not reflexive in nature. It was occasionally associated with audiences spurning attempts to relax traditional concert hall etiquette, with older audiences or with audiences who enjoyed orchestral music for its calming properties. All musicians describing the phenomenon used the exact term of “washing over.” Several musicians expressed confusion at the perception of art music as calming, citing examples of works and styles that they felt were tense or agitating.

Interview subjects believed tacitly that listening to art music required a different type of listening than other genres, or other situations such as listening to pop music in the car or at a bar. Furthermore, they posited that its value and enjoyment came from the development of the listener’s knowledge of the music and their ability to exercise reflexivity while listening. Functioning within the formalized vocabulary and theory of music were considered an asset, but not necessary for enjoyment. Similarly, art music was considered to be both highly enjoyable, without necessarily existing within the category of entertainment. Interview subjects generally believed that it was necessary that audiences enjoyed themselves in some

way and felt comfortable at the concert hall. The majority of the subjects believed that a single bad experience could turn listeners off further attendance completely.

The results are presented thematically and in more detail, along with discussion and analysis, in Chapters three and four. Stockfelt's theory of adequate modes of listening is used as a lens from which the data can be understood, revealing particular tendencies in orchestral facilitation and activities that lend themselves to the development of genre-normative modes of listening and listener satisfaction. Conclusions on the perceived adequate modes of listening at the Orchestra, the perceived role of the Orchestra, and implications for future development are also explored in the following chapters.

2.5 Orchestral Music in Toronto: The Toronto Symphony Orchestra

The most populous city in Canada, Toronto acts as one of the top cultural and artistic hubs in the country alongside cities like Montreal, Ottawa, and Vancouver. The city of Toronto spends \$22.51 per capita on heritage, culture, and the arts and it is working towards an expenditure of \$25 per capita by 2017.¹⁴¹ While Toronto spends significantly less than other large cities, 71% of Torontonians regularly engaged with artistic institutions in 2015.¹⁴² Despite the lack of government support, the city itself is home to many of the traditionally recognized cultural institutions such as the national ballet and opera companies (The National Ballet of Canada and the Canadian Opera Company) in addition to several internationally-recognized ensembles including the baroque Tafelmusik Ensemble, the Toronto Consort, and the Toronto Symphony Orchestra. Toronto has its own classical radio station (the New Classical 96.3FM), as well as several free magazines detailing musical life and concert listings for classical and jazz concerts in the city such as *Musical Toronto* and *The Whole Note*. In addition to the TSO, many other professional, semi-professional, and amateur orchestras and ensembles exist including the Esprit Orchestra, the Oakville Chamber Orchestra, Sinfonia Toronto, The Toronto Philharmonia, the Toronto Sinfonietta, and the Scarborough Philharmonic in addition to a large selection of chamber ensembles. Large music festivals include the new music 21C festival, and the Toronto Summer Music Festival. Many

¹⁴¹ 2017 statistics not available at the time of writing. This is lower than Montreal, which more than doubles it at \$55 per capita, as well as Vancouver and Ottawa and Calgary, among others. Toronto Foundation, *Toronto's Vital Signs: Toronto Foundation's Annual Report on the State of the City*, Toronto: Toronto Foundation, 2015, 203-6, <http://2015.torontosvital signs.ca/>

¹⁴² Erin Deviney and Margo Charlton, *Toronto Arts Stats: Public Opinion 2015*. Toronto: Toronto Arts Council, 2015, 10, <http://www.torontoartsfoundation.org/tac/media/taf/Research/Toronto%20Arts%20Stats%202015/Toronto-Arts-Stats-2015-Booklet-FINAL-web.pdf>

choirs, (beyond the scope of this study,) thrive as well, notably the Toronto Mendelssohn Choir, which has a long standing partnership with the TSO. There has not been any comprehensive studies on the musical ensembles and classical music of the city as a whole like there have been for major European cities, although this research would undoubtedly figure as an important contribution to the literature.

Reflecting modern conceptions of the role of art music and culture in contemporary society, Toronto is rich in amateur music-making and other programs focused on social or educational benefits of music learning particularly for children. Some of these include Dixon Hall, Sistema Toronto, Drum Artz Canada, and the Royal Conservatory among many others. The city boasts large music faculties at both the University of Toronto Faculty of Music, the Glenn Gould School and the jazz and ethnomusicology-oriented York University and Humber College. The national chapter of the Canadian Music Centre supports Canadian composers and its performers. Two thirds of elementary schools have a music teacher, more than double those with a visual arts teacher.¹⁴³ Taken as a whole, Toronto aims to grow its cross-genre musical sphere, evidenced by the Toronto Music Advisory Council's report on the Toronto Music Strategy.¹⁴⁴ Based on a strategy emulated from the example of Austin, Texas, this report is based on the controversial theories of Culture Class by Richard Florida who was invited to advise the city's development, and to whom a faculty of the University of Toronto is dedicated.¹⁴⁵

The number of institutions and ensembles in Toronto and the Greater Toronto Area demonstrate Torontonians' interest in the art music and a relatively high concentration of musicians and music-enthusiasts typical of large cities. As the primary orchestra of the city, the TSO represents a recognized institution with relatively high visibility, comparable to other large orchestras across North America and some European countries in terms of its role and relationship with its host city.

Despite some forecasts by the Canadian art advocates, Canadians are participating in more artistic and cultural activities nationally than they have over the past twenty-five years. In 2010, it is reported that all Canadians over the age of 15 participated in some form of arts, cultural or heritage activity.¹⁴⁶ Narrowing further, 60.4% of Canadians over the age of 15 have attended a performance a theatrical or musical performance. However, when it is narrowed to the symphonic or classical music performance,

¹⁴³ Toronto Foundation, *Toronto Vital Signs Report*, 209.

¹⁴⁴ Toronto Music Advisory Council, *Toronto's Music Strategy: Supporting and Growing the City's Music Sector*, Toronto Music Advisory Council, February, 2016.
<http://www.toronto.ca/legdocs/mmis/2016/ed/bgrd/backgroundfile-90615.pdf>

¹⁴⁵ Amy Terrill, Don Hogarth, and Alex Clement, *Mastering of a Music City: Key elements, effective strategies and why it's worth pursuing*, Music Canada, 2015. <https://musiccanada.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/The-Mastering-of-a-Music-City.pdf>.

¹⁴⁶ Hill Strategies Research, "Canadians' Arts, Culture and Heritage Activities in 2010," *Statistical Insights on the Arts* 10, no. 2 (2012): 2. <http://www.hillstrategies.com/content/provincial-profiles-arts-culture-and-heritage-activities-2010>.

only 3.5 million people, or 12.6% attended in 2010.¹⁴⁷ Ontario-specific figures are not significantly lower at 1.2 million listeners, or 11.1% of Ontarians.¹⁴⁸ While the statistics clearly demonstrate the overall involvement of Canadians in the arts, the statistics do not indicate how these numbers compare with target attendance by various institutions, or what kinds of concerts these were. Importantly, further breakdowns of the 12.6% of Canadians attending a classical music performance in 2010 demonstrate that the large majority of these people only attend one to four times a year, with only a combined 2% attending concerts more regularly.¹⁴⁹ This signals that for Canadians, seeing an orchestral concert is generally considered a special or infrequent occasion, if a possibility at all, particularly compared with other statistics related to Canadians' interaction with music as a whole.

Compared to the rather meagre percentage of Canadians attending classical or orchestral music, 39.4% of Canadians attended at least one performance of pop music (including but not limited to rock, jazz, pop, blues, country, and western music).¹⁵⁰ Even more widespread is listening to music outside of the formal concert hall, although the genre is not specified: 75.8% of Canadians listened to music using some form of personal or home listening device (for instance music on record, tape, CD, DVD, mp3 or other digital medium,) and 50.9% downloaded music for listening (almost doubling the number of Canadians downloading their music since the last report in 2005).¹⁵¹ 40% of Canadians undertook both these activities.¹⁵² While most Canadians report listening to music, only a very small percentage take part in Canadian art music and an even smaller percentage are heavily invested in attending orchestral concerts.

While only a small number of Canadians engage with art music as a whole, the situation is not as dire as some may suppose. The number of Canadians listening to live classical music has improved significantly. In 1992, only 8.4% of Canadians over age 15 attended concerts, which incrementally rose to the present 12.6%. Appearing incremental, when the Hill Strategies' figures account for inflation, classical music attendance has increased 40% since this first available statistic (1.8 million attendees in 1995 compared to 2.5 million in 2005).¹⁵³

¹⁴⁷ Hill Strategies Research, "Canadians' Arts, Culture and Heritage Activities in 2010," 2-3.

¹⁴⁸ Hill Strategies Research, "Provincial Profiles of Arts, Culture and Heritage Activities in 2010," *Statistical insights on the Arts* 10, no. 3 (2010): 63. <http://publications.gc.ca/collections/Collection/K23-45-2004-2E.pdf>

¹⁴⁹ 10.6% 1-4 times a year (3 million Canadians), while 1.4% attend 5+ times but not every month (400,000), 0.6% attend every month (180,000). Hill Strategies Research, "Canadians' Arts, Culture and Heritage Activities in 2010," 19.

¹⁵⁰ Hill Strategies Research, "Canadians' Arts, Culture and Heritage Activities in 2010," 2.

¹⁵¹ Hill Strategies Research, "Canadians' Arts, Culture and Heritage Activities in 2010," 2.

¹⁵² Hill Strategies Research, "Canadians' Arts, Culture and Heritage Activities in 2010," 2.

¹⁵³ Hill Strategies Research, "Classical music attendance in Canada" Orchestra Canada Conference, May 27, 2009, 4. http://hillstrategies.com/sites/default/files/Orchestras_Canada_final.pdf

These statistics suggest that while orchestral music does not hold widespread popularity, it still represents a significant and growing portion of the cultural landscape of the city. It also contextualizes the following study; genre-normative listening practices of the orchestral concert hall are practiced significantly less overall than those normative to other genres and situations.

Central to the art music sphere in Toronto is its orchestra. Today’s Toronto Symphony Orchestra was born through the initiative of a group of musicians in 1922. Beginning as the New Symphony Orchestra, it performed under the baton of Austrian-born conductor and violinist Luigi von Kunits. In the spring of the following year, the orchestra's first concert was performed at Massey Hall, playing Tchaikovsky Symphony No. 5 in E minor, Dvorak's *Slavonic Dances* and Brahms *Hungarian Dances*.¹⁵⁴ This first concert and those to follow were held at 5pm so that the musicians could get to their evening work as pit-band musicians for silent film, and so their audience could enjoy a short concert before going home for dinner. Tickets were placed at a modest \$0.25-0.75, only to be raised to \$0.50-1.00, making it a highly affordable pastime, despite low attendance in its opening years.¹⁵⁵ Under the direction of von Kunits and his succeeding music directors, the orchestra and its audience grew from small orchestra of silent-film musicians performing to an after-work crowd to one of Toronto’s primary artistic institutions.

Changing its name in 1927 to the Toronto Symphony Orchestra (TSO), the orchestra grew its audience with the help of a dedicated Women’s Association who ran pre-concert lectures and contributed to the children’s concerts; two initiatives that the TSO has since taken on itself and remain a core part of their activities. After von Kunits’ death in 1931, Sir Ernest MacMillan took over as music director and shifted the short after work concerts to the traditional (and longer) evening concerts. During his tenure, he introduced more challenging contemporary works to the repertoire like many of his successors who introduced their own musical voice to the Torontonians audiences. Sir MacMillan featured much of the music of Sibelius, and Stravinsky was invited in 1937 to conduct his own *Petrushka* and *The Firebird*.¹⁵⁶

Luigi von Kunits (1923–1931)
Sir Ernest MacMillan (1931–1956)
Walter Susskind (1957–1964)

¹⁵⁴ Carola Vyhnak, “Toronto Symphony Orchestra is born,” *The Toronto Star*, June 15, 2015 <http://www.thestar.com/yourtoronto/once-upon-a-city-archives/2015/06/15/toronto-symphony-orchestra-is-born.html>

¹⁵⁵ John Beckwith and Clifford Ford, “Toronto Symphony Orchestra,” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, Historical Canada, (November 2, 2009,) <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/toronto-symphony-orchestra-enc/>.

¹⁵⁶ John Beckwith and Clifford Ford, “Toronto Symphony Orchestra.”

Seiji Ozawa (1965–1969)
Karel Ančerl (1969–1972)
Victor Feldbrill Resident Conductor (1973–1975)
Sir Andrew Davis (1975–1988), Conductor Laureate (1988–present)
Gunther Herbig (1989–1994)
Jukka-Pekka Saraste (1994–2001)
Peter Oundjian (2004–2017)

Table 1 List of Toronto Symphony Orchestra Music Directors

Walter Susskin took over in 1957, marking his term with the introduction of more operatic works, and strengthening a partnership with the Toronto Mendelssohn Choir that continues to the present day. Stepping down in 1964, he was succeeded first by Seiji Ozawa, followed by Karel Ančerl, and finally Victor Feldbrill who each presided over the orchestra for three years. Notably, during this same period, the TSO performed at the opening of new City Hall and introduced summer outdoor concerts at Toronto’s Ontario Place Forum to an audience of 12,000.¹⁵⁷

In 1975, Sir Andrew Davis was chosen as the TSO’s new artistic director. He’s credited with introducing Toronto to new works by the Second Viennese school as well as other less-performed Russian and English composers. Under Sir Davis, the TSO toured extensively, performing across Canada, the United States, Japan, and China (an honour as the first North American orchestra to be invited to China since the Cultural Revolution.)¹⁵⁸ Importantly, in 1982, the TSO moved from its home in Massey Hall to the newly built Roy Thomson Hall. Still the Orchestra’s home today, it went through major work as part of the Acoustic Enhancement Project in 2000-2001 to improve its acoustics, which while improved, are still considered by many to be lacklustre.¹⁵⁹ Sir Andrew Davis introduced the more regular performance of Canadian composers and newly commissioned works. Sir Andrew Davis continues to be a TSO conductor Laureate and performed twice in the 2015/2016 season, including five performances of his popular Christmas Messiah concert. He has been appointed as interim Artistic Director during the search Music Director search in the 2018/2019 season.

Sir Davis was succeeded by Gunther Herbig in 1989. Although introducing important works by Bruckner and seeing a new composer-in-residence appointed, Herbig stepped down in 1994 amid the

¹⁵⁷ John Beckwith and Clifford Ford, “Toronto Symphony Orchestra.”

¹⁵⁸ Toronto Symphony Orchestra, “About the TSO.”

¹⁵⁹ “Fine tuning Roy Thomson Hall,” *The Globe and Mail*, August 13, 2002, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/arts/fine-tuning-roy-thomson-hall/article1025561/>; Michael Vincent, “Renée Fleming dazzled, Roy Thomson Hall did not: review,” *The Toronto Star*, September 22, 2016, <https://www.thestar.com/entertainment/music/2016/09/22/rene-fleming-dazzled-roy-thomson-hall-did-not-review.html>.

Orchestra's financial difficulties. Like many of the orchestras in North America facing falling audience numbers and scant funding, the TSO had large deficit, dwindling grants and donors, and a diminishing subscriber base—a trend which continued throughout the tenure of the next music director, Jukka-Pekka Seraste.¹⁶⁰ Despite this, the Orchestra still performed full seasons until their strike in 1999.

A strong distrust between musicians and administration was already brewing in the 1990s, particularly after a 16% pay cut in 1992.¹⁶¹ Finally, things reached their breaking point in 1999 when the members of the orchestra went on strike for comparable wages with their US counterparts, eventually making a deal 11 weeks later, with little interest felt by the Toronto public and resulting in lasting damaged morale.¹⁶² Both Seraste and the newly appointed executive manager, Ed Smith, resigned in 2001 within a month of each other, leaving a deficit of \$7 million before it was announced that money would run out by the end of the year.¹⁶³ Although it made changes in funding, (in terms of government aid, donors and ticket sales,) it was several major concerts which brought in the much-needed revenue and publicity, including a successful inaugural concert of the newly-improved Roy Thomson Hall and 2003's Sonic Boom concert featuring Josh Groban and Blue Rodeo.¹⁶⁴

Administrative and board restructuring and the introduction of several new initiatives saw the Orchestra struggling to regain ground. In 2003, Peter Oundjian was appointed, and began the 2004/2005 season as the TSO's new music director, "reinvigorating the Orchestra with numerous recordings, tours and acclaimed innovative programming as well as extensive audience growth, thereby significantly strengthening the ensemble's presence in the world."¹⁶⁵ The documentary film, *Five Days in September: The Rebirth of an Orchestra* recounts the beginning of his leadership at the orchestra and encapsulates the hopeful atmosphere, representing a strong marketing move. Peter Oundjian remains the music director of the TSO at the time of writing, although he is scheduled to step down at the end of the 2017/2018 season. His tenure has witnessed the orchestra overcome the worst of its financial difficulties, operating at a

¹⁶⁰ John Beckwith and Clifford Ford, "Toronto Symphony Orchestra."

¹⁶¹ Robert Everett-Green, "Can the TSO band play on?," *The Globe and Mail*, October 13, 2001, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/arts/can-the-tso-band-play-on/article4154609/>.

¹⁶² "TSO contract strikes chord with musicians," *CBC News*, December 9, 1999, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/tso-contract-strikes-chord-with-musicians-1.182411>; "And the beat goes on at the TSO," *The Globe and Mail*, September 28, 2000, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/incoming/and-the-beat-goes-on-at-tso/article22500083/>

¹⁶³ John Beckwith and Clifford Ford, "Toronto Symphony Orchestra"; Martin Knelman, "The Toronto Symphony Orchestra faces triple jeopardy: Knelman," *The Toronto Star*, May 21, 2016, <https://www.thestar.com/entertainment/2016/05/21/the-toronto-symphony-orchestra-faces-triple-jeopardy-knelman.html>.

¹⁶⁴ John Beckwith and Clifford Ford, "Toronto Symphony Orchestra."

¹⁶⁵ Toronto Symphony Orchestra, "Peter Oundjian: Music Director," *Toronto Symphony Orchestra*, accessed March 25, 2017, <https://www.tso.ca/conductor/peter-oundjian>.

surplus from 2006-08 and 2013-2016 seasons. However, recent reporting has shown reckless spending and expansion under Jeff Melanson, and skepticism on the legitimacy of its 2015/2016 surplus.¹⁶⁶

The Orchestra undertook many projects under Oundjian's leadership, discussed below, including the TSOundcheck program, providing discounted tickets for patrons aged under 35, several tours to the US, Europe, and China including concerts at Reykjavik's Harpa Hall, sold out performances at Carnegie Hall, and frequent tours of Northern Ontario. The Orchestra recorded with Chandos records and its own label, TSO Live, which has produced 8 discs to date. Oundjian has introduced several new works and festivals to the Orchestra, including an annual Mozart Festival and the New Creations Festival.

The 2015/2016 season featured 66 concerts over 134 performances from September 2015 to June 2016. The TSO reported a five-year record in total concert attendance, with 268,409 attendees, including 22,948 first-time audience members and 44 sold-out performances.¹⁶⁷ Despite the recent goodwill towards the orchestra, it has undergone some heavy criticism in the past several years: the pianist Valentina Lisitsa was barred from performing over online comments concerning Ukrainian-Russian politics in 2011.¹⁶⁸ Further upset was caused by Jeff Melanson's resignation in March, 2016 after widely publicized allegations of sexual harassment and professional misconduct made by his estranged wife, Eleanor McCain; allegations which Melanson denies.¹⁶⁹ Newspapers such as the *Toronto Star* and the *Globe and Mail* were quick to link the scandal with others, such as the accusations of censorship of Valentina Lisitsa, the financial mismanagement of the early 2000s, and the allegedly unfair dismissal of a cellist while he was recovering from injury, in addition to the most recent controversy over its end of year

¹⁶⁶ Andrew Willis, "TSO plans to sell rare viola to its foundation to cut deficit," *The Globe and Mail*, June 3, 2016, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/tso-plans-to-sell-rare-viol-a-to-its-foundation-to-cut-deficit/article30279114/>; Robert Harris, "TSO posts surplus for 2015-16; broader financial picture revealed," *The Globe and Mail*, December 6, 2016, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/arts/music/tso-posts-surplus-for-2015-16-broader-financial-picture-revealed/article33216406/>.

¹⁶⁷ Toronto Symphony Orchestra, "2015/16: A record-breaking season for the TSO," Press Release, July 15, 2016, <https://www.tso.ca/news-release/201516-record-breaking-season-tso>.

¹⁶⁸ The Canadian Press, "TSO drops Ukrainian pianist Valentina Lisitsa over offensive comments," CBC News, April 7, 2015, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/tso-drops-ukrainian-pianist-valentina-lisitsa-over-offensive-comments-1.3022999>; Robert Everett-Green, "Controversial Ukrainian-born pianist dropped from TSO concerts," *The Globe and Mail*, April 6, 2015, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/arts/music/ukrainian-born-soloist-dropped-from-tso-for-her-political-views/article23812295/>; Ivan Hewett, "Censoring Valentina Lisitsa shames the Toronto Symphony Orchestra," *The Telegraph*, April 15, 2015, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/music/classicalmusic/11535562/Censoring-Valentina-Lisitsa-shames-the-Toronto-Symphony-Orchestra.html>.

¹⁶⁹ Douglas Quan, "TSO boss resigns amid sexual harassment allegations from his estranged wife," *The National Post*, March 30, 2016, <http://news.nationalpost.com/arts/music/toronto-symphony-orchestra-ceo-jeff-melanson-resigns-amidst-sexual-harassment-allegations>; Tu Thanh Ha and Marsha Lederman, "McCain and Melanson: An art-world marriage unravels" *The Globe and Mail*, March 13, 2016, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/mccain-and-melanson-an-arts-world-marriage-unravels/article29204852/>; Nick Patch, "Can Melanson bounce back?," *The Toronto Star*, March 30, 2016, <https://www.thestar.com/entertainment/2016/03/30/can-melanson-bounce-back.html>

surplus.¹⁷⁰ Additionally, news outlets linked the troubles of the TSO and the plight of many orchestras in North America, citing financial difficulties not only of the TSO's past, but those of other major orchestras such as the Philadelphia Orchestra, the Syracuse Orchestra, among several others.¹⁷¹ Contributing to the feeling of uncertainty, and often alluded to in the writing of the *Toronto Star*, is the end of Peter Oundjian's tenure as conductor at the end of the 2017/18 season.¹⁷² The continually reinforced narrative of the struggling orchestra in the second half of the twentieth century often appears in scholarly articles in arts administration and contributes to the widespread view of classical music's decline and irrelevance sometimes held by North Americans.¹⁷³

As a whole, the Orchestra is representative of its type in North America, including its financial and administrative difficulties over the last several decades. From its grassroots beginnings to its current size, comprising 88 full-time musicians and 74 full and part time administrative staff, it represents an orchestra that has adopted a business-centric model like many of its other national and international counterparts. However, from this larger context, it is possible to focus further on the individual experience of the modern concert, its audience, and the complex relationships existing between its various actors. Although the following research addresses questions of audience engagement, development and musical listening practices, it is important to understand the institutional and financial context which underpins and shapes its activities.

¹⁷⁰ "TSO and cellist settle dispute," *The Globe and Mail*, April 22, 2002, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/arts/tso-and-cellist-settle-dispute/article4133808/>; Martin Knelman, "The Toronto Symphony Orchestra faces triple jeopardy: Knelman."

¹⁷¹ Ted Gavin, "Saving American Symphony Orchestras in Four Movements," *Forbes Magazine*, January 18, 2012, <http://www.forbes.com/sites/teggavin/2012/01/18/saving-american-symphony-orchestras-in-four-movements-2/#75e9af8b6e4e>; Jaime Weinman, "Too many orchestras?," *Maclean's*, October 31, 2013, <http://www.macleans.ca/culture/fiddling-while-the-symphony-burns/>; Ivan Hewett, "Greedy bosses and musicians on strike – the crisis engulfing classical music," *The Telegraph*, October 5, 2016, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/music/classical-music/greedy-bosses-and-musicians-on-strike--the-crisis-engulfing-clas/>

¹⁷² Martin Knelman, "Has Toronto Symphony found an interim saviour?," *The Toronto Star*, Star, July 4, 2016, <https://www.thestar.com/entertainment/2016/07/04/has-toronto-symphony-found-an-interim-saviour.html>; Martin Knelman, "The Toronto Symphony Orchestra faces triple jeopardy: Knelman."

¹⁷³ The trope of this decline is taken for granted in almost any work on this subject, however some examples include; Brenda Gainer, "Achieving Stability and Success in Crowded Markets: The Case of Tafelmusik," *International Journal of Arts Management* 2 no. 1 (1999): 77-87 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41064678>; Bonita Kolb, "The Decline of the Subscriber Base: A study of the Philharmonia Orchestra Audience," *International Journal of Arts Management*, 3 no. 2 (2001): 51-59. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41064723>

3. Imagining TSO Audiences

This chapter presents the findings from the interviews, source documents, and participant observation undertaken to answer questions relating to the perceived listening practices of Toronto Symphony Orchestra audiences. Assuming the listener's agency in negotiating and performing adequate modes of listening in the concert hall according to Stockfelt's theory described in the previous chapter, the research asks how the Orchestra perceives its audience's modes of listening and its role in facilitating these practices. In particular, it examines the relation between the idealized sociocultural conventions of the concert hall and the performed listening practices, often understood through audience's behaviours. In the present research, I demonstrate the utility of Stockfelt's theory in understanding listening practices in the Western orchestral concert hall listening paradigm, providing an alternative to both purely market-based or Adornian-derived sociomusicological approaches to studying the orchestra. In addition to a proof-of-concept, the application of Stockfelt's theory demonstrates the importance of such factors as situation, extra-musical facilitation, and prompts to modern orchestral listening practices. In addition, it discovers important trends in audience attitudes and behaviour in North American orchestras which have important implications from the point of view of orchestral managers and audience development as well as the musicological literature.

Through informal learning, listeners have a relatively clear concept of which mode of listening is most adequate in a given situation; the listener knows not to salsa dance in the concert hall or sit silently in contemplation at a club. For the most part, listeners understand the expected behaviours and actions required for adequate listening in the concert hall. However, as Stockfelt stresses, there is not a single adequate mode of listening for a specific situation but rather a collection of similar or connected modes from which the listener can choose based on their repertoire of modes, the music itself, their environment, their chosen strategy, and concept of genre-normativity.¹⁷⁴ Stockfelt uses the term "idealized bourgeois concert hall listening" to describe the central normative mode of listening for the concert hall. I problematize the notion and question whether, contemporaneously, this form of listening associated with the classical concert hall is still strongly idealized. And if so, as a demonstrably demanding and specialised mode of listening, are its sociocultural conventions maintained contemporaneously as adequate in the modern concert hall? Does the Orchestra maintain and encourage a strict view of this idealized bourgeois concert hall listening, or are there alternatives and variations? What occurs when it is not within the repertoire of the listener? With the act of listening in the concert hall such a personal and

¹⁷⁴ Stockfelt, 139. +

internal activity, what happens when the socio-cultural conventions are outwardly similar, but the listeners do not have the same expectations and understanding of the internal autonomous reflexive listening process itself? How can the organization address such different listening backgrounds and ensure a positive experience?

As demonstrated in Chapter 2, the TSO is representative of other large orchestras across North America in terms of its size, initiatives, and susceptibility to the unhappy financial and administrative difficulties typical of the orchestras of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. With the modern TSO contextualised within the greater view of Canadian and Torontonians listening habits, and the rise of the Orchestra over its 95 years, this chapter presents the results and a further analysis on the listeners of the TSO and how they are imagined by the organization and its musicians.

The interview subjects understand the TSO audience through interlocking structures of categorization. The audiences are described in terms of musical preference, their relationship with the Orchestra, their engagement with the concert experience, in addition to conventional business categorizations such as demographic and purchasing habits. Interestingly, the subjects often explained their perception of the listener's listening practices by comparing them with their own relationship with music and listening.

Within discussions of modes of listening, strong correlations appear between subgenre, demographic, behaviour, and expected preference in ancillary activities such as pre-concert chats or post-concert parties. Interview subjects generally perceived some level of segmentation, although they were uncertain of the position the Orchestra should take in treating these categories. The "experience" of the audience was widely discussed by the interview subjects, particularly in the understanding that the listening event was not contained to the length of the performed work. Series such as the Decades Project demonstrate the benefits of a long-term coherence in concert programming, and the possibilities of various ancillary programming such as pre- and post-concert activities.

Younger audiences, between the ages of 16 and 35, were referred to and treated as a special case in the research. Over the last several decades, the TSO has prioritized this declining demographic through targeted marketing and initiatives, recognizing their role in ensuring a sustainable audience size.¹⁷⁵ These initiatives included the discount ticket program, TSOunchecked, special concert series such as film

¹⁷⁵ Bonita Kolb, "The effect of generational change on classical music concert attendance and orchestras' responses in the UK and US," *Cultural Trends* 11:41 (2011): 1-35, accessed on March 4, 2016, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09548960109365147>.

screenings with a live soundtrack performances, and late night concerts.¹⁷⁶ These activities are designed to encourage young people to attend concerts and to break harmful stereotypes of the orchestral genre which are seen as barriers to entry; its cost, its blandness, elitism, stuffiness, or difficulty. Younger audiences were also associated with particular behaviours and modes of listening which they adapt for the concert hall setting. The TSO's new music festival, the New Creations Festival, is very popular with younger audiences and is anomalous in many ways from the rest of the season, in part by the uncharacteristically large attendance by this demographic. This series can often afford to pilot new facilitation strategies or initiatives on the part of the Orchestra, and exhibits a shift in general concert etiquette, process, and ambiance.

Before expanding on each of the above findings in turn, I will briefly explore the scope of the Orchestra's influence on audiences' mode of listening, demonstrating the utility of Stockfelt's framework in examining audiences in this way. As discussed in Chapter 4, the orchestra plays an important role in the maintenance and development of situation-associate genre-normative adequate modes of listening. Each listener has their individual repertoire of possible modes of listening that they have developed throughout their life. The orchestra, its music, and the environment in which it is performed all act as cues for deciding between their repertoire of modes and therefore of practising adequate modes of listening. Consequently, the orchestra holds a relatively large amount of influence on the four elements that govern their listener's experience.

Stockfelt defines adequate listening as; "each listening in a genre-normative listening situation with its situation associated genre-normative mode of listening."¹⁷⁷ That is to say that adequate listening; "occurs when one listens to music according the exigencies of a given social situation and according to the predominant sociocultural conventions of the subculture to which the music allows."¹⁷⁸ A listener's largely intuitive and unconscious reading and understanding of the situation in which they find themselves is instrumental in defining their choice of mode of listening, and the resultant success of the listening act. For instance, the classical music concert hall is the listening situation that is genre-normative for orchestral music, and the performance of an acoustic folk band in such a space would be incongruous. The orchestral concert and the acoustic folk music set each necessitate their own modes of listening most appropriate for their ideal listening experience, determined by sociocultural conventions. The marriage of genre-normative listening situation and the modes of listening most appropriate for the genre narrow the field of possible modes of listening of a listener to those which are most adequate. If the context is

¹⁷⁶ See Appendix A for full list of concerts.

¹⁷⁷ Stockfelt, 137.

¹⁷⁸ Stockfelt, 137.

reversed, a Mozart quartet necessitates different modes of listening whether it is performed in a large concert hall like Roy Thomson Hall (RTH), in an eighteenth century salon, as part of a ceremony at a wedding, or as background music at an event. By choosing one of the modes of listening most suited to the situation—its related genre conventions and with the ideal relationship between music and listener—the listener performs one of the most adequate modes of listening, and the normativity of the choice is reinforced.

The four elements that Stockfelt defines as making up the field of possible modes of listening include the repertoire of competencies, the situation in which the listener finds themselves, the music as the object of listening, and the listener strategy (see Figure 1). In general, the TSO has control of the situation and the music. While it does not have direct control, the orchestra can encourage, facilitate, or help develop the listener's repertoire of competencies and their strategies for choosing that mode which is most appropriate. In practical terms, this is not entirely straightforward; while the Orchestra controls the situation in which it performs and the audience listens, it is usually restricted to its home hall, RTH, which necessarily brings with it the connotations of the orchestral concert hall and thus preconceived ideas of situation-associated genre-normativity.¹⁷⁹ The Hall, seating 2630 people, is set up in the traditional orchestral concert hall format, with several terraced levels of seating facing an illuminated and raised stage. In his book, Small minutely explains the set of relationships enshrined in this concert situation, along with its implications to listener behaviour. He explains how the grandeur of the space, and the terraced raked-seating rows and the elevated stage provide behavioural cues contributing to the type of social and musical interactions to take place: one-way communication from stage to individual audience members with little no interaction encouraged between listeners, or between listeners and the stage.¹⁸⁰

The development of the physical concert hall contributes to the maintenance of the genre-normative autonomous reflexive mode of listening. While the Orchestra can implement measures that affect the situation, it is limited by the physical structure. As Stockfelt identifies, quoting Fabbri, the situation can often act as one of the most influential aspects of a listener's choice of mode:

The distance between musician and audience, between spectator and spectator, the overall dimension of the events are often fundamental elements in the definition of the genre, and often guide the participants in the right or wrong way in determining what

¹⁷⁹ This is generally speaking. The TSO also performs in the George Weston Hall, and occasionally performs in other outdoor or public venues. However, for the most part, the listening experience takes place in Roy Thomson Hall, Toronto.

