Department of Marketing

University of Strathclyde

Investigation into the Dynamics of the B2B Service of Audience Development agencies

Emma A. Reid

PhD Thesis

2016

DECLARATION OF AUTHENTICITY AND AUTHOR'S RIGHTS

‘This thesis is the result of the author’s original research. It has been composed by the author and has not been previously submitted for examination which has led to the award of a degree.’

'The copyright of this thesis belongs to the author under the terms of the United Kingdom Copyright Acts as qualified by University of Strathclyde Regulation 3.50. Due acknowledgement must always be made of the use of any material contained in, or derived from, this thesis.’

Signed: Date:

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study could not have been completed without the support of several people and organisations, and I am very grateful to all involved for their overwhelming support and encouragement. Firstly, the staff within the three organisations who gave up extensive time to be interviewed, and who allowed me into their organisations. The musicians and centre managers who welcomed me into their world and enabled the music performances to go ahead.

Thank you to the University of Strathclyde, Disruptive Insight and Material Communications Group for providing support, friendship, employment and time for me to complete my studies, and to the students and staff who provided so much encouragement.

Thank you too to my teams of supervisors – Professor Eleanor Shaw and Dr Juliette Wilson for their guidance over the years, and especially to Professor John Finch, my mentor. Thank you for never giving up on me. John, I am in no doubt that this thesis would never have been finished without your support. The Market Studies Group also offered guidance that was greatly appreciated.

This PhD could not have been written without the emotional support, childcare and general help from my parents, in-laws, siblings and my closest friends Jacqueline, Pauline, Maria, Kat and Kirsty. Finally, the thesis is dedicated to my husband Alan and my children Declan and Kayla for being my inspiration.

ABSTRACT

Audience Development within the arts sector refers to the acquiring of marketing intelligence about attendees at cultural events. Audience Development agencies have emerged from arts marketing and use a combination of social and analytical tools to understand existing audiences and to widen access to new audiences. This thesis adopts a Market Studies approach to examine practices and exchanges of Audience Development agencies. The main purpose of this research is to understand the impact of marketisation on the arts sector through understanding market-shaping practices, use of devices, mediation, and affordances.

Empirical evidence was gathered through longitudinal multiple case studies of three Audience Development agencies operating in the arts and cultural sectors. Findings indicate that in stabilising the arts sector, externalities are important and must be acknowledged by arts organisations.

The study reveals that within the business-to-business service of Audience Development, the object of exchange requires multiple levels of qualification, which are dependent upon those actors involved in the exchange. Marketisation has a particular form, with a greater number of exchanges, but few of these being directly monetary transactions. Due to the minimal monetary exchange within market transactions, there must be other elements that demonstrate value to both actors involved in the transactions. In stabilising the market, Audience Development acts as a service, which receives payment (via membership fees and grant payments) in return for anticipated Audience Development services.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION OF AUTHENTICITY AND AUTHOR'S RIGHTS 2
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS 3
ABSTRACT 4

1. INTRODUCTION 9

1.1 Market Studies 9
1.2 The Empirical Study 10
1.3 Aims And Research Questions 11
1.4 Research Design 13
1.4.1 Rationale For Study 14
1.4.2 Data Collection 14
1.4.3 Rationale For Case Selection 17
1.5 Outline Of Contents 18
1.6 Contribution To Theory 21
1.7 Contribution To Practice 23
1.8 Context Of The Study – Audience Development Agencies 24
1.8.1 From Arts Marketing To Audience Development Services 24
1.8.2 Definitions Of Audience Development 26
1.8.3 The B2B Service Of Audience Development 29

2. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE 32

2.1 Definitions Of Markets And Marketing 33
2.2 B2B Marketing 34
2.2.1 Marketisation Of Audience Development 38
2.2.2 Mediation In Audience Development 40
2.3 Audience Development Agencies As Promissory Organisations 46
2.4 Introduction To Market Studies 48
2.4.1 Reconnecting Markets To Marketing 48
2.5 Market Practices And Exchanges 54
2.5.1 Market Practices 57
2.6 Formatting And Equipping Market Actors 62
2.6.1 Affordances 64
2.6.2 Music's Affordances 66
2.7 Stabilising The B2B Service Of Audience Development 69
2.7.1 Performing A Market 70
2.7.2 Definitions Of Performativity 72
2.7.3 Market Shaping Activities 76
2.7.4 Calculations 78
2.7.5 Qualculations 79
2.8 Externalities, Framing And Overflows 84
2.9 Conclusion To The Literature Review 87

3. METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN 93

3.1 Introduction 93
3.2 Research Philosophy 94
3.2.1 An Abductive Approach To Research 95
3.2.2 Taking A Pragmatism Based Approach 97
3.2.3 Pragmatism 97
3.2.4 Pragmatism As The Study Of Practice 98
3.2.5 Pragmatism For The Study Of Markets 100
3.3 Research Methodology 101
3.3.1 Ant As A Methodology 101
3.3.2 Data Collection In Ant 103
3.3.3 Taking An Ant Approach To Market Studies 104
3.4 Ethnomethodology 105
3.5 Case Studies As A Research Approach 107
3.5.1 Ethnographic Case Studies 111
3.5.2 Ethnography And Ant 112
3.5.3 Challenges With Ethnography 113
3.6 Research Design 113
3.6.1 Research Questions 114
3.6.2 Internal And External Validity 115
3.6.3 Sampling Framework 115
3.6.4 Data Collection 117
3.6.5 Observations 119
3.6.6 Document And Material Analysis 121
3.6.7 Digital Materials Using Social Media 121
3.7 Data Analysis 123
3.7.1 Computer-Based Qualitative Data Analysis 123
3.7.2 Coding Structure 124
3.7.3 Thematic Coding 125
3.8 Researcher Engagement 128
3.9 Justification For Research 129
3.10 Conclusion To The Methodology And Research Design 129

4.0 INTRODUCTION TO THE EMPIRICAL CHAPTERS 130

4.1 The UK Cultural Sector 130
4.2 **Formatting And Equpping An Audience – Live Music Experiments With 'Gucm' 139**
4.2.1 Affordances 140
4.2.2 Background To Case 141
4.2.3 Actors Involved 144
4.2.4 Arranging The Performance 147
4.2.5 Arranging The Musicians 149
4.3 Discussion 162
4.3.1 Arts Organisation Formatting The Performance 163
4.3.2 The Affordances Within A Network 164
4.3.3 'GUCM' And Understanding Audience Practices 166
4.3.4 'GUCM' And The Role Of Actor Network Theory 168
4.4 Conclusion 168
4.4.1 Can Audience Development Agencies Format An Audience? 169
4.4.2 'GUCM' And the Marketisation Of Audience Development 169

4.4.3 Limits To The Experimental Format 171

5. THE PRACTICES AND EXCHANGES OF AN AUDIENCE DEVELOPMENT – FOLLOWING THE ACTORS AT 'AMAZING AUDIENCES' 173

5.1 Introduction.....173
5.2 Background To Case.....174
5.2.1 Actors Involved.....177
5.3 Establishing Practices And Exchanges 177
5.3.1 Technologies And Skills 185
5.3.2 Developing And Exchanging Service.....189
5.4 Discussion 203
5.4.1 ANT And 'Amazing Audiences' 204
5.4.2 How Does 'Amazing Audiences' Format And Equip Audiences?.....205
5.4.3 What Are The Practices And Exchanges Of Audience Developmentagencies?206
5.4.4 Stabilising The B2B Service Of Audience Development.....208
5.4.5 To What Extent Is The Marketisation Of Audience Development Apparent In This Form Of Audience Development?.....211

6. STABILISING THE B2B SERVICE OF AUDIENCE DEVELOPMENT - 'DIGI-ARTS' IN PRACTICE 213

6.1 Introduction.....213
6.2 Background To Case.....214
6.2.1 Actors Involved.....216
6.3 Brokering As A Form Of Mediation.....219
6.4 Mediation Within An Actor Network 227
6.5 Discussion 236
6.5.1 What Work Is Ant Doing In This Chapter? 236
6.5.2 Can The B2B Practice Of Audience Development Be Stabilised 238
6.5.3 Mediation Forming Practices And Exchanges Of Audience Development.....241
6.5.4 What Impact Does Marketisation Have On 'Digi-Arts' As An Audience Development Agency.....242

7.0 CROSS CASE ANALYSIS 243

7.1 Where Is The Audience In Each Case?.....244
7.2 What Are The Practices And Exchanges Of Audience Development Agencies ?246
7.3 How Can Audience Development Agencies Equip And Format Audiences?.....249
7.4 How Has The B2B Service Of Audience Development Been Stabilised And Realised? 252
7.5 Framing, Overflows And Externalities 255
7.6 Audience Development As A Promissory Services.....257
7.7 The Marketisation Of Audience Development 258

8 CONCLUSION 261

8.1 Contribution Of The Study 265
8.2 Practical Contributions.....267

8.3 Limitations Of The Study……..269

8.4 Avenues For Future Research.....270

References.....274

Appendix 1 GUCM Performance Details 299

Appendix 2 Photographs From Music Performances 302

Appendix 3 Amazing Audiences –Technologies Used 305

Appendix 4: Audience Development: Qualitative Measures Of Success.....306

List of Tables

Table 1 Background to Cases 18
Table 2 Definitions of Audience Development 28
Table 3 Validity 110
Table 4 Background to the Cases.....117
Table 5 Research Data Collection.....123
Table 6 Thematic Coding.....125
Table 7 Breakdown of Public Funding for the Arts (UK) (£m) taken from the Arts Index ..133
Table 8 Number of people participating in the arts (Scotland).....135
Table 9 Actors involved in GUCM.....144
Table 10 Role of Researcher.....145
Table 11 Empirical Analysis.....163
Table 12 Actors Involved.....177
Table 13 Examples of Amazing Audience's practices.....189
Table 14 Actors Involved - Digi-Arts.....217
Table 15 Cross Case Analysis.....246

List of Figures

Figure 1 Literature Review Framework.....33
Figure 2 Market Studies Literature 48
Figure 3 Formatting and Equipping.....62
Figure 4 Performativity.....69
Figure 5 Empirical Chapters Format.....139

1. INTRODUCTION

The study is positioned within the Business-to-Business Marketing discipline and framed in Market Studies and Market Devices literature streams, which supports the empirical framework of this research, namely that of Audience Development agencies. The research refers to a wide variety of complex methods used to produce audiences, formatted and configured as saleable or tradeable. Within Audience Development, all of the actors involved have an interest in there being a market. This study will demonstrate that for Audience Development agencies there are different ways or routes to that market.

1.1 MARKET STUDIES

This study contributes to a growing area of literature focused around the study of markets, which takes influence from Science and Technology Studies and Economic Sociology as a way of understanding market practices. This study investigates how the emergence of market ideas and practices is brought together, stabilised and realised to create a set of established devices. This is carried out through examining the theoretical arrangements around a 'market,' to include but not being restricted only to 'marketing, which are used to practice the B2B service of Audience Development.

The reconnecting of markets to marketing is a growing area, which has gained traction across the academic community. It has attracted some highly regarded scholars to attend and deliver Keynote speeches at Market Studies Workshops (including Professor Bernard Cova and Professor Steve Woolgar) on their thoughts on the study of markets. Special Issues around specific types of marketing practices, market-shaping activities and market innovations have already been published in peer-reviewed journals such as *Journal of Marketing Management*

(2015), Consumption, Markets and Culture (2012), Industrial Marketing Management. (2015) and a virtual special issue of *Marketing Theory* (2010)

1.2 THE EMPIRICAL STUDY

This study takes a B2B framing considering the arts marketing sector, specifically in the area of Audience Development. Arts marketing is a highly researched area and deserves further attention. The published literature, however, focuses mainly on consumer behaviour and social marketing (Walmsley, 2011; Venkatesh, 2006). This thesis takes on an alternative approach and investigates the development of a sustainable and market-leading B2B service.

The empirical research discussed in this thesis aims to expand and develop the existing literature on Market Studies by situating the case within the creative industries - a niche area which lacks a theoretical basis and is often practitioner and government-led. The creative industries are defined as:

> *"those which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent, and which generate and exploit intellectual property" (Cultural Enterprise, 2015)*

Taking this approach offers a potential to assess the arts and culture sector, and specifically Audience Development agencies, by framing the problem as one of performativity, formatting, being formatted, emerging market ideas, mediating activities and stabilising and exchanges. Money circulates in a round-about way, with Audience Development agencies operate through a series of grants, public funds and membership fees and one-off projects to deliver complementary and contrasting approaches to Audience Development, dependent on their own specialisation. For this thesis, the methodological perspective offers three empirical case studies, which will be examined in detail. All cases are comparable in terms of size,

geographical location and funding structure, with some levels of overlap between each of the cases. Each case was chosen due to its different approach to Audience Development, ranging from research around unexpected access to live music, through the analysis of box office data, which represents the audience, and to the use of an agency to act as a mediator between the arts organisation and the audience.

1.3 AIMS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The aim of this thesis is to examine the under-researched sector of Audience Development agencies to understand how a stable set of practices has been created which in turn allows multiple exchanges to take place in a market setting. In order to address the above-mentioned aim, the following research questions are formulated:

1) **What are the practices and exchanges of Audience Development agencies? Specifically, how are these practices established and understood through a B2B lens?**

2) **How can Audience Development agencies equip and format audiences as a means of conducting Audience Development within controlled settings?**

3) **How do Audience Development agencies and other market actors translate Audience Development into a stable B2B service? In particular, how can products and services be stabilised so that they can be exchanged?**

4) **What impact does the marketisation of Audience Development agencies have on the culture sector? What is the extent of marketisation?**

These questions have emerged from the examination of the literature, where there was an opportunity to apply existing literature around shaping, making and performing markets to a unique market, that of Audience Development agencies. With the small number of organisations practicing these highly specialised techniques, the opportunity emerged to understand if there were new ways of stabilising this B2B service so that products and services could be exchanged within a market setting. What was also considered is the ability to format real audiences and versions of audiences using market devices to help them to understand how to fit in and move forward.

Furthermore, these questions reflect increased demand for marketing to deliver measurable outcomes, which are meaningful to multiple agencies. Due to changing market conditions, trends, and demographics as well as developments in technology and access, Audience Development agencies need to be easily adaptable and flexible to safeguard and future-proof their own agencies, while continually delivering value for money to clients and funding bodies. Furthermore, organisational practices must be established, tested and repeated to ensure viability. Each agency needs to justify the value of the services it offers to cultural organisations and the different streams of arts funding.

In order to address this study's aim and research questions, the investigation adopts a broad theoretical perspective of Actor Network Theory (hereafter ANT), which forms the basis of Market Studies. This approach is beneficial as it draws attention to practices and materials that are involved in exchanges, including techniques of calculation and valuation, and extending to

the physical properties of artistic performance, venues and music. The study of exchanges forms a fundamental basis of Market Studies, as where actors go through a series of translations as they stabilise and become ready for exchange within a market setting.

1.4 RESEARCH DESIGN

The study's focus on market practices leads to a research philosophy, which has its roots in Pragmatism. While ANT is recognised as a theoretical context that forms the basis of Market Studies, its approach also lends itself to be appropriate as a methodology (Latour, 1987, Callon, 1986). Taking this into account, data collection included "following the actors" involved in each of the cases. In keeping with ANT, the actors were both human and non-human (including box office data, annual reports and musical instruments), to gain a broader understanding of the practices and exchanges of Audience Development.

In this study, three unique cases were chosen and studied over a three-year period. Each of these organisations was based in Glasgow, Scotland. The location of this study can be considered as relevant, since Glasgow is viewed as an international hub for cultural activities, having been awarded UNESCO City of Music status in 2008. Moreover, Glasgow has hosted several international music and cultural events in recent years including the MTV Europe Awards, Radio 1 Big Weekend, and the Commonwealth Games with its accompanying Cultural Festival. However, as a city Glasgow is challenged by a variety of issues, such as low-income, multiple areas of deprivation, high levels of unemployment and a reputation as the UK's sickest city (BBC News, 2014). Each of these factors contribute towards a lack of engagement with, participation of and attendance of the arts within the city centre from these disengaged communities. Thus, there are benefits to prompting investment in the arts sector to

encourage attendance in new and innovative ways, making the arts more accessible for people living in and around the city. In terms of policy making decisions, there are questions raised around the priority of arts funding compared with public health and economic inclusion.

1.4.1 Rationale for Study

The decision to focus on Audience Development services was influenced by a number of reasons, including the researcher's interest in the marketing of the arts and cultural sector, and previous academic research expertise in B2B services. For this thesis, there was the desire to conduct research in a setting, which focused on both the economic and social benefits of marketing as this was of personal interest to the researcher. Audience Development was selected as a research topic due to its close relationship with both government and funding bodies, as well as its consultancy role with arts organisations. Two novel angles are taken in the context, investigating the boundary of market and public sector from the perspective of marketing and investigating the setting of terms of B2B services, given what was previously a focus on consumer behaviour. It does not operate as a traditional commercial organisation, rather generating revenue from grants, public subsidies and earned income.

1.4.2 Data Collection

The empirical study involves three overlapping cases of Audience Development services being performed, with data collection taking place between 2009 and 2012 during a period of the global financial crisis, which resulted in economic instability and harsh austerity measures imposed on the government and public sector funds. Since the majority of organisations operating in the arts sector, including the ones investigated in this research, tend to be, to varying degrees, dependent upon on the government's financial support from governments and grants this resulted in periods of unsettledness and instability across the arts sector as a whole in the UK and in Scotland., the cutbacks caused a widespread uncertainty and insecurity.

Specifically, this study looks at stabilising B2B services and introducing marketisation into a sector which in some respects is very highly marketised, but in others offers very limited connections with markets. The next sub-sections will introduce each of the cases in question.

Case 1: Glasgow UNESCO City of Music ('GUCM')

Case 1 (identified as 'GUCM') was selected as an example of an Audience Development agency, which works with a focus on the arts but with little consideration of marketisation. 'GUCM' forms part of the UNESCO Cities Network, specifically focused on celebrating and improving access to music within the city of Glasgow. This micro-organisation is situated within the council-run Cultural Department, employing two people and operating as a standalone organisation funded through UNESCO and public funds.

This organisation appeared to conduct Audience Development activities in an experimental manner, with little use of data to support decision making and little comprehension of operating within a market setting. While the case in question had a very specific remit to widen access to music to the people of Glasgow (thus forming a 'live' version of Audience Development), this example was chosen to reflect on the impact of the arts organisation where the audience had little choice in their involvement with the arts in question. Through a series of live music "experiments", performances took place in a number of unexpected locations including a day hospital and shopping centre. Observations and short interviews were used to gather data to understand the importance of materials and the affordances of music.