¹⁸⁰ Christopher Small, "A place for hearing," *Musicking: The meanings of performing and listening*, (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 2011), 27.

they should expect about other rules of the genre; often ‘how you are seated’ says more about the music that will be performed than the poster does.¹⁸¹

The orchestral genre, almost exclusively performed in the highly regularised and specialised concert hall (largely due to the cumbersome logistics on an ensemble of that size,) has a very strongly reinforced definition of its sociocultural norms. While, in theory, the orchestra controls its performance situation, it must do so within the practical confines of the space, thus allowing only small adjustments. It may also revert to changing the social situation within the physical space through subverting sociocultural conventions while in a position of power, effective so long as the change is not drastic enough to cause complete rejection. As such, the TSO may break taboos, such as speaking from the stage directly at the audience, in order to alter the situation and the resultant reading of the most adequate mode of listening, discussed further below.

As an orchestral institution, the TSO performs the Western orchestral repertoire ranging from the eighteenth to twenty-first centuries whose music, for the most part, limits possible modes of listening. However, like the situation of performance, small variations can, and do, frequently occur. The modes of listening most appropriate for a Broadway pops concert and a performance of a Mahler symphony may differ, as do the behavioural aspects of a casual TSO concert and one of the Berlin Philharmonic performing in the same hall. Additionally, twenty-first century compositions sometimes purposefully play with these notions of genre and its related modes of listening, such as the performance of Skcratch Bastid’s *Festival Remix*; a work featuring a turn-table remix of several TSO concerts during the 2015-2016 New Creations Festival. Nevertheless, like in the case of situation, any drastic substantial change to musical content can often lead to dissatisfaction or even complete rejection by listeners who are faced with choosing between well-established cultural norms, and the current situation. This phenomenon takes centre stage in Stockfelt’s article when he finds difficulty in listening to Mozart’s Symphony No. 40 performed as background music on a budget airline. The Orchestra is consequently limited to small or incremental changes in these areas. At the present moment, the TSO acts within a scope of fairly limited flexibility in terms of its performance situation and music.

While the orchestra cannot control the choice of mode of listening, it can encourage particular practices and facilitate the development of particular competencies. By facilitating particular forms of listening through verbal and non-verbal prompts, supplementary activities and materials such as pre-concert or on-stage introductions, the Orchestra can influence the listener’s concept of appropriate

¹⁸¹ Fabbri, “A Theory of Musical Genres: Two Applications,” *Popular Music Perspectives*, David Horn and Philip Tagg, ed. [Göteborg and Exter: International Association of the Study of Popular Music, 1981], 57 In Stockfelt, “Adequate Modes of Listening,” 136

practices and aid the development of genre-normative modes of listening (whether or not they are variations of Stockfelt's idealized bourgeois concert hall listening). Using their influence on these factors, the Orchestra can privilege or actively encourage genre-normative modes of listening. If the orchestra in question has a strong sense of their influence on these elements and on audience listening practices, they are in the position to encourage adequate modes of listening, facilitate and engage their audiences, and work towards furthering the genre.

Although he explains the changes in adequate modes of listening in the context of a single work in his article, Stockfelt classifies all the variations of orchestral concert hall listening practices under a single umbrella term. However, the variability of adequate modes of listening within idealized bourgeois concert hall listening are not negligible. The term specifies an idealized form of autonomous reflexive listening that, in reality, is not practiced homogeneously across listeners. As demonstrated in the present research on the TSO, there is a wide array of listening practices that are loosely grouped together for convenience by their situation in space and their conformity to loose behavioural categorizations. So how do we define this loose collection of modes of listening, and how do they work together? Importantly, how can such seemingly different listening practices co-exist, and how can the orchestra facilitate them?

3.1 Perceived Segmentation of TSO Audiences

Both the musicians and the organization understand the listeners according to their respective access to information and experience. The TSO imagines of their audiences in terms of a number of interlocking categories from which certain aspects of listening habits can be gleaned and from which concerts and their ancillary elements are designed. While the musicians of the orchestra tend towards imagining their audience in terms of their direct interactions, (such as concert behaviour or conversation,) the organization as a whole perceives them in terms of their attendance and buying habits.

The TSO firstly imagines its audience in terms of ticket sales, which correlate with such factors as age and lifestyle. Secondly, the audience is imagined and categorized in terms of what kind of concerts they attend and the normative behaviour of those particular social and musical situations. Lastly, they are imagined on the individual level by their perceived listening practices. Notably, interview subjects often describe their audience's listening practices by comparing them to their own habits. In all three categories, loosely defined listener profiles form around such factors as; demographic groupings, behaviour, preferred ancillary programming and environment, and attitude towards art music.

On a macro level, the TSO as an organization views its audience members in three categories according to their spending habits; the TSOundcheck member, the single-ticket buyer, and the long-term subscriber.¹⁸² Although this helps determine the frequency of attendance, this metric is largely marketing-centric and does not accurately reflect modes of listening. Additionally, the TSO does not see these spending habits as describing radically different listeners, but rather the same person under different lifestyle and financial circumstances. The persona used by the TSO is a woman—the gender most represented at concerts—and each of these categories corresponds to a stage in her life.¹⁸³

The TSOundcheck member is a listener aged 16-35 who buys fixed-price last-minute tickets through the TSOundcheck program, designed to make orchestral concerts more accessible through its flexibility and low cost. This scheme targeting younger audiences reflects the TSO's perception of the accommodation needed to attract groups seen as underrepresented in the orchestral concert space. Similar in their flexibility, the single-ticket buyer is: "someone with a young family [who] maybe doesn't have as much time... [someone who] wants to go to the symphony but wants more flexibility."¹⁸⁴ This audience member buys occasional concert tickets without committing themselves to subscribing to a partial or full package. The single-ticket buyer is the most diverse group, ranging from orchestral enthusiasts unable to commit the time to newcomers or one-off listeners trying out the symphony, among other categories. Lastly, the long-term subscriber is someone, "who has the time to and perhaps the income to go to the concerts on a regular basis."¹⁸⁵ Interview subjects often elided long-term subscribers with older, retired, or loyal orchestral music enthusiasts with relatively conservative tastes and behaviours. The implied goal in these categorisations is to encourage purchasing loyalty to the TSO, transitioning customers from one category to the next with the aim of increasing the number of subscribers. This category of organizing listeners does not give much, if any, insight into the modes of listening but rather reminds the researcher of external factors such as scheduling and financial considerations to attendance. These classifications are similar to those generally understood in arts organizations, although the "non-attender" is usually added for the purposes of marketing.¹⁸⁶ The TSO, like many orchestras, often returns to price-points as a means of drawing audiences and currently include such programs as TSOundcheck, two-for-one promotions, and deals on third-party sites such as Groupon.

The TSO also imagines its audiences in terms of their musical subgenre preferences, which are organized by series. These series are public-facing in that they categorize concerts on all promotional

¹⁸² Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016.

¹⁸³ Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016.

¹⁸⁴ Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016.

¹⁸⁵ Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016.

¹⁸⁶ Tim Baker, *Stop Reinventing the Wheel: A guide to what we already know about developing audiences for Classical Music*, (London: Association of British Orchestras, 2000), 18-21.

material, as well as being internal in that they are used as markers for the TSO's informal categorization of certain audience segments. As demonstrated in the below short descriptions of each series taken alongside additional interview data, results show that the TSO associates musical preferences with general audience behaviours, expectations, and preference for ancillary events such as pre- and post-concert lobby programming. However, it is important to note that like categorization based on ticket sales, these are descriptive markers rather than rules as concerts are not homogeneously attended.

The concert season guide, available in the spring proceeding the season in question, advertises the season's programming, organizing it by series, as seen in Figure 2:

1. *Masterworks*: These performances feature celebrated works of orchestral music by composers such as Beethoven, Mozart, Brahms, and Tchaikovsky.
2. *Light Classics*: Those newer to classical music and seasoned classical fans alike will want to try these concerts, which feature short, familiar pieces and commentary on stage.
3. *Casual*: Casual Saturday concerts are performed without intermission and are followed by a party in the lobby. Mingle with musicians in a relaxed setting and enjoy live music by local bands.
4. *Afterworks*: Wednesday concerts at 6:30pm performed without intermission. Skip rush hour traffic and recharge at the end of your work day. Enjoy complimentary light hors d'oeuvres before the concert, followed by 75 minutes of magnificent orchestral music.
5. *Exposed*: The first half of these concerts takes a fascinating look at the composer, history, and story behind the music. Enjoy a full performance of the work after intermission.
6. *Pops*: Entertaining concerts that include celebrates music from popular culture like Frank Sinatra hits and Broadway tunes, to your favourite theme songs from movies like *Star Wars*, *Jaws*, *Indiana Jones*, and more.
7. *Young People's Concerts*: Created especially for audience members ages 5 to 12, these fun and educational concerts can feature actors, dancers, costumes, and more!
8. *Toronto Symphony Youth Orchestra*: One of Canada's leading youth orchestras, the Toronto Symphony Youth Orchestra (TSYO) is a pre-professional training and talent-development programme for young people 22 and under. Hear Toronto's finest young musicians in three concerts.

Figure 2 Series descriptions for the TSO 2015/2016 season¹⁸⁷

In addition to these eight is an unlisted ninth category; "*Special*," which describes special events that do not fit the standard concert offerings. In the 2015/2016 season, they included the opening night gala, film screening concerts (*Back to the Future* and *Psycho*), music from *James Bond*, a late night concert featuring a Beethoven Symphony, Handel's *Messiah*, *Peter & The Wolf* charity concert for SickKids, a partnership concert with Second City comedy troupe, and the Chinese New Year concert.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁷ *Love the Live Experience*, [September 2015- June 2016 Concert Calendar] (2016), 1.

¹⁸⁸ For full list of works featured as part of this series or any other series, see Appendix A.

Consequently, this amalgam represents events which significantly alter concert structure or relationship between listener and the music, placing them outside the purview of regular programming.

The Masterworks series is the major focus of the orchestra's activities and features the most traditional concerts in term of both musical and ancillary programming. It features the canonic symphonic works of the repertoire, concerti featuring guest soloists, and other orchestral works. There are no regular ancillary activities programmed around the concert unless the concerts are part of a larger festival such as the Decades Project, although some special events do occur such as CD signings or pre-concert chats. The concert program "Listening Guides" feature works often performed as part of this series (see Chapter 4.2.2). The Masterworks series often shares programming with the Casual and Afterworks concerts which alter the concert format. An Afterworks concert often condenses a Masterworks programme by removing a work and the intermission, thereby making it appropriate for Toronto professionals on their way home from work. It is interesting to note that the TSO's original concert format were also short after-work concerts, although it was done predominantly to accommodate musicians other engagements.¹⁸⁹ The Casual concerts often borrow from the Masterworks programming as well, but the situation is made more casual by the conductor speaking from the stage directly to the audience in order to introduce pieces, casual dress for the musicians and audience (with the musicians wearing regular suits and colourful ties rather than full tuxedos,) and a post-concert party with live pop bands in the lobby. In this way, the Orchestra alters the situation and socio-cultural expectation in an attempt to make the concert experience less formal.

The Exposed series is comprised of three annual concert-lectures hosted by American musicologist, composer, and public speaker Rob Kapillow. His *What Makes it Great?* Series examines a single work through the lens of musical and historical analysis. During the first half of the concert, Kapillow explains the work through a basic harmonic and formal analysis and giving musical examples on his keyboard or the orchestra. These lectures are similar in historical and theoretical depth as a first-year undergraduate music course but omit all theoretical language, lowering the barriers to entry. The second half of the concert is the performance of the work in full. Concerts are followed by CD and book signings by Rob Kapillow. These concerts aim to teach the audiences about the orchestral genre and formally teach most appropriate modes of listening. Six out of eight of the interview subjects believed that they were useful, entertaining, and contributed to the overall listening skills of their audience, although several did not enjoy playing them themselves.

¹⁸⁹ Beckwith, John and Ford, Clifford. 2009. Toronto Symphony Orchestra. The Canadian Encyclopedia <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/toronto-symphony-orchestra-emc/> (accessed December 13, 2016)

The TSO categorizes Light Classics concerts as “potpourri” programming; classical standards that are regularly heard on the local classical radio station, Classic 96.3 FM, the concert hall, or in mainstream culture.

The Pops series is broadly split between old Broadway musical show tunes and film score music. Interview subjects perceive it as holding exceptionally strong demographic-musical preference correlations. The Broadway-based concerts were seen to have an elderly or retired audience with conservative tastes who rarely attended concerts outside of this genre.¹⁹⁰ The film screenings and movie music concerts were seen as having equally niche audience but consisting of TSOundcheck and other young audiences who were often new to the orchestral genre.¹⁹¹ Along with the Special Events series and New Creations Festival, the Pops series attracted the most new audiences to the TSO compared to other series.¹⁹² The Pops series was used as the most common series-based identifier among interview subjects; with all eight referring to this audience group at least once by a series-based label.

The Young People’s Concerts, treated in more depth in Chapter 4.2.1, are concerts designed specifically for children and families; an opportunity to introduce children to classical music and its instruments. These programmes are also performed during the week as programming for school visits, while older school-aged children and teenagers attend dress-rehearsals with a built in Q&A. Along with the Toronto Symphony Youth Orchestra, these concerts fill the core part of the Orchestra’s mandate for education. While the present research does not aim to study children’s listening strategies or orchestral concert experience, they are useful in determining the general attitude of the orchestra towards skill acquisition.

The title and descriptions of the series are important to understanding the orchestra’s facilitation of its listeners. Each one quickly outlines for whom the concerts are designed in terms of their exposure to orchestral music, established musical preference, and lifestyle. They focus on what the listener can expect from a concert in terms of music programming and ancillary activities such as pre- or post- concert chats or events. The descriptions demonstrate the focus that marketing places on making audiences comfortable and familiar, mitigating the risk factor involved, and helping audiences identify with the “type” of music with which they can identify. This addresses similar concerns found as part of the Scottish Chamber Orchestra and Harris Research Centre research, where barriers to attendance included perceived risks such as the lack of visual component (listeners are unaccustomed to an aural-based entertainment experience) and the perceived elitism and unfamiliarity of formal protocols leading to feelings of

¹⁹⁰ Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016.

¹⁹¹ Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016.

¹⁹² Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016.

vulnerability or exclusion. Additionally, the “lack of knowledge about what to expect,” particularly in concerts with multiple unknown composers the research considers as barriers, in addition to the exacerbating effect of the perceived difficulty in obtaining information on these factors.¹⁹³ Interestingly, the Masterworks concerts—usually associated with the most difficult or less-known works—have no descriptive indication of audience “type”, suggesting that the TSO assumes that those familiar with the composers will know the type of music to which they will be listening and its affiliated concert conventions.

Segmenting the season into a variety of series assists audiences in navigating the long list of concerts by providing a starting off point or additional validation in their choices, particularly for those unfamiliar with composer names. However, it is questionable how much it impacts the decision making process or listener self-identification; two questions that could be further studied in further research, particularly in long-time subscribers who would be the most familiar with these classifications and formats. Meanwhile, interview subjects used labels such as “pops” or “masterworks” listeners, offering consistent descriptions of these audiences.

While marketing research demonstrated that listeners generally chose concerts based on the featured composer, audience members do not listen to only one type of music. As Dr. Chan-Hartley identifies, listeners may equally attend film scores, Beethoven symphonies, mainstream music or new compositions.¹⁹⁴ This reflects Peterson’s contemporary (and somewhat controversial) sociological theory of musical omnivores.¹⁹⁵ As such, while series categorizations were frequently referenced by musicians and administrators to talk about their audiences, it was done as a general reference point, (rather than a rule,) and many were quick to point out the heterogeneity of concert audiences or to their own broad musical interests as counterexamples. It is also notable that many orchestras in North America and in parts of Europe offer similar series with corresponding ancillary programming.¹⁹⁶ Although segmenting the audience strictly by this predominantly-marketing metric is flawed by the same logic as Adornian typologies as over simplistic, they are nonetheless used as descriptive markers. Consequently, imagining the TSO audience in terms of series categorization is flawed and incomplete as a framework of analysis, but has strong enough tendencies to creep into descriptive language or to imply correlations.

¹⁹³ Tim Baker, *Stop Reinventing the Wheel: A guide to what we already know about developing audiences for Classical Music*, (London: Association of British Orchestras, 2000), 44.

¹⁹⁴ Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016.

¹⁹⁵ Richard A. Peterson, and Roger M. Kern, "Changing Highbrow Taste: From Snob to Omnivore," *American Sociological Review* 61, no. 5 (1996): 900-07. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2096460>.

¹⁹⁶ Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016.

The Pops series stands out at the fringe of the orchestral repertoire, bridging the gap between mainstream music and the core orchestral canon and particularly useful as a tool for examining perceptions of genre-normativity. In art music circles and orchestral organization, “Pops” is used as a catchall for any music found outside of the standard repertoire or the potpourri concerts featuring short well-known excerpts or canonical works.¹⁹⁷ Despite this category coming into question in various moments in the twentieth century, it is used to distinguish between musical spheres which are perceived as dichotomous while often attributing a value connotation. Both as a series and as a general linguistic descriptor, “Pops” designate mainstream music, particularly popular with new or infrequent audiences. Within the Pops series, Broadway and film scores are both described as “easy” or “light” (further discussed below,) and associated with more casual behaviour and ancillary activities which softened formal classical conventions and etiquette when compared with the more “traditional” orchestral concerts found in the Masterworks series, for example. Film scores and screenings prove to be especially popular with several sold-out shows.¹⁹⁸ Taken together, the Pops concerts, targeted predominantly at the fringe demographics not immediately brought in by standard orchestral repertoire, is a core part of the Orchestra’s attempt at reaching those who rarely would choose an evening of orchestral music.

In general, the TSO imagines musical preferences as ideally developing in a progression beginning with Pops or special event concerts through the Light Classics, and culminating in the core orchestral repertoire found in the Masterworks series.¹⁹⁹ Taken for granted in this assumption is the common, but not universal, association of mainstream classical music with descriptors such as “light,” or “easy,” “calming,” or “simple,” while perhaps the more obscure or more complex music often heard in the masterworks (or, more likely, as a recording, music school, or specialized music festival,) as “difficult,” or somehow “more serious.” This correlates with the general understanding musical preference develops from “easier” or “light” works that are frequently heard in popular culture and media or played frequently on classical radio. Corresponding to Stockfelt’s theory, it reinforces the idea that the most accessible music is that which is most heard; it is within the musical “lingua franca.”²⁰⁰ Discussed further in the following chapter, this follows a Bourdesian logic in which he determines that art cannot be appreciated without the appropriate codes.²⁰¹ Exposure and education are widely seen as instrumental to the progression, discussed in the following chapter. Many studies focus instead on the frequency of

¹⁹⁷ Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016.

¹⁹⁸ The TSO has chosen these films carefully and the programming of such films as *Lord of the Rings*, *Psycho*, and concerts dedicated to the music of Tim Burton, John Williams, and that of *James Bond* reflect the TSO’s ability to gauge the popularity and image capital accrued by the programming of works with cult-like followings.

¹⁹⁹ Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016.

²⁰⁰ Stockfelt, 133.

²⁰¹ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984,) 2.

attendance, finding the less frequent the attendance, the more conservative taste and vice versa.²⁰² Generally, orchestras and arts managers understand new or infrequent attenders as requiring more encouragement to attend concerts or prefer an experience that extends outside of the musical program and consequently entice audiences with ancillary events or merchandise.²⁰³ For example, the film screening concerts at the TSO feature merchandise tables, flashy marketing and popcorn and alcohol which can be brought into the hall where the orchestra performs the entire score of a movie accompanied by its projection on a large screen. The Casual concerts feature a post-performance concert in the lobby featuring jazz, pop, indie, or rock bands, allowing the TSO to advertise the event as a social party. These “entry point” concerts introduce audiences to the orchestral subgenre without full immersion, allowing them to learn the genre-normative aspects incrementally and enjoy aspects with which they are already familiar with the hope that it will lead to a greater interest in the genre.

The idea of a progression between art music subgenres based on their so-called relative difficulty is not unique to the TSO, but commonly assumed in the art music repertoire as a whole, as are their respective association to ancillary events.²⁰⁴

This concept is particularly important in the current research as it is widely believed that ancillary activities, exposure, educational initiatives and supplementary educational materials can facilitate the development of the competencies required for listening and enjoying more complex music, discussed in Chapter 4. However, it is essential to note that like all aspects of musical taste, this is by no means a universal phenomenon and many listeners are introduced to the genre through 20th and 21st century contemporary music or from some other access point depending on their musical preferences more generally. The research surveyed in Baker’s study finds similar correlations, identifying groups classified by their conservative and light tastes, enjoyment of popular classics as somewhat interested in the genre but lack the confidence or tools to expand outside of their comfort zone.²⁰⁵

The TSO sees these series profiles as nebulous and malleable, unlike the classic typology structures outlined by Adorno and others. They are unlike fixed types in that it is understood that listeners have the potential to expand their listening skill-set and preference for music through exposure or

²⁰² Tim Baker, *Stop Reinventing the Wheel: A guide to what we already know about developing audiences for Classical Music*, (London: Association of British Orchestras, 2000), 20

²⁰³ Peter Walshe and Millward Brown, *Research Digest for the Arts: Classical Music*, (ACGB, 1992) in Tim Baker, *Stop Reinventing the Wheel: A guide to what we already know about developing audiences for Classical Music*, (London: Association of British Orchestras, 2000), 27.

²⁰⁴ Peter Walshe and Millward Brown, *Research Digest for the Arts: Classical Music*, (ACGB, 1992) in Tim Baker, *Stop Reinventing the Wheel: A guide to what we already know about developing audiences for Classical Music*, (London: Association of British Orchestras, 2000), 27.

²⁰⁵ Tim Baker, *Stop Reinventing the Wheel: A guide to what we already know about developing audiences for Classical Music*, (London: Association of British Orchestras, 2000), 20-24.

education, or may have different types of competencies rather than a proscriptive and permanent label. While they are somewhat hierarchical and lead towards appreciating the most complex orchestral works, it rather attempts at expanding breadth of experience over creating barriers. A primary function of the Orchestra's marketing and its curation of the orchestral experience (with such elements as the concert program, pre- and post-concert chats, and supplementary materials) is to expose listeners to new music and to encourage autonomous reflexive listening.²⁰⁶ These facilitation measures encourage the attendance of more concerts, a closer relation and loyalty to the orchestra, and develop deeper enjoyment and understanding of the more opaque music that make up the core of the orchestral canon. A broader degree of musical appreciation, which encourages increased attendance to a broader range of concerts, consequently reinforces business interests in its promotion of ticket sales.

Importantly, the concert series that fall somewhere between the Pops and the Masterworks concerts, including the Light Classics, Afterworks, Exposed, and Casual concerts alter the concert format the most. With modifications such as pre-concert chats, on-stage introductions, post-concert parties with live music, more casual dress and the like, the initiatives modify the social situation in which the participants find themselves, largely softening the strict orchestral concert hall listening situation by introducing these indicative symbols. The informal education-based supplements such as the pre-concert chats or Exposed lectures make the musical material and situation more easily understood. The interview subjects perceive these kinds of informative activities as highly important for audience enjoyment in both the short and long term.. Post-concert parties with live music and other social occasions encourage the personal connection and social element that the Orchestra also perceived as highly important to audiences (especially to new audiences), and echoed in Dobson's study.²⁰⁷ Consequently, the TSO believes that the supplementary activities are highly important and relate them to specific types of TSO programming. Launched as part of the 2015/2016 season, the Decades Project demonstrates one example of a highly integrated, cohesive blend of supplementary and musical programming curated around the early decades of the 20th century which I analyse below as a means of demonstrating the potential of this kind of integrated curation.

The Decades project is one of four special projects in the 2015-2016 season, along with the Mozart @ 260, the New Creations Festival (see Chapter 3.3,) and the TSO Chamber Soloists (See Chapter 4.4.1).The series is a multi-year curated selection of concerts each programmed to represent a particular decade of the twentieth century. The 2015-2016 series was made up of seven concerts; four to

²⁰⁶ Adrian Fung, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 1, 2016.

²⁰⁷ Melissa C. Dobson, "New Audiences for Classical Music: The Experiences for Non-attenders at Live Orchestral Concerts," *Journal of New Music Research*, 59, no. 2, (2002): 111-124, accessed March 4, 2016, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09298215.2010.489643>.

represent 1900-1909, and three to represent 1910-1919. The concerts featured works by Claude Debussy, Ralph Vaughan Williams, Jean Sibelius, Gustav Mahler, Sergei Rachmaninoff, Richard Strauss, Maurice Ravel, and Edward Elgar, among others.²⁰⁸ The fifteen concerts each had pre- and post- concert ancillary events, in addition to some intermission talks taking place in the Roy Thomson Hall North lobby. The Decades Project continues into the 2016-2017, with concerts featuring 1920-1939. Presumably taken over by the continuation of the Canada Mosaic, it does not continue into the 2017-2018 series. It is co-curated by the Art Gallery of Ontario (AGO), and represents a well thought-out, nuanced and executed project, cohesively designed in the TSO's effort to curate and harmonize all aspects of the listener's experience while also introducing less performed works to the season.

To represent the decade spanning 1900-1909, the concerts featured pre-concert performances of music of the decade by the TSO Chamber Soloists, small historical plays co-written by Tom Allen commissioned for the events, pre-concert chats (one of which included a 1908 Brush Automobile, and another with period fashion,) and a panel on the intersections of art and music with Peter Oundjian, Tom Allen, and Kenneth Brummel.²⁰⁹ Members of a local high school wore period costumes and walked through the lobbies before the concerts while popular music from the first decade of the nineteenth century played on a Steinway Player Piano. The concert programmes (discussed in Chapter 4.2.2,) provided additional historical information on each decade and on the Decades Project more generally, featuring several pages of contextual content such as a timeline of historical, cultural, artistic, and musical events of each featured decade in Canada and Europe.

The Decades Project is a good example of effective modern orchestral concert programming for several reasons. Firstly, it combines simple elements already practiced for several years and proven successful into a cohesive project. Secondly, each of its parts is voluntary, allowing listeners to choose what, if any, supplementary activities to which they wish to take part. Thirdly, rather than a jumbled approach to the musical education provided by pre-concert chats and other supplementary content for the concerts, the Decades project uses a particular time frame to structure the concerts. The Decades categorization provides manageable chunks and well-defined boundaries within which the listener can explore freely. As the listeners demonstrated their interest in these-educational based supplementary initiatives, the Project provides manageable and incremental periods in which the listener can better understand. Lastly, it contributes to the total curated experience that the orchestra is aiming to build.²¹⁰

²⁰⁸ See Appendix A for full list of concerts in this series.

²⁰⁹ Dr. Hannah Chan-Hartley, *key*, 2, (2016): 10.

²¹⁰ Adrian Fung, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 1, 2016.

While the larger structures of frequency of attendance (ticket sale classification) and musical preference (series classification) speak to the choices of concerts and the decision to attend, the following will examine audience listening practices through group behaviour. The research examines the listeners from the point of view of the facilitators. Consequently, the research can speak of observation-based data gleaned through the researcher's observations and those recounted by interview subjects. Interview subjects uniformly associated audience behaviour with their mode of listening, and often with the audience's familiarity with the genre as a whole to the point of often using the terms interchangeably throughout the interview.

Overall, marketing research indicates that about 75% of audience members do not have a strong musical background, but they enjoy the "overall experience" of the concert.²¹¹ Furthermore, preferences are generally more conservative, with concerts featuring the Beethoven "Emperor" Concerto, or a concert programming all Tchaikovsky cited as particularly popular and featured annually due to the high demand.²¹² Dr. Chan-Hartley infers from their research that the TSO's audiences are motivated by knowing something about the works or the composers before the performance, which echoes the research done by the 1998 BBC Proms Customer Survey, the 1995 Royal Scottish National Orchestra Audience Survey, and the orchestral concerts research portion of the 1994 Research Surveys of Great Britain.²¹³ This in turn informs the type of information the TSO provides as part of their marketing material.²¹⁴ Despite overall conservative preferences, listeners were perceived to be very "hungry for information."²¹⁵ Discussed further in Chapter four, this makes up the most dominant of the four trends in audience listening practices at the TSO: curiosity and understanding as intrinsic to the listening satisfaction. The other three include: the paradoxical assumption of audiences listening through what was described as "letting the music wash over them," the desire for a personal connection with the Orchestra and its music, and finally, the evolving attitude and modes of listening in the under 35 TSOundcheck and young audiences.

The audience as a whole practiced the genre-normative behaviours associated with orchestral concert hall situation. Listeners remained seated and silent for the duration of the work, restricting their movements and noise. According to the conventions of the genre, listeners applauded at designated moments; the entrance of the concertmaster, soloist or conductor; at the invitation of a speaker; at the end of a work; or at the end of the concert. Particular conventions of applause were also adhered to; with only

²¹¹ Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016.

²¹² Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016.

²¹³ Tim Baker, *Stop Reinventing the Wheel: A guide to what we already know about developing audiences for Classical Music*, (London: Association of British Orchestras, 2000), 30-31.

²¹⁴ Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016.

²¹⁵ Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016.

a few exceptions, audiences applauded long enough for featured soloist to return to stage for applause one to three times, and occasionally added yelling, whistling, and calls for encores to their applause. The performance of these genre-normative codes makes an interesting study in itself and which Christopher Small addresses in *Musicking*.²¹⁶

Despite the widespread adherence to concert hall etiquette on the whole, behaviour deviated from standard practice frequently in small ways. For the most part, this consisted of audience members making unwanted noise, (often accidental,) throughout the course of the work including: coughing, sniffing, rustling caused by shuffling people or bags, unwrapping sweets, dropped programmes or objects, or occasional whispering. Although these were generally accepted as part of the performance, if they persisted, they incited disparaging looks from other audience members. Audiences appeared to only rarely address other patrons in these circumstances. While most interview subjects found these noises normal and expected, one pointed out that they could be very distracting for the performers and verging on the disrespectful.²¹⁷

Subjects referenced the practice of holding applause to the end of the work—as opposed to in between individual movements—most often when questioned about their beliefs of concert hall etiquette. When applause did occasionally occur between movements, it either swelled into a full applause (at which point the soloist would often nod in recognition, without a bow) or would quickly wane as the conductor prepared the beginning of the next movement. The practice is associated with new attenders or those uninitiated to the genre. While one subject believed that it was unacceptable to clap between movements, the remaining seven were not bothered by the practice. Some conductors and performers actively limit the practice of clapping between movements by exaggerating the continuance of a piece with such actions as maintaining an obvious raised baton and curved back, or with instrumentalists maintaining a playing position. Some performers like pianist Yundi Li playing the Chopin Preludes during the 2015-2016 season, left approximately two seconds between preludes in order to avoid applause. Peter Oundjian was often referenced, encouraging the Orchestra that this practice demonstrated enthusiasm, rather than the common belief of its disruptive nature. On the website concert etiquette page, it describes how traditionally it is considered respectful to hold applause but points out that it was commonplace until the last century to applaud in any pauses to demonstrate enjoyment.²¹⁸ The practice is

²¹⁶ Christopher Small, *Musicking: The meanings of performing and listening*, (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 2011).

²¹⁷ Anonymous I, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, May 5, 2016.

²¹⁸ “Concert Etiquette,” *Toronto Symphony Orchestra*, accessed February 1, 2017, <https://www.tso.ca/concerts/plan-your-visit/concert-etiquette>.

nonetheless considered standard enough to warrant a satirical April Fools article entitled: “EXCLUSIVE: Roy Thomson Hall to Install Giant Applause Sign to Discourage Clapping between Movements.”²¹⁹

There was a strong sense among interview subjects that behaviours that reinforced a strict notion of formal orchestral concert hall behaviour contributed to new listeners’ alienation, and strongly believing that a single bad experience could end all future contact with the genre.²²⁰ A minority believed that audiences should be instructed on proper behaviour in order to maintain the sociocultural conventions classically thought of as conducive to listening since the nineteenth century, while a majority believed in a more laissez-faire attitude; “I think the only thing that an audience member has to do is have respect for other people’s ways of listening. Beyond that, I think that they can do whatever they want.”²²¹ The interview subject further clarifies that a listener’s actions cannot obstruct or distract from another’s. However, he believes that policing people’s behaviour and responses to the music is counterproductive: “I think that everyone needs to feel when they go to the symphony that they are not being judged for the way that they are listening to music.”²²² He cites particular frustration with long-time subscribers who feel superior to their uninitiated counterparts in the concert hall and who call out and silence behaviour outside of the strict norms.²²³ He cites the specific example of Tchaikovsky’s Violin Concerto in D Major, where clapping and calling out frequently occurs at the climactic end of the first movement, sometimes restricted by shushing. He feels this kind of disciplinarian behaviour is unhealthy for the concert hall.