Case 2: 'Amazing Audiences'

Case 2 (identified by the pseudonym 'Amazing Audiences') and was chosen as a leading example of an Audience Development agency. In delivering Audience Development services within a market setting, this agency operates in a manner which is more comparable to a research agency positioned in the arts, offering a stable B2B service focused on the practices and exchanges within this setting. Established in 2004, this agency has a fixed presence within the city of Glasgow and works on projects for individual arts organisations, the arts sector collectively, and as a contributor to public policy and local authorities.

This organisation operates a paid-for membership scheme, where many of the cultural organisations in Scotland pay an annual membership fee in exchange for services and consultancy days. 'Amazing Audiences' employs a team of highly experienced and qualified specialists. The agency also offers bespoke consultancy services and management of national projects, which facilitate and support Audience Development.

Case 3: 'Digi-Arts'

Case 3 (identified by the pseudonym ''Digi-Arts'') is an Audience Development agency specialising in offering digital marketing and social media training, workshops and expertise to the arts sector. This agency was formed as part of a national project facilitated by 'Amazing Audiences' and as such operates almost as a sub-organisation within the company, while being funded through a combination of government-issued grants and funds. 'Digi-Arts' aims to enhance the offerings delivered by arts organisations to audiences through digital development and new technologies and skills. The role of the agency is modernizing and enhancing the B2B services of Audience Development by bringing together arts organisations and other cultural organisations (particularly those with digital expertise). This agency worked on a newly emerging area of Audience Development– the focus on using digital media to engage new and

existing audiences. Being the only programme of its kind in Scotland, this organisation has operated for six years and offers a niche area of training and consultation, which helps arts organisations to enhance their digital presence, generate new audiences, develop new income streams and to understand their own organisation.

1.4.3 Rationale for Case Selection

Each of these cases was chosen due to the degree of similarities in the size and operation of the organisation and close geographical relationship, allowing a comparison within the same cultural setting. Furthermore, each of the cases generates revenue through a similar income stream of external funding and local authority grants. Each case offers a contrasting approach to Audience Development with different nuances, impacting the service delivery. In particular, the marketing methods used, and expertise of employees demonstrate the considerable variety of ways in which the B2B service of Audience Development can be marketised. Table 1 summarises each of the cases in turn:

Case Study	Type of organisation	Number of employees	Income stream	Audience Development– tools, data	Age of organisation
Case 1 Glasgow UNESCO City of Music ('GUCM')	Arts organisation (with charitable status) with specific remit of bringing music to Glasgow, and improving access to music for people in Glasgow	1 full time, 1 part time	Funded through international programme and local authority funding	Limited use of marketing tools	7 years
Case 2 'Amazing Audiences'	Audience Development organisation, (one of 2 in Scotland, 10 in UK), focus on West and Central belt	10	funded through Local Authority grants, Creative Scotland grants memberships and consultation fees	Data analysis, traditional marketing research (including focus groups, interviews), events	11 years
Case 3 'Digi-Arts'	Audience Development with specific remit for digital development, Unique in Scotland	2 plus consultants	Funded through Government grant managed by Creative Scotland	Social media tools, rich media content	2 years

Table 1 Background to Cases

1.5 OUTLINE OF CONTENTS

The published literature in Market Studies has focused primarily on B2B and B2C exchanges whereby monetary exchanges appear dominant. Taking a practice-based approach is consistent with the existing literature in Market Studies. Using performativity to understand calculating devices and market shaping tools help actors to understand and organise their positions within a market. Furthermore, continuing the tradition of Actor Network Theorists in following the

actors allows for consistent data collection where each of the actors involved are treatment with equal importance.

The literature review is presented as one complete chapter divided into a number of sections. It begins with definitions of Audience Development agencies and an understanding of the history of the arts sector organisations moved away from traditional marketing towards focusing on understanding actual and potential audience behaviours. This provides the reader with some context around the specific demands of this sector. This is followed by definitions and clarifications around B2B marketing.

Market Studies

The review then introduces the subject area of Market Studies as a new and emerging area of literature, offering the prospects of novel insights. Market Studies allows for the understanding of the interactions between social and materials actors with economic sociology to understand how markets are formed. Through this approach, scholars can begin to understand how things can be stabilised into something that can be exchanged in a market setting. When considering Audience Development services, this offers an innovative approach in understanding how products and services can be bundled together to create a deliverable that can be classified as 'Audience Development' to be exchanged in a market.

The chapter then discusses the application of market practices and the role of ANT in understanding the equal consideration of the social and the material in understanding how markets and shaped and made ready for exchange. This is followed by a focus on the theoretical underpinnings surrounding ontological politics, where realities and the conditions of possibility vary between practices and mediation.

Performativity

The literature review concludes with a discussion on performativity, beginning with the theory around performativity and then focusing on the role of markets as calculating devices. Performativity takes the work of economic and financial models to help depict reality in the making, using tools such as Monte Carlo stimulation. This encourages managers and investors to promote a probabilistic being for their organisations, rather than describing something as already existing. The section introduces the ideas series of calculating and 'qualculating' tools and as well as methods which can help marketers to present and format products and services and so present a valuation of these. As objects become stable enough to be exchanged, framing takes place whereby the object becomes recognizable as a version which can be exchanged within a market transaction. These frames and overflows are based around previous ideas on categorisation and objectification, and demonstrate elements of comparability within the marketplace.

Methodology

The methodology and research design of this study are again presented as one chapter. An ANT approach is taken, which is consistent with other literature within Market Studies. This thesis takes philosophical inspiration from Pragmatism, specifically the American scholars of the early 20th century. The chapter then examines ethnomethodology and ethnography as methodologies. Sampling and case study research methods, including interviews, document analysis and observation are discussed in turn. The specific research approach taken is then discussed, outlining coding structures and justification for research techniques. The research was analysed using Nvivo 10 as a computer-based data analysis tool.

Discussion Chapters

The discussion chapters' form five sections: firstly, an introduction to the three empirical studies and an indication of the findings, followed by each empirical case discussed individually. The closing chapter examines the similarities and differences between each of the cases and offers the contributions to theory. The thesis is then finalised with an overall conclusions chapter, which summarises the key findings and offering indications for further research. The appendices feature the references list, and some further detail and images from the empirical research sites.

1.6 CONTRIBUTION TO THEORY

The findings of this research offer contributions to literature and academic theory through the application of Market Studies to a business-to-business industry with a particular focus on the cultural sector. While the establishment and stabilisation of a market place is an emerging field of literature, with publications in many peer-assessed journals including *Journal of Marketing Management,* and *Industrial Marketing Management*, academic research has yet to combine Market Studies with the cultural sector. The combination of the arts sector and Audience Development presents many nuances, which suggest a suitable fit between these two. One is the tension of introducing market processes and attendant marketing practices in a sector characterised by state funding. Another is the specific development of B2B businesses in a sector that is focused on audiences and consumers. The need to understand the market setting with the industry to deliver value to stakeholders, the shaping of a market, the need to stabilise B2B services and to ensure that exchanges can take place within a market setting are all core elements of Market Studies.

The Audience Development sector appears to have little competition from other organisations, however, there is a clear need to demonstrate value to the sector, including arts organisations and the policy makers. This suggests that being able to understand how, if at all, these services can be marketised and will have value to all stakeholders.

The contributions to theory in this thesis involves the development of Market Studies theory, applied to the non-profit and arts sector, that of understanding how exchanges work in a market which is based primarily on promissory transactions. That is with a specific commitment of many possibly futures, of which one is more likely, and the likelihood of this may even be enhanced if following the advice of an agency. While the benefits of this may be uncertain, there is a strategic directedness that through action alters the shape of that uncertainty.

Positioning this study within the not-for-profit sector also opens the market to scrutiny, as Audience Development agencies must deliver value and output which is consistent with the terms of grants and funds issued. Therefore, the qualitative nature of calculating devices is important in this study. A further contribution regards affordances, commonly considered to involve a single actor and object. This study demonstrates the importance of affordances within an actor-network, and demonstrates that each of the actors (social and material) are afforded different things from being part of the actor-network, but that this network remains stable due to the combination of actors involved. This is applied in the 'GUCM' study, where multiple actors come together to arrange music performances. The study contributes to how audiences can be formatted by agencies and arts organisations when they are not briefed or prepared for action.

1.7 CONTRIBUTION TO PRACTICE

This thesis offers a contribution to practitioners through the rich insights gained from such a longitudinal study. Audience Development agencies are under scrutiny from funding bodies, local authorities and the wider community to deliver value to stakeholders. Through focusing on Audience Development agencies and making them the focus of the study. This thesis offers a contribution to provide evidence that can be utilised as a justification of having such services available within society as a whole. As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the arts sector offers multiple benefits to society, including economic and societal, however, these benefits are difficult to measure quantitatively. While this thesis does not offer financial solutions and measurements, it does bring an understanding of the practices which are brought together to make this service stable and suitable for consideration as a market.

1.8 CONTEXT OF THE STUDY – AUDIENCE DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES

The overall aim of this thesis is to understand the marketisation of the B2B service of Audience Development through examining the empirical practices of three different agencies. This thesis contributes to the Business-to-Business Marketing discipline, in particular market devices, market shaping and exchange practices, and the performance of a market. The marketing landscape within the arts sector has moved away from arts organisations having their own individual marketing methodologies, and towards the emergence of Audience Development services, providing a well-established and scientifically supported set of practices tools and techniques. This section provides some context to the empirical study by providing a background to the Audience Development sector, before introducing the Market Studies led literature review.

1.8.1 From Arts Marketing to Audience Development Services

There is scope to conduct research into consumer behaviours, motivations and reasons for attending arts events, such as Walmsley's (2011) study on "why people go to the theatre" and similarly scope to report on the impact of the arts on public sector and policy makers. However, this study concentrates on understanding the B2B service of Audience Development. The arts sector had originally been resistant to the introduction of traditional marketing practices due to the fear of "what it might do to the arts" (Kelly, cited in Kotler and Scheff, 1997, p.24). Diggle (1994) addresses this by detailing a conference in Glasgow in 1988, entitled "Changing their minds," to educate arts managers on relevant marketing tools and technique for the arts sector. While attracting leading academics, the main theme focused on applying traditional marketing techniques to the arts, with a focus on the customer.

Diggle (1984) defines arts marketing as:

> *"To bring an appropriate number of people, drawn from the widest possible range of social background, economic condition and age, into an appropriate form of contact with the artist, and in so doing, to arrive at the best financial outcome that is compatible with the achievement of that aim"* (p. 25).

Arts marketers, he explains, differ from typical commercial marketers in that they have greater experience in the challenges of the sector, working long hours and limited by very low budgets Diggle (1994) argues that this demonstrated a lack of understanding of the role and philosophy of the subsidised arts sector.

Marketing the arts differs from typical consumer goods due to a difficulty of controlling the product, the product being the piece of art or the performance. A critical element of the arts sector is that converse to products being launched to meet a market demand, in the arts products are usually created based around the passion of the artist, meaning that traditional market-led behaviours do not typically apply for this sector. While there are some forms of the arts created to meet market demand (for example West End musicals and pantomimes) where there is existing customer demand. However, for other less commercial forms of the arts (such as contemporary dance or opera) potential customers may not be aware of the existence of these forms of arts, or perhaps may think that this is not suitable for them to attend or participate in. There is a need to maintain and expand the audiences to ensure survival of the sector (Kotler and Scheff, 1997).

While the role of Audience Development agencies is not to control the arts, they hold specific remits to widen access to the arts and to engage with potential audiences on a long-term basis rather than one-off performances. Being able to stabilise the arts as a product, from both a

producer and a consumer perspective, and into something which can be moveable and transferrable resounds strongly within the thinking behind Market Studies, which will be explored in the next section. One can clearly see that this approach does not fit with the creative image of the cultural sector. As a result, some art organisations perceive marketing as a waste of resources that could otherwise be directed towards developing new types of arts, changing tastes and challenging ideas (Hill, O'Sullivan and O'Sullivan, 1995).

Engagement with the arts is usually related to socio-economic factors, educational background and social class, as shown in Bourdieu's work on Cultural Capital (1996). McCarthy et al. (20011) outline the benefits of the arts and culture as:

> *"Intrinsic benefits of arts and culture experiences such as aesthetic pleasure which are seen as private and persons…These intrinsic effects enrich individual lives; they also have a public spill over component in that they cultivate the kinds of citizens desired in a pluralistic society. These are the social bonds created among individuals when they share their arts experiences through reflection and discourse, and the expression of common values and community identity through artworks commemorating events significant to a nation's (or people's) experience."* (McCarthy et al, 2001)

1.8.2 Definitions of Audience Development

Audience Development, as a practitioner-led concept, does not have one clear definition. While a number are provided over the next page, this shows that the role of Audience Development is not clearly defined, allowing for flexibility as the sector and priorities of the arts sector changes.

Overlapping themes occur across the different descriptions of the practice of Audience Development; that of a process or activity, the importance of relationships and the clear need to focus on current and potential audiences as gathered by Culture Hive (2014):

"Audience Development is about making an ***organisation-wide commitment to engaging with people****, whether or not they are currently your audience, and* ***developing long-term relationships*** *of mutual respect and benefit with those people."*	Eastern Orchestral Board
"The term Audience Development describes activity which is ***undertaken specifically to meet the needs of existing and potential audiences****, and to help arts organisations to develop* ***on-going relationships with audiences****. It can include aspects of marketing, commissioning, programming, education, customer care and distribution. 'Audience' encompasses attendees, visitors, readers, listeners, viewers, participants and learners."*	Grants for the Arts, Arts Council England, 2004
*"Audience Development is a continual****, actively managed process*** *in which an organisation encourages* ***each attender and potential attender*** *to develop confidence, knowledge, experience and engagement across the full breadth of the art form to meet his or her full potential, whilst* ***meeting the organisation's*** *own artistic, social and financial objectives*."	Morris Hargreaves McIntyre
"Audience Development is a ***planned process*** *which involves building a relationship between an individual and the arts. This takes time and cannot happen by itself. Arts organisations must work to* ***develop these relationships****."*	Heather Maitland, The Marketing Manual

Table 2 Definitions of Audience Development

Based on these definitions, the main principles of Audience Development aim for long-term thinking, with the means to plan, measure and evaluate. There is an expectation for organisation-wide commitment, a need to engage both existing and potential audiences through ongoing processes rather than one-off projects (Culture Hive, 2014).

One definition of Audience Development that resonates across this empirical study from the Arts Council of England:

> *"Activity which is undertaken specifically to meet the needs of existing and potential audiences and to help arts [and cultural] organisations to develop on-going relationships with audiences. It can include aspects of marketing, commissioning, programming, education, customer care and distribution"* (Arts Council England, 2006).

However, as there is overall agreed definition of Audience Development, or of the practices of the organisations, it appears to be an area ripe for research in investigating the practices and exchanges of the sector. Research can be used to establish if these agencies can influence audiences directly, and to establish if this type of organisation can be stabilised enough to perform within an exchange setting.

Audience Development is an under-explored area operating in a market, which is filled with rich heritage, concentrating more on social inclusion which meet local and national targets and priorities, specifically those in difficult to reach communities within the aim of 'benefitting society as a whole' (Culture Hive, 2014). Audience Development agencies in Glasgow specifically, were of interest because of the thriving arts and cultural activities within the city as well as the need to attract new audiences to different types of culture.

While Audience Development has been addressed briefly in the literature (Scollen, 1999) these studies tend to demonstrate Audience Development as a form of academic consultancy rather than providing any insight into the Audience Development industry. In the UK alone there were ten agencies (including two in Scotland) set up specifically to deliver Audience Development services. Moreover, there are three national projects in Scotland which have an Audience Development remit.

In addition, there are commercial organisations with an interest specifically in selling tickets, for example Live Nation and Ticketmaster. Many of the larger arts organisations have in-house Audience Development teams. There are also global projects, which aim to widen access to the arts, including the UNESCO Creative Cities Network, which involves Cities of Literature, Cities of Music and Cities of Film.

1.8.3 The B2B Service of Audience Development

This study investigates a new way to study the impact of the arts and cultural sector, namely the B2B service of Audience Development. The research presented explores the less recognised B2B practice of Audience Development agencies, which operate as a centre point between different stakeholders, including audiences, arts organisations, performing arts companies, and policy makers to deliver highly specialised audience data, using specialised tools and techniques coupled with industry expertise.

Rather than focusing on quantitative measures such as the number of tickets sold, these agencies use a combination of marketing-led tools and techniques and strive to acquire a detailed understanding of audience behaviours through the manipulation and analysis of box

office data. This is also combined with more traditional qualitative data such as focus groups and interview findings along with industry expertise.

While ticket sales and box office data generate some data regarding the person who purchased the tickets, this information does not always refer to the end-consumer or attendee. Being able to understand who the actual and potential audience has clear benefits to all of the actors involved. While many arts and cultural organisations are financially sustainable in their own rights, gaining income from a combination of ticket sales and private donations (Conway and Whitelock, 2004), there are always opportunities and requirements for funding to improve infrastructure, widen access, modernise services or experiment with performances.

Furthermore, where an area of the arts (for example Opera) is in decline, perhaps as a result of an aging or changing audience, public bodies must decide how to 'develop' the audience to increase and encourage participation. Gaining access to public funding is therefore highly beneficial to the survival of the arts sector and therefore, to justify investment in this sector, measurements and calculations should be put in place. For the Arts sector, impact is defined as:

> "*a dynamic concept which pre-supposes a relationship of cause and effect. It can be measured through the evaluation of the outcomes of particular actions, be that an initiative, a set of initiatives forming a policy or set of policies which form a strategy*"'
> (Landry et al, 1993)

The practice of 'Audience Development,' aligned with securing a range of funding, including grants, donations, sponsorship and box-office income, gives the arts sector the opportunity to

thrive. The organisations that deliver this are the focus of this thesis. Thus, this study is clearly positioned within the area of Business-to-Business Marketing.

The practice of Audience Development appears to consist of material elements such as box office data and audience profiles, alongside human insight, intelligence and relationship building. The process of selling 'Audience Development' to potential clients involves bundling together social and material entities classified as an offering of Audience Development and is qualified based on experience and market demand.

In summary, this introductory chapter has offered an overview of the thesis and provided context around the empirical study of Audience Development agencies. As shown, this B2B service extends beyond traditional arts marketing and into a relationship between arts organisations and agencies to deliver a service that will encourage people to participate and engage with the arts, through the understand of what represents a version of an audience, gathered through various complementary sources of data collection. This thesis now reviews the literature around the study of markets, marketisation and how markets are performed and made through practices and exchanges, with a view to developing the theoretical research questions discussed in this chapter.

2. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The literature review begins with an introduction to marketing theory, specialisation in the area of business-to-business marketing. This is followed by a comprehensive examination of the marketisation of Audience Development, providing an in-depth analysis of the term as well as examples of applications of Audience Development agencies as mediators and promissory services. The second section introduces the practices and exchanges of Audience Development by critically reviewing the literature around Market Studies and devices. The third section extends this to an analysis of materiality and affordances to assist in understanding how audiences and agencies can be formatted and equipped to be able to participate within a market.

The final section concentrates on stabilising B2B services through providing understanding around market-shaping practices, calculations and the need for framing, as well as overflows and externalities in how a market is performed

The figure below provides a visual representation of the literature review, showing the process of moving from the wider definitions of B2B marketing, towards the theoretical area of Market Studies and detailed review of the various areas that make up this study of markets.

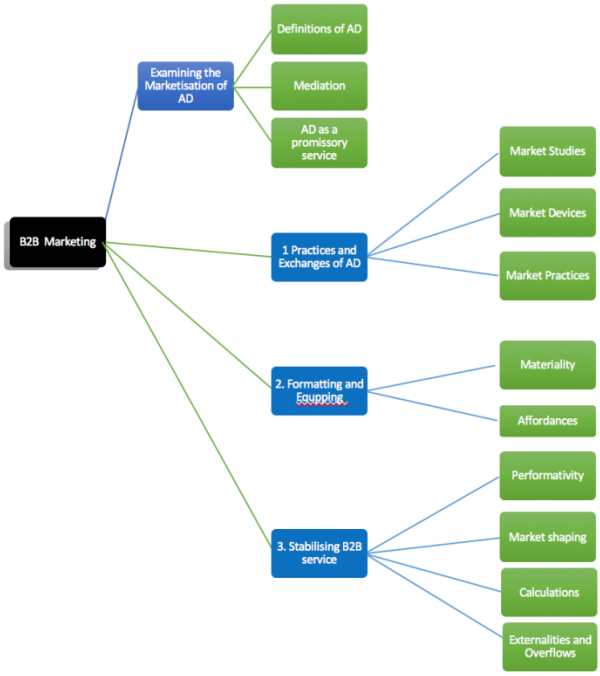

Figure 1 Literature Review Framework

2.1 DEFINITIONS OF MARKETS AND MARKETING

This study begins with an overview of markets and marketing. Araujo and Kjellberg (2009) provide a backdrop to the study of markets, which claims the role of the market has been largely neglected in marketing theory. They argue that there is no unified definition of marketing, and that the concept of a market is unclear. However, what is of interest is their proposal that if economics is the study of the economy, then one would assume that marketing is the study of markets.

The authors recognise that there are both theoretical and practitioner views regarding marketing. For example, they reflect on Alderson's (1965) theory of marketing to explain how markets work, and Kotler's (1973) description of marketing management as being "viewed generally as the problem of regulating the level, timing and character of demand for one or more products of an organisation" (1973, p.42). Theoretical definitions of marketing tend to refer to the set of tools required to 'do marketing', or as a way of explaining exchange

behaviour (Bagozzi, 1975). Therefore, there are no stable set of practices or ideas that can unequivocally be called 'marketing'.

As Venkatesh et al. (2006) write, “the term market is everywhere and nowhere.” Put simply, the distinction between a market and marketing was set out by Venkatesh and Penaloza (2006) as:

Market	a set of institutions or actors, physical or virtual space, discourse and practice
Marketing	Set of activities undertaken by a firm to stimulate demand for products and services (demand creation and demand management) Studies in marketing include CRM, advertising, direct marketing, market research

2.2 B2B MARKETING

Broadly speaking, marketing falls into two key areas, consumer-based and business-to-business (B2B) marketing. B2B (or industrial) marketing involves the marketing of goods and services from one business to another. This type of marketing typically relies on strong networks and negotiations between parties and is more complex than traditional consumer-based marketing. The buyer decision-making process is more complex than the traditional consumer process. While the term ‘industrial’ appears to refer more to manufacturing, it is generally used to describe most transactions and marketing activities where the buyer is not the end consumer.

As a result, the B2B Is dependent upon durable relationships, indeed only takes place in the context of many durable relationships, which themselves can take the form of valuable market

or exchange relationships, to be maintained and made stable, transformed or at times ended, all with considerable implications of organizational activity and resources. and has to be made and remade continuously. This phenomenon can be reflected in a research conducted by the IMR group, which acknowledged the necessity of studying networks of individual inter-firm relationships in the process of understanding how industrial markets function (Halinen and Tornross, 1996).

Industrial networks involve the engagement of business actors (companies and individuals) to participate in business-related activities. Biggemann and Buitte's (2012) research on the intrinsic value of B2B relationships identifies four key areas of value within a business relationship: personal (client retention and referral); financial (looking at market share, efficiencies), knowledge (specifically market intelligence, innovation and idea generation) and strategy (looking at the importance of long term planning and extended networks).

Research undertaken by Granovetter (1985) and Callon (1998a) demonstrates a developing interest in the connections between markets and marketing. The idea of embeddedness, where economic behaviours are embedded in social networks, offers some attractions in that it depicts social and economic actors being bound to social routines, customs and habits, that shape, constrain and enable individual actions contingent upon social contexts. Granovetter's work on embeddedness follows Polanyi (1957), who proposes that

> *"the embeddedness of economic action in preindustrial societies was for all intents and purposes supplanted in modern life by the logic of efficient market"* (cited in Granovetter (1973;1985)

Granovetter's works on social capital and social ties shows that actors in these networks use these social relations and ties to organise and shape economic interactions within the network. Nonetheless, Granovetter's embeddedness theory has several critics (Uzzi 1996, 1997; Callon, 1998).

Uzzi argues against some of Granovetter's finding by suggesting that Granovetter does not account for how social relations affect economic exchange. He explains that embedded ties are formed mainly from referral networks and prior experience (Uzzi, 1996), Uzzi suggests that an actor with embedded ties between two unconnected actors in a network could act as a 'go-between'. This appears to imply a move away from the work of embeddedness (Uzzi, 1997). Furthermore, Uzzi (1997) found that optimum inter-firm relationships are based on a combination of arms-length (**market exchanges**) and embedded ties (**close relationships**).

Taking Granovetter (1985)'s thesis that "economic action is embedded in networks of relation" into consideration, Uzzi directs the reader to consider how relations within a network support economic action. In an embedded network of exchanges, Uzzi (1997) suggests that trust is the main method of structuring the network around economic action, and calculative risk is a secondary consideration. He argues that there is a risk of over-embeddedness, which can negatively affect an economic action, if the social connections with the network become more important than the economic exchanges. Where on the other hand, Callon (1998a) concentrates on the market itself, proposing in the introductory chapter that economics "*in its broadest term, performs, shapes and formats the economy, rather than observing how it functions*." (p.2),"

Moreover, reflecting on this thesis earlier point on the apparent disregard of the 'market' element of marketing theory, Callon adds to this discussion with the inclusion of the quote by North:

> "*It is a peculiar fact that the literature on economics… contains so little discussion of the central institution that underlies neo-classical economics – the market*" (North, 1977).

Callon draws on the work of embeddedness, but is critical of the implications of this. He refers to the economy as being embedded in economics, referring to activities and practices used to "analyse and intervene in markets" (Araujo, 2007, p.217).

Callon's (1998) work has also received some criticism. For instance, in Miller (2002)'s response to Callon's work, entitled "Turning Callon the right way up," he argued:

> "*In a capitalist society, also, what lies within the frame is not the market system as an actual practice, but on the contrary a ritualized expression of an ideology of the market*" (2002:224).

Callon and Miller both agree that economics should be included when considering the economy, and that economics become "a stakeholder in those activities" which, in turn, creates and shapes the economy.

To sum up, the discussions around embeddedness show that there are some contradictions within the theory around the system and practices of the economy and of the market. Where the social network within markets are important, there is a need to understand economics as performing and shaping the economy so that exchange can take place across networks. In

doing so, an understand of economisation is required. Economisation is defined by Calışkan and Callon (2009) as:

> "*The processes that constitute the behaviours, organisations, institutions and, more generally, the objects in a particular society which are tentatively and often controversially qualified, by scholars and/or lay people, as 'economic'. The construction of action (-inaction) into the word implies that the economy is an achievement rather than a starting point or a pre-existing reality that can simply be revealed and acted upon*" (2009:369).

Through economisation, materials and materialities (such as tools for calculation) and techniques are combined to create a market. To understand a market, agents must work out the economic value of the elements that are being exchanged, alongside an "ability to perform calculations." Economisation, therefore, takes into account both human and social relations and materials when qualifying goods and services.

2.2.1 Marketisation of Audience Development

Kjellberg and Helgesson (2006, 2007) and Calışkan and Callon (2010b) develop the ideas of economisation in markets to introduce marketisation, involving multiple processes incorporating calculative devices and other materials. One of the main aims of this thesis is to understand the marketisation of Audience Development services. These agencies do not operate in straight-forward market settings. Rather, they specialise in delivering highly focused research and insight to a niche market within the arts sector, one which has a number of measureable and intangible benefits to society.

Marketisation is defined by Calışkan and Callon (2010b) as "*the entirety of efforts aimed at describing, analysing and making intelligible the shape, constitution and dynamics of a market socio-technical arrangement*" (2010b:3). Calışkan and Callon (2010b) outline five types of framing which should be considered in marketisation, including the need to pacify goods, the marketising of agencies, market encounters, the role of price- setting and the design and maintenance of a market. Marketisation draws together the work of economisation, but brings focus on the role of the market (while accepting that all market forms are not identical but do have similarities) within marketing, a strong foundation within Market Studies.

Audience Development agencies have moved from internal public sector departments funded entirely by government money to become individual organisations that also operate within a market setting, with their own boards, clients, and who receive funds through a number of different avenues. Thus, this sector – like many other public services - has undertaken a form of marketisation (Matteson, 2003; Greener, 2008; O'Sullivan, 2009). This involves moving public sector activities into commercial activities with a view to managing costs and making the product or service more competitive within a commercial environment.

As Audience Development agencies add and position their service offer, so they make the arts sector in which they operate more complex. While for some services there is a financial exchange, for others the exchange forms part of an arts organisation's annual membership with the agency. There are also cases where no financial exchange take place. The calculations that occur in Audience Development can be contested, so providing multiple rather than singular framings of a service's value. These are often confounding, making it difficult to present a clear picture of the sector. Furthermore, with the state of the cultural sector, local authority funding

and other economic factors, Audience Development agencies are under close scrutiny to deliver value to audiences, the arts sector and the country as a whole.

Providing a robust definition of the market around Audience Development, and the translations and transactions that take place within it would assist in having a clearer understanding of how this market behaves. In particular, being aware of how these agencies demonstrate the impact and the successes of the industry could support justification of investments in the sector, encourage attendance and participation, and ensure survival of the arts. Audience Development agencies were created specifically to deliver on these remits.

2.2.2 Mediation in Audience Development

Marketers traditionally refer to the terms intermediation and disintermediation whereby consumers and businesses began to 'cut out the middle man.' This was notable in the work of agents particularly in the travel, insurance and banking industries., where consumers began to use online and automated systems to make decisions, rather than relying on the expertise of an industry specialist. A further example is the disintermediation of self-service retailing, in which Kjellberg and Helgesson (2007) highlight a concern that this service (the loss of human cashiers) could reduce the quality of the service offered, as retailers would not be so easily available to give product information.

Disintermediation is suitable where consumers are able to receive all of the information and make decisions without specialist advice, or where the decision is low involvement. However, where there is a need for highly specialised or niche industries, for instance, in commissioning market research (Ruiz, 2013), there is often a need to consult experts to ensure that organisations or consumers can make the most informed decisions.

Audience Development agencies appear to contradict the trend of disintermediation, positioning themselves as experts between the arts organisations and the audiences. These agencies position themselves as an essential service in bringing together like-minded arts organisations (and other interested parties), sharing knowledge and developing best-practice models. Audience Development organisations could therefore be described as mediators, operating between different audiences, arts organisations and funding bodies. The thesis now moves towards a theoretical definition of mediation which takes inspiration from the theoretical works of Bruno Latour and Science and Technology Studies. Ekbia (2009) defines mediation as:

> *"The process through which subjects, objects and meanings emerge in collective activity… [Mediation] recasts the traditional notions of causation and representation… removes their individualistic and mentalistic baggage, and integrates them in a single unifying concept."* (2009:255)

Mediation refers to the B2B networks where collective activities take place and where a network can be shaped through a series of translations. This is carried out through the creation of a third agent that is the property of the associated delegation of actors as we move from exchange to marketisation. Mediation can help understand how markets work through the qualification and requalification of objects within a market setting.

Discussions around mediation and mediators generally takes a 'triadic view' (Sasson, 2008), holding a middle position between organisations. Mediators can be seen as actors that can amend, substitute or establish ties (Sasson, 2008). Practical examples of mediation include services such as marriage counselling, legal advice, and through carrying out problem solving

activities by possessing the relevant knowledge, background or access to information in a way that will improve things for the actors involved.

The role of a mediator could include assisting in supply and demand, helping exchanges to take place or working as a central point within networks of actors. Mediators may also be seen as "surrogate consumers" who can encourage customers to consume certain products and services. Finally, mediators can be involved in organising interactions, exchanges and relationships through enabling trade between organisations.

Sasson (2008)'s paper argues that actors working with a mediating service in uncertain conditions can achieve improvements to both the actors and the mediating organisations, as they can "influence members' success and are simultaneously affected by their members." Organisations that have a specific role in mediation can help to create relationships between unrelated organisations, linking together clients and organisations, and forming and facilitating networks which benefit organisations. Mediators can therefore "transform, distort and modify the meaning or element that they carry" but also that they can facilitate transformations that "preserve meaning." (Latour, and also discussed in Ekbia, 2009).

As identified by ANT (an important theoretical and methodological aspect of this study that will be referred to through this thesis), objects go through a series of mediations (translations) which alter the object as a result of interactions within the actor-network. ANT focuses on the heterogeneous associations and hybrids[1] of human and non-human actors as they move towards a new entity through a series of translations (i.e. changes, sometimes referred to mediations). Consequently, clusters of actors in the network are collaborating on both social and material

[1] Hybrid - objects produced by interactions

levels, and should be treated as heterogeneous through the principle of generalised symmetry (where all entities are treated as being equal). In offering some definitions around ANT, the theory adopts the term "actant" to refer to both human and non-human actors, explaining that these actants shape the network through their relations with each other.

As actants form networks, objects are translated through a series of inscriptions as the human and material actors are bundled together to create a product or service that can be exchanged within a market setting. In ANT terms, an intermediary refers to those objects which can transport without changing their meaning, whereas a mediator refers to those objects which transform meaning (and that the outputs cannot be predicted), and this is the meaning the thesis now focuses on.

Latour (1994) stresses that:

> "*Humans are no longer by themselves. Our delegation of action to other actants that now share our human existence is so far progressed that a program of anti-fetishism could only lead us to a nonhuman world, a world before the mediation of artefacts, a world of baboons*" (1994:41)

In 1998, Latour extended his definitions to explain that mediation involved the actions of all parties, explaining that "it is necessary that every actor composes for themselves the totality in which they are situated, a variable totality whose solidity must be reverified each and every time through new trials" (1998:229). The actors within mediation can be both humans and non-humans as long as they are able to take action upon association with each other.

Verbeek (2005) gives examples of door springs as a way of stopping doors from slamming, and uncomfortably large keyrings attached to hotel keys as a way of encouraging guests to leave the room keys in the hotel and thus reduce the risk of losing said keys. Hence, mediation can be seen as a way of understanding action and ensuring that actors make adjustments to make changes around the outcome of a transaction.

Kochan (2010) on discussing the work of Latour explains that mediation and mediators are terms and concepts that feature heavily throughout his many pieces. Kochan observes that, until 1987's "Science in Action," Latour appears to use the term translation to refer to mediation. However, mediation is used alongside translation in "We Have Never Been Modern" with the example of an air pump as it "creates what it translates as well as the entities between which it plays the mediating role" (Latour, 1993:78).

Latour sees mediation as an existing form of translation between society and matter, and gives four examples:

1) The translation that takes place when two agents (which can be human or non-human) come together to create a third agent. In his example he uses a human (agent 1) and a gun (agent 2) to create agent 3, a human with gun, an independent combination of agents 1 and 2. He uses the word "translation" to mean "displacement, drift, invention, mediation, creation of a new link that did not exist before," explaining that the 'person with gun' becomes a hybrid actor, and that responsibility of this action (to apply a function or to meet a goal) is shared between the actors (or rather actants) that are involved in this hybrid.

2) Composition, where he considers that the action becomes "a property of the associated entities," which in turn generate new possibilities. Using the action of 'flying in a plane,' he reminds the reader that the action of flying is not the act of a single actor or actant, but an action whereby the person flying is enabled by a number of different associated actors including ticket counters, planes and so on. As the actants exchange their competencies we find that new possibilities emerge.

3) Reversible black boxing, where the "action that we are trying to measure is subject to black boxing, a process that makes the joint production of actors and artefacts entirely opaque." He introduces the concept of reversible black boxing as a way of explaining that all parts within a black box consist of other parts which may be objects, or assemblages and as such these parts or objects may be formed as a way of explaining the role of mediation.

4) Delegation, which depends on the previous meanings of mediation. He gives the example of 'sleeping policemen,' which delegates actions as concrete bumps in the road used as traffic calming measures by forcing cars to slow down in urban areas.

To sum up, in Audience Development services, a series of translations takes place as the version of the object being exchanged moves from the seller to the buyer. Audience Development agencies perform a role as a mediator, assisting in bringing together different actants within a network to create something new that can be exchanged. There are a number of potential buyers and actors involved in the exchanges, each with their own version of realities and their own needs. Having the ability to recognise the particular nuances and

challenges across the different sectors involved from both an agency and a buyer perspective helps to understand how this service can be stabilised.

2.3 AUDIENCE DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES AS PROMISSORY ORGANISATIONS

Audience Development agencies, like all B2B transactions, focus on the exchange between the buyer and the seller. For some Audience Development agencies, the member organisations (arts organisations who choose to use the services as part of a membership model, rather than a transaction only based) pay an annual membership fee, for which they receive a number of services, including days of consultancy services. While there are some studies in the literature that discuss the area of membership, these mainly focus on the B2C market, for instance, including membership fees for restaurant groups (Jang, Mantilla and Bai, 2007), and warehouse club membership (Kim and Choi, 2007). The tourism industry offers opportunities for paid-for membership services (Morrison, Lynch and Johns, 2004), where tourism organisations pay a membership in return for participating in the network and sharing knowledge and resources.