Significantly, Jonathan Crow, concertmaster, describes two reasons which play into Stockfelt’s adequate listening. Firstly, he alludes to the first performance of Beethoven’s Symphony No. 3 (*Eroica*) in which listeners allegedly yelled at the “false” entrance of the horns to demonstrate that the strict code of etiquette in the concert hall is newly imposed; and that the general practice and liberty to voice opinions and enthusiasm at the time of the historical first performances of many canonical works.²²⁴ Whereas Stockfelt describes the evolution of the codified concert hall practices as a means of explaining

²¹⁹ Michael Vincent, “EXCLUSIVE: Roy Thomson Hall to Install Giant Applause Sign to Discourage Clapping between Movements,” *Musical Toronto*, April 1, 2016, <http://www.musicaltoronto.org/2016/04/01/breaking-roy-thomson-hall-to-install-giant-applause-sign-to-discourage-clapping-between-movements/#>.

²²⁰ Melissa Dobson, “New audiences for Classical Music: The Experiences of Non-Attendees at Live Orchestral Concerts,” *Journal of New Music Research* 39 no. 2 (2010): 111-124, accessed on March 4, 2016, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09298215.2010.489643>.

²²¹ Jonathan Crow, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, December 6, 2016.

²²² Jonathan Crow, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, December 6, 2016.

²²³ Similar behaviour was recorded in research in the following studies; Dobson, “New Audiences for Classical Music,” and A. Card, and B. Cova, “The Impact of Service Elements on the Artistic Experience: The Case of Classical Music Concerts,” *International Journal of Arts Management* 7 no. 2 (Winter 2005), 39-54.

²²⁴ In this instance Crow is referring to an event that happened at a rehearsal, however vocal dissent for works is well documented well into the 20th century, particularly at compositions by Second Viennese and avant-garde schools. Stravinsky’s *Rite of Spring*, which Crow references as an unruly audience later in the discussion, is an oft cited example.

that concert etiquette is not fixed, the subject uses it as a historical example to legitimize codes perceived traditionally uncouth. Where the strict codification of behaviour is generally considered “historic,” he demonstrates that its historical validation is ill-founded. Secondly, he cites listener’s exaggerated reverence for the genre also alluded to by Stockfelt; that a work of art music must be attended to in controlled silence out of a degree of respect, as if; “It [was] so important that you couldn’t *possibly* engage in that way.”²²⁵ He perceives the structured behaviour as mitigating engaged experiences; “we shouldn’t take out the emotional reaction from the audience in order to make everything flat.”²²⁶ Here, normative concert hall behaviour is perceived, rather than maintaining the integrity of the work, as an emotional inhibitor by making audiences feel unable to act on emotions they feel over the course of the performance. Rather than learning to temper reactions or express them in other ways according to etiquette (and thus mould behaviour to genre-normative codes,) the reverse should be embraced in his view.

The degree to which audiences should audibly or visually demonstrate their engagement remains contentious among members of the orchestra—and orchestras and their audiences more generally—but the perceived necessity of some form of engagement is universal. All interview subjects agreed strongly as to the importance of the audience to the performance and the “energy, “enthusiasm” or “encouragement” that they received from them. Some interview subjects suggested aural or gestural cues that gave cues as to the audience’s engagement;

Relationship-wise, I think we *do* respond to what the audience is feeling for good or for ill, you can really tell... when people aren’t getting it. You can tell when they start to get restless [rubs hands together, making rustling noises] and you can tell if there is something that is really engaging. And it’s something again where most concerts fall somewhere in between. You’re always trying to get everything so that you feel like every audience member feels like they’re engaged.²²⁷

Similar to Crow, violinist Wendy Rose alludes to a common theme among musicians as to the dialogical nature of music making; “I see our role, as performers, the same as storytellers.”²²⁸ Rose believes that the audience is part of the process and without them, there is something missing. She feels that musicians feel “feedback from the audience, and we do get charged by large audiences, enthusiastic

²²⁵ Jonathan Crow, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, December 6, 2016.

²²⁶ Jonathan Crow, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, December 6, 2016.

²²⁷ Jonathan Crow, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, December 6, 2016.

²²⁸ Wendy Rose, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, November 10, 2016.

audiences.”²²⁹ She recounts how, as a violinist with a good view of the audience, she is able to “check-up” on certain members of the audience to gauge reactions and alter performances accordingly.

Such instances suggest that musicians rely on aural and visual, (including gestural and postural) cues from their audiences to perform their best, searching out signs that their audiences are engaged. However, here we are reminded of the importance of genre-normativity; silent and still attention demonstrates the audience is engrossed in the orchestral hall performance, where in any other live genre, it would likely be considered awkward, or a sign of boredom. Further research is still needed in analysing the subtleties of aural and visual cues by musicians and their audiences to further develop the fascinating (and often silent) communication that takes place during and around the music, already begun in studies of the conductor and musicians’ movements.²³⁰ Within Stockfelt’s paradigm, these elements need further study, particularly in relation to recent experiments with sociocultural conventions and situation such as in the case of some of Tafelmusik’s recent cross-genre experimentation.²³¹

Speaking from the stage represented one very influential contributing factor to the perceived rigidity of genre-normative behaviours. It was perceived that this encouraged more interaction which allowed audience members to feel more comfortable to express their feelings through outward behaviour. One musician cited the Exposed series specifically as being conducive to overt interactions, “those audiences... they’re called upon to participate, and the more enthusiastic their response, the more fun it is for us.”²³² While many of the other musicians did not find the concerts enjoyable themselves, they did agree that audiences did enjoy the casual tone and ability to interact.

Breaking down the wall between the stage and the audience is perceived as an important means of transitioning from more formal normative modes of listening to one that is more casual and encourages audience participation. During participant observation of the *An American in Paris* concert on June 4th, 2016, a notable event occurred. During a sudden prolonged pause in the middle of John Adam’s *Short Ride in a Fast Machine*, a large number of audience members began enthusiastically clapping and

²²⁹ Wendy Rose, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, November 10, 2016.

²³⁰ Teresa Marrin and Nakra F. BuSha, “Synchronous Sympathy at the Symphony: Conductor and Audience Accord,” *Music Perception: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 32 no. 2 (2014): 109-124; William Forde Thompson, Phil Graham, and Frank A. Russo, “Seeing music performance: Visual influences on perception and experience,” *Semiotica*, no. 156 (2005): 203-227; Rolf Inge Godøy and Marc Leman, *Musical Gestures: Sound, Movement and Meaning* (New York: Routledge, 2010). Jennifer Huang and Carol Lynne Krumhansl, “What does seeing the performer add? It depends on musical style, amount of stage behavior, and audience expertise,” *Musicae Scientiae* 15, no. 3 (2011): 343-364.

²³¹ Among other events, *Haus Musik* offers baroque music fused with electronic music in a popular upscale Toronto bar, representing one possible direction of outreach programmes in changing both musical content and situation. “Haus Musik: The Classical Alternative,” *Tafelmusik Baroque Orchestra and Chamber Choir*, accessed February 1, 2017, <http://www.tafelmusik.org/concert-calendar/concert/haus-musik-classical-alternative>.

²³² Wendy Rose, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, November 10, 2016.

cheering, expressing recognition for a very good performance. With baton held in midair and holding the pause for the orchestra, he turned his face and upper body towards the audience and yelled “Psych!” loudly, before resuming the performance. The audiences, rather than feeling uncomfortable or stupid for being unfamiliar with the piece and clapping at the wrong time, laughed audibly at their new shared joke before continuing to listen in silence. The rest of the concert was characterized by an increased level of enthusiastic behaviour, exhibited through prolonged applause and calls for encores much more vivid than in other concerts of similar programming.

Many of the discrepancies between audiences’ behaviours and the musicians’ drawn conclusion stem from the universally held belief among interview subjects and expressed in other research data that, unsurprisingly, audiences are not uniform but vary greatly in their attitudes, behaviours and tastes (while also remaining loosely within genre-normative listening modes.) Referencing the singular presence of TSOundcheck audiences who exhibit the largest variance from the norm, Rose concludes, “So you might get several different kinds of audiences on one evening...you have your regular subscribers who have been going to performances for 40 years, who are accustomed to being very quiet and demure, and then you will have a much more enthusiastic group. I don’t know that we can generalize.”²³³ While the current research finds trends in behaviours, expectations and modes of listening, it is important to keep in mind the heterogeneous mixture that, while allowing for some conclusions, cannot be taken as rules. The above quote also hints towards the shifting nature of audiences to which Stockfelt alludes in regards to listening practices of younger audiences, and discussed in more depth below.

3.2 Understanding Modes of Listening: Comparing of Musician and non-Musician Experience

One of the first interview questions asked of the subjects was about their own listening practices. Although designed as a means of opening conversation and observing the used vocabulary compared to their description of their audiences, these questions revealed surprising and conclusive information. Subjects often revealed the most about their perceptions of audience listening practices through comparing them to their own. Some subjects expressed mild discomfort in assuming listening practices on the parts of their audiences. Subjects were most articulate about their own and their audience’s listening practices when they were able to use comparisons. For the purposes of this section, I am referring to all

²³³ Wendy Rose, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, November 10, 2016.

interview subjects, including those in organizational roles, as musicians as they were all referring explicitly to their own listening experiences as musicians, regardless of their role at the TSO.

Understanding musicians' perception of genre-normative modes of listening is intrinsic to understanding contemporary orchestral concert hall practices. Their listening skills are generally perceived in musicology as representing the pinnacle of intellectual and skilled listening to which others can aspire. Delving into musicians' perception of their own listening practices in comparison to their audiences identifies different approaches to listening, possible areas for miscommunication or opposing opinion, and further clarifies attempts at facilitating audience listening.

This section describes how musicians describe their own modes of listening and their perceptions of their audience's listening practices. The modes of listening of both musician and audience members are situated in a genre-normative context, that is, Roy Thomson Hall, with all of its associated behavioural norms. Given the situation and the general understanding of genre-normativity, the following observations reside within the larger umbrella of concert hall listening considered in its broadest definition: listeners are seated quietly in their seats for the duration of the concert with the orchestras as their primary object. They do not perform any (obvious or visual) secondary activities associated with other genres and they do not leave the hall mid-work, among other rules of etiquette followed in the concert setting. Nevertheless, within the constraints of the concert hall, the interview subjects spoke about a spectrum of related modes of listening.

First, I present a general description of autonomous reflexive listening that makes up the predominant mode of listening for the musician at the TSO. Although considered expert listeners, the musicians believed that listening was a nuanced activity and described paradoxes and difficulties even within their own experiences. They further assumed that their audiences largely practised either autonomous reflexive listening based on intellectual or analytical processes like themselves, (if less specialised,) or preferred a more sensory experiential mode described as allowing the music "wash over" them. Furthermore, several musicians felt that the latter was genre-normative and attempted to assimilate this behaviour, but had difficulty doing so. Throughout the course of the interviews and through the other collected data, subjects assumed that one of the primary reasons for which listeners returned for years to hear the same piece was in the possible rediscovery and further exploration in the work. The musicians suggest that genre-normative listening is more nuanced and fluid than might be imagined and that there are two seemingly conflictual notions of genre-normativity in the spectrum of listening, discussed in more detail in relation to the TSO's ancillary activities in the following chapter.

The majority of interview subjects mentioned their predominantly analytical or critical mode of listening; aspects which Stockfelt would classify as important to autonomous reflexive listening. The first superficial level of this described analytical, knowledge-based mode of listening is its engaged, recognition and identification-founded process. While it does not always consist of deep theoretical analysis, (discussed below,) it is a knowledge-based referential process of listening that sets it apart from a more sensorial or experiential listening with which the musicians compared it. Throughout the work, the musician is actively paying attention to the music's constituent elements, recognizing when it is similar or matches elements of other works and concepts they know. These can include such clues as: orchestration, instrumentation, form, structure, harmony, melody, harmonic progression, rhythmic motives (among many others,) as well as the combination of these elements and their subsequent comparison to the listener's memory of other works in the Western canon. This is largely a conscious activity that the musicians are able to express and describe with a relatively well-developed vocabulary inherent to the theoretical study of music.²³⁴ In some works, this might be simply be the act of recognizing immediately the name of the work and associating it with pre-conceived knowledge of its context or composition, perhaps its historical or cultural significance, other related works, important theoretical or musical elements or associations. This constitutes the first rudimentary step in analysis: the recognition and attribution of global characteristics of a work in order to identify characteristics that point to particular learned categories, labels, or vocabulary. In the case of an unfamiliar piece, the detective work of comparing and contrasting may help the musician deduce, at the very least, its stylistic affiliation or period. The nature of this intellectually-informed listening often means that some listeners will prepare for a concert by doing informal or formal research to better follow, understand, and reflect on important elements such as form or harmonic structure. As Stockfelt points out, this type of reflexivity may be most suited for certain genres of music than others. While intellectual or reflexive activities are taking place, it is important to note that reflexivity or intellectual listening does not negate the evocation of emotions, memories or other more aesthetic experiences of listening.²³⁵

Dr. Chan-Hartley, managing editor and musicologist, reflects on her own experiences of this kind of comparative and recognition-based listening. She describes listening to Rachmaninoff's Piano Concerto No. 4 for the first time the previous evening. She contrasts the way that she approached listening to this work to another programmed the same night by Steve Reich; "with the Rachmaninoff, I had an expectation, obviously being familiar with his other piano works... and I was actually quite

²³⁴ Eriikki Huovinen, "Understanding Music," in *The Routledge Companion to Philosophy and Music*, ed. Theodore Gracyk and Andrew Kania (New York: Routledge, 2011), 125.

²³⁵ See for instance, Siu-Lan Tan, Peter Pfordeshner, and Rom Harré, *The Psychology of Music: From sound to significance*, (New York; Psychology Press, 2010), 246.

surprised, [thinking] ‘oh, well it really doesn’t sound of what you would expect from Rachmaninoff!’”²³⁶ She then reflects on conductor Kristjan Järvi’s short introduction to the work and its influences on her subsequent search for the highlighted musical elements; the inspiration of Gershwin and American Jazz. She excitedly explains how she found allusions and moments of interest she had not expected, saying she “could hear a little bit, a little twist of it, but [that] a lot of it sounded what I thought was music from the 50s, sort of movie music...[especially] those harmonies.”²³⁷ She concludes that when she listens, she tries to compare sections of what she is hearing with elements she knows outside of the work. Using her previously held knowledge of Rachmaninoff’s compositions, American jazz, Gershwin, movie music of the 50s, as well as a general knowledge of musical form, and harmony, Dr. Chan-Hartley listens to the new work with a consciously investigative vigour, attempting to place Rachmaninoff’s Piano Concerto No. 4 within its broader musical context. We can see immediately how this kind of listening would be difficult, if possible, for listener who had had little exposure to the orchestral genre—they would be unable to make the same degree of inference, or observe the same kinds of relationships, without a thorough knowledge of the musical canon.

The implementation of this reflexive listening is not suited for all music. Dr. Chan-Hartley describes how she prefers to listen to different composers or styles of music within the art music repertoire differently. She discriminates between her approach to two compositions on the same program; Duet for two Violins and Strings by Steve Reich (b.1936) and the aforementioned Rachmaninoff (1873-1943) Fourth Piano Concerto. Fairly unfamiliar with both works, she explains how it was an unusual concert for her as she did not prepare herself for the pieces. Importantly, she made a conscious decision not to listen to the Reich piece ahead of time. This was so that she did not “know what to expect,” instead preferring to experience it for the first time live.²³⁸ Making the distinction between the works of Reich and Rachmaninoff, she feels that the Reich piece is most impactful without preparation. However, her experience listening to Rachmaninoff was consumed with determining aspects of the work normally discovered through outside research. In these comments, Dr. Chan-Hartley demonstrates a conscious decision to perform particular listening practices by comparing two works with different listening aims, expectations, and attitudes. Her distinctions are made along the lines of each works’ style and musical language and are categorized according to their respective composer. There is the implicit assumption that a composer’s works all use similar musical language and that they can be approached and understood in a similar way (while the repertoire as a whole cannot.) Reich and Rachmaninoff provide a striking comparison as they are from a similar time period yet express very different musical philosophies and, I

²³⁶ Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016.

²³⁷ Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016.

²³⁸ Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016.

would argue, different most adequate modes of listening. Even within the confines of a single century of art music, there are variations in the modes of listening thought to be appropriate. This suggests that while attentive curiosity is characteristic of both modes of listening described by Dr. Chan-Hartley, the knowledge-based analytical reflexivity may not be appropriate in all situations.

The Western musical canon of the 20th and 21st century places a lot of value in its canon of works and composers. Furthermore, the ability to correctly identify important works of its most revered composers and tracing the lineage of musical influence within a work make up a disproportionately large part of the musicology literature. Dr. Chan-Hartley describes her training as a musician and musicologist, speaking of the “drop the needle” test; a ubiquitous method for testing repertoire knowledge in Western universities and conservatories. In it, a recording of a work in the Western canon is played at a random point and the students are asked to identify the work and the section from which it is drawn, the composer, its dates, period, and occasionally, its significance to the genre. Recognition-based listening is an essential part of a musicians’ training and taken-for-granted knowledge that often becomes engrained in the way that musicians think about and listen to music. In art music especially, composers’ names are widely known and used as common categorical markers. On programs and concert titles, they tell listeners broadly the type of music they will hear. Even if a musician feels unfamiliar with work as Dr. Chan-Hartley was, they are able to give predictions on whether or not it is to their taste, its length, and what other compositions it will resemble, for example. The composers’ name becomes short-hand for an entire spectrum of information about the work. Dr. Chan-Hartley describes how musical training has engrained the preoccupation with identification, such as the enjoyment of listening to the Classical radio station and trying to guess what is being played from its musical cues.²³⁹ Chan’s musical training, shared by the majority of Western classical musicians, has influenced the way that she goes about listening to music.

For those who are not familiar with the canonical repertoire of composers, this can pose a major problem. The common practice of describing concerts through the names of the composers performed alienates the uninitiated listener who does not hold the necessary information that these labels provide. As Baker describes, this contributes to the conservative choices of audiences, as well as corroding confidence in speaking about the works to which they listened in a concert.²⁴⁰ The orchestral concert presupposes a wealth of assumed knowledge in a relatively small number of words, communicating the form and orchestration through genre-specific titles (for example, a symphony as opposed to a concerto or

²³⁹ Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016.

²⁴⁰ Tim Baker, *Stop Reinventing the Wheel: A guide to what we already know about developing audiences for Classical Music*, (London: Association of British Orchestras, 2000), 80; Dobson, “New Audiences for Classical Music.”

overture,) the style communicated by the composer's name, and when to clap according to the number of movements, for example.

The analytical process above does not end at this superficial layer of recognition, but often consists of a deeper critical or analytical process, particularly involving musical form or structure. Equipped with a bank of formal structures and their most common variations as references (for instance, the sonata, concerto, or symphonic forms at the macro level, and harmonic, rhythmic, or metric structure in successively smaller levels,) musicians are able to follow these large and small formal structures and events along with the vocabulary most appropriate to talk about them.²⁴¹ These can be of interest for a variety of reasons, but it is the constant recognition and comparison to the catalogue of outside learned knowledge and the musician's subsequent judgements that makes up a large part of the autonomous reflexive listening process. Dr. Chan-Hartley explains how it shapes her own listening, compared to the listening practices of the audience;

That experience of listening to musical structure is... engrained in me from training and from teaching, and... to a lot of people, I feel like the symphonic form is abstract, and I know some people who may or may not be familiar with symphonic form may want to just sit and let it wash over them, but there are some people who want to find something to latch on to. Form has been an important part of the symphonic structure... [However] it is not *that* abstract... there's something to hold on to there... for me, it's actually an important part of listening. I like to be able to listen [and ask] how did one composer... "Solve" the symphony, or how did they innovate it. Having that knowledge shapes how I listen to something.²⁴²

Dr. Chan-Hartley talks about solving the symphony, that is to say, working with the standard form of the work and innovating it to advance the musical language in a particular direction. A work's structure and form represents a hugely important aspect of listening to art music, yet it remains largely unconscious to many listeners and does not figure into adequate listening of other genres. Listeners who are not aware of formal aspects (or who have not learned about how to identify them,) will be either unaware of this aspect

²⁴¹ Some theorists have attempted to notate music according to how it is heard, rather than through standard harmonic notation, including interesting work by the following: Allen Cadwallader and David Gagné, *Analysis of Tonal Music: A Schenkerian Approach*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); in addition to psychomusicological models such as those created by Fred Lerdahl and Ray Jackendorf, *A Generative Theory of Tonal Music*, (Boston: MIT Press, 1985); in addition to semiotic or rhetoric-based theoretical analysis: Kofi Agawu, "Analyzing music under the new musicological regime." *Music Theory Online* 2 no. 4, (1996) accessed March 1, 2017 <http://mto.societymusictheory.org/issues/mto.96.2.4/mto.96.2.4.agawu.html>; Jean-Pierre Bartoli, « Le refrain final du Quatuor op. 33 n° 2 de Joseph Haydn : une analyse rhétorique à partir du modèle du Groupe μ », *Musurgia* XII/1-2 (2005), p. 49-62.

²⁴² Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016.

of the genre-normative mode of listening or frustrated by their inability to take part. However, this does not necessarily mean that the listener will not enjoy the music. As Dr. Chan-Hartley explains, much of the music in the common-practice period lends itself to more aesthetically-driven modes of listening, where the listener may find pleasure in other aspects outside of the intellectually-driven listening.

Jonathan Crow talks similarly about his satisfaction and enjoyment of a piece of music where he is able to identify and relate secondary information. He uses the analogy of the satisfaction he finds in watching a Shakespearian play. He explains how when he understands the meaning behind the play or; “understands ... where Shakespeare was coming from,” he feels that he “gets it,” in some way. In this act, he has a feeling of accomplishment; “I leave the experience feeling like I’ve done something well myself, even though I haven’t done anything.”²⁴³ Although he does not physically take part the activity, he is engaged and acting reflexively. This, he believes, can be accomplished even if he is familiar with the work in question already. The phenomenon to which many of the musicians alluded while talking about listening was the ability of art—specifically complex music—of providing multiple levels of understanding and enjoyment. Crow posits that it is possible to “understand music on many different levels,” which contributes to the joy he feels in performing and consequently sharing these moments with his audience.²⁴⁴ The intellectual satisfaction of listening in this way is frequently cited, and even taken for granted, in the musical community.

There are frequent allusions throughout the interviews to the idea that it is possible to listen on multiple levels. Often these are referring to two distinct, but related, phenomena. Firstly, a work of music, (like any art,) can provide multiple, successive discoveries or interpretations during the course of each listening because it either has a certain level of complexity which does not allow everything to be understood in a single experience or, that with more exposure, supplementary information or associations, new aspects can be discovered and produce satisfaction. In this way, a single work can be heard for the first time or for fiftieth and still provide something of interest to the listener. Concertmaster Jonathan Crow describes the continuous enjoyment that can be found in multiple hearings of a work:

The joy of what we do is that you can play a Brahms symphony and we can have people who have never heard a Brahms symphony before and they can love it and think it is the best thing ever. And, we can have people who have seen Brahms symphonies their entire life but, perhaps they can go to a class, and learn a little bit about how he used his motives to ... create a structure... and then, they understand that on a deeper level. They also feel like “oh good, yeah! I’m getting something more out of it” So there [is] a

²⁴³ Jonathan Crow, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, December 6, 2016.

²⁴⁴ Jonathan Crow, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, December 6, 2016.

progression, and whenever you think of an audience, you can always think that there is someone who has never been to a concert before. And there's always someone who has been to a hundred. So the goal is that the person who has been to a hundred *still* is engaged with what they're hearing, and feels like they can get something more out of it every time and the person who has never been before loves it and wants to come back and learn more about it.²⁴⁵

Crow references a number of situations where the listener can discover more of a work through multiple hearings. He cites both repeated listening and the addition of outside knowledge (in the form of a class or, later, he mentions the pre-concert chats) as reasons for successive readings. The multiple levels are seen as subsequent layers of understanding which are attained from sensory satisfaction or the ability to reflexively analyse what is being heard.

The second allusion to multiple levels of listening refers to the conscious or unconscious decision to use different modes of listening within a single event. While listeners may be better practiced in one over another and predisposed to it, Stockfelt reminds us that they still have agency over their choice.²⁴⁶ While Stockfelt interprets different approaches to listening as an infinite number of variations of modes, other theorists categorize them into typologies, like those of Adorno, or in different aesthetic theories, like those of Eggebrecht or Kivy.²⁴⁷ Although different theorists approach the subject in different ways, the theories largely argue on whether the approach to listening relies on intellectual or structural processes, or an aesthetic experiential one, largely privileging the former. It is important to remember that, as Stockfelt reminds us, listening does not often reside at either of the extremes.²⁴⁸ Both Dr. Chan-Hartley and Jonathan Crow recognize that they feel enjoyment from recognition, identification, and reflection. Rather than relying solely on the undoubtedly sensorial or emotive nature of the music, they draw satisfaction from reflective, analytical skills associated with the modes of listening in which they have been trained and which they continue to develop.

Interestingly, despite expressing their lifelong passion and enjoyment of music, all those asked about their own listening practices mentioned some degree of dissatisfaction with their predominantly analytical mode of listening. This was particularly prominent when they spoke of listening to orchestral music or music written for their particular instrument. Crow explains that, "everything for me comes from

²⁴⁵ Jonathan Crow, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, December 6, 2016.

²⁴⁶ Stockfelt, 133.

²⁴⁷ Lilliestam's crafts a nuanced summary of the most prominent typologies and categorization models for listeners; Lilliestam, "Research on music listening."

²⁴⁸ Stockfelt, 141.

the fact that I'm involved with it. So if I'm listening to a symphony orchestra, I'm constantly judging."²⁴⁹ Specifying that this was not a value judgement, he explains this process as curiosity or quasi-research for his own playing. For instance, he may notice a particularly interesting shift or bowing he may want to implement in his own practice. While useful and a normal part of the musical process for musicians to listen to other interpretations, he expresses a feeling of loss in being caught up with this reflexive mode of listening; "[with] anything involving violin, unfortunately, I get too violinistic when I listen to it, which is too bad."²⁵⁰ In this, Crow assumes that the average listener is able to enjoy the concert more (or, at the very least, differently,) because they are not distracted by the analysis of technical, stylistic, or other ancillary aspects that supersede the sensorial, emotional, or narrative pleasure he feels is often felt by listener. Due to his profession, listening in this analytical way is not associated with relaxation—the primary attribute associated with classical music concerts by one study—but with work.²⁵¹

Violinist Leslie Knowles and tubist Mark Tetreault also expressed how their relationship with music was different than the average concert-goer, citing how the analytical part of their listening is sometimes unavoidable.²⁵² Tetreault finds Christmas music especially difficult to listen to without analysing, alluding to the way in which many popular or traditional songs lack the complexity that renders well-written art music so interesting to a listener who prefers analytical listening practices. Knowles also cites her lack of interest in attending other concerts because she finds the mentality too similar to her work.²⁵³ Meanwhile, violinist Wendy Rose frequently attends TSO concerts while on sabbatical, citing her love of the repertoire and the interest in seeing her ensemble from a different vantage point. Like her colleagues, she nonetheless found it occasionally disconcerting;

It's hard not to be distracted by stuff that I experience on stage when I perform. So I'm trying to be an audience member, but I'm also watching the conductor and trying to imagine what it would feel like playing under the conductor, especially if it's one I don't know. I'm watching my colleagues, [and notice] what they look like when you can actually see them from the audience. And that's so totally different to what I would have expected. It's an interesting perspective.²⁵⁴

²⁴⁹ Jonathan Crow, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, December 6, 2016.

²⁵⁰ Jonathan Crow, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, December 6, 2016.

²⁵¹ Orchestral Concerts Quantitative Research, *RSGB*, (ACE, 1994) in Tim Baker, *Stop Reinventing the Wheel: A guide to what we already know about developing audiences for Classical Music*, (London: Association of British Orchestras, 2000), 38.

²⁵² Leslie Knowles and Mark Tetreault, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, September 27, 2016.

²⁵³ Leslie Knowles and Mark Tetreault, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, September 27, 2016.

²⁵⁴ Wendy Rose, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, November 10, 2016.

Rose continues by illustrating the difficulty she has in detaching from performative- dominated mode of listening: “it’s kind of hard to separate myself from what’s going on on stage because I imagine myself playing the passages. So I keep trying to take a step back and let the music wash over me which is, I imagine, how audience members are responding.”²⁵⁵ Rose proves that the choice in mode of listening of which Stockfelt speaks is not as free as he might suggest. Rather than a choice, it is more of an ongoing negotiation. Although it must be studied in more depth, the frequency and development of a mode of listening likely influences the listeners’ ease in negotiating their choice. For Rose, it required constant mindfulness not to revert back to her most practiced mode of listening when she is in the concert hall. Tetreault and Knowles expressed similar sentiments in the quotes above, finding it difficult to listen without some degree of analysis or reflexivity. Similarly, we can deduce that a listener who frequently practices modes of listening common to their quotidian life may have difficulty maintaining the necessary concentration to adhere to genre-normative concert hall listening if they are not accustomed to it, even if they have the knowledge or vocabulary associated with it.

As Stockfelt explains, although some aspects of listening are not consciously decided, there is still agency in the choice of modes of listening. What is important to note is that despite the predilection towards particular modes, listeners are not inextricably linked to a single one. While the majority of listeners may favour certain modes over others according to their experience and training, they are not defined by them; differentiating Stockfelt’s theory from Adornian or marketing typological understandings of listeners. While the musicians describe difficulty in maintaining modes outside their common practice within a situation, they describe alternative modes of listening when they listen to other genres of music, or in different situations. Dr. Chan-Hartley describes her listening style as largely concentrated, knowledge-based and analytical. However, she also points out that she listens to music frequently in the background, describing it as passive or background listening. Mark Tetreault describes how he enjoys listening to soul music in the car as an aural background or something to “blast.”²⁵⁶ While musicians are predisposed to listen in the way in which they have been trained the majority of their lives, they, like all other listeners, are constantly choosing that which is most appropriate for the unique situation in which they find themselves.

Rose describes the negotiation that takes place in more depth, demonstrating her difficulty maintaining a mode of listening she employs less frequently in the concert hall, but which also illustrates the negotiation of genre-normativity itself:

²⁵⁵ Wendy Rose, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, November 10, 2016.

²⁵⁶ Leslie Knowles and Mark Tetreault, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, September 27, 2016.

Sometimes, I'll listen... more critically, as a music student, [and think] 'oh so this is what's happening in the music, and that's what's happening here.' And sometimes, I wonder [whether there] are members of the audience listening that way, [or] are most of them letting it all wash over [them] as an experience; can *I* let the music wash over [me]? Because that's probably a really pleasant way to listen to music too.²⁵⁷

Although it is generally perceived that an autonomous reflexive listening, of which musicians are experts, is ideal for the concert hall, Rose and others believe that their particular highly-specialized variation of mode of listening is not necessarily genre-normative; it may be *too* specialized. The musicians demonstrate a desire to occasionally practice a mode of listening that is less analytical or intellectually rigorous. The very idea of the most idealized mode of listening, that of an expert listener, is not universally agreed upon. Stockfelt describes adequate listening to be when “one masters and develops the ability to listen for what is relevant to the genre in the music, for what is adequate to understanding according to the specific genre’s comprehensible context.”²⁵⁸ The musicians describe several variations of adequate listening specific the subgenre, situation, or even the piece. They have the skills and ability to understand; “to listen for what is relevant to the genre in the music,” and for understanding within the context. However, they express that this does not necessarily mean that it is normative of the genre, or that they are able to adhere to a mode of listening they desire to practice.

This begs the question of the strength of the concept of genre-normativity in the orchestral genre, and whether different members hold competing views and how these views fit together. It problematizes the evolution of adequate listening and who is responsible for defining it. The TSO as an institution takes a certain pluralistic position in welcoming all listeners and listening practices, but competing understandings of genre-normativity in listening practices invite miscommunication and unmet expectations. In light of this, negotiating the challenges of diverse musical backgrounds, and competing notions of adequate listening becomes a salient issue for audience development.

The musicians of the TSO describe a highly nuanced understanding of their own practiced modes of listening. On the most superficial level, they practice a set of well-developed and highly specialised modes suitable for performing and for analysing others’ performances in the genre. They rely strongly on reflexive and analytical modes of listening often considered the idealized mode of listening for the genre, although their comments demonstrate that it may not always meet expectations. They recognize that they did not listen in the same way as their audiences. They perceived their audiences as practising many different kinds of listening based on their previous exposure and their attitudes towards the genre; while

²⁵⁷ Wendy Rose, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, November 10, 2016.

²⁵⁸ Stockfelt, 137.

some listened reflexively, others listened more passively with a focus on emotional or sensory satisfaction. The musicians expressed difficulty in assimilating this immersive and aesthetic mode of listening.

3.3 TSOundcheck and Young Audiences

Similar to the way in which they are seen in the Western art music sphere more broadly, young audiences are perceived as special cases at the TSO in terms of their listening styles, preferences, and their membership to the larger community of art music listeners.²⁵⁹ This stems in large part from reinforced image of the failing orchestra over the past century with a decline in new young audiences.²⁶⁰ These assumptions, framed in alarmist and sometimes elitist language, are in part caused by the lack of formal music education or exposure to the genre in younger generations; the association of art music with elitism; barriers to entry such as cost; competition with other musical, entertainment or art forms; and the consequent disillusionment that these produce, among other factors.²⁶¹ Many orchestras have dedicated resources to trying to tackle the problem of ageing audiences by focusing on the younger demographics, believing that an early interest in orchestral music will continue throughout a listener's life.

The TSOundcheck program was created in 2001 and operates as a membership-based discount program for people between the ages of 15-35, targeting Toronto students and young professionals. This program is designed explicitly to tackle the cost barrier of orchestral music for young audiences as well as the perceived need for more flexibility in attendance habits.²⁶² Tickets are sold individually, often only several days or weeks before the date of performance. No comprehensive statistics have been published, but the TSO claims over 10% of their overall ticket sales come from TSOundcheck members, with “over 24,000 TSOundcheck tickets being sold annually,” and with some concerts attended by as many as 700 TSOundcheck members.²⁶³ Although a membership is required to receive these discounted tickets, membership is free and merely provides email notices of periodic ticket releases. As of January 2017, the

²⁵⁹ “Young audiences” in the art music sphere generally refers to a much broader age range than in other spheres, spanning the age group from the late teens to the early thirties; at the TSO, they are defined as 15-35, the age group that are targeted using the TSOundcheck program.

²⁶⁰ Kolb, “Classical Music can be fun,” 16; Dobson, “New Audiences for Classical Music,” 111; Baker, “Stop Reinventing the Wheel,” 51.

²⁶¹ Kolb, “The Decline of the Subscriber Base,” 52; Baker, “Stop Reinventing the Wheel,” 48-50;

²⁶² While the majority agree that cost is a major barrier to entry, both Kolb and Baker found that prices were not necessarily a barrier to entry (although often cited as one.) but were a factor in perceiving increased risk in participation: Kolb, “Classical Music can be Fun,” 20; Baker, “Stop Reinventing the Wheel,” 61.

²⁶³ “TSOUNDCHECK Facts,” Toronto Symphony Orchestra. January 20, 2016. Accessed April 01, 2017.

<https://www.tso.ca/tsoundcheck-facts>; Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016.

majority of the information on the TSOundcheck program, (and the TSOundcheck website itself,) has been removed. Instead, all links redirect to the TSO website and the TSOundcheck aspect is treated solely as a ticketing option, rather than a more comprehensive entity.

The TSO claims to be a pioneer in offering discount tickets to young audiences.²⁶⁴ Other orchestras who offer similar programs include; Vancouver Symphony Orchestra (VSO), Edmonton Symphony Orchestra (ESM), Montreal Symphony Orchestra (MSO), Kitchener-Waterloo Symphony Orchestra (KWSO), Kingston Symphony Orchestra (KSO), and the Calgary Symphony Orchestra (CSO). Offering some form of discount tickets for students is common practice among many musical groups and institutions in North America, with even more financial incentives with their European counterparts. Most of the formalized programs listed above are membership-based like TSOundcheck, meaning that the individual must register (for free); implying some form of commercial or governmental funding program based on registration (also known as “bums-in-seats” funding); and the benefit of a direct marketing tool already segmented by age. All of the above orchestras offer tickets to an age range similar to the TSO. Likewise, they largely do not have a dedicated online presence, but restrict their activities to providing discount tickets ranging from \$11 to \$34 each (The most expensive being the MSO with nearly double the cost of other Canadian orchestras for their discount program).²⁶⁵ The names of the programs use a vocabulary intended to attract its younger audience, although their suitability is perhaps disputable, including: Pulse8 (ESM), CPossibilities (CSO), M4U Pass (KWSO), TD All-Access Pass (VSO), 34 and Under (MSO), and Classically Hip (KSO).²⁶⁶

From these programs, it is evident that there is a consensus in Canada orchestras that ticket prices are a major barrier to entry for young people, and one that can be solved with relatively little extra effort or staff. Dr. Chan-Hartley also suggests that the low price allows the orchestra to compete with other evening entertainment options and allows these new audiences to try a concert with “nothing to lose.”²⁶⁷ While for music students and those who were already interested in attending a concert, or do so as a matter of course (for instance, emerging artists, university and conservatory musicians and composers,) discounted tickets provide an invaluable resource. However, as the literature suggest, there are other factors, such as a perception of not fitting in, of elitism, fear of boredom, lack of knowledge of the genre

²⁶⁴ Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016.

²⁶⁵ During time of writing, this price had dropped from \$40 in the 2015-2016 series to the 2016-2017 series. “34 and under,” Montreal Symphony Orchestra, [nd.]. Accessed July 1, 2017, <http://www.osm.ca/en/34-and-under/>

²⁶⁶ Interestingly, of those who advertised funding partners, all of the young person discount programs were funded exclusively by TD Canada.

²⁶⁷ Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016.

and its normative behaviours, belief of one's inability to conform to concert etiquette, or simply believing there are other, more interesting, options.²⁶⁸

Although the literature often portrays young audiences as this illusive, proverbial Holy Grail of audience development, it may be more constructive to examine young audiences through the lens of Stockfelt's theory of adequate modes of listening. The group of listeners ages 15-35 often have a different experience and relationship with music than previous generations. They are less likely to have training or exposure to classical musical as it becomes less common in schools or as family activity, and many have grown up with negative stereotypes and media portrayals of the genre. Simultaneously, the boom in personal listening devices and the ease with which the majority of Western listeners can listen to almost any genre, artist, or work, at almost any time, coupled with the thriving live music scene popular featuring other genres, has made this group interact with music (and art music) differently from their parents. Their most practiced modes of listening are closely linked to the genres with which they have the most interaction and experience. For those who are uninitiated in the normative behaviours and taken-for-granted knowledge of the concert hall, their understanding is drawn from media, such as films, where art music is used as a symbols of high society. Often, these portrayals represent such themes as rigorously enforced behaviours (with strong repercussions for transgressors,) and snobbish assessments of the music where the uninitiated is often left feeling excluded and confused.²⁶⁹ Where personal experience is lacking, these images help inform the perception of sociocultural norms and help shape perception of acceptable behaviour in the concert hall. Some recent research has demonstrated that first-time listeners actually have quite traditional expectations of the concert hall and the concentrated, informed listening that it requires, searching out opportunities to learn about the works through educational initiatives or opportunities to speak with musicians in order to meet what they perceive as normative knowledge.²⁷⁰ This is confirmed by observational data at the TSO, but may not be representative of the entire heterogeneous age group. It does suggest that among those motivated to attend art music concerts, there are attempts to adopt socio-cultural norms of the genre, as would be predicted by Stockfelt's theory.

²⁶⁸ Pitts, "What makes an audience?," 268; O'Sullivan, "All together now," 218-219; Baker, "Stop Reinventing the Wheel," 48-51; Pitts, Dobson et al., "Views of an Audience," 70-75; Kolb, "The effect of generational change on classical music concert attendance and orchestras' responses in the UK and US," 20-23; Dobson, "New Audiences for Classical Music," 111.

²⁶⁹ Think here of the associations of *La Traviata* in *Pretty Woman* (1990), *Seinfeld*, S03 E14 "The Pez Dispenser" or S07E03 "The Maestro" ; shows such as *The Big Bang Theory*, or *Looney Tunes* ' Classical music episodes such as "Baton Bunny" (1959),

²⁷⁰ Dobson, Melissa C. "Between stalls, stage and score: An investigation of audience experience and enjoyment in classical music performance." University of Sheffield, 2010. Unpublished PhD thesis In Pitts, Dobson et al., "Views of an Audience," 72.

The interviewed musicians and the administration found that the TSOundcheck audience exhibit an easily recognizable identity in the concert hall. Despite the perception of general disinterest among younger generations in the literature, interview subjects generally perceived that those who attend are more engaged, enthusiastic, and open to taking risks than other groups, and that the TSO is a good example of a growing young audience. Additionally, this group is referenced as demonstrating different and distinct modes of listening compared to other age-groups, often contrasted against long-time subscribers and senior audiences. Interview subjects were overwhelmingly positive when discussing the growth of younger audience, and often expressed excitement over the level of their engagement. Several themes are apparent in the facilitation strategies designed for young audiences; firstly, that the concert extends past the musical content, and are thought of as a social event; second, that younger audiences are more open to try new types of music, including music of the twentieth and twenty-first century, and that their behaviours in the concert hall are not the same as other groups.

Dr. Hannah Chan-Hartley observes that TSOundcheckers—the term used to describe this demographic group, regardless if they bought their tickets through the program or not—are; “more open to an *experience*.”²⁷¹ Similarly, Tetreault concludes that; “I think especially young people are looking for... a big serious moving cultural experience, I don’t think they’re afraid of that... they’re willing to go [out for] the night, give themselves to it and get involved...”²⁷² The concert is seen as a special event, something out of the ordinary, that has a certain amount of novelty and provides a different kind of evening activity, according to Dr. Chan-Hartley’s observations. Many organizations, including the TSO, attempt to modify the concert format in order to facilitate the social aspect of the concert, to extend the concert past the musical content. These vary in their approach; from relaxing behavioural expectations to make the concert more informal, to adding events like pre- and post- concert parties, supplementary activities, food and beverages, or other entertainment to extend the “*experience*.” Explored further below, these initiatives have varying degrees of success and are more appropriate for certain groups or concerts.

At the TSO, young audiences were overwhelmingly associated with more experimental attitudes towards music, with less preoccupation with previously being familiar with the program. While Dr. Chan-Hartley asks whether this could be due to a large number of university or conservatory music students in this group, Rose suggests that it may be due to their previous exposure to more difficult music through movie soundtracks and similar, or because experimentalism is encouraged in other genres to which they

²⁷¹ Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016.

²⁷² Leslie Knowles and Mark Tetreault, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, September 27, 2016.

listen, and they are less entrenched in conservationist tendencies associated with orchestral music.²⁷³ As such, several subjects suggested that this demographic did not see the same subgenre distinctions as other groups; rather than categorizing by period or between “classics” and “modern” music, concerts may fall under their relative ability to engage or immerse the audience immediately, irrespective of their period. The TSOundcheck audience are perceived as wanting: “an experience, they want to be moved and they want to hear something interesting; they want to explore different sounds.”²⁷⁴ For the TSO at least, this provides exciting possibilities for programming that might otherwise have been considered too experimental for long-time audiences.

These findings are particularly interesting in light of the conflicting research in the literature; despite the literature’s numerous citations of the “greying audience” and anxieties over falling audience numbers, there is little consensus on what to do about it, or even in what kinds of behaviours young audiences exhibit. While Pitts, Dobson, et al. find the exact opposite of my own research, that young audiences have very conservative, light works, Baker finds that these young audiences make up part of the group “New modernists” as well as the “good time novices,” each with conflicting musical and concert format preferences.²⁷⁵ Roose finds that education is a better proxy of preference for pushing listening boundaries; “younger attenders as well as the highly educated reflect a more ‘open’ attitude to a concert programme.”²⁷⁶ These conflicts, among others, suggest that while age might be a good indicator for certain preferences and factors in modes of listening, there may be other factors that are more useful for understanding audiences (or can be used in conjunction to age,) in determining these. This reminds the researcher that this demographic group is not as homogenous as we would like to imagine and standard marketing segmentation may not have adequate nuance for these kinds of issues.

At the TSO, the theme of engagement was strongly connected with young audiences, suggesting that the modes of listening most practiced with these audiences are hybridized with those of other genres that are associated with more informal sociocultural behaviours. TSOundcheckers were often described as “enthusiastic,” with examples of behaviour that included clapping between movements (a practice traditionally not allowed, but accepted at the TSO,) clapping with more energy, as well as yelling, whistling, calling for encores, and demonstrating appreciation in general more enthusiastically for particular musicians and works; demonstrating a desire to interact and communicate more directly. Crow describes audiences dominated by younger listeners compared to what he describes as an audience of

²⁷³ Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016; Wendy Rose, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, November 10, 2016.

²⁷⁴ Leslie Knowles and Mark Tetreault, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, September 27, 2016.

²⁷⁵ Pitts, et al “Views of an Audience” 80; Baker, “Stop Reinventing the Wheel,” 22-23.

²⁷⁶ Roose, “Many-voiced or Unisono?,” 247.

“quieter” long-time subscribers: “You get a lot of younger audiences who want to get involved more. If they like something, they want to be able to shout “Bravo!”... So I don’t think there’s anything wrong with that, you just need to find a way to make sure that the audiences all feel comfortable with one another.”²⁷⁷ He continues, suggesting the importance of multiple series facilitating different kinds of audiences:

If that involves having different concert series, or different venues, or you have a series where people are allowed to take out their phones and start... tweeting pictures and snapchatting, and recording little things and taking it home and doing little samples of that, that’s fine. [You need to] allow people chances to respond in the way that they want.²⁷⁸

What Crow recognizes is the different modes of listening towards which different audiences gravitate due to their personal understanding of sociocultural norms, preferences, and fields of possible modes of listening. He suggests organizing concert series that are able to accommodate the plurality of audiences, similar to the way in which Dr. Chan-Hartley describes the importance of lots of different types of concerts. For instance, a film concert, a concert of all Tchaikovsky, and a Shostakovich symphony or new music concert, all with coherent facilitation initiatives, which can accommodate different audiences or, important to note, the same listener who enjoys different aspects of the wide-ranging genre.

The importance of incorporating a nuanced approach to audiences cannot be overstated. By examining the diversity of young audiences through the lens of modes of listening, we can more readily understand better ways to facilitate all listening groups, and equally provide a range of programming. At the TSO, young audiences are perceived as being enthusiastic, engaged, and open to trying new music. The TSO has incorporated certain initiatives like post-concert parties, activities in the lobbies before concerts and during intermission such as during the Decades Project, as well as experimenting with soundtrack evenings with some success. While it is important to remember that it is not necessary to create frills, gimmicks, and extras to attract or retain younger audiences, simply because they are young, there is merit to experimenting with a concert format which has remained relatively consistent over a century, provided it is done with purpose and considering the audience’s modes of listening.

One such series that has explored the possibilities of modifying the concert format and breaks with traditional the idealized bourgeois concert hall listening and the idea of the nineteenth-century

²⁷⁷ Jonathan Crow, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, December 6, 2016.

²⁷⁸ Jonathan Crow, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, December 6, 2016.

concert hall concert is the New Creations Festival; an annual new music event that incorporates extensive pre- and post- concert activities, performs new works, and plays with the concert format. These concerts, heavily marketed at TSOundcheck subscribers who are offered deeply discounted tickets, provides a means of exploring how modes of listening can be influenced and stretching genre-normativity within the environment of the traditional concert hall.

The New Creations Festival is the TSO's annual three concert series featuring recently composed art music and music by living composers. It includes many ancillary activities and initiatives such as pre- and post- concert programming and often breaks with traditional orchestral concert hall norms. It is marketed as a music festival and boasts a particularly niche audience. The 2015-2016 Season marked the 12th annual festival and was led by Peter Oundjian and curated by conductor, composer, and violist Brett Dean. The festival comprised three concerts over a two week period; *Fragile Absolute* (March 5, 2016), *Two Memorials: Anton Webern & John Lennon* (March 9, 2016), and *Knocking at the Hellgate* (March 12, 2016) and featured many of Brett Deans' own works.²⁷⁹ Each concert featured a pre-concert, and post-performance events in the North Lobby of RTH; small ensemble concerts featuring pop, inter-genre, and art music. Two intermission chats on the topic of the evening's performance as well as a *Composers in Conversation* forum at the nearby Canadian Music Centre on Tuesday, March 8, 2016 provided additional educational material. Concert notes written by the composers themselves were provided in programmes.

The audience of the New Creations Festival consists of a much younger demographic than seen at the rest of the TSO's season. While statistics are not publicly available, concert observations concluded that the audience represented student and young professionals, with a very strong presence of academics, musicians, artists, and composers. The marketing for the festival targets the under-35 demographic with a strong advertising presence, and through targeted marketing material, such as selling discounted "festival passes" as part of the TSOundcheck program. The festival passes were designed to resemble trendy music festival promotional materials, with festival-pass lanyards, free T-shirts, and a distinctive "edgy" design that related all materials together. All three concerts were available for \$30, using the same audience incentive strategy generally employed to attract younger audiences through discounted tickets. The TSO boasts that the 2012 New Creations Festival broke their attendance record compared with previous years.²⁸⁰

The New Creations festival is important to understanding how the Orchestra understands and facilitates its audience's modes of listening. It demonstrates the impact of small changes to the concert

²⁷⁹ See Appendix A for full list of works.

²⁸⁰ "2015/2016: A record-breaking season for the TSO." Press release. Toronto Symphony Orchestra. January 20, 2016. Accessed April 01, 2017. <https://www.tso.ca/news-release/201516-record-breaking-season-tso>

structure, programming, ancillary offerings, and marketing on the experience as a whole, particularly in terms of the traditional bourgeois concert hall listening model evoked by Stockfelt and expanded on by Small. The well-attended concerts were typified by vocal, enthusiastic, and engaged audiences, and were often referenced by the interviewed musicians as an example of the Orchestra's popularity with young people and in contrast with more staid audiences of some of the TSO's other series.

Several changes were made to the standard concert hall practice for the duration of the New Creations Festival. Although the conductor speaks to audiences directly from the podium during Light Classics concerts and other selected performances, the New Creations Festival was typified by lengthy introductions (often by the composer) and conversations on stage before performances. Although the practice of composers receiving applause or briefly going on stage to explain their works before a performance has become fairly common practice in North American orchestral and chamber new music concerts, conversations also persisted between Peter Oundjian, curator Brett Dean, and the composers outside of these conventions. All on-stage conversations were typified by their light, candid, and conversational tone; focusing on creating a communal atmosphere, of celebrating the "making of history" through premiere performances, charting the course of the work, providing anecdotes, or other features that helped foster a link between the listener and the work. Musicians also provided short commentary on the preparation process in these on-stage chats. These included some topics generally considered taboo such as the difficulty of preparing technically and rhythmically-challenging works, or the difficulty of meeting compositional deadlines, or of composing without the "transcendental inspiration" typified in nineteenth century sacralisation of the composer and compositional process. The audience was very responsive to these revelations, with frequent instances of laughter, shouts, and applause.

The addition of candid on-stage conversation and the conscious effort to market the festival in such a way as implied a more casual atmosphere by evoking the traditional music festival, contributed to a small shift in adequate mode of listening characterized by a change in relationship between listener, orchestra, and music. While the listening strategies employed maintained their autonomous reflexivity and works were generally attended in still, silent attention, there was a marked change in the audience's chosen form of communication, whereby they could vocally demonstrate their approval at the end of the work. In the works that crossed genres, such as Skratch Bastid's *Orchestra Remix*, featuring a solo DJ performance, listeners provided vocal feedback throughout the work.²⁸¹ While the concerts as a whole still carried many of the hallmarks of a traditional orchestral concert, the repertoire of adequate modes of

²⁸¹ Additionally, this work provided a unique researcher opportunity with the entire orchestra remaining seated throughout Skratch Bastid's performance, illuminated but without playing. The audience could observe musicians smiling, bobbing their head, or otherwise engaging with the music, while others looked unimpressed by the DJ's adaptation of the recorded orchestral highlights.

listening was expanded through the perceived changes in genre-normativity, and the hybridity afforded by new inter-genre compositions and cues of more informality in the concert hall. By incorporating practices from outside of the orchestral standard practice, and encouraging audiences sometimes unfamiliar with behavioural codes to be comfortable and express themselves, audiences perceived the social situation and its dependent predominant socio-cultural conventions, as a blend between popular and orchestral subgenres, resulting in a relaxation of bourgeois concert-hall listening genre-normative behaviours that would have been completely out of place in another of the TSO's concerts.

Importantly, this series breaks the long-held assumption of young people's disinterest or apathy towards the orchestral genre, and the unpopularity of new music as a whole. The TSO demonstrates that the converse can be true; younger audiences were perceived as being risk-takers, more likely to try new types of music and experiences at the orchestra. Omnivorous cultural consumption, accessibility, and enculturation in musical language through connected media such as film and television were perceived as factors. Rose cites film music as an important element in encouraging young people to listen to contemporary music; "because they've grown up with it, they don't see it as something unusual, discordant, or unmelodic; they're much more receptive [to new music]."²⁸² Using Bourdesian theories of enculturation, Rose reflects on the necessity of exposure to the enjoyment and openness to new music, similar to the idea of competencies in modes of listening fund in Stockfelt's work.

The New Creations Festival and discussions of young audiences were overwhelmingly used by the interviewed musicians to voice warnings of the danger of over-generalizing audience's musical taste into top-40 orchestral repertoire, or conservatively limiting programs to those works known to draw large audiences. Such works by Mozart, Beethoven, and Tchaikovsky were usually considered important both in terms of drawing a core audience and in terms of musical value, but could pose a danger when they were programmed at the expense of works on the fringe such as those that were less known, or perceived to be more difficult for new audiences.²⁸³ Of the orchestra musicians, all interviewed subjects

²⁸² Wendy Rose, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, November 10, 2016.

²⁸³ While inclusion of new music in the TSO's season was considered essential by all interview subjects, all the interviewed musicians expressed logistical issues with expanding this kind of repertoire too much in a single season; that is, the relative difficulty of learning the repertoire and restricted timeframe can result in poor morale and injuries among musicians, as well as disenfranchised groups of audiences. Rather than playing mostly core repertoire for which they have been preparing for the majority of their lives, they are asked to learn and perform 3 full-length concerts of very technically challenging music in a very short time-frame. Particularly as these works tended to be transitive in the musicians' repertoire, this exercise was considered to be very taxing on the musicians' physical and mental health. Considerations like these are important reminder to the arts administration community, academy, and others managing orchestral operations, that certain logistical considerations such as this must be strongly weighed in programming; that ambitious concert schedules and programming can potentially have a huge impact on the musicians. The reverse can also be true with demoralised musicians caused by an excess amount of unchallenging, repetitive, mundane, or badly orchestrated works, particularly in the pops repertoire.

independently brought up their frustration of performing a limited orchestral repertoire and the dangers posed to audiences who are not exposed to new works. There was a belief among administrators and musicians that a varied program that often introduced audiences to new repertoire was essential; on four separate instances, interview subjects evoked parallels with food and the necessity of expanding musical palettes through exposure, and the necessity of some form of soft education.

In his analysis of the TSO's repertoire, one musician alludes to the reliance on conservatism and programming conservatively to ensure core audiences. In particular interviewed musicians described performing new music as essential for promoting musical exposure among audiences, as well as an obligation as an artistic organization.²⁸⁴ Many of the musicians expressed the long-term view of the performance of new music, as well as an awareness of the perceived risk involved with attending new music felt by some of their audiences. Many interviewees saw young audiences as a reason to hope that a tolerance for, (if not demand,) could be hoped for with younger audiences; "There's a conception that we can only really be accessible if we play music limited to about a 200 to 250 year period, but that's not true with young audiences."²⁸⁵ Similarly, Crow believes that it is essential to expand the canonical repertoire and expose listeners to music so that the genre can evolve; "we have a responsibility... to continue to develop new music so, two hundred years from now, we're not playing only Beethoven, but that there's a new repertoire which people see as normal.... The stuff we play in the New Creations Festival is in a way, standard repertoire a hundred years for now."²⁸⁶ He explains how this has effectively happened to the *Rite of Spring* which caused riots in the streets at its first performance, but has since become standard repertoire, performed often at the TSO.²⁸⁷ Crow, among other interviewees, views art music as an evolving art; both musicians and audiences can become frustrated with the sometimes limited repertoire in a given orchestra's season where the boundaries are not pushed sufficiently. Crow uses the analogy of the fate of the Latin language to demonstrate the dangers of preservationist programming; "[orchestral music] would be a dead language. [It is] beautiful, but it is not in use, not vibrant... nothing is happening. You learn it because it is something of historic significance instead of something of current value."²⁸⁸ Crow's concept of the vibrancy and current value is echoed throughout the other interviews and is reflected the orchestra's underlying philosophy of education and programming unusual works, such as the New Creations Festival.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁴ Jonathan Crow, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, December 6, 2016.

²⁸⁵ Wendy Rose, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, November 10, 2016.

²⁸⁶ Jonathan Crow, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, December 6, 2016.

²⁸⁷ Jonathan Crow, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, December 6, 2016.

²⁸⁸ Jonathan Crow, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, December 6, 2016.

²⁸⁹ The TSO has not gone without its own accusations of programming conservatively with newspaper articles over the past several years accusing cautious programming: Robert Harris, "TSO's buoyant spirit weighed down only by

As a whole, musicians were welcoming of their audiences' attitudes towards music, but it is evident that they wish to encourage consistent exposure to varied repertoire and engagement with the materials, as they saw in younger audiences. The New Creations Festival plays an important role in this philosophy by pushing the boundaries of genre-normative listening as well as the standard repertoire through programming, ancillary events, and marketing, resulting in variants to adequate modes of listening.

its cautious programming," *The Globe and Mail*, Wednesday, Sep. 19, 2012. Last updated Thursday, Sep. 19, 2013 <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/arts/music/tsos-buoyant-spirit-weighed-down-only-by-its-cautious-programming/article4554654/>.

4. Trends in Perceived Listening Practices and their Facilitation by the Orchestra

The previous chapter examined the way in which the Orchestra and its musicians imagine their listeners. The present chapter builds on these perceptions by highlighting trends in perceived listening practices and analysing the way in which the TSO facilitates its listeners.

Evidenced by Stockfelt's theory of modes of listening (and the large and diverse literature on listening as a whole,) we can conclude that the act of listening is not common across all people, situations, or experiences. Sigurjonsson urges us to think complexly about listening, explaining; "*listening varies* and there is no way of correct or truthful listening. Listening could not and should not be organised once and for all, rather, we should constantly be on the lookout for different ways to experience music."²⁹⁰ The musicians of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra recognize these variations in their audiences and often reinforce their willingness to facilitate all types of listening throughout the interviews. Particularly, the interview subjects highlight three trends in their audiences listening habits and reflect on the ancillary activities that facilitate their audience's experience. Firstly, audiences were perceived as being curious and desired to learn more about the music, which was facilitated by the Orchestra. Secondly, and seemingly contrary to the first, that audiences' listening practices could be described by the metaphor of allowing the music to "wash over" them in a sensory-based experience and wished for no additional information. Lastly, that creating a personal connection between audience and orchestra was beneficial to both parties and improved the audience's experience of the concert when facilitated, regardless of perceived mode of listening.

This chapter firstly probes the notion of exposure and familiarity both in terms of musical content, and the genre-normative situation of the concert hall. It then unpacks the genre-normative and privileged autonomous reflexive listening, specifically in the way that it is engrained within the Orchestra's philosophy and demonstrated in their attitude towards formal and informal educational activities and initiatives. It explores the professed idea of a "progression" of orchestral taste based on the concepts of exposure and education; its role in expanding interests and reflecting the Orchestra's educational mandate. It examines several of the Orchestra's major ancillary activities and initiatives including pre-concert chats and on-stage introductions, children's education program, printed concert programmes, and the new e-learning platform. This is followed by the somewhat contradictory notion of listeners' perceived aesthetic, sensorial, and non-reflexive mode of listening (described by the metaphor

²⁹⁰ Italics in the original. Sigurjónsson, Variations on the act of listening, 21.

or “washing over”) and how this fits into the larger paradigm. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the interview subject’s belief that a personal connection with the orchestra can help people better relate to the music, to the orchestra, and improve Orchestra relations with the public as a whole. Using the example of the TSO Chamber Soloists, the chapter ends with the experiments with genre-normativity that the smaller ensemble could undertake in future, questioning the sociocultural etiquette of the concert hall and the space itself.

4.1 Exposure, Familiarity and the Orchestral Genre

Modern day-to-day listening in the West usually brings listeners in contact with what Stockfelt describes as the “lingua franca” of music; Western popular music of various genres played in both public and private spaces on a nearly continual basis. He describes how: “each hearing person who listens to the radio, watches TV, ... has been *forced* (in order to be able to handle her or his perception of sound)—to build up an appreciable competence in translating and using musical impressions that stream in from loudspeakers in almost every listening space.”²⁹¹ Even without access to the orchestral concert, the listener is exposed to certain mainstream works that belong to the genre, albeit often transposed to non-genre normative situations.²⁹² The regular exposure to art music through formalized music education or through specialized radio stations or concert attendance further builds up the competencies in this area, particularly during childhood.²⁹³ However, even before any kind of formal or informal educational initiative or activity takes place, listeners have already developed some of the competencies required for decoding a given genre.

When we speak of familiarity in the context of an orchestral concert, we speak of two connected categories; intramusical familiarity—that is, familiarity with the musical codes, structures, language, and related information required for adequate listening—and familiarity with the sociocultural situation of the music. Stockfelt’s “lingua franca” describes a process of exposure to musical language which establishes

²⁹¹ Stockfelt, 132.

²⁹² The exception to this is TV and film depictions of the orchestral concert and the orchestral concert hall. In these depictions, works are rarely performed in their entirety and usually function as a marker for social or class rather than for their musical substance. It reinforces images of strict idealized bourgeois concert hall listening, often in a negative light.

²⁹³ Levitin, *This is Your Brain on Music*; Jourdain, *Music, the Brain and Ecstasy*; Siu-Lan Tan et. al., *The Psychology of Music*; Gary E. McPherson, *The Child as Musician: A Handbook of Musical Development*, (Oxford: Oxford Musical Press, 2006), 671 p.; Krista L. Hyde, Jason Lerch et al., “Musical Training Shapes Structural Brain Development,” *Journal of Neuroscience* 29, no.10 (March 2009): 3019-3025., accessed March 1, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.1523/JNEUROSCI.5118-08.2009>

a base level of understanding (through informal learning,) necessary for decoding the aural stimulus.²⁹⁴ Intramusical familiarity can be expanded through informal and formal education. These can include instruction on listening strategies, musical composition, or external markers that can aid interpretation such as (but by no means limited to,) compositional, performance or other historical information. Familiarity also extends to the environment and the cultural codes that make up the social aspect of the concert—its situation—which Stockfelt demonstrates is so essential to adequate listening. This is the imperative of the listeners’ familiarity with the “socio-cultural conventions of the subculture to which it belongs,” required to listen adequately.²⁹⁵ Many of the Orchestra’s activities aim to develop (formally or informally) knowledge and familiarity with these two sides of the concert experience.

In Pierre Boulez and Michel Foucault’s conversation recorded in *CNAC magazine*, the two discuss how listeners use different strategies when dealing with works of composers of different epochs in order to assimilate appropriate listening conventions, for example the difference between listening to an orchestral work by Beethoven or Berg. They ask whether listeners are prepared to “vary their ‘mode of being,’ musically speaking.”²⁹⁶ On the surface level, this appears very similar to Stockfelt’s theorization of modes of listening with the important caveat of its end goal; while Stockfelt theorizes in the aim of making listening more inclusive, Boulez has a more Western art music-centric view and advocates for the evolution of the musical language by pushing the barriers of understanding, thus continually developing complex, analytical listening within the genre-normativity of Western art music.²⁹⁷ However, the process of listening competency acquisition in both theories is quite similar: learned schemas help in decoding new musical experiences (Stockfelt calls this “competency acquisition,”) which Boulez describes as simply recalling subsets of structures:

In classical and romantic music... there are schemas which one obeys, which one can follow independently of the work itself, or rather which the work must necessarily exhibit. The movements of a symphony are defined in their form and in their character, even in their rhythmic life... The vocabulary itself is based on ‘classified’ chords, well-named: you don’t have to analyze them to know what they are and what functions they

²⁹⁴ Levitin, *This is your brain on music*; Jourdain, *Music, the Brain and Ecstasy*; Siu-Lan Tan et. al., *The Psychology of Music*.

²⁹⁵ Stockfelt, 137.

²⁹⁶ Michel Foucault and Pierre Boulez, “Contemporary Music and the Public,” *Perspectives in New Music* 24 no.1 (1985):12 Translated by John Rahn from *CNAC magazine* 15 (May-June 1983): 10-12 accessed October 12, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/832749>.

²⁹⁷ Boulez’s attitudes are far less pluralistic than Stockfelt’s, reflecting the time and his position as an avant-garde composer. His is much more aligned with 20th century avant-garde thinking or Adorno’s argument of the replacement of taste with familiarity, which, while largely a pessimistic western-centric reactionary view of the 20th century rise of the culture industry, does have some interesting observations on the changes of listening practices that coincided with the rise of mechanical reproduction.

have. They have the efficacy and security of signals; they recur from one piece to another, always assuming the same functions.²⁹⁸

Here, Boulez describes the informal acquisition of the competencies needed to understand the music of the common practice period; that is to say, the competencies involved in one particular mode of listening adequate to the orchestral genre. His description also aptly describes the theoretical formal and harmonic analysis of common-practice music, more recent psychomusicological research, and efforts to notate music listening.²⁹⁹ The fundamental assumption is that the process of listening is the same as other intellectual and practical competencies in that it is a learned activity (albeit usually in a self-taught, informal, and exposure-based acquisition process.) It allows for various audiences—depending on their musical background and exposure—to have different abilities and the agency to expand their competencies and tastes. Importantly, this does not mean that a listener must have an extensive background in orchestral music in order to enjoy or understand it. Even the day-to-day listening in Western culture provides enough of a foundation to follow the majority of the tonal music produced in the common-practice period. However, it does suggest that the more a listener is familiar with the genre, the more they are familiar with its structures and harmonic, melodic, and metric language, the more easily they will be able to follow music when it strays from the common forms.