The output of Audience Development services cannot always be predicted and will depend on the needs of the individual arts organisations, market trends and developments in technologies. Therefore, the paid-for membership of Audience Development services allows arts organisations to guarantee services over a year long period, however, the actual deliverable will not be agreed until it is needed. In this respect Audience Development services can be described as a promissory process, whereby agreements are made and the calculated value is based on the anticipated outcome (Pollock and Williams, 2010).

Promissory organisations are defined as "an intermediary that routinely and prodigiously produces futures-oriented knowledge claims" (Pollock and Williams, 2010). Their paper outlines three types of promissory behaviours, which understand differences between those actions or predictions that can shape markets and those that do not have an impact on the business. These behaviours include classificatory (involving the identification of new and emerging classes of technologies), the contested or failed predictions, and the speculative promises (those that attempt to create a new market or niche). In addition to Pollock and William's paper, foresight has been identified as "a fourth mode of promissory activity" (Houghton, 2013) which integrates more complex landscapes of patterns, hypotheses and scenarios to provide depth to strategic decision making. The service of Audience Development appears to fit within this exchange setting, as the service (referred to as an object) becomes stabilised within the market setting.

The definition of promissory organisations appears to fit with one part of the offering by Audience Development agencies, and is therefore an area of theory appropriate for this study, especially around the testing of potential pieces of research and testing out market processes to deliver value to arts organisations. These 'promises' are based around agreed calculations, pieces of evidence and previous experience across different time-frames, and fit within the performativity approach, discussed later in this chapter. The thesis now moves to examine the importance of marketing practices to help establish and stabilise B2B services within a market setting.

2.4 INTRODUCTION TO MARKET STUDIES

The marketing literature has gradually reintroduced the idea of markets within marketing, taking for example Venkatesh and Penaloza (2006), who proposed that marketers work on finding new ways to become part of the market and work alongside other market agents, rather than solely focusing energies on meeting existing consumer needs or competitors. This thesis now focuses on this novel area of literature, that of reconnecting markets to marketing.

2.4.1 Reconnecting Markets to Marketing

Following Callon's (1998a) work on markets, a new stream of research began to emerge in the industrial marketing literature. Araujo and Kjellberg (2009) offer a move away from marketing, which they describe as "techniques to regulate exchange," to 'market-ing', meaning that to practice marketing, one cannot see a market just as a neutral background, but rather something to engage with, with varying degrees of deliberation and competencies. Here, they take a practice approach to marketing, also described as the performativity programme, which combines marketing, economic sociology and social studies of science literature, together often referred to as 'Market Studies'.

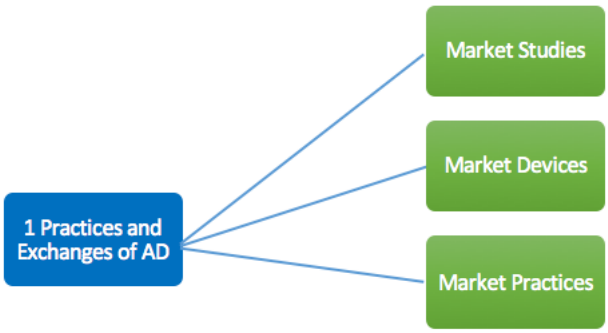

Figure 2 Market Studies Literature

The figure above proposes that there is a combination of practices, measurement devices and other forms of expertise, which are all involved in the shaping of markets. Markets become the institution, and marketing is the process.

Geiger, Kjellberg and Spencer (2012) explain that Market Studies is "based on an understanding of markets not as given but as ongoing socio-technical enactments worthy of social scientific attention" (2012:134). The authors outline the key concepts of Market Studies as:

1) Multiple versions of marketing, continuously shaped and influenced by market practices.
2) Market practices are shaped through market agents shaping markets
3) Markets constantly in a state of flux, changing and adapting to meet needs

This definition offers a clear direction for Market Studies as it demonstrates the importance of practices, market-shaping processes, and the ability of markets to adapt to the changing demands. Markets are unwieldy and volatile, and require stabilising behaviours to ensure that the market can be performed. Markets are therefore enacted by practices and interactions that generate value for the actors involved (Araujo, Finch and Kjellberg, 2010; Kjellberg et al, 2012). The knowledge of marketing is performative, and for exchanges to occur, framing must be in place. Each of these considerations are crucial in understanding how markets are shaped and re-shaped

2.4.2 Background to Market Studies

The emerging subject area of Market Studies came from a group of academics with a common interest in the study of markets within marketing, who came together to form the IMP (Industrial Marketing and Purchasing) Market Studies group. This has led to three EIASM-

sponsored Interdisciplinary Workshops in Sweden (2010), in Ireland (2012), in France (2014), and one forthcoming in Scotland in 2016. While having a strong basis within the marketing discipline, Market Studies is an interdisciplinary study, taking influence from a wide set of theories including science, economics, psychology and sociology.

The literature surrounding the study of markets and their connection to marketing has been recognised in peer-reviewed journals, including a virtual special issue of Marketing Theory (2010), a special issue of Consumption, Markets and Culture (2012). There were also publications in Industrial Marketing Management (see for example Kjellberg and Helgesson, 2006; 2007, Rinallo and Golfetto, 2006, and Hagberg and Kjellberg 2010) and an edited book titled "Reconnecting Marketing to Markets" published in 2010 (Araujo, Finch and Kjellberg (2010). More recently, scholars have begun to explore the role of the market in innovation processes as means of reshaping the market (Kjellberg, Azimont and Reid, 2015). In Market Studies, actors (human and material) come together to create hybrids which go through a series of translations to become something, which is stable enough to be exchanged within a market setting. Throughout these translations, calculations are constantly taking place across all activities within an organisation (Callon and Muniesa, 2005).

While the theoretical framing of this thesis falls within B2B marketing, it is important to offer a brief summary of Actor Network Theory (ANT) to allow the reader to gain context and understanding of the subject area This area is inspired by Science and Technology Studies[2] and economic sociology. Cochoy (2009) demonstrates that STS and the later ANT can offer a symmetrical approach to studying marketing by paying equal attention to both the humans and

[2] Science and Technology Studies (STS) refers to the relationships between science and technology, and in particular how society and culture can impact on technological innovation to them affect society.

the mundane objects. For Cochoy (2009) this involved the shopper and the shopping cart, as both being equally important in the practice of grocery shopping.

Rather than being a theory, ANT concentrates on understanding the relational ties within and between networks, and as such has methodological implications that will be discussed within the methodology section of this thesis. ANT, also referred to as the 'sociology of translation,' demonstrates that "all entities (human and non-human) take form and acquire their characteristics through their relations with other entities in the locations in which they circulate" (Miles, 2012). That can be further explained by using a metaphor implemented by Law and Singleton (2014), who mention a farm as an example of an actor-network, since it is a combination of animals, fields, farmers, crops and machinery. ANT suggests that "any predefined conception of social phenomena and actors should be avoided, and suggests rather that all the entities at play in the observed field be monitored, be they single or collective, human or non-human" (Cochoy, 2008).

In conclusion. ANT is appropriate for this study due to the heterogeneous treatment of the social and the material, and the collective nature of the practices of Audience Development agencies. The ways through which entities take form and acquire characteristics through a series of translations is appropriate when considering the different forms of actors (human and material) that come together to create a service that can be exchanged between two parties. A practical example of this will be shown within the empirical chapters. Having offered the introduction to Market Studies as an area of theory, the thesis now moves to review the literature around the more specific areas in the study of markets, beginning with market devices.

2.4.3 Market Devices

Much of the work of marketing is completed with unwieldy materials, routines, practices, artefacts, as well as ways of calculating the relative costs and benefits of actions, goods and services. The theory of markets can be understood in terms of market devices, which shape markets and agents (and the role of the material within the Market Studies literature is positioned within a wide variety of market sectors).

However, markets are more commonly perceived as "practical collective achievements" (Roscoe, 2013a). Objects are entities that are immutable mobiles, which can be defined as a number of different things dependent upon the context. These objects can be translated between times and locations relatively easily. The object created becomes valuable once it is used as a means to achieve practices and processes (Araujo, Finch and Kjellberg, 2010). For example, Shove and Araujo (2010) explore the concept of material objects shaping structures within mundane day-to-day consumption experiences.

Until the early 1990s, the importance of non-human actors had been largely ignored in the business, marketing and organisational literature. For example, scholars in finance began to realise the potential of studying materials alongside humans, with Monte Carlo simulation (MacKenzie, 2006) and in studying the role of markets (Callon and Muniesa, 2005). Callon and Muniesa studied the processes through which science and technology can be used alongside economics to help understand practices which they then expanded to fit those multiple market devices used to help shape and understand the economy.

Callon and Muniesa (2005) describe markets as "collective devices that allow compromises to be reached, not only on the nature of the goods to produce and distribute but also on the value to be given to them" (2005:1229). Law and Hassard, 1999) explains:

> "The *absence of a theory of the actor when combined with the role attributed to non-humans in the description of action is precisely one of the strengths of ANT that it is most important to preserve. This is because the combination makes it possible to explain the existence in the working of economic markets. ANT makes it possible to explain these operations and the emergence of calculating agencies*." (1999:381)

Slater (2002) observes that Callon and Miller both agree that "conceptually, markets are distinguished from other modes and systems of exchanges by a specific form of calculation." He identifies that even non-monetary or non-typical market exchanges (like a gift) require multiple complex exchanges. Slater offers the term "alienation" as opposed to calculation, when distinguishing market and non-market transactions and suggests cultural calculations as a way of framing and stabilising objects into transact able goods.

Markets can act as devices by classifying and organising objects (e.g. into clusters) that are based on broad qualities that can be measured. These can range from a shelf size in a shop, EBay shopping categories, and supermarkets themselves. In the case of Audience Development, box office software and MOSAIC postcode data are considered as market devices, because they assist in helping actors to make calculations and comparisons between the quality of objects sold in a market. The calculations allow the possibilities of ranking these items (objects, products, goods, services). If a product does not qualify as such, then new calculations or quality measures can be introduced to help the product to qualify within the marketplace.

Muniesa, Millo and Callon's (2007) approach to market devices involving examples such as sheets of data, pricing models and other calculating devices. which can be used together to contribute to the marketability of a product or service. Other examples of market devices include algorithms (Muniesa, 2004) and performance measures (Araujo and Azimont, 2010). Market devices are used to help shape the ways in which objects and people become calculable, for example, Roscoe's (2013b) work emphasises the importance of trust and shared experiences using social spaces and market devices. In summary, ANT allows researchers to address the question of agency and so of action. Actors are such because they acquire agency, by forming and holding together a network. Where stable, the links, connections, joinings and possibilities of defection are difficult to perceive. However, that network is selective. Agency implies selectivity, so an articulation of the conditions of qualification and so dis-qualification.

2.5 MARKET PRACTICES AND EXCHANGES

This section looks at the importance of establishing and replicating practices as a means of stabilising a market. For the empirical study of Audience Development agencies, there can assist as a means of showing consistency in working practices, and to demonstrate professionalism within the industry. To begin, this thesis provides a very brief overview of practice theory, to demonstrate how Market Studies fits within the extensive theoretical area. This is followed by specific examples of market practices in keeping with the Market Studies literature.

Practice and practices have been widely explored across social sciences, drawing inspiration from a wide variety of theoretical perspectives. These include anthropology, sociology and

economics, specifically Wittgenstein (1958) and Heidegger (1927), Bourdieu (1973, 1990) notion of field and habitus and Gidden's (1984) theory on structuration as well as ethnomethodologists such as Garfinkel (1967). More recent contributors to the practice literature include Lave (1988), Schatzki (2005), Reckwitz (2002) and DeCerteau (1984).

Practices consist of two main parts: actions and structures. (Feldman and Orlikowski, 2011; Schatzki, 2001). 'The actions, also called praxis, refer to performing an activity, while structures can be understood as a routinized type of behaviour. Whittington (2006) considers a third layer of practice, that of practitioners. Praxis is concerned with human action, while the practitioners are the actors that actually do the practices. Schatzki (1997) suggests that practice theory "envisions social life as a nexus of practice," explaining that most of people's everyday activities are based on a form of practice, which gives meaning to their lives.

Practice theory pays attention to the relationships between actors, and how the practices are performed in order to create meaning and reality. In other words, to help understand how actions can produce outcomes, which are then stabilised through practices. Practices can be considered to have a collective nature, with the connection between practice and action related to the customs that different people enact to and with at different events. Humans and non-humans can be 'carriers of practice' and all involved actors could potentially be a carrier of multiple practices (Ingram et al, 2007).

Practices are performed, and this involves a combination of materials, people and competencies (Shove and Pantzar, 2005). There is often a contrast between the defined practice (e.g. the practice as written out on paper through a rulebook or set of instructions) and the actual practice, which may substantially differ (Suchman, 1987; Brown and Duguid, 1991).

The development of practice theory within organisational theory stresses the equal importance of materials and humans in delivering day-to-day organisational practices. There are many interlinked and connected practices and material arrangements (meaning persons, artefacts, organisms and things) (Schatzki, 2001). Orlikowski (1996) focused her attention on "the structured and situated practices through which people engage with particular technologies." To understand organisational practice, Feldman and Orlikowski (2011) detail specific empirical work following practitioners doing their job in the field, explaining that

> "*centre to a practice lens is the notion that social life is an ongoing production and thus emerges through people's recurrent actions*" (2011:1240).

They reflect that "*practice rejects dualisms, relationally of mutual constitutions, where no can be taken to be independent of other phenomena…*" (2011:1242) and describing practices as "*the building block of social reality*" (2011:1241).

Leonardi and Barley (2008) found that studies generally focus on the social, on how humans organise themselves and work around the technologies they use, and why they use them, giving Barley (1986), Fulk (1993) and Orlikowski (1992, 2002) as examples. Leonardi and Barley (2008) state that "the relationship between IT and organising sooner or later leads one to contemplate the line between the material and the social" (2008:4). Schatzki (2005) describes an organisation as "a bundle of practices and material arrangements," clarifying the word "arrangements" by describing them as "*assemblages of material objects – people, artefacts, organisms and things*." He describes practices as "*structured spatial-temporal manifolds of action*" (2005:1863).

2.5.1 Market Practices

Kjellberg and Helgesson (2006) suggest multiple versions of marketing, defining market practices as all activities that contribute to constitute markets They suggest three interlinking sets of practices, which, while interesting, are subject to criticism from the lack of examples used to justify their inclusion:

1) Exchanging practices (concerning transactions);

2) Normalising practices (whereby rules and routines are set and replicated);

3) Representational practices (which help to structure product markets).

These sets of practices were used by Kjellberg and Helgesson (2007) form a model of markets which are constituted by a set of practices, which come together through translations. Exchanges generally take place through a series of connected practices and differ depending on the particular object being exchanged. For this exchange to take place successfully, there are usually things that are bundled together (entangled) which must be realised, objectified and stabilised to in order to become recognisable and exchangeable. Shove and Araujo (2010) argue that objects are made real and consumed through practices. Similarly, Araujo, Finch and Kjellberg (2010) describe them as "acquir[ing] value through and because of their role in accomplishing particular practices and projects."

The definition of market practices is extended to include "the bundles of practices including material arrangements that contribute to perform markets" (Araujo, Kjellberg and Spencer, 2008:8). Rinallo and Golfetto (2006) apply the practices using "concertation" to demonstrate the stabilisation of multiple practices around a market place, using the example of trade fairs within the fashion industry, that operate through a network of actors. Shove and Pantzar (2005)

demonstrate that practices can occur through consumer and product interactions, in particular the ways in which consumers establish meaning between the product and how they use it.

There is often a need for organisations to adapt practices to meet market needs. For example, Pickering (1995)'s work on scientists and physical objects that result in the scientists having to change their own practices to meet their requirements). Therefore, users working with technologies may need to adapt practices in order to achieve the task at hand. For example, Orlikowski (1996)'s work following designer and user practices found that there was a difference between what they had assumed the role of the technical specialist to be, in contrast to what the specialists actually did in practice, who then required the technology to be altered to meet their ways of working.

The skills and abilities of the individual using the material or product to perform the practice are also of considerable significance (Shove and Araujo, 2010). In considering this view of the aforementioned considerations, the material aspects of practices must be established, for example through, for instance, the interaction of objects, artefacts or digital things, which can be bundled together with social practices to create an understanding of how things happen within an organisational setting.

Materiality appears in all forms of organising, be it material (visible forms) tangible forms of desks, chairs, computers, the building and the people themselves, or immaterial, intangible, invisible forms like the data, software, the infrastructure within the organisation (Orlikowski, 2007). Earlier studies, such as the ones conducted by Barley (1986) and Orlikowski (1992), have applied materiality to specific technology cases including. Orlikowski (2010) argues that the limited discussion on materiality within organisation literature is stems from the fact that

technology is seen to be 'either invisible or irrelevant', with the attention instead focused on the human actors and the social structures. Cochoy (2008) argues that materiality should be concerned with both large environments, and smaller moveable devices. Shove and Araujo's (2010) study on Do-It-Yourself (DIY) projects demonstrates how material objects and practices can come together to complete a more complicated project. The materiality of objects therefore refers to the process which objects go through as they move along networks.

The early ANT literature focused on the heterogeneity and relational position of ANT, describing the world as being 'practiced in materially heterogeneous ways' with materiality being a 'consequence of interaction' (Law and Singleton, 2014:4). Law and Hassard's (1999) book 'ANT and After' explores and develops new concepts and ideas around ANT.

Svabo (2009) writes of a "growing interest in materiality" within organisation studies and the premise that "people make things, but also things make people." It should therefore be seen as impossible for humans to neither separate themselves from the materials nor be actors without considering the cultural significance of them. Material and human agencies should be "mutually and emergently productive of one other" (Pickering, 1995:567). Orlikowski (2007) uses the example of a Google search to explain how the search involves the computer, networks and database. She explains that this assemblage "*temporarily binds together a heterogeneous assembly of distributed agencies, which for the duration of the particular search are provisionally stabilised*" (p.1445).

Although software does not have physical attributes as such, it should still be studied as an artefact as it allows (or constrains) humans to act and complete their practices (Leonardi and Barley, 2008). Materiality appears to suggest tangibility with physical objects but that these

objects may take a less traditional material form, which may be represented through a virtual existence i.e. a webpage, blog or wiki. One cannot touch 'the material' of these things, but we know that they exist and are a representation of ourselves and of organisations.

Ekbia (2009) offers a definition of digital artefacts as a way of collectively grouping such artefacts that, despite having a non-physical form, are still considered to have some level of materiality. In addition, Leonardi (2010) suggests that less obvious artefacts play essential roles within organisational interactions. He describes digital artefacts as "having 'material' properties, aspects, or features, we might safely say that what makes them 'material' is that they provide capabilities that afford or constrain action." Other work encompasses the notion of digital artefacts which re-conceptualise the concept of materiality (Jung et al, 2010).

For instance, Microsoft PowerPoint is recognised as a technological tool that can be implemented from strategy making and has affordances to enable collaboration. PowerPoint can therefore be seen as not only as a tool for creating documents and presentations, but also can engage in practice and communication of ideas through material artefacts (Kaplan, 2010).

Jung et al. (2010) explain that using digital rather than physical artefacts offers a number of advantages, including reduced energy consumption, improvement in interactivity. The authors discuss the notion of attachment to artefacts, especially concerning "preserving sentiments and histories in the qualities of materials." The introduction of material devices can also change and adapt the way that people work with digital artefacts, for example e-readers, tablets alongside electronic books, magazines and journals. This leads designers to face what Jung et al. (2010) describe as "a particular challenge regarding design material due to its complex composition of physical and digital qualities."

The ways in which designers combine digital technologies and physical objects or devices raises challenges in whether to design something completely new to market. For example, the iPod was created as a music player, but did not resemble (physically or conceptually) any other music-playing devices on the market when released. On the contrary, a Kindle, closely resembles a traditional book being of a similar shape and size, and held in the same way.

Jung et al. (2010) propose five themes to take into consideration when designing the material effects of digital technology: (1) disposability (minimising the use of disposable materials such as paper); (2) shareability (using online storage such as clouds, and Dropbox); (3) reconfigurability (utilising new materials); (4) compatibility, the tactile material properties and the experiential quality of the product.

The materialness of the physical devices – the way it feels, its ease of use - help us to understand the concept of materiality. The 'fresh out of the box' device could belong to anyone. It is the applications (apps) added, the music imported or downloaded, the pictures used to personalise the device, the text messages and data stored and so on, that give the devices their materiality and meaningfulness to the individual. Nonetheless, the dematerialisation of goods does not always mean that it has less materiality (Magaudda, 2011). For example, digital or immaterial artefacts have materiality despite having no tangible surface. Although software does not have physical attributes as such, it should still be studied as an artefact as it allows or constrains humans to act and complete their practices (Leonardi and Barley, 2011).

This section has identified the need for both social and materials to become entwined for successful organisational practices. Through this, the literature has shown that materials do not

need to be always tangible to have the quality of materiality. Rather, it is the link between the humans and the materials that creates meaning and allows action to take place. Through taking an ANT approach, the materials and humans are of equal importance and are treated as such. This is of interest as it helps to explain that in technology even when one cannot see or touch the interface (such as internet conferencing software) it does have a materiality whereby users work with the artefacts in order to make something, or change an entity.

Furthermore, materiality is usually dependent upon relations on what is detected and who is detecting (Law, 2008). Pinch and Bijsterveld (2004) use the example of the materiality of sound to explain that STS allows a focus on culture and society as well as using STS as a means of understanding and creating knowledge. This idea of materiality demonstrates that agency emerges when the subject and object become one, almost as a form of co-production. Giving audiences the ability to make things happen and allowing an element of control and influence is of interest in this thesis. As the introduction section explained, the nature of Audience Development is partly to widen access to the creative sector.

2.6 FORMATTING AND EQUIPPING MARKET ACTORS

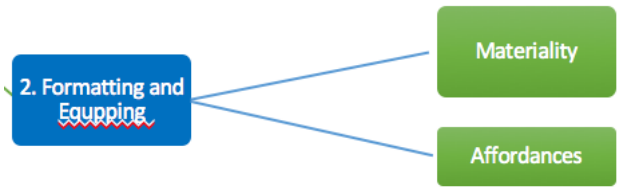

Figure 3 Formatting and Equipping

Using Audience Development agencies to format and equip audiences offers a highly controlled environment, in which there is an opportunity to see the impact of the arts sector on an audience without relying on secondary data. While these agencies often use data as a means

of understanding and formatting an audience, it would be a useful element of Audience Development services to understand the implications and relationships required to build audiences. Formatting involves market actors to make decisions or join in once they are equipped with the right devices. These devices can enable agencies to make exchanges. Equipping can involve a way of embedding or compensating (see for example Araujo and Shove, 2010) to help to make things more accessible or when they lack other skills or expertise to join in.

Following the work of actor-network theory, the subsequent Market Studies, and building on the discussions on practices and materiality, the study of affordances fits well. The study of affordances is an alternative method of understanding how the use of something affords or allows something else to happen. Affordances differ from social and material practices as there is little focus on social relationships. Instead, affordances concentrate on the use of objects or things to make things happen within networks

The inclusion of affordance theory shows that objects allow actors to behave differently, and that these may have material qualities even if they are intangible. The overarching themes of the discussion on affordances suggest an emphasis on interactions between objects and users, with a focus on the materiality of the object or artefact in question.

The literature on affordances (and music affordances specifically) explains that objects have material qualities which affords actors different things, based on their own knowledge and past experience, and causes reactions and changes. Audiences can therefore be impacted upon by music and cultural activities, which can provoke reactions and even lead to changes in behaviour. Specifically, the study of affordances contributes to the concept of Audience

Development agencies equipping and formatting audiences. There is controversy over the ideas of affordances in the literature. Collectively the scene as a whole is not unified.

Taking influence from Science and Technology Studies and ANT, a network is considered to include all human and non-human members which come together in order to produce an outcome, which is meaningful to all members within the network. This section therefore identifies another area of literature on affordances, whereby actors can collaborate, becoming a network in action. Networks are continually changing, as actors try and re-shape their contributions, the ways in which they make their contributions, whilst actors join or leave that network. As previously discussed, the material nature of practice and the growing interest in materiality offers the opportunity to adapt the literature around affordances to suit the work of Audience Development.

While the existing literature on affordances has focused on the actor as an individual, this study suggests an opportunity to investigate this further into understanding how affordances affects actor network. Affordances provide a useful way of studying the interactions between actors and objects as they move through an actor network.

2.6.1 Affordances

The study of affordances is an alternative method of understanding how the use of something affords or allows something else to happen. Affordances differ from social and material practices as there is little focus on social relationships. Rather, affordances concentrate on the use of different objects that can be utilised within networks.

The subject of affordances is a complex area, whereby the literature offers many controversies. The concept is borrowed from perceptual psychology (J. Gibson, 1977, 1979), claiming that objects are afforded action independent to how users appropriate them, thus defining affordances as action possibilities in relation to the actor and dependent upon their capabilities. Latour (2002) discusses Gibson's concept by using the example of a hammer as an object, which is designed to fulfil a function, however the action does not take place until the tool is held in the hand of the user. With an almost infinite amount of possible outcomes, affordances can refer to the potential uses of an object or artefact (Born, 2005). Gibson intended an affordance to mean an action possibility available in the environment to an individual, independent of the individual's ability to perceive this possibility.

In response to Gibson's (1977) work, W. Gibson (2006) develops a definition to explain that the design of actions and the understanding of how to perform them, is based on prior experience, knowledge and procedures. One can observe that the above argument is in line with Norman's (2004) definition of perceived affordance, which also implies that the action is not possible without prior knowledge. This definition is often used in computing as a way of suggesting how things could be done (McGrenere & Ho 2000) in contrast to Gibson's work which was taken to mean what it affords an individual to do.

Anderson and Sharrock (1993) concur that an object's affordances are "constituted and reconstituted in and through projected courses of action within settings," whereas Clarke (2005) sees affordances as "action consequences of encountering perceptual information in the world" (p. 38) whereby any action can be seen as an affordance..(2005:38). W. Gibson (2006) suggests that affordances also relate to finding new ways in which to carry out practices, perhaps emerging from usage within a different context or scenario, or through changes in

society and culture. Additionally, he claims that the outcome of the action is due to the interactions taking place between the objects and the users (W. Gibson, 2006).

2.6.2 Music's Affordances

The study of affordances demonstrates the applicability of STS to the concept of networks, particularly in the area of music, and of treating music as a material of equal importance to the humans within a network. While the study has so far focused mainly on physical inanimate objects and digital artefacts, there is the opportunity to include music as something which forms part of an actor network. Similar to Latour and Woolgar (1986)'s science laboratory, and Singleton (2005)'s study of alcoholic liver disease (Law and Singleton, 2005) and farm (2014), a music performance can also be considered as an actor network, since it consists of a multitude of human and non-human actors, which are of equal importance in the network.

Moreover, it can be argued that music has material qualities, represented as sounds, written music on a piece of paper, performed by, and an instrument being played by a human actor. Therefore, music has affordances, which impact on the actors around it. Understanding music's affordances offers an opportunity within the empirical setting to investigate this further by taking an actor-network approach to understanding how an Audience Development agency can use music to understand how music can equip and format an audience.

DeNora (1999, 2000, 2003) sees affordances as 'organising devices' that bring focus and engage those involved. DeNora's theoretical work is framed around several empirical studies on the role of music's affordances. She suggests that music has a number of different roles: as an ordering device, a technology of self, and as a resource used by individuals to regulate them and as a medium of social practice. DeNora's work is rooted in STS, which has influenced

ANT, and as such offers a contribution to the current research. She describes music's affordances as:

> "*Music-as-practice, and music as providing a basis for practice ... Music as a formative medium in relation to consciousness and action, as a resource for – rather than medium about – world building. ... focus shifts from what music depicts, or what it can be read as saying about society, to what it makes possible…. to 'speak of what music makes possible is to speak of what music affords*" (DeNora, 2003: 46).

From the above quote the line "of what music makes possible is to speak of what music affords" is of relevance for this study. Affordances, put simply, is a term that refers to what is made possible from the actions of another. Music appears to have independent material qualities and is made up of blurring of producing, exchanging and consuming. Listening to a certain type of music almost allows the listener to behave in a way they believe appropriate to the type of music, therefore music can be treated as a day-to-day tool, for example, music for exercising, music for listening to during a relationship breakdown, and music which enhances illicit drug taking experiences (Kruegar, 2010). Music may afford behaviour to the listener such as inspiring dance and movement (Clarke, 2005). Music may also give its listener an understanding and meaningfulness which is based on the listeners own history, knowledge and experience. This can all be described as what the music *affords* the listener.

Music's affordances may also refer to the instrument, in that the shape and design of it affords the player an ability to make music from it. The ability is use the instrument to make music is usually dependent on the musician's prior knowledge of the instrument, understanding of music, the beats, tune and sound, the musician's ability to read written music, or understand and mimic music. Likewise, the sound produced by the instrument helps to guide and inspire

the performer (Tanaka 2010; W. Gibson 2006). Affordances therefore, create an opportunity to format and equip actors with the necessary tools or devices needed to make one thing happen rather than another.

While there are tools and techniques which can be combined with social relationships and knowledge to create something which can be bundled together and referred to as 'Audience Development, there is yet another type of Audience Development to consider – where audiences participate in the arts almost subconsciously. As shown in the literature, music offers a multitude of affordances for actors. There are opportunities for Audience Development agencies to carry out a different form of Audience Development, which notes the behaviour of the audience in real-time, as opposed to using historical data.

Organising music performances can create a controlled setting where an audience can experience the arts, (e.g. organising a music performances) and then monitoring the effect of it on all of the actors involved in the performance. As demonstrated, music has affordances which have different meanings and encourage different behaviours based around the audience member's prior knowledge and experiences.

To summarise, affordances refer to objects that allow actors to behave differently. These affordances objects have material qualities, even when they are intangible.

2.7 STABILISING THE B2B SERVICE OF AUDIENCE DEVELOPMENT

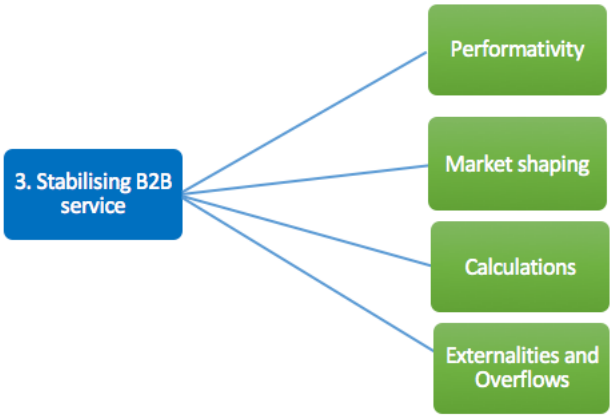

Figure 4 Performativity

The existing literature tends to focus on B2B (business-to-business) and CCT (consumer culture theory) exchanges, usually centred on calculations of a monetary value. The sector is constantly adapting to suit market demands, government remits and externalities. Furthermore, the services delivered must demonstrate value for investors and deliver economic and social impact to the public bodies which fund their organisations. For this study, the "non-monetary" outputs and outcomes of the arts, including reputation and critical acclaim, cannot be easily measured in financial term and have relevance for those who exchange value with arts organisations (e.g. public bodies and funders). As an Audience Development agency's practices are often funded through a combination of private funding (paid for by the arts organisation requiring the service) and through government issued grants (such as through Creative Scotland and the National Lottery), this means that there are numerous calculations taking place at every stage of the process. 'The subsequent subchapter will explain different types of calculations in more detail.'

2.7.1 Performing a Market

The performance of a market explains that transactions take place between a buyer and a seller, in which an object transfers ownership from the seller to the buyer. This process involves a series of calculations performed by using calculating devices (which are not necessarily numerical tools but may include things such as balance sheets, data analysis tools, spreadsheets and other devices) to move on. This allows moving the object from the seller to the buyer through a series of translations. When presenting this object in a market place, the pricing models are usually based around the classification of an object (Bowker and Star, 1998) and how it compares to others operating within the same market space. Being able to stabilise the object as it moves through the series of calculations will help to ensure that it is ready for exchange.

Marketing professionals can shape the marketplace using market and other calculative devices (Azimont and Araujo, 2010). The authors conclude that having multiple versions of markets helps to produce and develop market practices, which can therefore be replicated as a means of stabilising the market place. Following ontological politics, multiple versions of a market are often in place to meet different organisation, customer and market needs. The term ontological politics merges the two ideas of ontology and politics. Ontology refers to the understanding of what 'belongs to the real' and the understanding of the different possibilities around us. The use of the word politics refers to the "controversies surrounding existence and the denial of singularity and championing of multiplicity" (Alcadipani and Hassard, 2010:424.)

Law and Benschop (1997) define ontological politics as:

> *"To represent is to narrate or to refuse to narrate. It is to perform or to refuse to perform, a world of spatial assumptions populated by subjects and objects. To represent*

thus render other possibilities impossible, unimaginable. It is, in other words, to perform a politics. A politics of ontology" (p.158)

Ontological politics is concerned with the performance of reality, and that reality is shaped within practices (Mol, 1999). Reality can offer some forms of transformation, and that it is located "historically, culturally and materially" (Mol, 1999:75). Law (2008) uses 'ontological politics' as a means of understanding multiplicity in practices. When we think of reality, there are always multiple versions of reality and practices being performed by multiple actors, which can co-exists without causing conflict (Kjellberg and Helgesson, 2010). Law and Urry (2004) describe ontological politics as follows: "every time we make reality claims in science we are helping to make some social reality more or less real" (2004:396), meaning that the conditions of possibility are 'in the making.' Alcadipani and Hassard (2010) therefore suggest that the notion of Ontological Politics is based around the idea that things can have different meanings depending upon the initial need identified by the actors involved. There could be various methods used to perform, practices and ontological politics recognises that there could be a choice between these methods (Mol, 1999).

The author also states that there is a connection between "the real, the conditions of possibility we live with, and the political" (Mol, 1999:74). Her work recognises the tensions between realities, but focuses on the interconnections between the options and reality as well as the performances of reality. Law (2008) explains that ontological politics "talks up and explores different mattering's or modes of mattering" (2008:13). Thus, what is possible is shaped by practices (Beyes and Steyaert, 2011).

Mol (1999) offers a number of questions around the term ontological politics, which she borrowed from Law's earlier work on aircraft stories. She suggests that objects often have multiple versions; there are decisions to be made on which option to perform. Further to this, she asks "to what extent are there options between different versions of reality?" (1999:74). Mol (1999)'s study on biomedicine highlighted differences and tensions between the different professionals involved, whereby each practitioner carried out work differently and enacted different materialities. The realities of different circumstances allowed practitioners to propose alternative types of therapy and treatment on patients.

The study of ontological politics is appropriate for this thesis because it brings together the idea that everything is shaped by practices, and that new meaning and materialities can be applied to objects. Moreover, there are multiple meanings and multiple worlds. Similar to Law and Singleton (2014)'s farm example, the notion of an Audience Development agency could be considered as an actor –network with a combination of social and material heterogeneous elements, which have different relational connections and are bundled together. Within each agency there are multiple versions of reality, with different versions of Audience Development being performed through a multiplicity of social and material practices. This can be applied to Audience Development with respect to their different sources of funding; as a way of practising Audience Development; sharing information and best practice; knowledge exchange; offering calculating devices and measureable outcomes; and acting as a mediator between arts organisations, audiences, artists and digital developers.

2.7.2 Definitions of Performativity

For this thesis, 'Performativity' is seen as a way of understanding the economy by looking at the connections between economic theory and the actual economy. Callon (1998a) proposes

that economics actually shapes and performs the economy, rather than being an observation of the economy. Performativity has also been applied to Science and Technology Studies and ANT to understand the performance of social reality which is based around habits.

There are two main versions of performativity: Austin an and Generic. Austinan refers to Austin's (1975) work, who did not use the term performativity, preferring 'performative utterances' to explain the role of speech in saying something refers to the actual doing of something" rather than just reporting the reality of what happened, believing 'that all utterances perform actions'. However, Kjellberg and Helgesson (2010) define the performativity of economies as "ideas, theories and models of markets and other forms of economic governance *only* describe an existing economy, but that they contribute to bring that economy into existence." In their version of performativity, they suggest an assumption that there is no effect or impact from language or text as detailed in the more traditional definitions of performativity.

Performativity has been applied initially in economic and financial literature. Volmer et al. (2009) uses performativity to examine the difference between representational and interventionist uses of economic models in financial studies. Performativity stresses the importance of group interaction (Volmer et al, 2009) in understand how things are performed and the usage of financial models as a means of creating and implementing rules and objects. where Callon refers to performativity in terms of economics helping to perform markets through shaping and framing (Finch and Acha, 2008).

Performativity features heavily in Market Studies literature, for instance, it is applied in the process of adapting certain features of financial markets to marketing (MacKenzie et al, 2007). The knowledge gained from marketing becomes performative - as knowledge and ideas are

performed as they are exchanged (Callon 2006). Kjellberg and Helgesson (2006) see performativity as a means of translating ideas about the world and shaping practices to link together these ideas through the use of mundane tools to manage exchange. Further, Finch and Acha (2008) describe performativity as:

> "*A set of concepts, routines, habits or practices which are immediately submerged in shaping a social setting"* (2008:50).