Boulez is speaking from the point of view of a modern composer frustrated with audiences who are seemingly unwilling to engage with contemporary music. Boulez has similar views to Adorno who posits that audiences have been tricked into relying too heavily on familiarity in their listening practices.³⁰⁰ Nonetheless his description of the process of a listener's assimilation of musical language is quite accurate and mirrors theories of musical expectation proposed by Meyer, Narmour, and in Lerdahl and Jackendorf's Generative Theory of Tonal Music (GTTM), which describes the structural rules that the listener creates to establish heard structure.³⁰¹ Similar to the way in which a listener of predominantly

²⁹⁸ Foucault and Boulez, "Contemporary Music and the Public," 10.

²⁹⁹ See Nicholas Cook, *A Guide to Musical Analysis*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994) for an overview of different approaches. Some examples and approaches to notating heard structure include classic Schenkerian analysis; Allen Cadwallader and David Gagné, *Analysis of Tonal Music: A Schenkerian Approach*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); in addition to psychomusicological models such as those created by Fred Lerdahl and Ray Jackendorf, *A Generative Theory of Tonal Music*, (Boston: MIT Press, 1985); in addition to semiotic or rhetoric-based theoretical analysis: Kofi Agawu, "Analyzing music under the new musicological regime." *Music Theory Online* 2 no. 4, (1996) accessed March 1, 2017

<http://mto.societymusictheory.org/issues/mto.96.2.4/mto.96.2.4.agawu.html>; Jean-Pierre Bartoli, « Le refrain final du Quatuor op. 33 n° 2 de Joseph Haydn : une analyse rhétorique à partir du modèle du Groupe μ », *Musurgia* XII/1-2 (2005), p. 49-62.

³⁰⁰ Adorno, "On the Fetish-Character in Music and the Regression of Listening."

³⁰¹ For a succinct analysis and breakdown of the respective expectation-based theories of musical listening, see Siu-Lan Tan et al., "Analysis and cognition in musical structure," and "The question of meaning in music," *The Psychology of Music*, 111-129, 245- 259; Leonard Meyer, *Emotion and Meaning in Music*, (Chicago: University of

Classical and Romantic orchestral music may have difficulty with contemporary music, so too will a listener largely encultured in popular music have difficulty with their first encounters with live orchestral concert hall music, or Western listeners more broadly with music of other cultures. Although, the leap in listening competencies required may vary from case to case.

Equally, listeners who began their interest in art music from the opposite direction, (for example entering the genre from jazz, avant-garde, and contemporary art music,) can be understood using the same framework. Exposed and practising adequate modes of listening for contemporary subgenres, they may experience difficulty adjusting to the adequate mode of listening of the common practice period, such as the repertoire of the Popular or Light Classic series at the TSO. They may be simply encultured in the musical language of contemporary genres, (or in its near relation—jazz,) and are less familiar with common practice period repertoire. More likely however, they are habituated to practising an extreme form of reflexive listening adequate for the complexity of the language of contemporary music which often finds satisfaction in the challenges and excitement of the violations of standard musical languages. In both cases, they may find dissatisfaction and boredom in these more easily comprehensible languages of common-practice period music. When trying to adapt this preferred mode of listening to common-practice works, the listener is not used to relying on familiarity and met expectations as the primary tool of listening. Foucault describes this current in new music as being “willed,” that it tries *not* to be familiar, rather that: “it is fashioned to preserve its cutting edge.”³⁰² The listener who is used to constant unfamiliarity, who finds satisfaction in the twists and turns of the unpredictable, are practising a mode of listening that is not suited to the simply structured, measured, tonal language of the more popular classical works because the modes of listening fundamentally have different expectations, methods, and aims.

Although they are both labeled art music, the modes of listening are quite different and the failure to communicate such differences in expectations causes feelings of disconnection in all parties. Despite the openness to different music, research often finds that certain audiences seek to avoid contact with music that is “too modern.”³⁰³ Boulez summarizes the difficulty that listeners find in contemporary music as a change in direction; where composers once expanding and innovating existing formulas in order to

Chicago Press, 1956); Eugene Narmour, *The Analysis and Cognition of Melodic Complexity: The Implication-Realization Model*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); David Huron, *Sweet Anticipation: Music and the Psychology of Expectation*, (Boston: MIT Press, 2006); Fred Lerdahl and Ray Jackendorf, *A Generative Theory of Tonal Music*, (Boston: MIT Press, 1985).

³⁰² Foucault and Boulez, “Contemporary Music and the Public,” 10.

³⁰³ One respondent to the study conducted by Pitts, Dobson, Gee et al. wrote “I tend to avoid anything that is overly modern. There [are] a number of contemporary composers who I would pay money to avoid. [A18].” While this perhaps extreme, similar comments were recorded by Baker, and through informal observation at the TSO. Stephanie Pitts, Melissa Dobson, et al., “Views of an Audience: Understanding the orchestral concert experience from player and listener perspectives,” *Participations Journal of Audience & Reception Studies* 10 no. 2 (November 2013): 81.; Baker, *Stop Reinventing the Wheel*, 47.

evolve the genre, the trend in contemporary music is to reject it in its entirety for the sake of uniqueness. Violating the norms, the listener is left without the key to deciphering the music.

[Contemporary] Musical works have tended to become unique events, which do have antecedents, but are not reducible to any guiding schema admitted, a priori, by all; this creates, certainly, a handicap for immediate comprehension. The listener is asked to familiarize himself with the course of the work and for this to listen to it a certain number of times. When the course of the work is familiar, comprehension of a work, perception of what it wants to express, can find a propitious terrain to bloom in. There are fewer and fewer chances for the first encounter to ignite perception and comprehension. There can be a spontaneous connection with it, through the force of the message, the quality of the writing, the beauty of the sound, the readability of the cues, but deep understanding only comes from repeated hearings, from remaking the course of the work, this repetition taking the places of accepted schema such as was practiced previously.³⁰⁴

Without the familiarized language found in much of the music of the common-practice period, contemporary music of this sort demands a different mode of listening based not only on strict autonomous reflexive listening, but an extreme variation involving studying and multiple hearings for even a basic level of comprehension—a requirement not shared by many other genres. While it is perhaps more necessary for contemporary music, this kind of repeat listening, outside knowledge, and study is perceived as the ideal for nearly all canonical works of the orchestral genre to some extent, whether or not it is put into practice. Although it is perceived as an ideal even as early as the nineteenth century, particularly among musicians, it is rarely practiced outside of select circles due to its highly specialized form which leaves us with a curious dilemma. In Adorno's typology, it is the ideal "expert listener" only who has these skills. Thus, an important miscommunication occurs; whether it is a first time audience member, a frequent attender of the canonical repertoire, a lover of contemporary music, a music student, or somewhere in between, each has their own background of experiences and expectation of intramusical content, each with their own preconceptions, aims, philosophies and competencies, and performed modes of listening which may or may not be compatible in a social situation governed by strict codes of conduct. Each is expected to have a common understanding of the work going into the performance and the appropriate way of approaching it. This is exacerbated by the relative ease of assimilating similar enough behaviour in the concert hall while practising disparate modes of listening (discussed further below). Although it is possible to enjoy music of different subgenres with a single mode of listening, for many, it

³⁰⁴ Foucault and Boulez, "Contemporary Music and the Public," 10.

leads to unmet expectations and difficulties that need to be mitigated by the orchestra who is aware of, and have the power to facilitate, their different audiences.

Much of the audience development research finds that many listeners feel a lack of familiarity with the rituals and conventions of the concert hall, despite their ability to follow broad sociocultural norms such as sitting in silence. It further finds that audience feel that they do not have the required knowledge of the music itself which may lead them to feel dissatisfaction or alienation, particularly among non-attenders or infrequent attenders.³⁰⁵ Dobson found that audience response rituals such as prolonged clapping at the end of the performance contributed to alienating audience members who found it made them feel detached from the concert experience or unequipped to recognize the worth of performances.³⁰⁶ Kolb's study determined that non-attenders' and infrequent attenders' preconceptions included the belief that a strong knowledge of art music was required in order to enjoy an orchestral concert.³⁰⁷ Pitts, Dobson, Gee et al., found very similar attitudes: some previous knowledge of the repertoire drew audiences into attending.³⁰⁸ Despite this, they, among other researchers, point out an inconsistency among audiences. Where certain audiences seek out the "safe choices" of familiar or well-known works, others, particularly those frequently in contact with orchestral music such as subscribers, are curious and search out lesser-performed works.³⁰⁹ Thus, while familiar canonical works are "safe choice" and are guaranteed to fill seats (such as the TSO's own all Beethoven and Tchaikovsky concerts,) there is also a demand for new, unfamiliar works. A balance must be struck between the need for fulfilling curiosity with some level of familiarity. The tendency for those already familiar with a larger swath of the repertoire (subscribers, musical amateurs, musicians, enthusiasts etc....) to be more interested in trying new things or learning more about the genre suggests that they already have the foundational tools needed to make those kinds of risks more comfortable, whereas someone with little experience may be taking a larger risk in what appears to be a smaller leap. This is not to say that those who are not able to make the financial commitment to subscriptions are not curious about new music; Pitts, Dobson, Gee et al. notably remind us that: "challenging repertoire choices need not be a barrier to new attenders; indeed the comments from our respondents show a high level of exploration amongst listeners, and a willingness

³⁰⁵ Baker, *Stop Reinventing the Wheel*; Pitts, Dobson, et al., "Views of an audience"; Kolb, "Classical Music can be Fun"; Melissa Dobson, "New audiences for Classical Music: The Experiences of Non-Attenders at Live Orchestral Concerts," *Journal of New Music Research* 39 no. 2 (2010): 111-124, accessed on March 4, 2016, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09298215.2010.489643>.

³⁰⁶ Dobson, "New Audiences for Classical Music," 117.

³⁰⁷ Bonita Kolb, "You call this fun? Reactions of young first-time attendees to a classical concert," *Journal of the Music and Entertainment Industry Educators Association* 1 no.1 (2000): 25.

³⁰⁸ Pitts, Dobson et al., "Views of an audience," 81.

³⁰⁹ Baker, *Stop Reinventing the Wheel*, Pitts, Dobson, et al., "Views of an audience."

to extend the boundaries of existing repertoire knowledge.”³¹⁰ This is reinforced by Baker’s segmentation studies that finds similar correlations and set the foundation for the exploration below of the idea of a “progression” of musical taste and the modern orchestra’s role in facilitating the listeners’ exposure to the genre.³¹¹

Vice-President of Innovation and cellist of the Afiara Quartet, Adrian Fung uses a culinary analogy in order to describe how listeners experience music, learn about it, and expand their repertoire.³¹² He echoes the TSO’s philosophy explained by Dr. Chan-Hartley in the previous chapter on the role of the orchestra in encouraging the audience to move from one series to another. He explains how, as children, bitter foods such as strong cheese or coffee tend to be unpalatable but how, as they grow older, a preference for sweet foods often gives way to more complex and bitter flavours:

But what happens is as you grow older and you’re exposed to different things, I mean the whole food network, foodie generation, is incredible thing for our culture because it teaches us... that the more that you invest into understanding something, [the more you will appreciate] the refined things in life-- things if you were thrown into the deep end, you would hate... There’s a certain trajectory to how to get to a certain place, and [for] understanding and really valuing what life has to offer.³¹³

While he admits it is overgeneralized example and that people approach music in different ways and with different preferences, taste in food does provide a useful analogy for how listeners often progress through their preferred genres of music. Within art music, this kind of progression is usually assumed; the genre’s development is built around the idea of pushing the boundaries of the musical language over time. Dr. Chan-Hartley sees the audiences as enacting a progression of preferred repertoire that generally leads from more popular, widely known and “easier” works which build towards the more “serious,” and “difficult,” works.³¹⁴ The majority of the subjects interviewed agreed or suggested an analogy similar to Fung’s. Across audience development research, increases in attendance are understood to result in broader listening choices.³¹⁵ Pitts summarises that “frequent attenders are more satisfied with concert which introduce them to something new, or which they find musically challenging, while less frequent attenders would prefer to hear ‘familiar and easily recognisable tunes;’” a conclusion that was also found

³¹⁰ Pitts, Dobson et al., “Views of an audience,” 83.

³¹¹ Baker, *Stop Reinventing the Wheel*, 20-24

³¹² As of June 2017, Adrian Fung has resigned from the TSO. His position has since been removed.

³¹³ Adrian Fung, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 1, 2016.

³¹⁴ Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016.

³¹⁵ Tim Baker, *Stop Reinventing the Wheel*; Dobson, “New Audiences for Classical Music”; Pitts, Dobson et al., “Views of an audience.”

in studies by Roose, and Baker.³¹⁶ Bourdieu perhaps summarises it the best when, referring to fine art, he writes:

A beholder who lacks the specific code feels lost in a chaos of sounds and rhythms, colours, and lines, without rhyme or reason.... Thus the encounter with a work of art is not ‘love at first sight’ as is generally supposed . . . [rather] the art-lover’s pleasure presupposes an act of cognition, a decoding operation, which implies the implementation of a cognitive acquirement, a cultural code.³¹⁷

While 20th century avant-garde music is an extreme case, it nonetheless represents many listeners’ experience of audience alienation in orchestral concerts. Without the competencies adequate to the musical content (and, equally, the accompanying social or cultural codes of the situation,) the listener may have difficulty understanding the music. While the listener may still be able to follow along and enjoy the music, it may equally result in dissatisfaction, boredom, alienation, or anger which often leads to a disinterest in repeating the experience. While Fung describes it as being “thrown in the deep end,” Boulez states that, “beyond a certain complexity perception finds itself disoriented in a hopelessly entangled chaos, that it gets bored and hangs up.”³¹⁸ Stockfelt similarly would describe this as the listener’s inability to listen adequately because their field of possible modes of listening does not include the necessary competencies to make sense of the music, to choose the correct mode, or to assimilate to the genre-normative conventions. Thus, incremental exposure provides the primary means of cultivating the skills necessary for adequate listening. A careful balance must be struck between allowing a sense of familiarity and fostering curiosity for new experiences and music in order to develop adequate modes of listening for the orchestral genre. For the highly specialised modes of listening normative to the genre, some degree of informal or formal education is also often added, discussed below.

4.2 Curiosity and the Role of the Orchestra as Educator

While the musicians do not presume the same type of intellectually rigorous listening in their audiences—which often requires a deep knowledge of musical theory, history, and performance—they do recognize the same curiosity and “hunger for information” in their audiences that they feel is central to

³¹⁶ Pitts, Dobson, et al., “Views of an Audience,” 68; Henk Roose, “Many-Voiced or Unisono? An inquiry into Motives for Attendance and Aesthetic Dispositions of the Audience Attending Classical Concerts,” *Acta Sociologica* 51 no.3 (September 2008): 237-253; Tim Baker, *Stop Reinventing the Wheel*.

³¹⁷ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984,) 2.

³¹⁸ Foucault and Boulez, “Contemporary Music and the Public,” 5.

their own listening.³¹⁹ The interview subjects emphasized that their audiences are “naturally exploratory” and that the role of the Orchestra is to facilitate that curiosity through supplementary materials and activities.³²⁰ The listeners were perceived as approaching the music with some level of curiosity and desiring contextual information ranging from provided labels such as work, compositional, or performer-related information easily gleaned from the free concert programmes, to concert introductions by conductors, to occasional formalized education in the form of pre-concert chats, on-stage introductions or the Exposed lecture-series. Underscoring the activities of the Orchestra is the belief that increased understanding through either informal or formal education ensures a more enjoyable experience for the listener, and, as an extension, a more active audience in terms of engagement, frequency of attendance, and financial contribution.

Interview subjects viewed curiosity and repeat exposure to the genre as the primary driving forces of the listeners’ experience and their development as listeners. At the most basic level, the Orchestra builds its model on the idea that listeners must feel comfortable in the concert hall environment and as such, are provided with supplementary information or programming. This is achieved on a number of fronts: through making the concert experience, its rituals, and other extra-musical aspects more easily understood and less daunting by either making them more similar to the normative cultural experiences outside of the orchestral genre, or by providing the tools to understand the music as it remains within its genre-normative situation. The TSO undertakes both these activities. Fung explains:

If you can curate the entire thing in a way that people can understand or appreciate the more difficult cerebral works in the same kind of way that they start understanding what they love about the blockbuster hits... [Whatever aspect that provokes] that little nibble of interest or curiosity about what this might actually be, that’s where we want them to come back and be like ‘I want to hear more about this.’³²¹

The Orchestra wishes to educate (although usually in a soft, unassuming, or “edutainment” form,) its listeners so that the repertoire seems less alienating. By making the process incremental and by providing all the supplementary materials necessary, the TSO, like many other orchestra, takes on a form of educational role.

What is most important here is the way that Fung describes listening as a skill that develops from the more accessible, familiar music (a well-known work such as Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony or Elgar’s “Enigma” Variations, for example) into more difficult works that have less musical similarity to the

³¹⁹ Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016.

³²⁰ Adrian Fung, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 1, 2016.

³²¹ Adrian Fung, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 1, 2016.

repertoire with which the majority of audiences are regularly exposed (for example, the TSO's performance of a Mahler or Shostakovich symphony.) He accents that the development of taste relies jointly on musical exposure and some form of supplementary information. It is an incremental and cyclical process whereby curiosity is caused by the practice of discovery itself and encourages future exposure and curiosity and which, in its self-fulfilment, produces feelings of satisfaction. In the field of cultural economics, Stigler and Becker describe music consumption such as this as an addiction, whereby art consumption increases alongside the ability to appreciate and be satisfied by it. They find that education is instrumental in the effect of this exposure, economically maximizing satisfaction and the time it takes to accrue it.³²² While their theory in itself has largely been criticized, the addictive nature of musical consumption and the self-perpetuating cycle of increased exposure leading to better appreciation and increased satisfaction and desire to return for further interactions do suggest that addiction may be a good *metaphor* for describing this relationship. The more than one experiences, learns, speaks of, and is generally involved in the art (thereby feeding their interest or passion for it,) the more one is likely to continue to do so. Not monopolised by enthusiasm for orchestral music, this phenomenon is evident in a variety of hobbies and enthusiast culture and forms a cornerstone of the way that interviewed musicians spoke of their own relationship with listening to music.

What Bourdieu, Adorno, Stigler, and Becker propose (and which studies and market research reinforce,) is the strong correlation of the genre of Western art music and listeners with high levels of education.³²³ While I do not propose to explore this extensively, it is important to note that the focus on formal and informal educational initiatives at the orchestra may, in part, grow from the genre's intellectual core demographic since at least the eighteenth century. Not only does the genre have an often intricate and developed musical language, but its genre-normative modes of listening encourage (or even assume that) audiences have highly specialised information, which Roose points out is usually attained through a "cultural education," associated with intellectual social groups, and that they practice highly critical, reflective, and comparative tasks throughout the listening process.³²⁴ While the genre can be enjoyed by everyone, it privileges those who are predisposed to curiosity of this sort and those who seek out learning experiences.

Falk studies museum attendance and sees a direct causal relationship between higher levels of education and attendance. He posits that:

³²² George Stigler and Gary Becker, "De Gustibus Non Est Disputandum," *The American Economic Review* 67:2 (March 1977), 79.

³²³ Bourdieu, "Distinction"; Adorno, "On the Fetish-Character in Music and the Regression of Listening"; Stigler and Becker, "De Gustibus Non Est Disputandum."; Roose, "Many-Voiced or Unisono?," 243.

³²⁴ Roose, "Many-Voiced or Unisono?," 243; Chong, *Arts Management*, 123-126.

The primary reason for most people to attend museums... is in order to learn. That is a major reason why museum-going correlated so highly to a level of education. That is not because one needs a college degree to think learning is important. It is because individuals who think learning is important are more inclined to pursue higher education than those who don't. Individuals who value learning seek it in many forms through higher education; by watching educational television; by reading books, magazines, and newspapers; and by visiting museums.³²⁵

Although Falk is referring here to museums and does not take into account systemic issues that bar certain groups from attaining higher education, among other things, I believe that the orchestral concert is viewed in a similar manner as an opportunity for learning, or at least, that people often approach it in the same way. Education levels have been found to be the most important factor in predicting someone's involvement with the art, with arts attenders more highly educated than the population as a whole.³²⁶ In other words;

More than any other demographic factor, going to arts events and art museums is hugely correlated with an individual's educational attainment. Education is much more predictive of arts attendance than household income, for instance. In turn, educational attainment is a proxy for many other factors including early introduction to the arts through parents and schools, formal arts training, proximity to art offerings, and a number of social factors.³²⁷

Not only is this important and needs to be studied in a particularly Canadian context, it also gives insight into the orchestra's audience and how this majority may approach the arts.

One of the major themes discussed by the interview subjects was their audience's "hunger" for information and their desire to learn, which the musicians often shared. Likewise, many of the Orchestra's facilitation initiatives facilitate learning directly. Initiatives such as pre-concert chats, speaking from the stage, the concert programmes, and the Exposed series are all designed expressly to facilitate the audience's understanding of particular works, styles, and composers, or the genre more broadly. Crow explains that he finds satisfaction in being posed with challenging material and that, in addition to the

³²⁵ J. Falk, "Visitors: who does, who doesn't, and why," *Museum News*, (March-April 1998): 40 in Derrick Chong, *Arts Management*, (New York: Routledge, 2010), 2nd ed., 123.

³²⁶ Paul DiMaggio and Micheal Unseem, "The arts in education and cultural participation; the social role of aesthetic education and the arts," *Journal of Aesthetic Education* (October 1980): 62 and J.M.D. Schuster, *The Audience of American Art Museums*, Research Division Report 23, Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Arts (1991): 43 in Chong, *Arts Management*, 120; Roose, "Many-Voiced or Unisono?," 243.

³²⁷ National Endowment of the Arts (NEA), "2002 Survey of Public Participation in the Arts" National Endowment of the Arts, Research Division Report 45 (2004).

satisfaction from “getting it,” in the moment, it also reaps satisfaction in its subsequent iterations.³²⁸ He believes that the audience feels likewise; the complexity of the orchestral genre invites many levels of understanding and many different perspectives on which the listener can concentrate. For many, the complexity and invitation to multiple interpretations is the value of the genre itself.³²⁹ Even within the limited scope of the interviews, musicians referenced musical aspects they felt were valuable or of interest, including: musical structure, harmony, melody, emotional, or sensorial experience, historical or cultural context, technical virtuosity, performer interpretation, visual spectacle, comparative identification, among others. Crow identifies that; “the goal is that the person who has been to a hundred [concerts of a Brahms symphony is] *still* is engaged with what they’re hearing and feels like they can get something more out of it every time, and the person who has never been before loves it and wants to come back and learn more about it.”³³⁰ Thus, the music, and a better understanding of it, contributes to longstanding enjoyment, rather than its interest as a novelty.

Tetreault makes the link between understanding and enjoying the orchestra through education’s ability to make the genre less alienating and foreign; “it breaks it down, it makes it less daunting if you can take a music class... where you can... break it apart, and then say ‘oh yah, that makes sense’.”³³¹ The interview subjects view education as a means of directly addressing the inherent difficulties associated with the genre often described by Baker, Pitts, and Kolb; that is, facilitating learning helps mitigate feelings of alienation or boredom by newcomers in the concert hall.³³² Like many orchestras, the TSO provides several standard supplementary initiatives designed to give varying degrees of information; for instance, on-stage introductions give everyone a common reference point for guided listening. Meanwhile, pre-concert chats provide a voluntary, entertaining and (relatively) in-depth introduction to the evening’s performance.

In general, the TSO’s research finds that a listener’s choice in concert is driven by the composers programmed rather than a particular soloist or other factor.³³³ Dr. Chan-Hartley explains that she believes this is because listeners like to be familiar with the music before going to the concert and: “they want

³²⁸ Jonathan Crow, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, December 6, 2016.

³²⁹ Julian Johnson, *Who Needs Classical Music?: Cultural choice and musical value*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Lawrence Kramer, *Why Classical Music Still Matters*, (Berkeley: University of California Press: 2007); Adorno, “On the Fetish Character in Music and the Regression of Listening.”

³³⁰ Jonathan Crow, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, December 6, 2016.

³³¹ Leslie Knowles and Mark Tetreault, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, September 27, 2016.

³³² Pitts, Dobson, et al., “Views of an Audience,” 82-84; A. Card, and B. Cova, “The Impact of Service Elements on the Artistic Experience,” 51; Kolb, “Classical Music Concert can be Fun: Success of the BBC Prom”; Baker, *Stop Reinventing the Wheel*, 38.

³³³ Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016.

information first and ... their listening is shaped by... knowing something about it already.”³³⁴ The pre-concert chats and the on-stage introductions address this need to understand and provide listening anchors and basic contextualisation. Often, Peter Oundjian or a guest conductor will prepare audiences for a work with a short anecdote or a narration of its cultural context, particularly in the case of the Casual concert series, modern music, or very long works. Designed to combat the stuffy and elitist image of the orchestra, they often fit into one or three narratives. The first is a humorous anecdote by the conductor on the preparation, composition or a past performance of the work; second, a guide to the structure (or “roadmap”) of the work through adjective-rich vocabulary, often concentrating on themes such as “transcendence,” “beauty,” or an emotion; or third, the composers intent or “program” for the work. This approach is quite similar to practices that are adopted by other institutions, and long implemented in children’s concerts.

During his Carnegie Hall video series, music educator Eric Booth demonstrates through three different introductions of the poem “The Red Wheelbarrow” how the preparation of a work of art is instrumental in the listener’s interpretation and engagement.³³⁵ Providing an example of the experience of the poem with no introduction, a short biography, a lecture, or framing it through the context of the work, he critiques the lack of introduction as leaving the listener feeling, “unsuccessful in making a personally relevant connection even though they tried,” which may lead to frustration, rejection, or alienation.³³⁶ Similarly, he believes that an oral biography or lecture alone can seem irrelevant, boring, or can cause the listener to feel spoken down to, which has the potential to ruin the experience. Instead, he advocates some kind of framing which allows the audience to “enter into the art work,” such as through storytelling, pointing out moments of interest and their relevance, or other information that can invites the listener’s creative engagement.³³⁷ The preparation must answer the question: “what can I do to bring that viewer inside the artwork on just a single hearing?” which will result in a feeling of belonging in that space and in that work of art.³³⁸ Though controversial in some circles, Booth’s concept of drawing the listener in through contextualisation promotes feelings of belonging as well as suggesting modes of listening that are most appropriate to the work. This is seen to particularly help newcomers to the genre, infrequent

³³⁴ Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016.

³³⁵ Eric Booth, *Eric Booth, “The Red Wheelbarrow”- Inspiring Engagement in a Work of Art,* Carnegie Hall Digital Library. Online Video. Eric Booth. (2012; New York: Carnegie Hall).

³³⁶ Eric Booth, *Eric Booth, “The Red Wheelbarrow”- Inspiring Engagement in a Work of Art,* Carnegie Hall Digital Library. Online Video. Eric Booth. (2012; New York: Carnegie Hall).

³³⁷ Eric Booth, *Eric Booth, “The Red Wheelbarrow”- Inspiring Engagement in a Work of Art,* Carnegie Hall Digital Library. Online Video. Eric Booth. (2012; New York: Carnegie Hall).

³³⁸ Eric Booth, *Eric Booth, “Making Creative Connections, Active Listening and Reflection,”* Carnegie Hall Digital Library. Online Video. Eric Booth. (2012; New York: Carnegie Hall).

attenders and infrequently performed works, as some audiences found this kind of pre-performance talk—which contravenes common orchestral-hall etiquette—as detrimental to their experience.

The on-stage introduction of the work demonstrates a break with bourgeois concert hall tradition in which there is no verbal communication from the stage (aside from any that are expressly notated by the composer.) The majority of the interviewed musicians found this occasional addition to be a positive contribution to the concert, while one believed that it interrupted the momentum of the concert, allowing instruments to become cold after tuning and interrupting the build-up to the first note.³³⁹ Pitts and Dobson discuss the perceived desirability of imbedded information in the concert setting on the whole, but also a group of “purists” who found these additions “unnecessary, invasive and even counterproductive.”³⁴⁰ Some interview subjects referenced this kind of behaviour in their audiences, although, like in the study, it was perceived as a small group of individuals. The TSO, fully embracing integrated information in the 2015-2016 season saw experimentation with this form. In addition to the conductor speaking during particular performances, ex-CEO Jeff Melanson occasionally used the moments before performance to call for donations and thank partners. Later in the season, musicians took over for a short while and added their own anecdotes. The practice seems to have fallen out of favour in the 2016-2017 season and the departure of Jeff Melanson.

While the on-stage introductions reach the entire audience and are restricted to only a few minutes of context for each work, the pre-concert chat expands the preparation for a work into a fifteen- or thirty- minute casual lecture held outside of the concert hall itself, in the North Lobby. They are accessible introductions that presuppose no musical education on the part of its listeners. Like the programme book notes, they are aimed at an audience that is “fairly well educated broadly but not necessarily deeply in musical analysis.”³⁴¹ The pre-concert chats have a long history at the TSO, dating from its inaugural year. Today, they are provided by CBC radio host and music enthusiast, Tom Allen. The casual talks use humour, audio, and visual aids and give key socio-cultural context to the composition. Allen also occasionally provides musical examples on the piano while he describes an aural map of the work’s structure and key elements—standard practice for music appreciation or music theory classes. Audience members are able to sit or stand with their beverages during the talks, staying for as long as they wish, diminishing the formality of the occasion.

³³⁹ Anonymous I, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, May 5, 2016.

³⁴⁰ A. Brown, *Smart Concerts: Orchestras in the age of edutainment* 5, John S. and James L. Knight Foundation, 13 In Dobson, “New Audiences for Classical Music,” 112.

³⁴¹ Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016.

In the 2015-2016 season, a special collection of pre-concert chats, intermission, and post-show chats were held as part of the Decades Project and the New Creations Festival. Interview subjects generally felt that these were effective means of providing the personal connection and contextual educational materials desired by the audiences. Many of the interview subjects described Allen as having an engaging personality, creating an experience that was both entertaining and informational. Built into the belief that quality art music can be understood complexly and in many different ways, pre-concert chats provide a means for audiences to find different things for which to listen throughout the performance. Although the TSO understands that not all listeners wish to take part in all of the ancillary educational activities, its goal is to work towards curating the entire experience, if the listener desires that level of involvement.³⁴²

While it has become normative to the genre since the late nineteenth century to facilitate interested audiences' basic education in the genre, it is still considered by some as problematic.³⁴³ Of the eight interview subjects, seven believed strongly that one of the principle roles of the orchestra was to educate its audiences in some way. However, one interview subject held the belief that the Orchestra should not educate because the genre should not require its listeners to hold certain knowledge or to practice particular modes of listening in order to enjoy the genre. The subject suggested that any audience, regardless of background could enjoy the sensorial and emotional aspects of the genre, citing that the genre was "for everyone."³⁴⁴ The musician's statement can be seen as a reaction to the condescending nature of some education programmes, or referencing the insecurities of audience members who do not feel they hold adequate competencies to form opinions on the music and thus avoid making judgements or interacting with it at all. On further questioning, the musician particularly found formalized and directed listening unnecessary, where frequent exposure to the genre through the school systems should instead to be encouraged. Another musician, while believing education was still important, felt that certain education initiatives such as speaking from the stage were unnecessary, and in some cases, patronizing to their audience.³⁴⁵ The disagreement on formal guided listening or contextual information suggests a reaction to, and frustration with, the genre's elitist image and to intellectually-driven modes of listening. It also reminds the researcher of the complexity of the issue.

Despite the majority's strong conviction of the orchestra's educational role, many of the interview subjects did express concern for the subgenre's elitist image in popular culture and the potential of educational initiatives appearing patronizing or condescending. Those interviewed chose their words

³⁴² Adrian Fung, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 1, 2016.

³⁴³ Anonymous II, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October, 12, 2016.

³⁴⁴ Anonymous II, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October, 12, 2016.

³⁴⁵ Anonymous I, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, May 5, 2016.

carefully when speaking of the difference between their own attitudes of art music and how they viewed their audiences'. One musician clarified her position on the role of the Orchestra in educating its listeners, saying that while education was a major tenet of the orchestra's mandate, she doesn't want to "sound condescending when I say 'educating.' It's just exposing; exposing people to everything that's out there."³⁴⁶ A particular hesitancy was evident in some subjects' belief that music history, theory, and listening skills had to be made approachable and manageable for their uninitiated audiences. The musicians recognized their own rigorous and specialised musical education and felt it necessary for their audiences to have a small degree of exposure or education in these areas in order to understand, or even enjoy, a work, but were unsure on how to broach this idea. This was felt particularly strongly in the discourse surrounding the democratization of the orchestra:

To democratize the institution means we bring it down to people so they can... walk away saying 'wow, I really enjoyed that! That must mean that I understood it!' [However,] when we say [bring it] 'down', we don't mean in some hierarchical way, some kind of snobbery way, but bringing it down to a certain level from intellectual cerebral heights that Western opulence has provided us, so we want to let them understand how this music is for everybody.³⁴⁷

In North America, there has long been a general feeling of the unapproachable and elitist tendencies of the genre. Classical musicians and orchestras tread a careful balance between admitting the large learning curve inherent in practicing dominant modes of listening and familiarity with the genre's repertoire, while also trying to dismantle its harmful image in popular culture. Many of the musicians interviewed admitted to their own continual discovery within the genre, particularly in reference to their own enjoyment of unknown or newly discovered aspects. However, they occasionally struggle to share this mode of enthusiasm, fearing the apparent patronizing condescension of prescribing education to their audiences. We find evidence of this not only in the interviews with the musicians, but also the stressed themes of universality and transcendence of programs, and books about classical music at large.³⁴⁸ The TSO and other orchestras tackle these issues of image and education by adhering to the philosophy that the genre is not confined to certain social circles or that they have a social barrier to entry, while also taking on the responsibility of facilitating any information or education they feel is necessary for those who desire it.