Taking the work of MacKenzie (2006), they suggest that pricing equations can be seen as both mathematic and economic devices, which help to understand markets (Kjellberg and Helgesson, 2006). There are some controversies in the literature, for example, MacKenzie and Millo (2003) suggest that most of the empirical studies in Callon (1998) do not find their base in performativity theory. Callon, Millo and Muniesa (2007) recognise that markets are both "the objects and the products of research." Pickering (1995) uses the description of a 'mangle of practice,' combining scientist's instruments and experiments to demonstrate material performativity.

Callon, Millo and Muniesa (2007) consider the role of market devices and identify the role of performativity as a means of understanding the "knowledge required to produce and stabilise" market devices. Roscoe (2013c) analyses the organ donation 'market,' demonstrating the challenge of putting a price on a human organ, and thereby challenging how markets work in practice. While the organ donation market is inherently more complex from a moral and economic perspective, some parallels can be drawn between this and the arts sector where it is difficult to calculate a monetary value and price on some forms of arts.

Performativity therefore allows for the practical performance of models and either in a short or long a form dependent upon, depending on the role of the performance and measurement. It allows reality to be represented within a model in a real form with the intention of making things real rather than just be confined to research papers (Finch, Horan and Reid, 2015). MacKenzie also addresses the concept of counter-performativity, whereby the making of reality in applying a model which give an unexpected result or demonstrates that the model does not actually work. Pricing patterns, for example, are dependent upon previous pricing, social relationships, practices and techniques (Butler, 2010). Performativity is therefore seen to be an 'experiment in the wild' (Finch, Horan and Reid, 2015), which may enrol others and encourage enactments.

The value in performativity emerges from these frames in which things become objectified and made stable ready for exchange. As objects go through a series of translations, ideas become recognised practices and as a version of generic performativity (Kjellberg and Helgesson, 2006). Performativity allows for a test run within a real setting, using real time models, calculating devices and other forms of measurement. Performativity, therefore, is an appropriate way of understanding how a market is performed through a series of tests (Overdevest, 2011), which show reality in the making, helping to make things stable and ready for exchange within a market setting. MacKenzie and Millo (2003) offer the example of pricing formulas within the Chicago Board Options Exchange as a means of understanding and calculating values. Finch and Acha (2008)'s example of the upstream oil and gas industry uses Monte Carlo simulation to represent oil and gas fields as a means of understanding performativity and calculation. MacKenzie suggests that performativity can be restrictive for example though limited usage of models.

2.7.3 Market Shaping Activities

Kjellberg and Helgesson (2007) describe the "organising of economic exchanges, and by extension, the shaping of markets" (2007:862). Their study focuses on the self-service retailing in Sweden and how it affects exchanges between the format and the actors (human and material) involved in transactions. Taking influence from Latour (1987)'s work on exchanges being in the making rather than ready-made, they study the associations between actors and practices within exchanges.

A market can be shaped by any of the many actors involved. Araujo and Azimont (2010)'s who work on category reviews, explains that a market can be shaped and affected by several business strategies, including amending an existing product line, repositioning a product range or re-mapping the existing classifications within the market place to attract new market spaces. Various actors can be involved in shaping how a market can be organised (Kjellberg and Heglesson, 2010). As markets are constantly in a state of flux, the concept of market shaping is introduced to act as a temporary stop as a means of stabilising the market (Kjellberg, Azimont and Reid, 2015). This process requires effort from all actors involved, often including market devices as tools to shape the markets. It is expected that markets do return to something resembling the original state (Kjellberg, Azimont and Reid, 2015).

This approach fits with Callon and Muniesa (2005) who describe calculations as:

> *"Establishing distinctions between things or states of the world, and by imagining and estimating courses of action associated with those things or with those states as well as their consequences." (2005:1231*)

Traditionally, calculations were considered to be a set of practices which by their very nature were quantitative, generally the counting of things. However, as understanding of the making of markets and theory (influenced from social sciences) developed, a need was identified to include more qualitative entities when carrying out complex calculations within the market place. For exchanges to happen and action to take place there may be a requirement for actors to collaborate between actors (Cochoy, 2009), His illustrative study on the role of the shopping cart furthers this work by using the example of the cart (and its pusher) as a method for analysing shopping behaviour in the field (supermarkets).

The shopping cart creates a (physical) frame whereby the size and shape of the cart influences what the consumer choses to purchase on that day, as well other marketing influences such as packaging, shelf positioning and the other shoppers. Shopping carts have hybrid characters, as a boundary object (Star and Griesemer, 1989) between supply and demand, but also between human and non-human agencies, as well as technical and social problems, shopping carts can also be considered as boundary object between STS and business (Cochoy 2009).

This frame or boundary on and around the market can establish what is in and out of the market, or what does and does not count within a market. (Geiger and Finch, 2009). There are tools and techniques required in order to help understand the market, thus focusing on a strong element of performativity which, in turn counts. For Audience Development agencies , this can mean the use of policy analysis and accounting techniques, which are mobilised through public funding, in order to establish what counts as successful Audience Development.

2.7.4 Calculations

Calculating a value of goods is a way of organising and stabilising the marketplace. While comparing consumer and business markets, Araujo and Kjellberg (2008) explain that in consumer markets the agencies for calculations are mainly aimed at the seller. For example, Kjellberg and Helgesson (2006)'s work on self-service shopping in Sweden demonstrates that a change in how people shop changed the marketplace. Consumers are constantly carrying out their own calculations when making decisions on purchases. Kjellberg and Araujo (2008) explain that even the fairly simple and mundane practice of buying a slice of ham in a supermarket requires multiple decisions and calculations, such as the type of ham, the price, how much is required and who will be eating it.

This fits with the idea of studying Audience Development due to the ideas of hybrids and objects in the making. In Audience Development agencies , the data and tools used as important as the people who deliver this service, as the data goes through a series of translations to become something that is meaningful and can be exchanged within a market setting. The study of markets and markets in the making in Audience Development is important in understanding how objects go through series of translations and interactions to become something that is ready to be exchanged within a market. In business markets (like Audience Development agencies), these strengths appear on the purchasing side, for example through supplier-focused tools such as pre-qualification questionnaires and reverse auctions. Markets may also require multiple calculating devices as a means of understanding and making sense of economic agreement (Muniesa, Millo and Callon, 2007). Callon and Law (2004) explain that calculations require material arrangements, measurement tools and means of understanding. These could include pricing mechanisms, benchmarking, and accountancy tools and so on.

Calculations are described by Araujo and Kjellberg (2008) as relying on "technical instruments that translate phenomena into measurable quanta through de-contextualisation" through creating common understanding of measurements. According to Callon and Muniesa (2005), calculations require a three-step process whereby firstly, all relevant actors and objects are organised into a single space (giving the examples of a sheet of paper, a supermarket or a spreadsheet). Next, this combination of things is understood and manipulated to make sense of the relationships between each of the entities being studied. Finally, a calculation is made that including a judgment or decision. Calculations are not always linked with financial or numerical instances, rather:

> "*It is better understood as a process in which entities are detached from other contexts, reworked, displaced, related, manipulated, transformed and summed in a single space*" (Callon and Muniesa, 2005).

Callon and Latour suggest a centre of calculation, defined by Latour (1999) as "*any site where inscriptions are combined and make possible a type of calculation… laboratory, statistical institution, files of a geographer, data bank and so forth. This expression locates in specific sites an ability to calculate that is too often placed in the mind*." (1999:304).

Czarniawaska (2004) explains that there is less focus on a centre of calculation but rather a number of calculating agents which take part in collective calculation processes to offer translations and helping to understand the process and practice of organising.

2.7.5 Qualculations

Callon & Law (2005) and Cochoy (2007) introduce the concept of 'qualculations' to suggest that calculations consist of both qualitative and quantitative measures in order to give a value

to the thing being exchanged. Cochoy explains that the fairly mundane object of the shopping cart acts as a means of moving shoppers away from a purely budget-based calculation, to qualculations, whereby purchasing decisions are based on how much the cart can hold, the size of packaging (and promotional offers), previous experience and family needs and other non-financial metrics. Further, shoppers can be influenced by what other shoppers are putting into their carts. Actors may also use markets to introduce new values as a way of guiding and shaping practices.

The term 'qualculations refers to a need for both material and social understanding of practices in order to make those calculations. Cochoy suggests that a good (or service) must be qualified before it can enter a process of calculation. The 'qual', as opposed to 'cal,' of calculation, means a "calculation, whether arithmetical in form or not, the manipulation of objects within a single spatiotemporal frame" (Callon and Muniesa, 2004). Therefore, one can claim that there must be some form of material arrangements in qualculation (Callon and Muniesa, 2004). The effectiveness of qualculation is dependent upon the entities, relationships and quality of the tools used to qualify and then measure the goods or services involved (Callon and Muniesa, 2004).

The performance of marketing requires involvement of many actors (human and nonhuman) and can result in both stabilisation and destabilisation of the marketplace (Zwick and Cayla, 2010). Araujo, Finch and Kjellberg (2010) use empirical examples of marketing to demonstrate that academia is in a strong position to bring together the market and marketing. Araujo (2007), discussing Callon (1998)'s work on market exchanges, explains that a market exchange happens when there is a price agreed between two parties. Finch and Geiger (2010) concentrate on market exchanges, considering the term 'marketing object' to represent the "object of

exchange that combines traces of both buyers and sellers' respective worlds, carrying the possibility of others into the market space" (2010:238).

Having examined the recent history of ANT and ontological politics, it is clear there are multiple versions of reality with a heterogeneous consideration of the social and material. These two concepts offer an appropriate backdrop to this study due to the importance of treating the material and immaterial actors identically and of understanding the importance of hybrids and objects being 'in the making', rather than being stable and ready to exchange. Objects develop a different and often unintended meaning while attached to a different set of practices. As discussed, this thesis takes its roots in the theoretical literature around markets and marketing, specifically in the new area of Market Studies, which takes concepts from ANT and economic sociology in order to understand the role of the market in marketing, beginning with the theory of markets as an embedding of exchanges.

Singularisation

As goods are made calculable, they go through a period of singularisation and objectification in an attempt to hold a good together to make it ready for exchange. Singularisation refers to the "attribution of agency to specific components" (Hardie and Mackenzie, 2006:77). Due to the nature of data analysis, there may be a number of translations of the good until it is fully ready to be exchanged within a market transaction. To make this process simpler and quicker, having established market practices can help ensure that the object produced meets the expectation of the buyer. This process of objectification and singularisation helps to stabilise the object through a series of translations and formatting using calculating devices. The qualification and requalification can ensure that the good meets market demands.

To make things calculable, the thing (or object) that needs to be calculated must be moved into a single space, which can range from the traditional idea of an invoice, to a shopping trolley (Cochoy, 2009). These things are then taken into consideration, compared, altered and transformed. Finally, a result must be taken from this process to complete the calculation. The entity produced is then removed from the calculative space and circulated within a new space (Callon and Muniesa, 2005).

In a market transaction, goods must be exchanged. The goods (which may be a product or service, or both) must be stabilised and positioned within a calculative setting. To make goods calculable, the entities involves need to be detached from the seller so that they can be ordered within a single space ready to be exchanged by the buyer. In this space, the good goes through a series of translations using calculative devices.

Goods must firstly be put in the position where they are identifiable into something that has value to another and can be exchanged. Goods should be 'pacified;' this refers the distinction between the thing that is to be valued, and the agencies capable of valuing them.

Objectification

Finch and Acha (2008) see objects within a market as constantly being made, defined, qualified, and calculated in a continuous cycle. Law and Singleton (2005)'s work on alcoholic liver disease explains that the disease is treated by an object which has different versions depending upon where it is under examination (e.g. in a hospital ward, a doctor's surgery and a voluntary organisation). This work finds that the object of alcoholic liver disease is treated differently in each of these settings due to the different actors around it and their own needs. Using this concept, Finch and Acha (2008)'s research on second-hand oil fields showed that

the market was constantly adapting and changing due to the oilfield changing. The value of the oil changed dependent upon the quality of the oil, the amount of pollution, the ability to drill for oil, chemicals in the water and many other factors, which had impact on the markets which were difficult to predict. The value of the oil, therefore, appeared to have different meanings for each of the actors involved in the exchanges including chemists, sales force and government bodies. They explain that markets can therefore stabilise as things become sorted out by carrying out different calculations.

The experience of using objects is partly related to social practices and interactions. As the objects move through actor networks they go through a series of translations. It is during this process that the materiality of the object changes, becoming what is known as a 'quasi-object,' which is an object that is created in part due to the object itself and its relationship with the human actor involved (Latour, 1993). Quasi-objects are almost the 'missing link' between humans and objects.

Finch and Geiger (2010)'s study on market objects explain that marketers work with an eclectic mix of tools and calculating devices to help organisations understand present and predict future market behaviours. An object in production is different from the finished good that can be transferred. Finch and Acha (2008) explain that "production is still likely to be a significant concern if Market Studies are to be translated into industrial settings in which businesses exchange goods with other businesses".

The good can then be objectified, whereby they are disentangled into something that is passive to be exchanged. Objectification involves market actors simultaneously making an object and beginning to shape the calculative space. This consists of two entities: with pacified agency it

can be transferred as property, and able to engage in operations of calculation and judgement. It is the passivity of things that transforms them into goods, and thus enabling agencies to form expectations, make plans, stabilise performance, and undertake calculations. Through stabilisation, the organised action can then move towards a relationship of exchange.

Categorisation

Categorisation allows buyers to understand the differences between a good and others of a similar nature through the creation of a boundary around the object, also described as framing. Azimont and Araujo's (2007) work on category reviews within the non-alcoholic beverage sector of Fast Moving Consumer Goods (FMCG) retailers, demonstrates the requirement for:

> "*Interaction between manufacturers and retailers, interaction is the result of multiple influences and is incremental… the process can only be understood within the timeframe*."

Taking a practice approach to marketing puts a focus on the ways in which material objects affect actors and agencements. MacKenzie (2006) suggests that pricing equations can be seen as both mathematic and economic devices which help to understand markets. These market devices allow products to qualify as a member of that category.

2.8 EXTERNALITIES, FRAMING AND OVERFLOWS

Taking the context of this study around Audience Development agencies, it is assumed that these agencies perform within a market setting. Agencies need to create something which can be exchanged as a representation of Audience Development service. Taking Ruiz (2013)'s work on market researchers, he writes that the role of a researcher is to assemble a

representation of the market, which will then equip managers with the knowledge and skills to identify any aspects or areas within the market that have been neglected, or that could be explored and manipulated in more detail.

Within this setting, there are a number of stages that agencies go through in creating something which can be made stable, objectified and ready for exchange, and which has value to both parties. With little monetary exchange in this non-profit sector, there is a need for exchanges to deliver value and accountability. The output from Audience Development agencies has different value and uses for each of the actors involved within the exchanges, which include box office managers, arts managers, government bodies, public sector funds, the ticket buying audience and the general public. The empirical studies in this thesis explore this in more detail.

For Audience Development agencies (as for most B2B services), the aim is to be able to monetise the service, deliver value for money within an unstable market, and also to demonstrate accountability to all of the actors involved in the exchanges. As discussed earlier in this thesis, Audience Development organisations are usually not-for-profit with money rarely being exchanged. Audience Development agencies are also under pressure from funding bodies to demonstrate value for money and impact, this is not something that can be clearly and simply measured.

As shown in the beginning of this review, the literature around the studying of markets raises a series of contradictions. Granovetter (1973; 1985)'s work on the 'Strength of Weak Ties,' the scholar examines the importance of social relationships in business networks. In Granovetter's study on social networks, all actors are connected and entangled. Callon (1998a, 1998b) offers a critique of Granovetter's theory, arguing that for the performance of economics

and markets to take place, the relevant actors need to be untangled, framing should take place and a boundary should be formed around the market, establishing a basis for applying ANT into a market setting.

This framing allows any investments made between actors to become 'visible and calculable' by clearly defining agents as separate and independent parties. Callon (1998b) concept of framing and disentanglement involves the notion of structuring and individualising transactions to understand what should (and equally, what should not) be included within a transaction.

Slater (2002) suggests that economic actors should be both included within and out of a market frame in order to complete the dual role of calculations and engagement within the framing process. Callon appears to apply the notion of framing as a means of structuring transactions. It is expected that alongside framings, overflows refer to those points where a model does not represent the real world, and those objects that do not fit (Overdevest, 2011). As Kjellberg and Heglesson (2010) claim, understanding markets allows for actors to identify and potentially measure any overflows that are in relation to particular markets. Overflows will occur when there are questions that cannot be answered or new and unexpected findings, new market opportunities, or similar. This follows from the discussion on promissory organisations in the first section of this review.

Callon (1999) describes externalities as "all the connections, relations and effects which agents do not take into account in their calculations when entering into a market transaction" (1999:). The decision maker does not gain the true social benefits. These overflows can be channelled or repurposed (with the right investment and support) to create a new impact on the public, a

new audience or a new market. He stresses that although agents may be involved in transactions and decisions, these can then impact (positively or negatively) other non-related agents. In arts markets, for example, there are positive externalities from attending the arts, such as increased knowledge and appreciation of the arts.

2.9 CONCLUSION TO THE LITERATURE REVIEW

The research questions outlined in the introductory chapter aim to address the impact of marketisation of Audience Development sectors through the understanding of the practices and exchanges, their ability to format audiences, and the ability to stabilise products and/or services. This chapter has introduced the ideas of using market practices to help shape and reshape markets, and offered explanations of markets and exchanges in this context.

In creating and stabilising a market, framing, disentanglement and investments occur, and thus actors become able to form and perform calculations. Through treating the social and the material heterogeneously, the role of the Audience Development agency is to stabilise the services on offer through a series of translations. Ontological politics suggests that there are multiple versions of realities, which influence practices. The emerging literature on Market Studies addresses the role of the market within marketing as the social and material elements are bundled together to create something stable to be exchanged within a market setting. As shown, there are always multiple versions of a market. In line with ANT, it is assumed that a market become stable over time as interactions and calculations take place at every stage and are replicated throughout the marketplace.

Marketisation is an important way of understanding the role of Audience Development as an industry. In Market Studies, there is a need to understand practices as ways of demonstrating the processes within organisations, which are combined to create something which is exchangeable. Taking roots from ANT, materials are treated on an equal level with human actors within exchanges in Market Studies. Framing and calculating tools act as market devices that can be utilised in shaping and reshaping a market, based on the behaviour of the actors involved within the exchanges. Mediators and mediating tools and devices are identified as being of importance within Market Studies and market shaping as they assist in justifying the role of the organisation and actors within exchanges across the creative sector.