³⁴⁶ Wendy Rose, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, November 10, 2016.

³⁴⁷ Adrian Fung, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 1, 2016.

³⁴⁸ Julian Johnson, *Who Needs Classical Music? Cultural choice and musical value*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Lawrence Kramer, *Why Classical Music Still Matters*, (Berkeley: University of California Press: 2007); Boulez and Foucault, "Contemporary Music and the Public."

Even with the complexity of the issue and the difficulty some interview subjects found in articulating their views, attendance numbers and interview data all suggest that many TSO listeners enthusiastically participate in educational ancillary activities and utilize supplementary materials. Although no statistics could be acquired, observational data suggests large and enthusiastic audiences attend pre-concert and intermission chats—in particular, during the Decades Project and the New Creations Festival—with large crowds during these special events that often surpass the number of chairs set out in the North Lobby for the purpose. The Exposed series is well attended, with audience members regularly waiting to have host Rob Kapilow’s books and merchandise signed. While the crowds are not as large as for merchandise and signings as for famous performers, it does demonstrate a devoted interest in certain audiences for educational materials.

All of the interview subjects believed that educational initiatives were strongly enjoyed by their audiences (whether they themselves agreed that it had merit). Meanwhile, what educational material they felt was useful or had merit varied, with two musicians were critical of the Exposed *What Makes it Great?* series. The majority of the interview subjects felt that the audiences were searching for this kind of information and enthusiastic about learning more about the music and how to go about listening to it. One musician explained; “The audiences that go to the Exposed or *What Makes it Great?* series... love it. They can’t get enough. You can *feel* the desire to learn, the desire to understand. I’m sure it gives them a greater appreciation the next time they go to a regular concert.”³⁴⁹ She concludes: “So it’s very important for us to keep challenging [our audiences,] I think.”³⁵⁰ Her understanding of the audience reflects a common theme perceived at the Orchestra; the wide applicability of individual musical experiences (both in terms of exposure and specific information or moments of guided listening,) positively affecting the listener’s orchestral experience in the longer term; a small step in a lifelong musical education.³⁵¹

The Orchestra and its musicians perceive a strong desire among their audiences to learn more about the orchestra and the Western art music tradition; they believe that, like themselves, enjoyment stems from a level of understanding and their experience is characterized by a curiosity. The majority of the Orchestra’s initiatives involve some kind of educational component, although it is usually under the guise of entertaining or informational materials. Discussed below are several of the TSO’s supplementary initiatives to facilitate their audience’s listening through education: children’s education, printed programmes, and the newly-launched e-learning platform.

³⁴⁹ Wendy Rose, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, November 10, 2016.

³⁵⁰ Wendy Rose, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, November 10, 2016.

³⁵¹ Chong, *Arts Management*, 120-124.

4.2.1 Children's Education

It has become common practice among Western orchestras to dedicate a portion of their activities to children's programming and childhood music education, with one of the best known and influential examples being the New York Philharmonic's televised Young People's Concerts with Leonard Bernstein.³⁵² A lot of research has been conducted on children's music education as a whole, particularly the effects of formal education and school-based music education.³⁵³ The present research focuses primarily on adult listening practices in the orchestra, as this constitutes the majority of the orchestra's audience and the focus of the majority of its programming and organizational model. However, it is important to recognize and examine children's programming for two reasons; first, it represents a historically important part of the TSO's mandate; and second, it provides a better understanding of the Orchestra's values in regards to fostering particular modes of listening. Although the children's programming is more overt in its educational goals than in the fluid and supplementary nature of its regular programming, it nonetheless demonstrates a framework of the genre-normative ideology in which the Orchestra wishes to encourage its audiences. Children's programming demonstrates how the Orchestra envisions its future audiences.

Children's concerts have long been a priority for the TSO. They gave their first children's concert in their 1925-26 season, and had integrated them into their regular annual programming by 1930.³⁵⁴ Concerts and educational programming aimed at school-age children have made up a large part of the TSO's activities since this time.³⁵⁵ Coupled with its outreach activities, the TSO claims educational

³⁵² Full transcripts of the televised series can be found here: <https://leonardbernstein.com/lectures/television-scripts/young-peoples-concerts> , with some of the Carnegie Hall televised episodes can be found on [youtube.com](https://www.youtube.com) or [openculture.net](https://www.openculture.net). See also: Bryan Rozen "The Contributions of Leonard Bernstein to music education: an analysis of his 53 Young People's Concerts," Thesis (Ph.D) University of Rochester (Eastmann School of Music), 1997. <https://urresearch.rochester.edu/institutionalPublicationPublicView.action?institutionalItemId=27964&versionNumber=1>

³⁵³ See for example the journals: *Journal of Research in Music Education*, *Research Studies in Music Education*, *Music Educators Journal*, and the *International Journal of Music Education*.

³⁵⁴ John Beckwith and Clifford Ford, "Toronto Symphony Orchestra," *Canadian Encyclopedia*, last modified April 3, 2015, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/toronto-symphony-orchestra-emc/>

³⁵⁵ Student concerts and lectures were introduced in the early 1940s through the combined efforts of Toronto teachers, TSO musicians and conductors, as well as the newly-formed student committee headed by Victor Feldbrill. Other educational initiatives also prove the Orchestra's commitment to education: in the 1990s, they presented chamber music and soloist performances in schools (Symphony Preludes, Symphony Seminars, and Symphony Close-Ups,) performances in public libraries and malls (Symphony Street) as well as student and family concerts held in Roy Thomson Hall. The Women's Association played a strong role throughout the history of the TSO in their educational activities. Aside from the children's and students' concerts, and the Toronto Symphony Youth Orchestra (TSYO), the above programs have all since ended.

initiatives as one aspect of its four-pronged strategic plan.³⁵⁶ During the 2015/2016 series, the TSO performed five Young People’s concerts—a series created for families with children aged 12 and under—each with two performances, in addition to weekday performances for school fieldtrip concerts.³⁵⁷

The TSO’s education program is organized by age group with most of their materials targeted at the Kindergarten to grade 8 students. The School Concerts, taking place during the day, have been created in conjunction with Ontario Music Curriculum and teaching aids are provided free to supplement the concert. Concerts are separated into levels and included *Alligator Pie*, *Science @ the Symphony*, *Big Bold Brass!*, and the French version of the latter; *Cuivres Époustouflants*.³⁵⁸ Each of these concerts is paired with its own study guide, which includes a podcast, complete lessons, and curriculum integration plans.³⁵⁹ Open rehearsals are targeted to older students who are likely learning orchestral instruments and feature a Q&A with musicians. All of the musicians interviewed expressed their enjoyment and satisfaction interacting with children and their pride in introducing them to the orchestral repertoire. These activities are significant for the TSO’s effort and dedication to making these projects fit into the school curriculum and to form a supplement and enrich existing public music education. Furthermore, they demonstrate the TSO’s philosophy towards the acquisition of listening competencies, both in the necessity of musical education, as well as the use of an integrated program of traditional formal music education, and interactive exposure (experiential) education.

³⁵⁶ Toronto Symphony Orchestra, “TSO statement on leadership change” *Toronto Symphony Orchestra*, March 30, 2016, last modified March 30, 2016, <https://www.tso.ca/news-release/tso-statement-leadership-change>.

³⁵⁷ The TSO performed to 33,275 students and teachers as part of their curriculum and school-based weekday concert series during the 2015-2016 season. Under ex-CEO Melanson, the orchestra had the optimistic goal of, “city-wide music education programme with the aim of serving 345, 000 students by 2020.” Conservatively, this would require 132 concerts. With a total of 130 total regular public concerts at Roy Thomson Hall, it is highly likely this target will remain unmet. However, on pressing the subject, some interview subjects suggested that e-learning and other similar initiatives could contribute to this goal. Toronto Symphony Orchestra, “TSO statement on leadership change” *Toronto Symphony Orchestra*, March 30, 2016, last modified March 30, 2016, <https://www.tso.ca/news-release/tso-statement-leadership-change>; Adrian Fung, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 1, 2016.

³⁵⁸ See Toronto Symphony Orchestra, “Teacher Resources,” Toronto Symphony Orchestra, accessed March 20, 2017, <https://www.tso.ca/education/teacher-resources>.

³⁵⁹ The Study Guide that accompanies each School Concert includes concert-specific information (including background information on the work, composer, and style,) and targets teachers who may have never experienced an orchestral concert themselves, fitting into the Ontario Curriculum guidelines. These guides are very comprehensive, and are written with a nuanced knowledge of the realities of the classroom environment, and the needs of teachers. Although the implementation of these lessons was not observed, they appear to be exemplary examples of integrated music education material, easily accessible to both students and teachers. Further research on the TSO’s educational plan and integration of these activities into the classroom would prove a valuable subject and addition to Canadian music education research. See an example of the study guide here: Robin Malach, “Primary Student Concert Study Guide: The TSO Presents Alligator Pie” *Toronto Symphony Orchestra*, [2015], https://www.tso.ca/sites/default/files/attachments/updated_1516_primary_student_concert_study_guide.pdf.

There are two apparent goals present in the orchestra's children's programming, both of which give insight into the TSO's attitude towards its audience's listening practices. Firstly, that it constitutes an important aspect of outreach; children's concerts provide exposure and the normalization of art music for children, encouraging positive experiences that are thought to generate a new generation of art music listeners. Secondly, that it supplements formal musical training often absent in schools on the art music canon and its normative modes of listening. While all children's programming includes these two aspects, interview subjects perceived that exposure and positive experiences have tended to be given more importance than formal training, similar to the hierarchy found in adult educational initiatives.³⁶⁰ Both aspects contribute to the aim of encouraging interest in art music in children, referring to the often quoted idea that the children are the "audiences of tomorrow."³⁶¹

The exposure to the orchestral genre and its normalization was the focus of many of the interview subjects' perception of children's listening habits, particularly as it related to creating positive concert experiences. One musician explained how she felt that programming was occasionally geared more towards entertainment than to education:

Sometimes, I come out [of performing a children's concert] feeling that they haven't really learned a whole lot about music. They've been entertained, and we may even have offered them high quality visuals, but I'm worried that not much stuck musically, so I think we have to be really careful to keep the music very prominent. On the other hand, you want to provide them with a positive experience so that they're curious to go back again.³⁶²

Arguably, there is no need to be concerned over the lack of formal musical education; according to Stockfelt, who theorizes similarly to Bourdieu and Faulk, the experience of being present and engaged with the orchestra at the concert hall would in itself would provide valuable experience that would help build listening competencies in the art music genre as well as familiarizing or reinforcing situational norms of appropriate modes of listening. However, this argument does not take into account the normativity of a certain level of fluency in the vocabulary and analytical skills associated with the genre. Without developing the listening competencies gleaned through directed listening (teaching which features are privileged in the Western art music language,) or providing the vocabulary necessary for communicating reflexivity, the listener would not be able to fully integrate into traditional genre-normative listening. As Stockfelt demonstrates, it is possible to enjoy, or find meaning in listening outside

³⁶⁰ Wendy Rose, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, November 10, 2016.

³⁶¹ Anonymous I, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, May 5, 2016.

³⁶² Wendy Rose, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, November 10, 2016.

of the adequate modes of listening for a situation, but not to communicate effectively, thus integrating into the social aspects of the art form.³⁶³ Thus, the Orchestra's priorities become clear; to encourage interest in the genre and foster familiarity, ideally towards the integration of formal musical education, similar to the way their adult audience counterpart navigate the genre.

The balance between accessible, entertaining concerts, providing positive experience and exposure to the genre, with the formal music education and core canon exists in programming as a whole, and is not restricted to children's concerts. Rose summarises the Orchestra's belief: to tackle this problem of balance, it needs to "continue to provide a variety and, above all, continue to provide a high quality product."³⁶⁴ As an artistic organization, the Orchestra and its musicians prefer to foster music which they find stimulating and valuable to the genre. They may not feel for instance that Pops concerts are as intellectually or musically interesting as their Masterworks counterparts, but they feel that they are still important to the programming, provided they are of "high quality" and contribute to meeting the needs of the diverse audiences. Furthermore, as an artistic institution with an educational and community service component, Crow believes that, unlike a business, providing accessibility to the art is enough to make the work worthwhile:

And you really only need to reach one person whose life is then directed in a different way. And it doesn't have to be 'going into music',... It's someone who is inspired by what they hear... [that gives them] the confidence to do something else that they didn't think they could have been able to do...And it's true 50% of the kids aren't paying attention... but you do need to be sending something out on stage that reaches people, somehow. And if you don't reach them in this one concert, that's fine! Maybe you'll reach them in the next one.³⁶⁵

Here, Crow speaks of the social function that music plays as an art form. He also touches on the fact that, like other kinds of art, he believes that it requires a certain amount of effort or interest in order to be personally beneficial. This is thought to be achieved primarily by developing and adopting adequate modes of listening, rewarding those who undertake that effort. The genre is considered to be art in the way that it is thought to hold meaning, be highly inspirational, moralising, transcendental, or somehow outstrip mundanity.³⁶⁶ These ideas are integral to the cultural understanding of orchestral music over the

³⁶³ Stockfelt, 137.

³⁶⁴ Wendy Rose, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, November 10, 2016.

³⁶⁵ Jonathan Crow, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, December 6, 2016.

³⁶⁶ For modern take on this, see Lawrence Kramer, *Why Classical Music Still Matters*, or Daniel Barenboim, *Everything is Connected: The Power of Music*. (London: Orion Publishing Group, 2010). Although these kinds of ideas are found in composers' and musicians' letters throughout Western art music history, music's transcendental qualities and moralising force reached its peak in the nineteenth century. For a nuanced study of this in France, see:

past two hundred years, particularly in the nineteenth century symphony's role as a public genre.³⁶⁷ Contemporaneously, it is rare outside of musicological texts or certain musical circles to discuss these musical philosophies due to their modern classist and elitist connotations, but they still underscore many of music organization's core philosophies. Many of the educational programs now classified as "musical outreach" resemble those done by government or charity groups in the nineteenth century in places like England and France under the auspice of music's "civilizing force" or "*moeurs*" for children and the poor and working classes.³⁶⁸ Although the vocabulary has changed and art music institutions have consciously committed to eradicate elitist, prescriptive, and colonial cultural practices (regardless of the institutions' success in doing so,) some elements and philosophies of these programs persist. Art music, like other forms of art, performs a socio-cultural function believed to be particularly strong among those who are involved.³⁶⁹ As Stockfelt notes, while art music and the idealized bourgeois concert hall listening are systematically privileged through Western cultural history and possess a rigorously reinforced, normalized codes and philosophies, it is just one of many subgenres of music. While it is true that art music can provide many social and cultural functions and can be extremely rewarding for those involved, it is by no means the only art form capable, nor necessarily the most effective, at attaining these goals.

4.2.2 Programme Notes

The printed programme that accompanies each performance and informs its audience of what to expect is a staple of the orchestral concert, although fairly unique to the subgenre. Programme notes did not become popular for orchestral music until the nineteenth century when attitudes towards art music began changing to resemble our modern ones, particularly our desire to know what, when, who, and how the works would be performed. They began as opportunities for the presenting society or the composer to provide edifying explanatory notes or polemic texts that accompanied the concert.³⁷⁰ Unsurprisingly,

Jann Pasler, *Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France*, (Oakland: University of California, 2009).

³⁶⁷ Jan Larue, et al. "Symphony." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed March 22, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/27254pg2>.

³⁶⁸ See Jann Pasler, *Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France*, (Oakland: University of California, 2009).

³⁶⁹ See for example: Maria Majno, "From the model of El Sistema in Venezuela to current applications: learning and integration through collective music education," *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 1252, The Neuroscience and Music IV Learning and Memory (2012): 56-64. Accessed on March 12, 2017, doi:10.1111/j.1749-6632.2012.06498.x.

³⁷⁰ Opera's uses of programme notes appear much earlier, with the idea of providing a short plot synopsis to make it more understandable. Nigel Simeone. "Programme note." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed January 18, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/51278>.

concert programmes in their many variations reflected the changing attitudes towards art music; the increased interest in the composer-as-genius and his compositional intentions, the reverence afforded to the art form, and the general interest in learning about music as demonstrated by the exponential increase in biographies and public lectures.

In the 2015/2016 season, the TSO introduced a new series of concert programmes that tweaked the relatively standardized form available free at the entrance of the majority of Western concert halls. They maintain the core functions of the programme and include an ordered listing of the works—along with relevant information such as composer, movements, and relevant dates,—in addition to a short description of the works and their composers, a list of orchestra members, information on upcoming performances, self-promotion, lists of donors and requests for donations. However, the new programmes, named *Key*, demonstrate a shift in the programme’s intended role.

The 2015-2016 *key* programmes look and feel like a small 9x6.5 inch bound book labeled with an issue number on its spine. With 68 pages, they are substantially longer than the average concert programme, lending to its book-like appearance and allowing for broader content. With a table of contents that resembles that of a magazine; it provides information for approximately two months of concerts in addition to information on current TSO activities. Managing Editor of the TSO and responsible for the innovation of *Key*, Dr. Hannah Chan-Hartley described the programme’s goal as to be a “source of information for people; an educational resource rather than just a book that we noticed people would... leave behind.”³⁷¹ The concert programme shifted focus from a memory aid for composer and title names, to a standalone educational resource for those who wished to expand their knowledge of orchestral music. Like the pre-concert chats and other educational initiatives, the concert programme reflects the TSO’s perception of its audience and their desire to enjoy through a greater understanding and familiarity with the content.

³⁷¹ Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016.



Figure 2 Key Programs at the TSO.³⁷²

The concert programmes are laid out in the standard fashion, listing the works in their performance order along with other salient information, presented in a clean, organized and modern style. The bottom third of the page provides a paragraph introduction to the concert’s program by the music director and principal conductor, Peter Oundjian. This short introduction of about a dozen lines prepares the listener for what they are about to hear, describing the overarching idea that connects all of the programmed works, as well as a carefully-worded description defining each piece. The description’s goal is to identify the central theme, the principle characteristics of the work and/or the composer, introduce any soloists or important notes (for instance, a world premiere,) as well as why the programme is relevant for the listener. Like the pre-concert chats and the on-stage introduction, this functions as a primer to situate the listener within the context of the evening’s performance.

The sections that follow vary in length based on content but are usually between four and eight pages and include the sections “The Details” and “The Artists.” “The Details” recounts information on the

³⁷² Key. No. 8 (May-June 2016) Toronto Symphony Orchestra, 12-13.

particular work. It is notable that the programmes include the work's length as this kind of information is not usually provided in the orchestral context, although frequently requested or researched by audience members.³⁷³ "The Artist" It follows the same format as the traditional artist biography, giving details on their education, prizes, and notable performances. The key programmes also include standard information such as advertising subscription and donations, lists of donors, among others.

The new *Key* programmes are designed to be modern in design and intuitive to use, with clean lines and the information that many listeners are used to having. In addition to the standard content, there are other types of informational or educational content that appears throughout the different programs sporadically. Most notably, the new programmes include full page spreads of infographics, timelines of music history which are contextualized by general political and historical events in Canada and Europe, interesting snapshots of musicians and their lives, among others. Full page spreads of the TSO's activities in addition to integrated text reinforce the TSO's contributions to Toronto, validating its place in the city's cultural life, and trying to establish an easy relation between orchestra and patron through lighthearted humour, accessible and informative text, and a clean, modern design. The largest contribution to the new programmes is Dr. Chan-Hartley's innovative "Listening Guides": a visual notation guide that provides a road map of the work of music using a mix of musical terms, colours, shapes, and symbols (see below.) The unexpected popularity of the Listening Guides has now sparked the TSO to sell them individually for educational purposes, and has been shortlisted for the Classical:NEXT 2017 Innovation Award and won the 2016 KANTAR Information is Beautiful Bronze Community Award based on public vote.³⁷⁴

³⁷³ Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016.

³⁷⁴ Toronto Symphony Orchestra, "TSO Visual Listening Guides," *Toronto Symphony Orchestra*, accessed March 18, 2017, <https://www.tso.ca/listening-guides>

LISTENING GUIDE Ludwig van Beethoven
Symphony No. 3 in E-flat Major,
Op. 55 "Eroica"

Second Movement - Marcia Funebre (Funeral March)

TEMPO: **ADAGIO** (VERY SLOW)
KEY: **C MINOR**
DURATION: **~15 MINUTES**

Section A: March

Theme a (1st violins, 2nd violins, 1st violas)
Theme b (1st violins)
Theme a' (1st violins)
Theme b' (oboe)
Theme a'' (1st violins)
Cadence Theme (1st violins)

Section B

Theme c (1st oboe, 2nd flute, 3rd bassoon)
Continuation (1st oboe)
Theme c' (1st oboe)
Climax (1st oboe)
Retransition (1st oboe)

Section A': Return of March - expanded

Theme a (1st violins, woodwinds)
"Fugato" subject entries (1st violins, 2nd violins, 3rd violins, 4th violas & cellos, 5th double basses, 6th French horns, 7th cellos & double basses)
Surprise episode (1st violins, woodwinds, French horns)
Transition (1st violins, woodwinds, French horns)
Theme a' (1st violins, woodwinds)
Theme b' (oboe & clarinet)
Theme a'' (1st violins, oboe & clarinet)
Cadence Theme (1st violins)

Coda: concluding section of movement

2nd violins
Continuation (1st violins)
Final statement & disintegration of Theme a (1st violins)

Third Movement - Scherzo

TEMPO: **ALLEGRO** (FAST & LIVELY)
KEY: **E-flat MAJOR**
DURATION: **~6 MINUTES**

Scherzo (Section A)

Introductory "chatter" (strings)
Theme a (oboe & 1st violins)
"Chatter" (strings)
Theme a (flute)
Continuation (strings)
"Chatter" (strings)
Theme a (oboe, clarinet & 1st violins)
Theme a' (woodwinds & strings)
Theme b (1st strings, 2nd full orchestra)
Continuation (1st strings)
Cadence Theme (1st strings)

Trio (Section B)

Theme c (French horns)
Theme d (1st strings, 2nd violins)
Continuation (woodwinds)
Theme d' (French horns)

Scherzo (Return of Section A)

Theme a (strings)
"Chatter" (strings)
Theme a (oboe & 1st violins)
Continuation (strings)
"Chatter" (strings)
Theme a (oboe, clarinet & 1st violins)
Theme a' (woodwinds & strings)
Theme b (1st strings, 2nd full orchestra)
Continuation (1st strings)
Cadence Theme (1st strings)

Coda: concluding section of movement

Chromatic motive - B-D-E-F (1st clarinet & bassoon, 2nd flute & clarinet)
Conclusion (1st strings)

Legend:

piano (pp) very soft, p soft, mp mezzo-piano, mf mezzo-forte, f loud, ff very loud
Crescendo: Gradually getting louder, Decrescendo: Gradually getting softer
Fermata: Pause, sf sfz sfz sfz sforzando: A forceful accent, (C) Theme is repeated

Figure 3 Listening guide in the TSO key program.³⁷⁵

The concert programs have recently concentrated less on a formal analysis of the work usually associated with the genre, instead providing more personally relevant contextual information; “I feel that people could connect more to what they’re listening to if they understand a little bit about the historical context in which the piece is written and understand *why* that piece is still relevant to us today and why it should be relevant *to them*.”³⁷⁶ She gives the example of a listener who contacted her over Twitter in regards to concert notes she had provided on some of Tchaikovsky’s works and the influence his lived experience in a repressive cultural and political climate had on his life and work.³⁷⁷ The listener felt a deeper connection and newfound approach to listening to Tchaikovsky’s music, creating new meanings in subsequent listening. Dr. Chan-Hartley identifies how:

...Providing historical content [and educational initiatives help] people to tie something from the past to the present and [helps them in] understanding the relevance of what it is

³⁷⁵ Key. No. 8 (May-June 2016) Toronto Symphony Orchestra, 50-51.

³⁷⁶ Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016.

³⁷⁷ Leslie Kearney, Tchaikovsky and his World, (Princeton university Press, 2014), 164-165;

that they're listening to, why they're doing some things, why we're still performing certain pieces of music... it can help make [the repertoire] less distancing.³⁷⁸

Thus, the focus shifts from structural analysis only useful if the listener already knows the vocabulary and the significance of the formal structure, to contextualization designed to allow an easy and engaging entry point for any listener. Concert programmes are particularly useful in studying listening practices because they reveal so much about the orchestra's assumptions and values. The text communicates exactly what is considered important to know, why the listener should know it, and how the listener ideally should think of the piece of music. The text facilitates the listener's development of autonomous, knowledge-based and reflexive listening, although it has shifted from theoretical to culturally- focused ideas.

Like the pre-concert chats and Exposed concert series, the programmes help curate the listener's experience of the music by providing the most relevant information for the genre-normative modes of listening for the orchestral genre. Among many aspects which are considered important include: the knowledge of the title, the subgenre (symphony, concerto, tone poem etc..) musical style (sometimes implied through other information), number, speeds, and titles of movements; the name of composer and soloists; a basic (or deep) understanding of the context of composition or the composer's intention; the ability to identify a global structure or significant musical moment(s); the ability to reflect upon and compare musical, stylistic, or performative aspect between other works of the subgenre, composer, period, or performances; the ability to recognize the relative value of the work or the performance; and the ability to describe the work or its constituent elements using an appropriate vocabulary. An incomplete list, listeners often hold this kind of information before a concert without being aware of the fact. It is important to distinguish that these are genre-normative, they are not necessary (or even instrumental) to enjoyment. The programmes help situate the listener, giving them a foundational knowledge of the work before it begins and the contextual information that can help in the reflexive process, irrespective of the listener's familiarity with the piece. By privileging particular aspects of the work, and leading the listener to harken to particular aspects, the programme helps develop genre-normative listening competencies by introducing or reinforcing the types of information considered valuable. The listener is rewarded with feelings of accomplishment described by Crow, contributing to the vocabulary of the genre, while also legitimising the work, the value-system, and mode of listening in the process.

Dr. Hannah Chan-Hartley confirms that the role of the programmes is to facilitate listening, believing it is both a source of information for their attended concert as well as a less ephemeral

³⁷⁸ Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016.

educational resource. A musician, musicologist, and teacher, she explains how her experience, particularly as a musician and as a teacher of music appreciation and history to non-musicians shaped the way in which she listens to orchestral music and how she designs the programmes. She creates content under the assumption that the audience is: “fairly well-educated broadly but not necessarily deeply in musical analysis,” and that she does not “necessarily find analysis in written form very interesting for people,” instead finding more interest in sociocultural context of the work.³⁷⁹ Dr. Chan-Hartley also points to several pieces of marketing research and initiatives, such as audience concert choice rationales, online media content preferences, and the role of the TSO Chamber Soloists to demonstrate how the printed programmes fit into the larger picture of encouraging a personal connection between the orchestra and the listener. She finds that listeners search for “a direct connection and ... [they are] hungry for content.”³⁸⁰ For Dr. Chan-Hartley, the intuitive, descriptive and socioculturally-focused programme content provides a means of legitimizing the genre contemporaneously by attributing value and facilitating a personal connection to a work, similar to what Boothe describes. For the listener already familiar with art music and genre-normative modes of listening, it provides an anchor point from which they can listen, draw comparisons, and understand the work perhaps in a new way from previously. For those less familiar with the work or genre-normative orchestral listening, it removes some of the obstacles of the opaque complexity of the subgenre, providing a contextual guide to the background, introducing new ways of listening without the distancing denseness of a theoretical analysis.

Given the interview subject’s education and experience, it is not surprising that curiosity and education are encouraged in their listeners. As discussed in Chapter three, musicians undertake a rigorous and unique education that develops their listening skills in particular genre-normative directions; a formal education designed to develop autonomous reflexive listening and high technical, theoretical, and artistic skills (applied in both listening and performing) practiced and developed over the course of the majority of their lives. Encultured in this range of highly-developed modes of listening, the musicians assume that the same enjoyment and satisfaction can be achieved by their audiences through facilitation of their curiosity and desire to learn more about the music.

Overall, the *Key* programmes are a valuable update to the concert programme format. They demonstrate an awareness of modern trends, updating the image of the orchestra and make information intuitive and easy to digest by using clear formatting and nuance-rich conversational language. Rather than a disposable leaflet used only for its performance order, it arguably becomes a more permanent, educational resource providing supplementary information to those who desire it. The concert

³⁷⁹ Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016.

³⁸⁰ Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016.

programmes tie together the underlying philosophy of the orchestra towards the listening practices and are furthermore public relation tools that promote a more personal connection between orchestra and listener (discussed further below). Programme notes help guide listening and are complemented by the TSO's other supplementary activities in attempt to supplement music education. Most recently, the TSO has also worked towards opening up new possibilities for supplementing educational initiatives through interactive online media.

4.2.3 E-Learning Platform

The TSO's e-learning platform is intended to familiarize audiences with Canadian content and to provide a new way for listeners to interact with the orchestra and the listening experience. It was launched in January 2017 as part of the larger Canada Mosaic Sesquicentennial Project. Although multi-faceted, I focus only on the role of the interactive video interface in promoting the acquisition and development of genre-normative listening competencies in users. At the time of writing, three activities are available as part of the platform and each is built around its integrated interactive video capabilities; the Listening Room, a lesson on *Inuit Games* (a work recently with the TSO performed by Inuit throat singers and full orchestra,) and an interactive performance of "O Canada" performed in twelve languages. As the Canada Mosaic progresses in the 2017-2018 season, other works and lessons will be added, likely using the same interactive video interface.

As part of the Canada Mosaic Project for the Canadian Sesquicentennial, the e-learning activities are built around Canadian music and culture and are designed to help foster Canadian identity in art music.³⁸¹ Interactive video features as the central focus of all three activities and will be central to the project as it continues, allowing the listener to control different aspects of the performance in real time. It is used primarily to give the listener control of the camera angle during the performance, although the performance of the national anthem allows the change in language instead. The orchestral videos allow for the toggling of different cameras placed throughout the orchestra to give a view of each instrumental group, thus facilitating the control of audio-visual pairing, leading the listener through exercises that intuitively develop their listening skills in a variety of ways, described below. Although only in its earliest stages, the e-learning platform has many applications and is an innovative and ingenious way for

³⁸¹ Canadian composers, musicians, and intellectuals have felt a conscious anxiety in regards to a perceived lack of a coherent Canadian musical identity, formalised with the creation of the 1949 Massey Commission. Many composers have written their own essays on the topic, most notably: R. Murray Schafer, *R. Murray Schafer on Canadian music*, (Toronto: Arcana Editions, 1984).

developing listening skills while also expanding the TSO’s educational program, despite its initial technical flaws. Although the e-learning platform was launched in 2017, I include it in the current discussion because it demonstrates not only a clever approach to online education, but also clearly demonstrates the core beliefs of the orchestra in terms of their perception of audience listening practices.

The video interface itself consists of a medium- sized embedded video player which fills the right-hand side of the screen, as seen in the figure below. To its left is an interactive graphic featuring a bird’s-eye view of standard orchestral stage layout, divided and labeled by instrument. Each section has a small icon depicting its representative instrument and indicating an approximate camera location. This particular configuration of the interactive video interface is available for the Listening Room activity and the *Inuit Games* lesson.