Marketers are specialists who act upon objects that either they or their clients seek to exchange by translating them into goods or services. Additionally, marketers can manipulate the ways in which the exchanges take place, through standards, regulations, customs and practices (Araujo, Kjellberg and Finch, 2010). Consequently, it can be argued that activities shape exchanges and result in performance of markets. Goods are qualified from a combination of techniques including framing, attachment and detachment. Market devices are used to shape the ways in which objects and people become calculable.

The role of marketing, or rather market-ing is to perform the market, as suggested by Callon (1998a) and Cochoy, (1998). The structure of markets implies qualification of goods within a marketplace, and can be altered to reflect the requalification of goods, such as amending packaging, labels or re-categorising the product range (Araujo and Azimont, 2008). Marketing scholars, including Azimont and Araujo (2010), and Finch and Geiger (2009), appear to agree that using these qualifications can both stabilise and disrupt a marketplace.

As discussed earlier in this thesis, Kjellberg & Helgesson (2006) suggest multiple versions of marketing, linking together representational, normalising, and exchange practices to offer a definition of market practices as all activities that contribute to constitute markets. Araujo and Spring (2006) maintain that socio-technical capability has to be exchanged, by being stabilised, boxed up and then made mobile. Hence, much of marketing work deals with unwieldy materials, routines, practices, artefacts, ways of calculating the relative costs and benefits of actions, goods and services.

What makes Market Studies an area that is unique and relevant is the focus on both the social and the material elements of practices, which are interlinked to create exchanges within the market place. Until recently, materials were overlooked in organisational literature, however there has been a move towards the inclusion of the role of the material within practice-based literature and particularly in Market Studies, where there are now seen as of equal importance to social action within a market setting (Callon and Law, 2005). While Latour speaks of mediators and translations taking place at every stage of the actor-network, the discussion on affordances is more focused on a specific outcome between an actor and an object, which will have an effect on the network around it.

The calculations that take place in order to qualify and requalify goods requires some form of material reality and guidelines, which would stabilise the product or good being sold within the market. The knowledge gained from marketing becomes performative as knowledge and ideas are performed and exchanged (Callon, 1998a, 1998b). In order to make sense of these exchanges from the perspective of multiple actors involved, they must be organised and calculated to show economic benefit. In addition, Callon (1998) suggests framing and disentanglement as a method of applying practices. Of interest to both Miller and Callon is the

work around the areas of performativity and materiality and, in particular, how this affects economic action.

As Audience Development services are highly specialised and mainly focused on a niche market. There are only few comparable organisations within the marketplace. Being able to demonstrate a stable set of practices and to deliver outputs, which have a similar look and feel, helps to stabilise this service and ensure the survival of both the organisation and the marketplace. Having an established set of practices, or in other words, a standard way of working and presenting work to clients, can give an organisation a favourable image of professionalism. As shown in the literature on situated practices, there may be difference between written practices and what is actually delivered.

This is also a key to understanding this industry, as it is fast moving and dependent upon the quality of the data presented to the Audience Development organisation. For this reason, when examining the practices and exchanges of an Audience Development agency, it is not enough to concentrate solely on the social practices, but it is important to include the material elements of practice, which is in keeping with the ANT and Market Studies literature.

Audience Development agencies are able to contribute the basic principles of Market Studies, and to a greater extent to the social and material aspects of practising Audience Development through the use of mediation. This is important to this study as it helps to link together the role of the Audience Development organisation as a mediator between arts organisations and the audience; as a mediator between training providers and the arts organisations; and as a means of bringing together arts organisations and digital providers to offer new and innovative ways in practising Audience Development.

Audience Development agencies typically work with data, combined with tools and prior knowledge, to create something which can be delivered and referred to as Audience Development services. The data affords different meaning depending on its usage and audience. It then goes through a series of translations, reflecting ideas of Science and Technology Studies, with the materialities of the data changing at each stage through interactions with market devices (such as a spreadsheet of box office figures) to a useable presentation or report which represents the data in a format which is useful and meaningful for the client.

An Audience Development agency does not operate within a typical market setting where multiple agencies pitch for work. Rather, the unique selling point of the agency is that they hold the necessary and relevant knowledge of data analysis, as well as the specific requirements of the arts sector, in order to be able to provide a relevant and bespoke service to arts organisations. While individual arts organisations, national agencies and national theatre groups may have their own Audience Development and marketing teams, there are only few organisations that hold the specialised market knowledge and experience to be able to offer this service. However, there are agencies across the United Kingdom and throughout the world who work together to create best practice, exchange knowledge and almost act as self-regulating bodies within the industry. Examples of this include national and international conferences such as the National Arts Marketing conferences, and through annual meetings with arts councils and government bodies. Multiple exchanges and calculations take place for each project or piece of work which takes place.

In conclusion, this chapter has provided an extensive review of the business-to-business marketing literature applied to market shaping activities, performing of markets and understanding market practices. The literature on marketisation has begun to explore the impact on marketisation within public sector bodies. The empirical study of Audience Development agencies will provide a novel examination of these areas of literature to show that exchanges may now always be monetary, and that promissory services form part of the success of this sector.

Furthermore, the ability to understand and establish market practices can assist in showing the professionalism of expertise of organisations where there is little direct competition within the sector. The practices of Audience Development agencies can act as mediators in bringing together arts organisations to provide improved services to audiences. Finally, the actions of Audience Development agencies can help actors to afford different behaviours based around the actions and interactions within a network.

The next section examines the methodological approach and research design taken in this study, before introducing the empirical findings.

3. METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Market Studies is an approach to research which draws ANT and Science and Technology Studies into marketing. The literature review has shown Market Studies refers to a specific economic sociology in which reality is understood as in the making, and usually by means of practices. While ANT is a broad approach to studying markets, it is also an appropriate use as a methodology (Nimmo, 2011) due to its suitability in following actors as they move through a series of interactions within the actor-network.

There appear to be hints within the contribution of ANT which can lead and connect to the pathways of Pragmatism and ethnomethodology. A common criticism of ANT and STS is that is conceals its own philosophical influences. This chapter uncovers some of these in the areas of (American) Pragmatism, ethnomethodology and ethnography. As such, it sets out a basis in which a research design can be presented to cope with studying the ontologically rich and epistemologically qualified idea of reality in the making.

Reflecting upon the work of early Actor Network Theorists (Latour and Woolgar, 1986) it almost appears as if they 'stumbled across' this theory, and even their own works offer criticism of the use of the word theory. For example, Latour (2005)'s work in "Reassembling the Social" shows by his own admission a slight economy with the truth with the renaming of ANT as 'actant work net method' supported by Law (2007)'s approach of 'messy methods'. This all suggests ANT is not a formal structure of methodology; rather it combines the most appropriate methods to gather the data by following the actors.

With ANT as a methodology, alliances are being formed and framings are being formed, albeit relatively unstable. Undertaking ANT allows the researcher to follow the actors, to gather documents, in a similar vein to Czarniawski (2004)'s work on action nets. These action nets allow the researcher to gather data based on where the action is happening, rather than focusing on individual organisations. This is also an appropriate form of data collection to follow multiple actors. This study acts as a form of extended performativity, whereby the materials, calculations, expectations are all followed to understand how things can come together to make something happen.

3.2 RESEARCH PHILOSOPHY

Research philosophy investigates concerns with ontology that is the nature of reality, and what makes up the nature of the world (such as ideas, objects and processes). Philosophy used to approach knowledge in an epistemological way. Law and Urry (2004)'s work stresses a change from epistemology to ontology. Epistemology is concerned with a knowledge based on perspective; ontology concentrates on knowledge is being made differently. Law and Urry (2004) explain this as:

> "*a shift that moves us from a single world to the idea that the world is multiply produced in diverse and contested social and material relations* (p.391).

Epistemology refers to the study of knowledge and theories of what constitutes knowledge and understanding of phenomena, how one can be described as a knower and how humans arrive at our beliefs and the nature of knowledge. Epistemology fits with the ideas of performativity with Law and Urry (2004) arguing that research methods are "*Performative… they have effects,*

they make differences, they enact realities, and they can help bring into being what they also discover" (p. 392).

Ontology, the idea of reality in the making, seems to absorb epistemology and as a result makes epistemology part of reality in the making. Mol (2002) explains that:

> "*Ontology is not given in the order of things, but that, instead ontologies are brought into being, sustained or allowed to wither away in common, and day to day sociomaterial practices*." (p.6)

Law (2004) extends this to describe ontology as "what there is, and what there could be" (p.23). Reality may be objective or subjective. Objective refers to essences that fit together in some system, for example with laws the truth holds regardless of who the observer is. The aim of ontology, therefore, is to discover what is there.

From a subjective perspective ontology demonstrates that there is no essence of reality, no absolute laws and the truth varies depending on the observer. The aim, therefore, is to understand people's interpretations and perceptions" (p.6).

Considering Mol (2002)'s shifts from how to find the truth and a move towards how objects are handled in practices, resulting in knowledge being understood as a matter of manipulation rather than reference. Mol (2002)'s work expresses that objects or things are not singular, rather there are always multiple versions which can sometimes depend each other.

3.2.1 An Abductive Approach to Research

Traditionally research took a dyadic approach of inductive or deductive. Deductive assumes investigated thought from a 'closed system' while inductive assists in emergent opinions.

Peirce (1905) developed the idea of abduction as an alternative thinking. To move away from the dualistic deductive-inductive forms of reasoning, Elkjaer and Simpson (2006) suggest: "*Abduction involves the imaginative creation of alternative explanatory hypotheses… it is the risky process that generates alternative maybes in response to 'what if' inquiries*." (ibid, p.3) *Abduction is recognised as an attempt to understanding the connections between day to day language and concepts (Dubois and Gadde, 2002).*

> "*Social science cannot be objective, rational and cumulative because language, culture, social norms, political ideologies, mental biases and selective perception constitute the inputs and processes of science. Science is an intensely human social process, and hence subject to all of these factors that limit the capabilities for social science to be objective, rational and cumulative. Since the demise of the "Received view of positivism" in the 1960s and 1970s other philosophies of science such as relativism, Pragmatism and realism, have been developing and are competing for adoption by social scientists*" (Van De Ven, 2007, p.38).

Researchers may adopt a choice of research philosophies depending upon their research methods and data collection tools applied, and their own view of the work, for example through the lens of Critical Realism, Positivism Interpretivism or Pragmatism. Researchers must consider within which theoretical framework their research is conducted, that is which paradigm the research fits. Philosophies such as Interpretivism may offer a useful lens through which to understand behaviour. In choosing the most appropriate research philosophy, the work of this thesis is heavily qualified in the use of materials, whereas Interpretivism focuses its attention on the social and pluralism.

3.2.2 Taking a Pragmatism Based Approach

When considering the literature analysed in the reviews, the research approach focused on practice, the need to understand multiple versions of reality and an abductive nature in data gathered using ANT as a methodology, Pragmatism philosophers may take either an objective or subjective views of ontology, but all refer to a subjective epistemology which encourages relationships between knowledge and action whereby it can guide action and is seen as an alternative to abstract thinking (Goldkuhl, 2004). Pragmatism draws an approach more similar to that of performativity discussed in the literature, is concerned with multiplicity; and is gaining momentum in organisation studies literature as a means of studying practices (Simpson, 2010; Goldkuhl, 2004). It is described as "*a philosophy that fully acknowledges this mutual permeation of knowledge and action*" (Goldkuhl 2004, p.1). Pragmatism was selected as the most appropriate philosophical approach to the research framework.

3.2.3 Pragmatism

The word Pragmatism comes from its equivalent Greek word, from which practice and practical are also derived. Elkjaer and Simpson (2006) offer four key notions in Pragmatism: experience, inquiry, habit and transaction. Simpson (2010) describes the pragmatic perspective as "offering a potentially more fruitful approach that sees both identity and practice as co-constituting, transactional, meaning-making processes" (p.1338). From an epistemological perspective, Pragmatism proposes that we are:

> *"...participants in worlds that we come to know through our social actions… knowing does not take precedence over acting. The two are inextricably intertwined dynamics of human conduct"* (ibid, p.1343).

Dewey and Peirce, both early 20th century American Pragmatism scholars, developed a 'philosophy of practical action', which was related to human action and experience.

Elkjaer and Simpson (2006) reflect that the American pragmatists all centre around one main idea, that we are "all active participants in our social worlds", and that therefore meaning is constructed through this participation. This allows the understanding of what may lie ahead. However, there is no unified approach to the theory around Pragmatism. For example, Mead (1938), another of the American scholars, concentrates on the ideas of human action. When considering their thoughts one must be aware of the differences in the world compared to more modern thinking, however some of their work still rings true to this day. The philosophy is based around the application of scientific modes of reasoning to human existence. It holds its basis in human action whereby there is an interest in both what 'is' and what 'might be. Action acts as an intermediary (Dewey, 1931) to implement change. Therefore, this centring on human action allows researchers to understand practice.

Pragmatism therefore can be seen as:

> *"A commitment to the dynamic construction and reconstruction of realities and a concomitant rejection of foundationalism assumptions, a recognition that truths are multiple and fallible and a holistic understanding of the self as social and actively engaged in experimental inquiry"* (Ejkeber and Simpson, 2006).

3.2.4 Pragmatism as the Study of Practice

Pragmatism allows researchers to look at practice as part of social experience, in the present moment. In Pragmatism, the 'doing' takes priority over the understanding, as our understanding and knowledge is based on our inquiry. As Mol (2002) explains:

> *"If reality doesn't precede practices but is a part of them, it cannot itself be the standard by which practices are assessed. But mere Pragmatism is no longer a good enough*

legitimizatisation either, because each event, however pragmatically inspired, turns some "body" into a live reality" (p.6).

This type of research is reflexive by nature, and allows observation and sense-making of experiences. In practical terms this means a desire to explore the concept, create a great democracy, including a basic need to understand what do people actually do and therefore consider how this can contribute to our understanding of society. Pragmatism recognises truth as plural, and inquiry experimental by taking as its basis human experience, knowledge construction and the notion of multiple meanings.

Pragmatism places practice as part of social experience over time and allows researchers to understand what is happening in real time, and to be able to see things from multiple perspectives. Meaning is made and remade from interactions between actions and the environment (Overdevest, 2011), who states that "the pragmatic theory of action puts forward the claim that language, meaning and action are recursively constituted and require the cooperation of human actors for their production." (p.535).

Simpson (2010) advocates taking a Pragmatism philosophy as a way of understanding practice in organisational studies, suggesting that:

"*It offers a way of drawing together the habitual and creative aspects of practice, while at the same time transcending the problematic separation between individual and social levels of analysis from potentialities, along a pathway of doubt and struggle, towards self-realisation and the wisdom of a well-lived life*" (p.1331).

Goldkuhl (2004) describes practice as:

"*a web of actions, humans and their shared practical understandings, but also of materials objects. An activity is a social wholeness consisting of mediated actions*" (p.5). When meaning behind actions is understood, it becomes clear that social worlds become meaningful. Therefore, Pragmatism is an appropriate way of understanding the actions and practices. Examples of pragmatic inquiry may include the understanding of who (or what) is assigned to the action, the kind of knowledge is used, the value of the results (and who values these results) and an understanding of what is learned (Goldkuhl, 2004).

3.2.5 Pragmatism for the Study of Markets

Overdevest (2011) argues for Pragmatism as a suitable theory for the study of markets due to the need to understand actions and practices within a market setting. It can be argued that Pragmatism has influenced studies of markets including Callon (1998, 2007), Callon and Muniesa (2005), Mackenzie and Millo (2003) and Mackenzie, Muniesa and Millo (2007). As shown earlier, Callon applied ANT thinking to economic practice to demonstrate that markets are performed though economic ideas, similar to Pragmatism where ideas are constructed and where practices can both create and describe reality. Overdevest argues that pragmatists and performativity can "*produce real effects in the world that rebound on us to reveal success of failure*" (p.538).

Performativity and Pragmatism are both open to the concept of ideas-in-action as experiments, meaning that ideas are performed and then become practices. As Overdevest (2011) argues, Callon and Dewey both use the idea of experiment as political tools.

Pragmatism is therefore an appropriate philosophical underpinning for this thesis. Through Pragmatism the actions (and practices) of humans then influence and shape our day to day

knowledge. Further to this, Gibson (1977)'s work on affordances explains that actors use the perceptions of what is around is in order to understand the possibilities of action.

3.3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research methodology is the explanation and justification of the use of the chosen research method – the study of methods as it were. Research methods involve the research tools and the processes that one goes through in order to find a solution. These tools may be exploratory, constructive or empirical depending on the phenomena upon which they are investigating (Law, 1999). Researchers employ a variety of methods to determine the solutions, from both a qualitative and quantitative perspective. Law and Urry (2004) explain that methods are

> "*Tools and different tools do different jobs... This is Pragmatism, and it implies the need for greater flexibility, for instance, the use of quantitative methods here and qualitative methods there.*" (p.396)

3.3.1 ANT as a Methodology

Several studies outline methods for observing organisational practices from a pragmatic perspective, for example focusing on the process change within an organisation (Van de Ven and Poole, 2005). While Pragmatism precedes ANT by a full generation, there are some connections between the two due to the interest in ordering and making sense and the study of the practices of collectives and networks rather than individuals. A more beneficial way to study organisational practices is to study the practice as a whole (Nimmo, 2011) by following the actors/actants and their interactions within the network, thus following the later ANT which forms the basis of Market Studies.

Orlikowski (2010) argues that in ANT all entities "*have no inherent qualities, but acquired their forms and attributes only through their relations with others in practice*" (p.135). From this perspective, there are no distinct and separate social or technological elements that might shape or be shaped by each other. Orlikowski (2010) argues for ANT as a methodology to study "the co-evolution of sociotechnical contexts and sociotechnical content" (Law and Callon, 1994, p.21).

ANT is a suitable methodology for organisational research due to its ability to investigate multiple objects and realities, with agents that may be human or material. The agency of these actors (actants) emerges from relationships within networks and creates hybrids (Latour, 1993). Fox (2000) explains that ANT provides a "*particular set of understanding of social and material phenomena*" (p.102) which in turn helps understand the mutual dependence between human meanings and mundane technologies.

Mol (2002) discusses the role of multiplicity, where the focus shifts from the representation to the object itself. Her work stresses that while objects may overlap, they are not the same, and therefore there are multiple versions of reality. Objects, she suggests, become real because they are enacted through a practice (Mol, 2002, p.44). Law (2004) proposes that Mol is issuing a 'methodological warning' whereby realities are produced *in* practices rather than *by* practices. She focuses on the concept of multiplicity which implies the overlapping of different realities, and the enactment of objects and their interactions. These both lead to complex and messy relations.