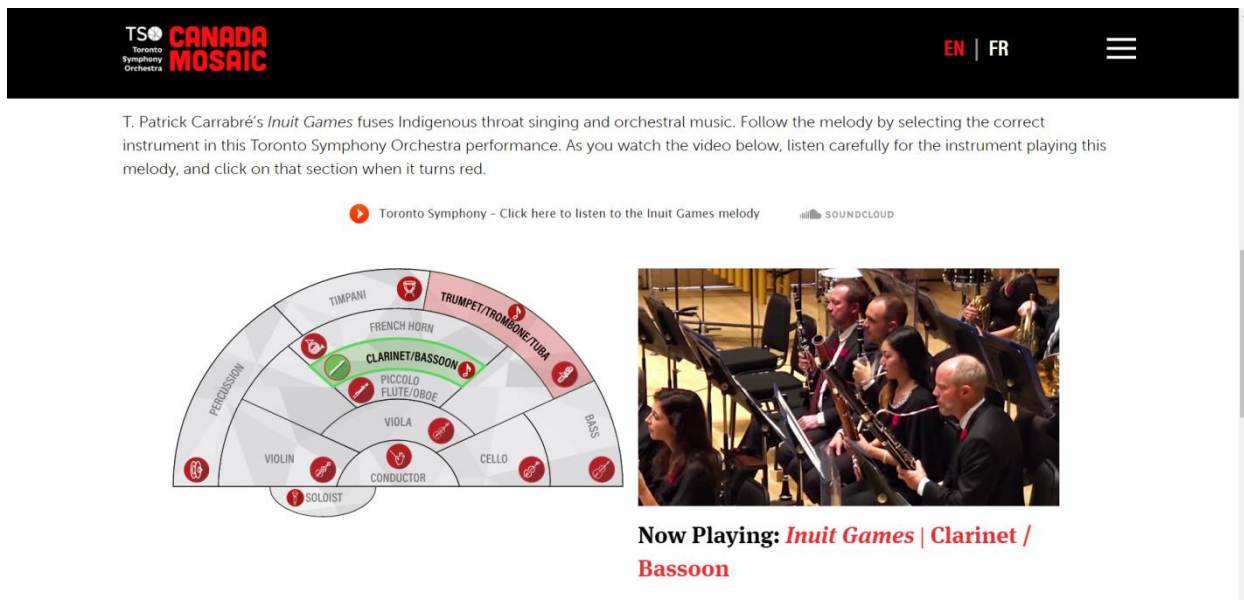


Figure 4 *Inuit Games* activity on the TSO's E-Learning platform.³⁸²

In the Listening Room, the video platform is used in its most simple form and allows for a self-directed exploration of the orchestra through the performance of *Inuit Games* by T. Patrick Carrabré, recorded live on November 11, 2016.³⁸³ The listener is prompted to toggle between the camera angles of each instrumental group by using the graphic of the orchestra seating map. Clicking on the instrumental group immediately changes camera angles without a break in the performance’s audio or video playback,

³⁸² Toronto Symphony Orchestra, “Inuit Games: Introduction to Inuit Music,” *Toronto Symphony Orchestra*, accessed January 19, 2017, <http://canadamosaic.tso.ca/elearning/inuit-games-introduction-to-indigenous-music/>

³⁸³ Other works by Canadian composers will be added throughout the Canada Mosaic series in the 2016-2018 seasons.

mimicking the eye's ability to focus on different members of the orchestra throughout a live performance. There is also a "Director's Cut" option which changes between camera angles automatically according to the musical content and the editor's choices, similar to the standard orchestral concert video format.

Entitled *Inuit Games: Introduction to Indigenous Music*, the lesson features the same interactive video interface as that of the Listening Room. The page includes a written introduction of the activity, an overview of Inuit vocal games and Carrabr 's *Inuit Games*. This is followed by a video interview with Inukshuk Aksalnik, (one of the two singers featured in *Inuit Games*,) and the composer. The instructions read: "Follow the melody by selecting the correct instrument in this Toronto Symphony Orchestra performance. As you watch the video below, listen carefully for the instrument playing this melody, and click on that section when it turns red."³⁸⁴ This is followed by an embedded SoundCloud audio file in which Peter Oundjian introduces the melody from the Inuit Games which is then played in isolation for easier identification. Whenever the student is ready, they begin the video using the play button and then toggle between the camera angles as directed. A link at the bottom of the page directs the user to a PDF containing teacher resources for implementing the lesson and integrating it into music and social sciences classes for grades 4-6 in the Ontario Curriculum.³⁸⁵

The third activity is another interactive video platform where the listener watches and listens to the Canadian national anthem and can toggle between "12 of the most commonly spoken languages nationwide."³⁸⁶ These include English, French, Mandarin, Punjabi, Spanish, German, Italian, Arabic, Tagalog, Cree, ASL, and Tamil. The lyrics in their original languages are printed to the left of the video, and the verses are highlighted in red as they are sung. The vocalist's performance is mixed into the audio in postproduction, and the video shows the singer standing beside a video projection of the orchestral performance.

Although these platforms demonstrate a very robust and coherent vision using relatively simple tools for wide applicability, there are still issues with its initial execution. At the time of writing, the e-learning platform had been available for less than a week, and it is assumed that many of its issues will be addressed as more activities are added. In the recording of *Inuit Games*, the location of the camera angles is insufficient, with cameras placed at the edges of sections, often blocking the view of the musicians or

³⁸⁴ Toronto Symphony Orchestra, "Inuit Games: Introduction to Inuit Music," *Toronto Symphony Orchestra*, accessed January 19, 2017, <http://canadamosaic.tso.ca/elearning/inuit-games-introduction-to-indigenous-music/>

³⁸⁵ Carlie Howell, "*Inuit Games: Vocal Compositions about the Canadian Arctic: A Classroom application for TSO e-learning*" Canada Mosaic, *Toronto Symphony Orchestra*, [2017] accessed January 20, 2017, <http://canadamosaic.tso.ca/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/FINAL-InuitGames-LessonPlan.pdf>

³⁸⁶ Toronto Symphony Orchestra, "Our Shared Anthem," Canada Mosaic, *Toronto Symphony Orchestra* [2017], January 19, 2017 <http://canadamosaic.tso.ca/anthem/>

giving only a profile view. This produces an occasionally misleading sightline, disallowing the isolation of an instrumental group and sometimes obscuring entire groups, which proves frustrating. Admittedly, problem of the camera angles will likely be fixed in subsequent videos. It is also likely that because the concert was recorded live with full orchestra, there may have been limited options for camera placement that would not interfere with the audience's, musicians' or conductor's lines of sight. Noting additionally, due to the complexity of the piece and its use of a non-standard melody, the activity provided some challenges in distinguishing between melody, counter-melody, and harmony that will make the game interesting for a variety of levels, but quite difficult for some younger or inexperienced audiences tackling both motive and instrument identification concurrently. It may be useful to expand the repertoire after the completion of the Mosaic Project to include standard orchestral canon as well.

The interactive video platform has important implications understanding and developing audience's modes of listening. Traditionally, the video portion of an orchestral performance is curated by a video editor, whose aim is to compliment, (without overpowering,) the musical content through unobtrusively directing the listener's eyes to particular instrumental groups or the conductor, thereby reinforcing musically important lines through audio-visual pairing or other aesthetic aim. Often, these videos are heavily geared towards showcasing the conductor or soloist, if applicable. Allowing the listener to curate their own experience of the music makes the listener more aware of different aspects of the music and of their own control by eliminating a certain level of passivity inherent to the curated music video format.

In order to focus, listeners often pair their aural and visual faculties by harkening most to the object which they can see. Designed to focus more acutely and practiced more frequently, the sense of sight is often used as a listening tool—similar to the way in which a listener will demonstrate they are “paying attention” or harkening to someone's words by looking at them, or why a listener can focus on someone's lips to better understand their speech. During a live performance, the listener directs their focus on different activities on stage, which can impact what they hear and how they understand the music.³⁸⁷ Vice-President of Innovation and cellist, Adrian Fung believes the control given by the interactive video platform will give more autonomy, agency, and ownership of the genre to a cautious audience. The interactivity of the video makes the listener understand; “that you are in control, not only when you are in front of your computer and able to change the camera angles, but you are in control of

³⁸⁷ William Forde Thompson, Phil Graham, and Frank A. Russo, "Seeing music performance: Visual influences on perception and experience," *Semiotica*, no. 156 (2005): 203-227; Rolf Inge Godøy and Marc Leman, *Musical Gestures: Sound, Movement and Meaning* (New York: Routledge, 2010). Jennifer Huang and Carol Lynne Krumhansl, "What does seeing the performer add? It depends on musical style, amount of stage behavior, and audience expertise," *Musicae Scientiae* 15, no. 3 (2011): 343-364.

what you are listening to when you are sitting live in the audience. It makes people more active as listeners.”³⁸⁸ The manipulation of camera angles, mimicking the eye in the concert hall, can help listeners feel more in control of their listening experience by making the pairing of the audio-video senses more obvious and purposeful through their manual manipulation. By taking away the live curation of the visual stimulus to which they are accustomed, the listener is jarred out of the passivity when they are not able to see the characteristics to which they listen (such as the melody,) thereby bringing to their attention their own agency and encouraging them to explore the different sounds through navigating the visual concert space.

A large part of the genre-adequate autonomous reflexive mode of listening involves the ability to harken to and simultaneously understand large and small structures unfolding in the music. Often these include the interplay of musical ideas as they are passed between the instruments, (such as in a hocketed melody,) or the call and response of melody and counter melody. Without the formal musical training that allows the listener to symbolically comprehend the music through an understanding of common structures, forms and stylistic devices (often using such tools as specialised vocabulary, musical notation, and harmonic analysis,) it is difficult to teach these concepts or develop the listener’s competency in this area. Through autonomous exploration or a structured lesson using the e-learning modules, the listener becomes more attuned to the interplay of musical characteristics through exploration and play, and is subsequently more aware of the interlocking relationships found in the music and of their own ability to manipulate their aural focus. Like the printed programs, or the pre-concert chats, it can provide an anchor, like Crow and Dr. Chan-Hartley’s concept of having something “to hold on to.”³⁸⁹ The listener can follow with their eyes the element to which they wish to listen, thus training their ear onto those elements: recognizing the sound of a particular instrumental group, following a hocketed melody, or identifying transmutations of musical themes for example.

Fung concludes that this kind of curiosity and play in the online modules will contribute to more active listeners.³⁹⁰ In this sense, active can be read in either connotation of the word. Active listening in the musical sense often relates to a more analytical or reflective process, which could be encouraged by listening in this exploratory way. It can also refer more generally to the process of listening where there is a sense of agency, engagement, or control. By spearheading a project that encourages the intuitive and explorative listening development, Fung fills his own personal mandate as a musician and decision-maker

³⁸⁸ Adrian Fung, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 1, 2016

³⁸⁹ Jonathan Crow, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, December 6, 2016; Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016.

³⁹⁰ Adrian Fung, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 1, 2016.

at the TSO, to promote the audience's active listening.³⁹¹ He connects these kinds of intuitive learning facilitation projects with the development of listening, evoking the analogy of the development of taste in food over the course of a person's life. As a person practices their listening, explores the repertoire, and learns new skills, they are able to appreciate new and more complex types of music. The feeling of understanding and the personal connection gained through these experiences, the self-perpetuating cycle of curiosity, understanding and engagement, promotes the desired attitudes and listening competencies inherent in the genre-normative mode of listening.

Fung uses the analogy of a Disney or Pixar film to explain the multiple applications for the interactive video interface. Where Pixar films are targeted largely to children, there are allusions, jokes and storylines (not to mention the interest of observing animation development or other production-related elements) that also appeal to the parents and adults who watch it, while remaining largely invisible to the children. In the same way, while the interactive video component of the e-learning site has fun, game-like capabilities, it is equally relevant for curious listeners, musical enthusiasts or even a utility on a more technical level for student musicians. For the conservatory or other upper-level musician, it provides a performance resource unparalleled by other arts institutions.³⁹² By keeping the instrument-specific camera trained the entire length of the performance on a particular section or instrument, the listener could theoretically watch the TSO musicians perform from a close distance; rarely possible in a traditional concert situation. The user could watch particularities of the musicians' performance—such as their technique, choice of bowing or embouchure position, and other nuances—that would otherwise not be readily observable except through private tutelage. Explaining the possibilities for this niche audience, Fung identifies that while the average editor would never think of the interest of these kinds when curating the orchestral videos, the particularity of the musicians' listening interests (or research) like the ones that Crow describes make these kinds of highly specialised camera angles desirable. Meanwhile, the interactive video and other aspects of the e-learning platform are also designed for general audiences and their interests. Similar to many audience members' interest in pre-concert chats, programme notes, or other opportunities to learn more about the orchestra, the e-learning platform caters to the curious orchestral enthusiast. The listener can enjoy the novelty of the interaction while also learning more about the orchestra and the musical skills described above.

Despite being in its early stages, the e-learning platform shows promise as an educational tool with many applications and, along with the Dr. Chan-Hartley's Listening Guides, demonstrates that the

³⁹¹ Adrian Fung, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 1, 2016.

³⁹² The quality of this will greatly improve as camera the logistics of camera placement improves to give better framed views of the musicians.

TSO is heading in an innovative and thoughtful direction in integrated educational materials. The variety of supplementary materials described above—pre-concert chats, on-stage introductions, printed programmes, children’s programming, and the e-learning platform—reflect the TSO’s attitude towards their audiences and genre-normative listening. The Orchestra, similarly to others of a similar size, attempt to provide voluntary activities, materials, and initiatives that help develop their audience’s autonomous reflexive listening in response to their perception of their audience’s curiosity and desire to learn. These activities in turn encourage a stronger relationship between the individual listener, their experience at the concert, and their relationship to the orchestra.

4.3 Assumption of Audience Immersive Listening and the “Washing Over” Metaphor

The above examples demonstrate the Orchestra’s conception of adequate modes of listening in the concert hall. Through facilitation and prompts, the Orchestra encourages autonomous reflexive listening, although a form of it which is less strict than some other historical variations. This pared-down version of idealized bourgeois concert hall listening aims to be an accessible mode of listening that concentrates on fostering curiosity and passion for the genre and encourages the listener’s to develop their modes of listening. However, the direction in which the Orchestra’s facilitation initiatives nudge its audiences does not necessarily reflect how the interview subjects perceived their audiences, who they felt did not always share their own autonomous reflexive listening practices.

Many of the interview subjects framed their descriptions of their own listening practices by comparing them to their perception of those of their audiences. Two trends emerged simultaneously and seemingly in opposition with one another. Firstly and as previously described, audiences were seen to demonstrate continuous curiosity and appreciated learning about the works they were going to hear, adopting autonomous reflexive listening practiced by the musicians (albeit in a more extreme form,) and encouraged by the orchestra. Secondly, that the audience’s primary mode of listening was characterized by letting the music “wash over” them. Rose, Crow, and Dr. Chan-Hartley all cited the audiences’ ability and practice of letting the music “wash over” them using the same turn of phrase, and as a form distinct from, but equally valid as, their own. Furthermore, each of them expressed some desire to undertake this mode of listening themselves when they were acting as audience members in an attempt to better assimilate with their perception of the normative concert hall mode of listening, as described in Chapter three. This highlights how interview subjects are aware of their own modes of listening and the difficulty with which it is to stray from frequently practiced or engrained modes. Stockfelt addresses these concerns

when he explains that the choice of mode of listening is neither “totally free nor accidental,” and in addition to constraints by situation and genre for example, it depends on the listeners’ own competencies and awareness of their control over their listening skillset.³⁹³

Furthermore, it demonstrates that there are competing views of what is considered the normative mode of listening for the concert hall. While both popular culture and musical academia often reinforce the notion of autonomous reflexive listening as genre-normative and adequate for the concert hall, (irrespective of whether it is done in a positive or negative light,) the musicians do not believe that this is necessarily the case. While they themselves usually practice an extreme form of autonomous reflexive listening in accordance to their education and profession, they believe their audiences practice one that is less reflexive and intellectually-informed, rather opting for a more sensorial, perceptual, and immediate experience of the music as it washes over them. The two competing views of what constitutes the normative mode of listening for the concert hall is likely a contributing factor to dissatisfactions caused by unfulfilled expectations or miscommunications.

In the philosophy of music, the argument over appropriate listening has its own precedent with Kivy, Levinson, Eggebrecht, and others who conceive of listening through dichotomies of small and large-scale structural understanding or primarily emotional or intellectual attitudes. German musicologist Eggebrecht’s theory dictates a two-tiered musical understanding whereby the first is aesthetic understanding (*Ästhetisches Verstehen*) which is followed by an epistemic understanding (*Erkennendes Verstehen*).³⁹⁴ Aesthetic understanding is perceptual, closely linked to the emotional response that Eggebrecht believes forms a basis of all musical experience. Epistemic understanding, mediated by language (that is to say, the vocabulary created music theory in both its broad or narrow sense,) builds on the aesthetic and allows conceptual reflection, relating to information learned outside of the work of art.³⁹⁵ Eggebrecht’s theory lacks the nuance of many other theories of understanding and makes questionable conclusions as to the objectivity of musical understanding. Nonetheless, it reflects how these kinds of divisions between aesthetic and intellectual approaches to music have a precedent in the literature, an attempt to separate and codify these kinds of approaches to listening.

Meanwhile, Levinson and Kivy feud on the merits of architectonist and concatenationist understanding of music. Levinson believes that musical understanding is mostly made up by the moment-by-moment understanding of small-scale structures, and how the listener follows them in the

³⁹³ Stockfelt, 133-134.

³⁹⁴ Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, *Understanding music: the nature and limits of musical cognition*, translated by Richard Evans, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

³⁹⁵ Eggebrecht, *Understanding Music*; and Erikki Huovinen, “Understanding Music,” in *The Routledge Companion to Philosophy and Music*, ed. Theodore Gracyk and Andrew Kania (New York: Routledge, 2011), 125.

music as it unfolds, more similar to Eggebrecht's notion of aesthetic listening, and arguably an aspect of the observed "washing over" metaphor.³⁹⁶ Kivy's architectonism advocates for understanding the larger-scale structures of music, invoking intellectual reference and reflection as an integral part of adequate musical understanding. His theory is similar to Eggebrecht's epistemic understanding and describes a listening approach similar to traditional autonomous reflexive listening.³⁹⁷ Irrespective of the content of their theories, Eggebrecht, Levinson, Kivy (and others like Davies and Scruton,) largely group perceptual, emotionally-focused, moment-by-moment sensorial experiences of music in one group, and intellectually informed, reflexive listening on the other. Concurrent with general musical thought, they usually privilege the more intellectually-involved processes, thus clearly advocating for autonomous reflexive listening, the idealized form throughout the history of Western art music.³⁹⁸ These theories of understanding, despite their flaws, are nonetheless a reflection of the apparent conflicts between the "washing over" metaphor, describing the perceptual, moment-by-moment, aesthetic experience, and the intellectually informed, referential autonomous reflexive listening. It is unclear whether the interview subjects were already familiar with this line of dichotomous arguments outside of the generally understood ideas of listening taken for granted in the art music tradition.

These arguments of intellectually or emotionally driven listening tend to be on the extremes and should not constitute the defining characteristic for labeling a listener. As Lilliestam demonstrates, there is danger of using these kinds of reductive theories as they tend to reduce the listener to their listening strategy; determining that "they *are* a certain kind of listener type," thus eliminating their agency and ability to change along with the situation.³⁹⁹ While it is useful to be able to describe that which a listener expects from the listening experience and how to best facilitate it, these arguments miss the larger picture of musical experience and that certain listening approaches are best suited to certain genres and subgenres. Stockfelt's theory is useful here as he would label all these approaches as different modes of listening. The moment-by-moment perceptual and sensorial listening becomes—alongside autonomous reflexive listening—adequate for the genre dependent on the sociocultural conventions and social situation. For Stockfelt, the "disagreement between different theoretical schools can be seen as oppositions between different autonomous adequacy ideals."⁴⁰⁰ Furthermore, he would argue that allowing the music to wash over in this manner without the highly-specialized theoretical language and intellectual work that goes into autonomous reflexive listening is a less extreme form of listening that

³⁹⁶ Jerrold Levinson, *Music in the Moment*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997).

³⁹⁷ Peter Kivy, *New Essays on Musical Understanding*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 2001).

³⁹⁸ Stephen Davies, *Musical Understandings and other essays on the philosophy of music*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Roger Scruton, *Understanding Music: Philosophy and Interpretation*, (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2016).

³⁹⁹ Lilliestam, "Research on Music Listening," 4.

⁴⁰⁰ Stockfelt, 139.

more closely resembles listening strategies for other genres. Like the Orchestra, while recognizing different approaches to listening and encouraging a less stringent form of autonomous reflexive listening, accepts both of these concurrent approaches to the concert experience.

Different ideas of adequate modes of listening can, to a certain extent, coexist freely within the listening environment, provided they do not infringe too much on others' experiences. The concert hall poses an interesting dilemma however where, because of the relatively strict code of conduct (compared to other genres), there is little transparency on the listening expectations. It is easy in the modern concert hall where varied levels and types of music education and background results in each listener holding a disparate repertoire of modes of listening without being conscious of the diversity which surrounds them. The concert hall listener may act in relative uniformity in the concert hall, practicing their idea of the most adequate mode of listening, without ever knowing whether or how their neighbour differs. Like any other kind of diversity, this can result in a rich variety of experiences and interpretations of the music, but can also result in misunderstandings or misplaced expectations of the experience without adequate communication. The orchestra must make a concerted effort to understand its audience and its expectations in order to facilitate them.

The metaphor of washing over also had a strong link to the interview subject's perception of their audiences seeking out orchestral repertoire for its relaxing or calming properties. Interestingly, while the interview subjects reported that their audiences found the orchestral genre "relaxing" and "calming," they themselves were often confused by these labels. Retelling her experience with one patron who described how much she loved coming to the orchestra to unwind, Rose voiced her confusion; "And I'm thinking 'What are you listening to?' Because if you go hear a Shostakovich Symphony, you're not going to be calmed down!"⁴⁰¹ One study discussed by Baker finds a similar dichotomy, finding that audiences overwhelmingly classified a classical concert as both "relaxing" and "demanding."⁴⁰² The TSO's own marketing research also found similarly, and decided to build on the idea of the relaxing and escapist view of the orchestral concert, with the 2017/2018 marketing strategy built around the idea of "escaping" into music.⁴⁰³

Despite the Orchestra drawing on the idea of relaxation and escapism to bring in new audiences, Rose feels that audiences should not limit themselves to only this small subsection of the repertoire that

⁴⁰¹ Wendy Rose, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, November 10, 2016.

⁴⁰² Research Digest for the Arts: Classical Music, Peter Walshe / Millward Brown (ACE, 1992) in Baker, *Stop Reinventing the Wheel*, 37.

⁴⁰³ Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016.

fits into the “relaxing” subgenre of orchestral repertoire particularly prominent in the Light Classics series.

We’re supposed to be rattling their cages too. [Relaxation] is not the entire role... Life is discordant, complex and very emotional and you want to experience the full range... There are times when you really feel that the audience has been really moved in a meaningful way, and not... sentimentally, they’ve understood that they’ve just gone through a war-like experience.. And that’s very gratifying. And you can feel it, as a performer.⁴⁰⁴

Rose highlights a theme often brought up in the interview: the Orchestra encouraged its audiences to expand the repertoire, which Dr. Chan-Hartley described as laterally moving between different series, and what Fung described through the metaphor of the development of someone’s taste in food. Rose sees it rather as the experience of the orchestra as an experience of art: that while some works can help promote relaxation; it also has the power to move its audiences in more meaningful ways. However, in her conception, it does not matter what attitude the listener holds, aesthetic or reflexive, as long as they are willing to expand their listening to include more diverse repertoire and experience.

While it is easy to put these two approaches to listening at odds with each other, arguing over their relative merit and adequacy, they are not necessarily always conflictual. Both encourage autonomous and focused listening, curiosity, active exploration, and creativity on the part of the listener. It is important for the orchestra to continue to search for the best ways to facilitate their audiences’ varied modes of listening, but it is not necessary (or constructive) to build a greater wall between different modes of listening as might be suggested by the literature. Stockfelt’s theories could be used more extensively to explore the subtleties in the varying approaches in further research to avoid these issues in future.

While many of the supplementary activities clearly privilege autonomous reflexive listening, the Orchestra also attempts to facilitate its audience through more wide-reaching mean. In addition to providing ancillary activities to expressly encourage autonomous reflexive listening in its audience, the orchestra also tries to reach its audience through forming a personal connection with them. Whereas the supplementary activities are generally of most interest to those who wish to expand traditional autonomous reflexive listening, fostering a personal connection is a way for the orchestra to address the needs of all audience members. Furthermore, the addition of the TSO Chamber Soloists provides a

⁴⁰⁴ Wendy Rose, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, November 10, 2016.

medium for experimentation, allowing the Orchestra to try facilitation strategies or changes to the concert hall format.

4.4 The Importance of the Personal Connection between Orchestra and Listener

All interview subjects believed strongly that a strong personal connection with audiences was necessary and could, in conjunction with exposure and education, increase audiences' enjoyment of orchestral music and contribute to the well-being of the orchestra, artistically and financially. Marketing initiatives over the past several years have focused on accentuating this personal connection using language that reinforces the intimate experience of listening to orchestral music, the hall, and quasi-ownership of the orchestra by its audiences. The *Subscription Series* pamphlet used the tagline "The Symphony of Your City," and previous years have used "Your TSO" as the central slogan of their ad campaign. Several of the interviewees used the phrase "Your TSO" in connection with describing their relationship with their audiences and. Interestingly, it remained as a tagline and was not altered to fit the grammar of the sentence, indicating that it may be a phrase often used to talk about the function of the orchestra in rehearsals or other behind the scenes contexts as well as in public-facing promotional material. The phrase also frequently appears in relation to subscriber, donor, and donation material, implying the symbolic ownership granted through financial support, frequently seen in arts marketing material for soliciting donations.

Outside of the linguistic aspects, musicians interviewed often expressed the idea of personal connection within their own interactions with their audiences. All of the interview subjects described their relationship with their audiences as a rewarding part of their job. One interviewer particularly commented on the loyalty of the audiences, which she frequently witnessed by their support by applause for particular soloists and through speaking to individual listeners.⁴⁰⁵ Others shared anecdotes of loyal subscribers, one of whom had attended their 500th TSO concert which the musicians commemorated by presenting her with a signed photo and letters.⁴⁰⁶ Fung explains the importance of a personal connection to dispel common misconceptions of the genre and to bring life into an art form often perceived as socially austere or cold:

⁴⁰⁵ Anonymous I, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, May 5, 2016.

⁴⁰⁶ Leslie Knowles and Mark Tetrault, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, September 27, 2016.

The reason why we say it's your TSO is because we don't want people to think that the TSO is some ivory tower; we want [them] to see the TSO as ... something that you can feel, you can touch, you can communicate with, you can interact with.⁴⁰⁷

This reflects knowledge of audience development research (and understood generally by musicians through experience,) whereby some audiences find the rituals and general experience of concert-going forbidding, austere, or impersonal which may be mitigated by some feeling of social interaction elsewhere.⁴⁰⁸ The strictest variations of idealized bourgeois concert hall listening portrayed in the media is austere and silent, with little to no social interaction, despite the characterisation of other genres of music as highly social art forms. The modern orchestra must balance the genre-normative expectation for relative silence in the hall, with a more open an accessible atmosphere which the TSO attempts through dismantling the barriers between the musicians and their audiences.

The TSO attempts to form personal connections with their audiences on a number of levels. One of the most cited by the interview subjects was the on-stage introductions performed by musicians for several months of the 2015-2016 season under ex-CEO Jeff Melanson. Begun as a way to encourage financial donations, the musicians found that they were an effective way of breaking down the barrier between themselves and their listeners, giving the musicians their own individual voice. Many of the musicians wished to begin conversations with their audience members and wished to form some form of relationship with them, speaking to listeners from the stage before and after concerts or during intermission, in the Maestro's Lounge, and one musician even inviting children to try her violin before the children's concerts begin.⁴⁰⁹

While the musicians expressed that these kinds of interactions contributed to humanizing the genre and the experience, Fung asserted that interest in personal interactions with the musicians spring from modern consumption of reality TV and social media. He explains that the audiences; "love hearing from the musicians, they love hearing why they like what they are playing or why they don't like what they are playing; they want that honesty, they want that connection."⁴¹⁰ Furthermore, he posits that: "people want to have information coming directly from the source, they want to be part of that creative process; they want to see what you're up to."⁴¹¹ While there has been resistance to integrating audience participation into the genre, recent years have seen a rise in social media and other interactions between

⁴⁰⁷ Adrian Fung, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 1, 2016.

⁴⁰⁸ Dobson, "New Audiences for Classical Music," 113.

⁴⁰⁹ Leslie Knowles and Mark Tetrault, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, September 27, 2016.

⁴¹⁰ Adrian Fung, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 1, 2016.

⁴¹¹ Adrian Fung, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 1, 2016.

orchestras and their public in North America, including the TSO.⁴¹² The treatment of musicians as celebrities (albeit in a much more subdued manner than its pop music counterparts) is not new, with the nineteenth century cult-like followings of composers and performers such as Liszt providing well-cited examples of art music's own set of stars and fans. However, the commonplace desire for having a stronger personal connection, including "behind the scenes" information on production or hearing about the personal lives of musicians, is undoubtedly still strong. More research must be done to ascertain whether there is a causal effect and to what extent it draws from assimilation of other genre's genre-normative modes of listening into the world of art music.

Creating a personal connection with audiences is not easily addressed in the current orchestral situation. Due to the difficulty of breaking preconceptions of bourgeois concert hall listening, in addition to reasons of logistics and practicality inherent to an orchestra and its venue with nearly ninety musicians, the TSO can only push the boundaries of facilitating their listeners or experimenting with new forms to a degree. Stockfelt writes how genres are very closely related to their environment, citing Fabbri that "how you are seated says more about the music that will be performed than a poster does."⁴¹³ Within the concert hall situation, where Roy Thomson Hall's design necessarily separates the audience from the musicians, it is difficult to create a dialogue, let alone a creative one. Similarly, an attempt to too drastically alter the social norms within the confines of the Hall, to force them into familiarity, can often come off as gimmicky, hollow, or fall flat. In order to experiment with questions of the relationship of audience and orchestra, (among other reasons described below,) Jonathan Crow began the TSO Chamber Soloists; a small group of the principle musicians of the orchestra that had the flexibility to move outside the hall, and experiment with the concert format.

4.4.1 TSO Chamber Soloists

In the 2015/2016 season, the TSO Chamber Soloists performed six concerts in conjunction with the Decades Project in Roy Thomson Hall. Performing works from the twentieth century, they played short concerts facing backwards on the Roy Thomson Hall stage, oriented towards the choir loft to an audience of concert-goers an hour before the orchestral concert, or, small concerts in various spaces in Toronto (see Figure 6 for a list of concerts performed at Roy Thomson Hall). All of the concerts were free, with those preceding a concert included in the featured concert's ticket price. Although Crow admits

⁴¹² One anonymous interview subject jokingly commented that the "TSO had finally discovered the internet." Anonymous I, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, May 5, 2016.

⁴¹³ Fabbri, "A Theory of Musical Genres: Two Applications," *Popular Music Perspectives*, David Horn and Philip Tagg, ed. [Göteborg and Exter: International Association of the Study of Popular Music, 1981], 57 In Stockfelt, "Adequate Modes of Listening," 136

that the Roy Thomson Hall stage was not altogether ideal for his aims, it does provide some of the chamber quality he was searching for.⁴¹⁴ In the converted space, illuminated so as to obscure the terraced seats of the hall, the staged area creates the illusion of a small, intimate space, corresponding to the intimacy in sound produced by the soloists' voices.

October 21, 2015	Debussy, <i>Danse sacrée et danse profane</i> Ravel, <i>Introduction and Allegro</i>
November 25, 2015	Debussy, <i>Danse sacrée et danse profane</i> Ravel, <i>Pavane pour une infante défunte</i> Charpentier, <i>Mélodie</i> Ravel, <i>Introduction and Allegro</i>
November 14, 2015	Dohnányi, <i>Serenade for String Trio</i>
May 26, 2016	Kodály, <i>Duo for Violin and Cello</i>
June 11, 2016	Stravinsky, Suite from <i>L'histoire du soldat</i>
	Stravinsky, Suite from <i>L'histoire du soldat</i>
Members: Nora Shulman, flute Joaquin Valdepeñas, clarinet Hedi Van Hoeson Gorton, harp Jonathan Crow, violin Mark Skazinetsky, violin Teng Li, viola Joseph Johnson, cello Michael Sweeney, bassoon Andrew McCandless, cornet Gordon Wolfe, trombone David Kent, percussion Jeffrey Beecher, double bass	

Table 2 TSO Chamber Soloists repertoire and members

In a smaller space, the musicians can speak to their audience without microphones and the audiences are usually sitting in a position where they can see each individual musician clearly; they are able to distinguish one from the other easily despite their uniform dress. In addition to being physically distinguishable, the musicians each perform a solo line within the work of music instead of as one of a homogenous instrumental group. Each musician has their own voice which converses with the others, intensified by the more dialogic language of small ensemble pieces compared to the monumentality of the symphony. A social genre, chamber music is expressly designed for these kinds of interactions; it is “intimate, carefully constructed music,” specifically for a private or domestic audience.⁴¹⁵ In contrast, the symphonic genre, particularly of the nineteenth century which makes up the bulk of the repertoire, is considered public music: “the all-embracing tone of the symphony was understood to represent the

⁴¹⁴ Jonathan Crow, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, December 6, 2016.

⁴¹⁵ Christina Bashford. "Chamber music." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed January 11, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/05379>.

emotions or ideas not merely of the individual composer but of an entire community, be it a city, a state, or the whole of humanity.”⁴¹⁶ In terms of musical content, intent, and environment, chamber music is designed to communicate more personally to the audience member. Crow summarises the difference in relationships between performing as an orchestral and a chamber musicians; “the smaller the space, the easier it is to have a conversation. I mean, one-on-one, a conversation is easy! One person to ten thousand, you’re basically just giving a speech.”⁴¹⁷ Here, the relative size of the space and the audience impact the types of communication possible. The non-verbal cues communicated by the relative proportions of the space, its layout, the proximity and interactions between listener and musician, in addition to the musical language produce a more or less personal experience for the audience member. By creating the illusion of a small space, using less musicians and a dialogic musical language performed by soloists, the ensemble attempts to reinforce the personal connection easily lost in the traditional symphonic concerts.

While musicians in the art world do not enjoy the same kind of cult following and mass interest as their pop music counterparts, members of the orchestra hope that this kind of ensemble could help listeners see some of the musicians more as individuals rather than as a uniform whole. Crow explains how some of the long-time members of the orchestra are favourites of the audience due in part to their solo performances at events outside of the standard orchestral concert. He sees the chamber ensemble as a means of allowing more members of the orchestra to become audiences’ favourites; where they feel they have a more personal connection or knowledge of the musician through closer interactions:

If we can create a situation where everyone in the orchestra is one of [the audience’s] favourites... and you feel like you’re more connected to *your* orchestra, from the audience’s perspective, [there is] a certain ownership of the orchestra; [which is what] we’re aiming for.⁴¹⁸

Echoing the Orchestra’s marketing campaign called “Your TSO,” Crow believes that the chamber soloists can contribute to better relationships with its audiences. He describes a relationship where audiences are able to recognize and name individual musicians, rather than seeing them as a single unit. It is likely that, at the beginning, these supplementary concerts will be attended by audiences who are already heavily involved with the orchestra as they are less advertised, seat fewer, and perform less well-known pieces. However, Crow sees the Chamber Soloists as having more flexibility in the method of addressing their

⁴¹⁶ Think here of Beethoven’s 9th symphony. Jan Larue, et al. "Symphony." *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, accessed March 22, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/27254pg2>.

⁴¹⁷ Jonathan Crow, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, December 6, 2016.

⁴¹⁸ Jonathan Crow, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, December 6, 2016.

audiences. In the 2015/2016 season, they performed concerts in the AGO and in various coffee shops and other small venues around the city, calling some of them “pop-up concerts,” following the recent trend in the city of these kinds of ephemeral experiences. Crow speaks of how these types of concerts give new possibilities for promoting art music and the TSO: “as the chamber soloists, we’re smaller, more flexible, so we *can* go into a coffee shop... and people can drink their coffee and listen to us, and ... tell their friends about us on their phone, as it’s happening.”⁴¹⁹ Crow believes that there is a lot of potential for moving the orchestra outside of the concert hall, experimenting with unconventional locations such as warehouses, or bringing the musicians to community centers, old-age homes, schools, or prisons. In a symphony orchestra, with its logistical constraints such as number of musicians (and their salaries), a large crew, the need for a large space with regulated temperature and adequate lighting, along with adequate space for audiences, these kinds of casual performances are not as possible. The Chamber Soloists, like other chamber ensembles, have the freedom to experiment with alternative spaces of concert formats, which, if successful, can perhaps be scaled-up for the larger group.

Along with the change in the venue, Crow also suggests a more drastic change to genre-normative modes of listening within these new spaces.

And I think one thing that you will see more from many orchestras in the future, is taking concerts into venues ... where people can walk around a little bit, people can go and get a drink, and come and listen, kind of stand, go wander to a different part of a warehouse or something, [where they can] hear the orchestra from a different way and be like “oh... the sound is different over here; that’s interesting! I like that tuba player, I’m going to walk closer to that so I can hear it more” Right? so we create venues and atmospheres so that people that want to have a little bit more of a modern experience—for lack of a better word—that want to feel like they can be engaged in it, have that chance.⁴²⁰

Crow uses the term “modern,” even if it may not be entirely intentional, or the best label in his opinion. However, what he indicates, is how this new space and less restrictive interactions with the orchestra are more in line with musical experiences in other genres and mediums; that it is no longer necessary (or perhaps desirable) to sit in a darkened room, that one should have the *option* to interact with the performance in new ways. Where walking around, speaking to friends, taking pictures, interacting with social media and eating are all forbidden or heavily discouraged activities in the concert hall (with drinking only recently been allowed in the last several years,) it is normal and encouraged in other spaces,

⁴¹⁹ Jonathan Crow, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, December 6, 2016.

⁴²⁰ Jonathan Crow, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, December 6, 2016.

and even in other musical spaces. Crow suggests an alternative to the preservationist argument of the concert hall which advocates for maintaining strict bourgeois concert hall listening practices. Instead of trying to force change into the genre-normative situation with its engrained social codes, he opts instead to translate the music into a new situation, thus adopting (or hybridizing) the adequate modes of listening of the new situation. Not only does this demonstrate the power that the situation holds on the modes of listening, but it also gives new possibilities to the genre in terms of reaching new audiences, and new artistic possibilities afforded by these spaces. It questions the necessity of autonomous concentrated modes of listening, where the musical content and the body of related knowledge is the sole focus of attention in the art music genre.

It is yet to be seen how these kinds of projects are received by audiences (and musicians,) and how they grow over the coming years. Other ensembles, like Tafelmusik's HausMusik, and Classical Revolution, as well as innovations done by Soundstreams have attempted similar projects with varying success in Toronto.⁴²¹ The translation of art music into spaces outside of the concert hall, or using alternative concert formats, are a rich area of study that has only now begun to be mined. It will be interesting to see if or how these kinds of initiatives will grow in the coming years.

The above example outlined by Crow demonstrates the convergence of several types of innovation but largely fall into changes to environment, and changes to the dominant manner of listening and its associated behaviour.⁴²² It is easiest for these two to be achieved at the same time; as we have seen, the environment in which a work is performed is closely linked to the genre itself. By changing the environment, the listener must renegotiate the most adequate mode of listening, and cannot automatically tread the most well-worn path to their preferred strategy. When the environment and genre are both conducive to listening, but not normative, the listener is forced into creating a hybrid between what they believe is the most normative for the environment, for the genre, and in the context of the social group within which they find themselves (including behavioural cues made by the musicians.) Thus, by pairing the two, the listener will be more susceptible to accepting new concert behaviours and etiquette, if they are not reliant on the knowledge of their previous experiences in the environment to dictate their behaviour. For example, it may be easier for a chamber group to elicit audience interaction, or more casual audience-musician relationships when performing in a public square where there is not otherwise a strict code of behaviour, than in a concert hall, where this is more practiced. However; make the dissonance between space and genre too large; or do so without a meaningful reason, it may be rejected

⁴²¹ Classical Revolution, while now digitally untraceable in Toronto, still flourishes in some American cities, while the popular Hausmusik program that blends Baroque music with a nightclub scene is beginning to gain ground.

⁴²² Not explored deeply, but also very meaningful, are changes to the musical content itself, such as the performance of new works that are written with these kinds of innovations in mind.

by the audience, become misunderstood, taken as satire, or fall into the trap of the gimmick, such as might occur if a chamber group performed in a unsuspecting nightclub in the manner of a live pop band, expecting its audience to dance. When there is no overlap between the categories of possible modes of listening, the listener is left stranded without the means to listen adequately.

Gimmicks often seen as such, because they are forcing changes in standard practice for their novelty value without considering the most adequate mode of listening appropriate for the genre or the appropriateness of the novelty item in the long-term. While the novelty of an event may be enjoyable, it must have some follow-through, as Fung explains:

We need to, yes, [...] have the James Bond night with the James Bond martinis, but let's not have it so that three days later when they've come back, that's it not just a night full of Mahler...without any activation in the lobbies; without anything that actually brings them in. We're actually not doing ourselves a favour when we don't have what I like to call the "value capture." The things that we're doing in a certain essence can't alienate from one to another.⁴²³

What Fung alludes to is how the gimmick harms more than it can attract; it must be long game that the Orchestra must try to attain, or at least have some kind of bridging mechanism that leads it back to the idea of the core function of the organization. This is because, as Stockfelt explains, modes of listening are learned, and learned within, and implicitly related to, an environment and a set of cultural codes. By straying too far from the listener's understanding of what the listener expects, it results in alienation or rejection of the genre completely. Expanding modes of listening is an incremental process that must be done with care and purpose.

Changes must be incremental and shaped with purpose in order that the listener has the means of expanding their modes of listening to encompass this new experience, rather than being thrown into a situation without the adequate tools or information to parse these different worlds together. In the same way that a listener must assimilate the musical language of a culture or genre in order to fully grasp the musical content, and only then incrementally push those borders to avoid complete rejection and labeling the music as "noise," so too does the performance's contexts be expanded slowly, rather than being blown apart.

⁴²³ Adrian Fung, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 1, 2016.

These kinds of projects are experiments in breaking the sociocultural conventions surrounding the performative context of art music without necessarily changing the musical content itself. While some may see it as a change in packaging, (which it undoubtedly is,) it constitutes a greater change than an update of public image. By changing the way that modern audiences interact with the music, it evolves them music's possible meanings and its possible cultural significances as well as the tools with which audiences can approach it, for good or for ill. Often, like the above example given by Crow, these changes are in favour of adopting practices (or environments) more attuned to those found in other genres or in modern social life more generally. These kinds of changes fall under the debate on the relative merits of preservationism and the utility of maintaining listening practices grown from nineteenth-century Romanticism. It asks whether the traditions of the bourgeois concert hall listening have intrinsic value and add in some way to the experience of the music, or whether they are preserved as a matter of form, habit, or stubbornness. For some, there is the philosophy that music should be listened to in the manner that the composer intended, requiring the knowledge and subsequent adjustment of modes of listening (and its associated environment and social conventions) dependent on the work. For others well practiced in the art-music genre, genre-normative bourgeois concert hall listening, with its autonomous reflexive approach to the music, is most appropriate for both the intellectually, or sensory-immersive experience of the music. For others still, the genre of art music should be performed within the context of modern western music more broadly, that it should deconstruct the nineteenth-century formal listening habits, and adopt ones more suited to contemporary society and its neighbouring genres.⁴²⁴ Adequate modes of listening are predicated on the shared knowledge of the culturally-determined codes, values, vocabulary, associations, and behaviours. As such, provided it moves slowly, making incremental and well thought-out changes, it can slowly encourage and shape performance norms in any of these directions. It is up to the musical ensemble to decide in which way it leads and to shape its performance accordingly through all of the means at its disposal.

The TSO has chosen to shape adequate modes of listening in Roy Thomson Hall to fit loosely within Stockfelt's concept of idealized bourgeois concert hall listening, with some flexibility by relaxing some etiquette, and bolstering educational initiatives to reach the broadest possible audiences. Perhaps the most interesting, it has witnessed, and encouraged, variations on this adequate mode of listening through different shaping mechanisms in different series of concerts simultaneously, such as its semi-staged, its masterworks, or the What Makes it Great? series. Nonetheless, it appears that the direction is towards a more relaxed, "modernized" concert format. Fung has hope that the TSO, among other musical groups, can, "move away from a preservationist kind of mindset," and that the ensemble can "engage with culture

⁴²⁴ Furthermore, this can be one and the same person, in different contexts, genres, periods in their life, social situations, or purely for the purpose of experimentation.

that they still believe is authentic to their name.”⁴²⁵ While the TSO still remains quite conventional in its environment and encouraged behaviours, programmes such as the TSO Chamber Soloists, its ancillary activities during particular special-event concerts (such as film screenings, or celebrations), more interactive educational activities and the like suggest the adoption of new directions.

5. Conclusions and Implications to Future Research and Practice

The current research recognizes the fractured state of the scholarship surrounding the modern orchestra and proposes to develop an alternative nuanced interdisciplinary approach to the issues facing the orchestral institution. At the centre of the debate are the disciplines and respective ideologies of arts administration and musicology and their different attitudes towards the orchestral concert and its audiences. Drawing from the sociologically-influenced discipline of New Musicology, I used Stockfelt’s theory of adequate modes of listening as a framework to re-examine the orchestral concert experience and structure through an alternative to the dominant marketing paradigm, in line with researchers such as Lilliestam and Sigurjonsson.

The current research investigates perceived modes of listening practiced at the TSO and the means of their facilitation. In particular, it asks how the genre-normative modes of listening were perceived, and how these were related to the ideas of “traditional” idealized bourgeois concert hall listening. Furthermore, it inquired into what modes of listening were facilitated by the orchestra through its supplementary and ancillary initiatives at the TSO, as it represents modern North American orchestras more generally. The research sought to probe the observed plurality and conflicts apparent in the literature and the practice of the orchestral concert.

Similar to other orchestras and to the research done by Baker and Pitts et al., TSO audiences were perceived to demonstrate some self-segmentation, attending concerts which they felt they would find satisfactory; segments which often correlated with demographic groups.⁴²⁶ Additionally, interview subjects felt that the segmented groups and their respective correlated behaviours and attitudes were also associated with different amounts and types of experience with the genre, conclusions which are also confirmed by the arts administration literature.⁴²⁷ Although the subscription packages and series built around specific subgenres of music and concert structures did not correlate one-to-one with specific

⁴²⁵ Adrian Fung, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 1, 2016.

⁴²⁶ Baker, “Stop Reinventing the Wheel”; Pitts et al., “Views of an Audience.”

⁴²⁷ Pitts, et al., “Views of an audience,” 78-82; Roose, “Many-Voiced or Unisono?,” 127; Baker, “Stop reinventing the wheel.”

demographic or listener groups, those found at the extremes were more easily categorized. Elderly audiences with conservative tastes were perceived to demonstrate a clear preference for Pops concerts that featured Broadway or music popular in the mid- to late- twentieth century. Concurrently, audiences who were perceived to have little previous exposure, or music education in orchestral music exhibited preferences for light classics well established in the common-practice canon and frequently featured in movies and on classical radio; this category of listeners also overlapped with the older demographic associated with the Pops concerts. Similar to the research highlighted by Roose and Chong, the TSO also found their audiences to be highly educated overall.⁴²⁸ Confirming Roose’s study, concerts featuring new music—or less commonly performed or difficult works from the twentieth and early twenty-first century—were overwhelmingly associated with younger audiences (that is, listeners under 45 years old), the TSOuncheck program, music students or intellectuals, who already held a strong background in music through either formal learning, performance or exposure.⁴²⁹ While Maitland and Baker would attribute these correlations to the aversion to risk, Sigurjonsson, Dobson, and Stockfelt would focus more on either these groups’ amount of exposure to the genre previously, or the value these particular groups placed on new experiences.⁴³⁰

The perception of these kinds of correlations at the TSO interpreted through the lens of Stockfelt’s theory of modes of listening is significant because they confirm marketing research in the literature, but allow for a more nuanced and aesthetically-focused interpretation that focuses on the listener’s relationship with the genre. By examining them through the lens of the theory of adequate modes of listening, we can understand how a listener’s previous experiences with music and their understanding of particular musical subgenres influences their choice, expectations, and understanding of a concert experience. Especially in a genre with a large learning curve of historical, cultural, and linguistic context and behavioural norms, it is important to understand how audiences self-segment and associate themselves with particular music and concert formats. If the aim is to expose existing audiences to broader musical repertoires, facilitators can use this information in order to prepare audiences for these new experiences, whether through educational initiatives, marketing campaigns, concert format, or a combination of these. If the aim is to bring in new audiences, organizers can focus on diminishing the barrier of entry to the genre; whether that be certain information to facilitate the adoption of behavioural norms, breaking down elitist connotations, providing contextual information, or programming a blend of

⁴²⁸ Roose, “Many –Voiced or Unisono?,” 243; Chong, *Arts Management*, 120-121.

⁴²⁹ Although, the majority of studies point out that younger audiences are a significantly smaller portion of the audience than other groups overall, causing much anxiety to the present/future irrelevance of the genre; Roose, “Many-Voiced or Unisono?,” 247.

⁴³⁰ Maitland, *A guide to Audience Development*; Baker, “Stop reinventing the wheel” ; Dobson, “New Audiences for Classical Music” ; Sigurjonsson, “Variations on the act of listening” ; Stockfelt, “Adequate modes of listening.”

works which provides a good balance of accessible and difficult works with appropriate supplementary information and activities. If the aim is to further reinforce the current conception of the orchestral concert, organizers can implement programmes that help standardize the audience's common understanding of the norms, behaviours, and specific musical knowledge associated with the genre to promote a more uniform experience. Using Stockfelt's theory, we can examine how the listener perceives and situates themselves within the concert environment, and how this information can help the arts administrator can shape their experience to better facilitate the listening experience and encourage adequate modes of listening, however it is defined.

Central to the framework of Stockfelt's theory of adequate modes of listening are the variables with which the listener can control their listening, choose what they determine to be the most adequate mode of listening, and develop competencies in conjunction to exposure and education. The findings suggest that there were two competing senses of genre-associated behaviours and modes of listening: a relaxed variation of the idealized bourgeois concert hall listening, as well as an emotionally-driven immersive experience of the music labeled as allowing the music to "wash over" the audience. These two different approaches appeared to exhibit similar behaviours within the socially acceptable norm, but with slight variations. Infrequent concert-goers were perceived to be the most responsible for behaviours outside of the concert-hall norms, although young audiences and TSOuncheck members also exhibited behaviour which pushed the barriers of situation-normative behaviours. It is not clear how closely the perception of these two approaches to the concert listening experience are influenced by dominant musicological writings and theories known by the interview subjects, who have had conservatory or university training which would exposed these theories to them in some way.

Although primarily aiming to explore the perception of audience modes of listening, the data drawn from the interviews with the TSO's musicians and administrative staff provided a rich view into the musicians' own modes of listening and the way in which they felt it compared to those of their audiences. The interview subjects self-reported listening practices that resembled strongly to the listening practices described by and taught within conservatory and other higher-education musical establishments, characterized by an attention to structure and technical aspects of performance, knowledge of contextual aspects of the work, composer, style, or genre, with a marked reflexive and intellectual attitude towards the listening experience. Highly knowledgeable in the genre, they were also aware of their own privileged position as listeners of art music, and recognized the difference in approach between themselves and the majority of their audiences. Unexpectedly, the interview subjects felt that their own highly-specialized listening practice (especially when it concerned works that included or featured their own instrument) was not only dissimilar to that of their audience, but that their "expert" listening was not the most appropriate

for the concert hall. The musicians believed that their own listening, similar to what Adorno would term “expert” or “good” listening and the most closely aligned with the widespread idea of autonomous reflexive or idealized bourgeois concert hall listening, was not normative to the situation of the concert hall due to the belief that it was not widely practiced by their audience. That is to say, while in traditional academia, (specifically music theory and critique,) rigorously analytical and informed listening such as the musicians practiced is taken for granted as the most appropriate and most strongly desired in a listener, yet the musicians did not feel that this was the reality in the orchestral concert, and rather viewed immersive, non-structural listening (or “washing over”) as genre-normative. Importantly, this suggests there are different understandings of what is considered genre-normative between different groups who maintain different relationships with the musical institution. Stockfelt writes that; “Adequate listening hence occurs when one listens to music according to the exigencies of a given social situation *and according to the predominant sociocultural conventions of the subculture to which the music belongs.*”⁴³¹ These are the “predominant sociocultural conventions” which need to be further interrogated in all of their intricacies and subtleties in the modern orchestral context.

The majority of the interview subjects also described their awareness and manipulation of their own modes of listening. They described how their listening differs when listening in different situations such as listening to classical music in the background while performing other tasks, or listening and singing along to other genres, and the different forms of listening that each of these required. Significant to the development of Stockfelt’s theory, while the musicians described these different processes and experiences, several reported occasional difficulty adopting what they believed to be the most adequate mode of listening for a situation. Rose found it difficult to let the music “wash over” her as she sat in the audience of an orchestral concert, believing it to be more common among the audience than her own specialised listening.⁴³² Others found that their training on their primary instrument made listening to orchestral music without focusing solely on technical or performative aspects of their particular instrument very difficult, if possible at all; an intellectual activity closer to work than to enjoyment.⁴³³ There seems to be “stickiness” to the most developed mode of listening that makes alternatives more difficult to adopt, even when the listener is aware of the process.

Interestingly, Tetreault and Knowles enjoyed and fully assimilated their favourite popular genres’ modes of listening, but found listening to specific genres like Christmas music irritating due to their

⁴³¹ My emphasis. Stockfelt, 137.

⁴³² Wendy Rose, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, November 10, 2016.

⁴³³ Jonathan Crow, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, December 6, 2016; Anonymous I, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, May 5, 2016; Dr. Hannah Chan Hartley, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 27, 2016.

structural and formal weakness and relative omniscience during the holiday season.⁴³⁴ This reaffirms Stockfelt's theory and Lilliestam's position that listeners have a wide variety of listening competencies and can transition from one to another according to their assessment of the most adequate mode of listening for the individual instance, even if the present research demonstrates that the transition is not uniformly easy. Different musicians have different amounts of awareness and ability to manipulate or choose their mode of listening. This depends on 1) the strength, reliance and fixity of a particular mode of listening (and thus the ability to change modes of listening willfully during an experience); 2) the degree to which other, more appropriate, modes of listening are acquired; and 3) the strength that the environment or genre association has on the choice of mode of listening (whether or not a particular environment or genre suggests or allows alternative modes of listening.) Thus, some musicians have difficulty willfully adopting new modes of listening when their technical, analytical mode of listening is too strongly developed within the genre of the musical experience. Others are so practiced in this mode of listening, they have difficulty "turning it off," or adopting an alternative mode of listening when listening to related genres. Furthermore, specific situations have such strong ties to certain modes of listening, (such as the concert hall or bar,) that listeners may struggle to maintain their desired mode of listening in such a situation. These findings suggest that Stockfelt's theory of adequate modes of listening is a useful framework for analysing these shifts, and far more nuanced than the alternative typologies, but needs additional theoretical expansion in order to better articulate these complexities.

These observations on the interview subjects' modes of listening provide the researcher with an area of further inquiry: how do we redefine or give nuance to the conception of the genre-normative concert hall listening? How should we question Stockfelt's idealized bourgeois concert hall listening and its prevalence (or relevance,) in the contemporary concert hall? If there is such a disconnect between the taken-for-granted structural and knowledge-based listening in the concert hall and what is perceived to be taking place, how should we rearticulate the genre's genre-normative behaviour? More sociologically- and psychologically- informed research must be performed on the listening processes in the concert hall, both on the level of the individual, and of the group to expand the current findings which asks these questions.

One significant conclusion from the present research is the complexity of our aural lives and the insufficiency of our language and the literatures to adeptly articulate these complicated relationships. Unlike the sense of sight, or the research done in linguistics and its related sociological studies, the perception of sound and particularly of music as it is situated within its physical and cultural context, needs further study. Practically, the present research on the complexity of listening reminds listeners,

⁴³⁴ Leslie Knowles and Mark Tetrault, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, September 27, 2016.

scholars, and organizers especially of the importance of the environment in an audience's choice of mode of listening, and the strength with which habit or skill in particular modes of listening plays in the choice of mode. This is significant because these insights help organizations reflect on the environment within which they perform, and how it can help or hinder their audience choose most adequate modes of listening. Furthermore, an understanding of the relationships between situation and other factors allows arts administrators and musicians to help shape and promote particular forms of listening or interactions. For example, if the organizer wishes to promote a more relaxed atmosphere, they can change the seating to make it more casual, they can change the dress, inform the tone of the performance through speech, for instance, similar to the way that the TSO and other organizations have begun to do. By remaining conscious of Stockfelt's observations on the relation of certain genres with certain situations, it is possible to use this information in constructive and thoughtful ways.

The findings suggest that the TSO, although welcoming all audiences and different types of listening and their associated behaviours, facilitates and encourages Stockfelt's characterization of idealized bourgeois concert hall listening in its audiences, albeit in a relaxed variation. Through initiatives such as comprehensive and educational concert programmes, pre-concert chats, on-stage introductions, and similar, audiences are encouraged to practice autonomous reflexive listening. These initiatives help develop the knowledge-set associated with this kind of listening and by normalizing specialised language and privileged aspects and philosophies of music. Furthermore, marketing material and interview subjects indicate that the Orchestra actively attempts to introduce art music to listeners via light, recognizable programmes and incremental attempts to steer audiences to heavier and more difficult works in their Masterworks series. Thus, at each step, the audience gradually assimilates these norms and values through experience and soft education, and at each concert is (if effective,) rewarded by the experience afforded by the recognition or experience of the music. This adherence to educational goals is not universal however in the programming; programs and events like post-concert parties also demonstrated an acceptance of alternative related paradigms and the encouragement of the social aspects of the concert experience. This is added to by a welcoming attitude displayed by the conductor and musicians during the concerts, in interviews and public material, and in private conversations. Formal and informal education—as well as forming personal connections with audiences—constitute a large part of the means in which the orchestra attempts to shape their audiences and encourages most appropriate modes of listening, similar to those commonly held ideologies of the genre since at least the nineteenth century.

The environment of the concert hall, the projected attitude of the orchestra and its representatives, and the supplementary activities and initiatives offered as part of the orchestral concert experience were perceived to be influential in the listener's ability to adopt genre-normative modes of listening and to feel

comfortable and welcome in the concert situation. From the research, we can conclude that at the TSO, the Orchestra attempts to establish a version of genre-normative idealized bourgeois concert hall listening, which is more relaxed and with less of the appearance of stuffiness or elitism than the norm, achieved through the implementation of initiatives such as on-stage introductions, comprehensive educational initiatives, and extended to small details such as more relaxed dress for musicians, a “younger” brand of marketing materials, or allowing alcoholic beverages in the hall during some concerts.

Operationalizing Stockfelt’s theory of adequate modes of listening has demonstrated that it is a significantly useful tool for understanding the listener’s ability to negotiate the use of various modes of listening and its associated behaviours in the individual moment and in broader strokes for the genre more generally. While many of the results coincided with the data found in arts administration, particularly in the perception of audiences’ general preference for familiar repertoire except when a high degree of autonomous reflexive listening had been assimilated, (or where new experiences was the experiential goal like in the case of some young audiences,) Stockfelt’s framework allowed for the agency of audiences to be in control of their listening, and for a more nuanced approach to these results. In this instance, like others that have been examined in the course of the research, the research demonstrates the potential of this kind of framework for examining contextualised listening.

The current study’s findings are significant for two reasons; for its immediate implications to determining effective strategies for art music concerts that facilitate listening; and for its implications to further research in the field. The present research begins to fill the gap between the industry and academic worlds of arts administration, and that of musicology and its related sub disciplines. These two disciplines must work together in order to make smart and sustaining decisions in planning for the future of modern orchestral performance, with the triumvirate of the music, musician, and listener at the centre of the discussion. Furthermore, it reminds both practitioners and researchers the importance of the context within which music is performed; that the performance does not happen in a vacuum, but rather is influenced by the context of the concert and its facilitating strategies, as well as the individual’s historical experience with the genre and the larger sociocultural context, which must be understood and addressed by facilitators.

The primary research in the present study revealed many important insights into the complexities of listening and the facilitation strategies of the orchestra. Speaking to musicians and arts administrators within the TSO, it demonstrates the need to expand the current study to one that speaks to more musicians and the listeners themselves about their listening experiences, similar to the work done by Pitts et al.,

within the context of Stockfelt's mode of listening. This would also address the inherent limitations of the current exploratory study which focused on the facilitation and perception within the TSO; the small size of the sample, and absence of audience interviews which were outside of the purview of the present research, can be addressed in a larger, funded, study. To the current findings on the complexity of establishing genre-normative modes of listening within the modern orchestral genre, the fixity of particular modes of listening, and the role of supplementary activities, further research can include the reception of these kinds of initiatives within a non-marketing paradigm, using Stockfelt's theory of adequate modes of listening.

Research that focuses on the listener would, in addition to contributing to the existing literatures, positively influence industry practices in arts administration and business. Currently dominated with research centered on the vocabularies and ethos of marketing, (which even crept into the current research when discussing certain concepts where alternative vocabularies were not possible,) listener and music-centered research would enable practitioners to use alternative language and create a space for the organizations that uses marketing to serve its goals, but has the music, its performers, and its listeners at the centre of the discussion. While much of the marketing research is useful, using a theory such as Stockfelt's to understand the statistics allows for a more nuanced approach to its interpretation and gives more room for aesthetic or other sociocultural measures and goals.

Within the modern orchestral paradigm, the current research suggests the following recommendations. Firstly, music organizations should strive to reflect and discuss how they see their listeners, and what kinds of modes of listening they are explicitly and implicitly facilitating or promoting through their concerts and initiatives, and furthermore, whether or not these match overarching goals and philosophies held by the organization. Stockfelt's theory, along with the supporting psychological research, demonstrate the importance of exposure and education to the acquisition of any mode of listening, and the particular importance of education to genre-normative knowledge-based and reflexive listening associated with the art music genre. Thus, if an organization wishes to encourage this mode of listening within the current Canadian society that has received little musical instruction, it must provide supplementary education (whether implicit "soft" education, more formally structured initiatives, or uses a combination of strategies). As Fung concludes; "And they may not want all this information, but it's... there for them to find if they want, and *that* aspect rhymes with the larger pattern; you get what you put into it."⁴³⁵ Although not an educational organization, the orchestra must provide the tools for deciphering the codes it presents. The obvious caveat to this is that the depth and degree to which these initiatives are evident and overtly "educational" are for the individual organization to determine, based on their specific

⁴³⁵ Adrian Fung, Interview by author. Digital recording. Toronto, Canada, October 1, 2016.

audiences and the role the orchestra wishes to play in the community; patronizing condescension does not align with the welcoming atmosphere the orchestra has worked so hard to promote either. Adequate listening in the art music genre has included a body of knowledge and codes, especially reinforced over the past two hundred years; if the organization wishes to maintain these codes, they must continue to encourage and provide the tools for its maintenance.

The present research recommends that facilitation strategies—such as programme notes, other supplementary information like digital media, pre- or post- concert events, and similar—serve articulated long-term goals and facilitate the listener’s experience of the music in a sustainable way, according to what we know about mode of listening acquisition. Novelty events or initiatives, which are undoubtedly entertaining and can hold a valuable place in the season, (such as flash-mobs, film- or other themed concerts, or other celebrations) must also have an explicit follow-up plan to integrate these audiences into regular programming.⁴³⁶ Additionally, that all ancillary or supplementary activities that become part of regular programming (such as talking from stage, audience response, programme notes etc...) are done in such a way that, if not optional, do not alienate core groups of the audience by too strongly subverting existing genre-normative modes of listening. In sum, that all facilitation strategies and supplementary activities or materials enable the adoption of adequate modes of listening, and when a shift in the definition of which modes are adequate, the shift is done incrementally and with purpose. As this research finds, listeners approach listening to art music in different ways, and facilitating their listening should be attempted where appropriate; whether it be to promote the educational and intellectual aspects of the genre, its social aspects, its escapist characteristics, or a combination of these and others, all while serving the overarching aims of the organization.

If the musical organization uses Stockfelt’s modes of listening or a similar paradigm to understand its audience, its programming, and its overarching organization and philosophy, the human aspect of listening will remain at the centre of the discussion. As Sigurjonsson writes, there is not one listening, but many “variations on the act of listening.”⁴³⁷ If we are mindful of the nuances, complexities, and contradictions in how the listener experiences the music, and furthermore, the power of musical ensembles and organizations to shape this experience, we can make sustainable and thoughtful decisions for the continued promotion of the art music genre as it evolves.

⁴³⁶ These types of inter-genre concerts, such as video-games live, series of film concerts with live orchestral soundtracks, and the like have also carved out successful niches for themselves, developing new and very exciting hybrid genre-normative listening strategies. Promoting a growing and valuable genre and encouraging young audiences to participate in live music, further study is encouraged in order to examine the fascinating way in which new modes of listening (not to mention genres) emerge organically.

⁴³⁷ Sigurjonsson, “Variations on the act of listening,” 207.

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Appendix A: Sample Interview Questions

Interview- Musicians

May I reference you by name in my thesis?

May I record this conversation?

How would you describe your relationship with your listeners?

What do you expect from your listeners during a performance?

What is your favourite and least favourite atmosphere or location to perform in? Why?

What were your thoughts on this seasons' New Creations Festival?

How do you feel personally about this seasons' concert program, in terms of the balance between well known, (more popular works), and more challenging or new works?

Musicologists and industry people talk about polarization of audiences, have you experienced this?

Do you think the orchestra has a responsibility to educate listeners?

What education and outreach initiatives have you been part of with the TSO? Are there any that stand out in particular?

What do you think of the TSO's attempt to "democratize" the concert hall? ("Casual concerts", speaking from the podium, drinks allowed in the hall, etc.

Do you perceive a difference in audience response during casual concerts or other initiatives? Do you consider it positive, neutral or negative?

Do you have any other comments about listening practices at the orchestra that might be relevant?

Can you suggest any of your colleagues who may be interested in a similar interview?

Interview- Administration

May I reference you by name in my thesis?

May I record this conversation?

What is your position at the orchestra?

What relationship does your position have to the listeners; how do you facilitate them?

How would you describe the relationship of the TSO with your listeners?

Yourself and the listeners?

What does the TSO you expect from your listeners during a performance?

Are you yourself a musician? Do you believe this affects the way that you approach listening and the classical concert? How?

Tell me about the listening guides—Walk me through it; their role, how you came about it, what feedback you have gotten.

What were your thoughts on this seasons' New Creations Festival?

Collaboration with the AGO? Decades project

How do you feel personally about last seasons' concert program, in terms of the balance between well known, (more popular works), and more challenging or new works?

Polarization of audiences?

Do you think the orchestra has a responsibility to educate listeners?

What do you think of the TSO's work to "democratize" the concert hall? ("Casual concerts", speaking from the podium, drinks allowed in the hall, etc.)

Any other kind of initiative/strategy that I may not have noticed that you are involved with?

Do you perceive a difference in audience response during casual concerts or other initiatives? Do you consider it positive, neutral or negative?

Do you have any other comments about listening practices at the orchestra that might be relevant?