3.3.2 Data Collection in ANT

Data collection in ANT involves collecting any data that appears to be relevant, described by Cordella (2006) as a "descriptive methodology." Cordella compares interpretative and ANT methods of data collection and argues that interpretivists use their own preconceptions when collecting data. However, with ANT, he argues that the actants are allowed to 'speak for themselves', and that researchers attempting to interpret this would 'invalidate the first principle of ANT given by Latour'. The primary concern of ANT is to allow reality to emerge and to be emerging as it goes, and is concerned with the interactions between actors and within the heterogeneous network in order to realize this action. Thus, ANT "is what it is and not really anything in particular" The ontology of ANT explains that reality happens when the actors interact, and this includes technology and people. ANT allows the researcher to 'act in and on the world" (Baiocchi, Graizbord and Rodriguez-Muniz, 2013, p. 2). A recent special issue in *Qualitative Sociology* (2013) confirms that while ANT is not without its critics., that it is difficult to translate, and that there is a general lack of engagement with this theory especially in the area of ethnography. The role of this thesis is not to deliver a strong critique of ANT, although this can be found within the afore mentioned Special Issue.

The earliest case studies in ANT focused on the generalised symmetry of the actors studied within the case, specifically Callon's study of scallops (1986) and Latour (1993)'s discussion on the pasteurisation of milk. The unique specialism of ANT, therefore, is its recognition of how to study the somewhat silent or passive actors that help humans to act or shape actions. Rather than focusing on descriptions of what has happen, the study of ANT allows the researcher to 'follow the actors' themselves (Latour, 1993) with little assurance or planning. The approach of ANT is not to 'capture everything' (Mol, 2002, p.7) but rather to allow as a researcher, the opportunity to 'ask questions and techniques for turning issues inside out or

upside own (Mol, 2010, p.261). Rather than offering descriptions for ‘descriptions sake’ the role of the ANT researcher is to describe the enactment of realities as they happen, using field notes, documents, snippets of conversations, photographs and anything else that can be gathered at the time.

Taking Latour (1987)’s ‘Science in Action’ as an example, Latour used notebooks to gather and store information as it happened, along with photographs and scribbled comments to as a memory prompt. Similarly, the actors may find difficulties in adapting and settling in the contexts in which they find the research taking place. ANT as a methodology therefore encourages the researcher to question the surroundings, to follow and understand the process of shaping and reshaping the actors as they adapt to their surroundings.

3.3.3 Taking an ANT Approach to Market Studies

In the literature around market shaping and market making, there is a history of using ANT as a methodology. Finch and Geiger’s (2010) study on pharmaceuticals shows that marketers can use to help work out calculations when the market is not stable.’ Azimont and Araujo (2010)’s category reviews in FCMG demonstrating how to stabilise markets by understanding the interactions between retailers and manufacturers in the shaping of markets. Cochoy (2008)’s study of the shopping cart as a market device also uses ANT as a methodology in the study of how the cart can influence shopping behaviour by restricting the amount that can be purchased at one time through the size of the cart.

Nimmo (2011) discusses the issues of avoiding of 'human-centric' approach when using materials or documents created by humans when taking an ANT approach, explain that the "*overarching methodological and epistemological problem which presented itself was that of*

how to trace the agency of nonhumans and material entities through the layers of human symbolic and social mediation represented by documents" (p.112).

3.4 ETHNOMETHODOLOGY

While Pragmatism is in broad sympathy with ANT, the literature tends to focus on the use of ethnography and ethnomethodology as methodologies. Emirbayer and Maynard (2010) argue that there are three features of the American Pragmatisms which require further study. 1) The call for a 'return to experience, which Garfinkel describes is the 'just-this ness' of day to day activities. 2) the concept of 'obstacles in experience' which aims to help understand practices which are required to sort out problems or reconstruct social order and 3) the use of language within practices. This is similar to Garfinkel's ethnomethodology which studies the real-time of practices where patterns are reproduced (Simpson, 2010; Jarzabowski, Le and Feldman, 2012).

While these do not easily fit together, the main points of each are brought into Market Studies and therefore act as an appropriate and recognised set of methodologies for this study.
Ethnomethodology may therefore be recognized as realizing Pragmatism's original promise (Emirbayer and Maynard, 2010). Garfinkel (1967) argues for an observable-reportable character of practical reasoning and action (Suchman, Trigg and Blomberg, 2002). Goffman (1959) takes inspiration from Mead to create sociology with roots in the meanings of self and interactions in everyday behaviours.

Ethnomethodology is a suitable research method for longitudinal studies whereby researchers can observe the mundane day to day organisational practices as they are performed, alongside

interactions with human and material artefacts (Vollmer, Mennicken and Preda, 2009). Garfinkel focuses on people making sense of their everyday surroundings and production of shared social order, to create something which can be achieved through practices which are organised (Klimke and Scharloth, 2009).

Garfinkel (1967) is also renowned for his 'breach experiments' which creates an understanding of social order by breaching it and observing the results to see the impact, and the reassembling and normalizing of the setting in question. Carrying out these breach experiments acts almost as a test to see how actors react in unusual settings or whether something unexpected happens. This is based around the concept that people behave and act due to unwritten social rules and experiments. Examples include Garfinkel asking students to return to their parents' homes to behave as lodgers, students asking for clarification within a seemingly normal question, or by asking people to give up seats on a bus with no clear reason, invading personal space in conversations and deliberately causing confusion within settings.

Through the carrying out experiments asking people to breach these social norms and rules, scholars including Garfinkel (1967) are able to understand the resilience of social activity. Applying this concept to this study, ethnomethodology is appropriate for studying day to day practices and understanding how people behave when faced with norms which go against their usual social behaviours. Of interest is the reaction from subjects being studied as they try to return to what is socially regarded as the norm.

Thus, ethnomethodology takes interest in practices and how things happen, which is consistent with the work of Pragmatism, ANT and performativity theory.

> *"Within ethnomethodology, the idea that objects are not self-evident at rendering mundane settings and their furnishings strange in the interest of recovering the members methods through which they were made intelligible*" (Suchman, 2005).

Taking an ethnomethodological approach allows a focus on the technologies used within organisations for ordering and organising practices and performativity. Latour (2005) describes ethnomethodologists as being 'seen but not noticed', and accountability is an essential part of ethnomethodology. These insights can be used for understanding the human/machine interface. Ethnomethodological studies are interested in order, in particular how it is produced and made accountable. These studies (including work, technology and organisations) are similar to performativity studies (Suchman, Trigg and Blomberg, 2002) through the socio-material study of prototype artefacts.

To conclude this section, the study of practice confirms the appropriate decision to take an approach based around pragmatism. Treating ANT as a methodology as well as a theory is well documented in other Market Studies literature and is a suitable research methodology to undertake for this study. The remainder of this chapter focuses on the methods undertaken to carry out the empirical research.

3.5 CASE STUDIES AS A RESEARCH APPROACH

The literature based around Market Studies and earlier ANT is overwhelmingly situated within case studies. Case studies allow researchers to study a specific case in detail taking a multi-method approach, and are appropriate within both ethnographic and ethnomethodological studies. As the Audience Development agencies studied use a combination of social and

material practices which are bundled together to deliver the service of Audience Development then an ANT approach is suitable due to the symmetrical treatment of human and material actors within the network.

Dubois and Gadde (2002) describe case studies as "*A unique means of developing theory by utilizing in-depth insights of empirical phenomena and their context"* (p.555). Easton (2010) agrees that case study research is a suitable research method in industrial and B2B marketing due to the need to analyse organisations and relationships within and between organisations, which may be difficult to gain access to or derive similarities between in a more quantitative study. He argues for Pragmatism as a 'powerful justification 'for using case studies in research as they allow scholars to investigate a problem in detail, from several perspectives over time. He explains that "Pragmatism espouses usefulness but only specifically and in context" (p.119).

Case studies allow a research strategy where the focus is on the setting, and which allows of multiple versions of data collection and analysis. While case studies traditionally use a combination of sources and data collection techniques this study is founded in qualitative data. While Audience Development agencies frequently work with large numerical datasets based around postcode data, box office information and other statistics, the frame of this study was focused on the behaviour of the actors within the setting of Audience Development rather than the box office data with which they work.

Case study analysis can provide rich descriptive text which can then be used to generate theory. Eisenhardt (1989) suggests that when understanding case study research, it is best for the researcher to have no preconceived theories to test; although there should be a research

question established and a sampling framework outlined, which Eisenhardt suggests, should be able to contribute to established theory. Yin (1994) defines a case study as "*an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context*" (p.23) While case studies are generally thought of as taking a linear approach, Dubois and Gadde (2002) propose the concept of systematic combining, defined as "*a nonlinear path-dependent process of combining efforts with the ultimate objective of matching theory and reality*" (p. 556). This focuses on the interrelatedness of theory, the research framework, the empirical world and the case.

Case study research should include multiple forms of data collection methods, which can be both qualitative and quantitative. To ensure validity, triangulation, which combines a series of methodologies around the same subject area to ensure credibility and reliability within the data (Denzin, 1970; Yin, 1994), is encouraged alongside a mix of document analysis, archival data, interviews and observations. Further to this, Eisenhardt (1989) encourages an overlap between data collection and analysis as this allows researchers to investigate new themes which may emerge from the first set of data collection.

Case studies can in particular be a suitable method for understanding interactions within organisations, particularly with technology (Darke, Shanks and Broadbent, 1998) however there can be issues in reporting the data, proving validity and rigour. Reliability, construct validity, internal validity and external validity are recognised as a test for understanding the appropriateness of research techniques (Yin, 1994), as shown in Table 3 below.

Test	Case Study Tactic	Evidence from this research
Construct validity – ensure that the specific thing to be studied is established, and that the measures used do reflect on this.	Multiple sources of evidence Establish chain of events Have key informants review draft case study	Documentary and primary data sources Creation of timeline and following the actors Multiple visits to field and site Data organised in Nvivo for ease of access
Internal validity	Pattern matching Explanation building Addresses rival explanations Logic models	Longitudinal period of analysis Use of Nvivo Tool and theoretical coding, Comparisons between cases
External validity "Is the study generalizable? Can the theory be tested?"	Theory in single cases Replication logic in multiple cases	Literature review informed data collection, gaps in literature identified, consistency in data collection between cases
Reliability "could the study be replicated with the same findings"	Uses case study protocol, develop case study data case	Research followed typical protocol, multiple sources of data, pilot study for each of the cases prior to commencement.

Table 3 Validity

Case studies are chosen almost as individual laboratories where experiments take place (Yin 1994). Cases may be holistic (examining the overall nature of a programme or organisation or a number of embedded cases within a case (Yin 1994). The findings of each individual case study cannot be representative of an entire population. Rather, Yin explains, multiple case studies should be treated as multiple experiments.

Multiple case studies are identified as a way of gathering rich data interwoven with key themes which can outline similarities and controversies within the data (Yin, 1984; Van de Ven and

Poole, 2005). When analysing multiple case studies, Eisenhardt suggests analysing within the case, then across cases to look for similarities and patterns. Case studies are therefore a useful way of understanding the how and why, exploratory flexible nature of research. While the use of case studies may give a positivistic version of Market Studies, the ability to study events from one specific organisation allows the study of calculations in the making as markets are continually being shaped and reshaped as exchanges are being made. Understanding the performance of markets suggests that case studies are suited to this type of research, and carrying out three case studies allows for some level of cross case comparison. As the knowledge gained from the studies is exploratory in nature, the fluidity of performativity allows for this less formal study of the markets and unexpected outcomes, as opposed to carrying out series of interviews or statistical research.

There are a number of issues when considering case studies as a research method, including the research objectivity, language and structure. Eisenhardt (1989) in her article on Theory Building from case studies argues two key areas: that multiple cases offer an effective means of creating theory due to the cross-comparisons and replication. There are often questions regarding the academic rigour of case study research. Case studies rely on multiple sources of evidence and focus on deep investigation and rich description of data.

3.5.1 Ethnographic Case Studies

In case studies which involve the observation of social groups and behaviours with naturalistic settings, an ethnographic approach is deemed appropriate. This thesis has roots in ANT and ethnomethodology. Ethnography is an appropriate research methodology as it lends itself to rich descriptive data collection (Johri, 2011). Ethnography originates from anthropology as a study of people, particularly within group settings, allowing researchers to immerse within the

field and document reality as it happens within naturalistic settings to understand actions and behaviours. Taking a strong basis in consumer researcher, for example in the Arnould and Price (1993)'s study on river rafting, ethnography offers researchers the opportunity to observe actors within a natural setting through multiple methods including participant observations, interviews and focus groups to create an overall view of the socially constructed reality faced by actors within this setting.

To gain an understanding of culture, ethnography adopt a technique which is both emic and etic. By emic, the data is collected from an insider point of view, emerging naturally and then categorised later. Etic refers to a more analytical stage which is more distant. Data is collected within the field and a combination of data sources can be gathered including tools and devices, objects and artefacts, as well as social interactions through observations, interviews and focus groups.

3.5.2 Ethnography and ANT

Ethnography is often considered a clear choice when using ANT due to its 'messiness' (Nimmo, 2011). The intent of ethnography is to present rich detailed descriptive data on a particular social group. Latour and Woolgar (1986)'s study in the science laboratories involves an ethnography of science, which demonstrates the 'relative messiness of practice', especially in the tensions and contests of framing and overflows (Law, 2004). The relationship between ANT and ethnography emphasizes focus on both social life and on the materials of practice and practices (Nimmo, 2011).

Taking an ethnographic approach to ANT allows researchers to emphasise the role of the non-human within these assemblages. Ethnography is therefore considered a suitable methodology

for this study. The messiness of ethnography allows for detailed description and rich data which can demonstrate the interweaving of social and material from which practices emerge, and conversely can shape the practices of the actors involved.

3.5.3 Challenges with Ethnography

There are challenges in ethnographic studies, including the researcher's ability to remain objective. Becoming immersed within a culture and setting may led to researcher bias. Furthermore, there is a reliance on the quality of data collection tools, field notes, quality of sound recordings and transcription. To improve validity, data collection can be supported with photographs and/or video evidence to act as a prompt for field notes. A researcher's diary can also improve the data collection techniques by reminding of the context around the data collection and how this may impact. For example, the weather, time of year, researcher personal feelings and the timing of the researcher could all influence the subjectivity of the research notes.

3.6 RESEARCH DESIGN

Having outlined the philosophy and methodology which underpins this research, the thesis now moves towards the specific research design undertaken within this empirical study. The main focus of this thesis is to understand the role of Audience Development agencies by examining how they invoke a market. The literature review provided an overview of the concepts of exchanges, marketisation and market practices. The approach of this study is to investigate how Audience Development agencies can shape and reshape markets. It aims to understand how these agencies can become stabilised, standardised and realised.

3.6.1 Research Questions

Returning to the research questions, each of the questions in turn relate to existing theory (as demonstrated in the literature review) and now will be used to develop this theory. As a reminder, the research questions (slightly adapted to suit the empirical study) are:

1) To understand the practices and exchanges of an Audience Development agency;
2) To understand if (or how) Audience Development agencies can equip and format an audience;
3) To understand how Audience Development services could become a stable B2B service; and
4) To understand the extent (if any) of marketisation and the impact on the arts sector.

Through these research questions the overall aim and commonality was to understand the means through which agencies can deliver Audience Development. In this study each agency delivers a different specialism in the area of Audience Development. While the three cases chosen have some commonalities, each of the case studies in question was selected due to the differences in the performance of Audience Development. Therefore, following Mol (2002) there are multiple versions of realities in each of these cases. This study examines three case studies, and cases within a case (Eisenhardt, 1989). The aim of this is to understand the quality and richness of the data collected. Data has been collected through a variety of qualitative techniques and is displayed using quotes, which although are highly contextual, also allow the author to demonstrate how the case has developed over the time studied.

Inspired by the work of Latour (1987) and other ANT scholars, the research approach taken was to 'follow the actor' In this study the actor (human, social and material) ranged from the music, the instruments, the people, the audience, the website, the Twitter feed and the box office data to name a few.

3.6.2 Internal and External Validity

When considering research questions, scholars need consider whether they have internal and external validity, that is can they relate to existing theory and can they develop existing theory. Furthermore, the questions must be theoretically based as well as being relevant to the research carried out. Interval validity is demonstrated through use of document analysis including internally produced documents, external audits and comparisons with similar organisations**.** Furthermore, the organisations were visited several times over the three-year study, and subjects interviewed several times over that period of time. This also gave the opportunity to return to the organisation to confirm details, or find the correct information by checking websites, documents or Twitter feeds.

External validity is demonstrated by the ability to tie this study into established ANT and Market Studies research, such as Kjellberg and Helgesson (2008), Azimont and Araujo (2010) and Finch and Acha (2008) which have been published in high ranking peer reviewed academic journals. This confirms that this form of data collection is recognised as appropriate within the academic community.

3.6.3 Sampling Framework

Selecting the appropriate sample for research is a complex task. Sampling refers to the appropriate selection of segments to study within a population. Several factors come into question when selecting a population for research, for example ability to gain access, suitability for study, the need for the sample to represent the population. Once the sampling population has been identified, a sampling frame is then defined to decide who within the population should be chosen. Within qualitative and quantitative research there are different types of

research suited for different meanings. Large scale closed ended questionnaires may allow for justification and statistical generalisation for the population studied, described by Yin (1994) as "an inference made about a population of universe, on the basis of empirical; data collected about a sample" (p.32) Dependent upon the confidence and scales, results generated from this type of study can be used to validate existing theories and offer opportunities for change.

Gibbert, Ruigrok and Wicki (2008) argue for a clear rationale and justification in the selection of cases to make clear to the reader the reasons for inclusion in the study. The sample chosen also reflected a degree of theoretical sampling (Eisendhart, 1989), where the cases were chosen partly due to their ability to contribute to theory-building. In Eisenhardt (1989), cases are chosen to reflect both similarities and polar opposites to allow comparison.

The data collection commenced early in this study, meaning that the research questions were not fully formed and thus allowing for theory building rather than testing pre-conceived ideas. Further to this, a degree of convenience sampling (Watters and Biernacki, 1989) was used, where research subjects are chosen due to the geographical convenience to the research, as well as each case being recognized for its contribution to Audience Development, reliance on public sector funding, and unique area of expertise within Audience Development. This type of sampling may lead to sampling bias, however due to the small number of agencies within the local area, similar size of agencies and the suitability of Glasgow as a research location, these agencies were deemed a suitable range of case studies.

In this study three organisations were chosen, each due to their unique relationship with audiences and their own specialisation. Each of the agencies had charitable status and were based in Glasgow. The city was chosen partly for research convenience but mainly due to the

suitability for study, as referred to in the introductory chapter. Each of the agencies were willing to be involved due to the reputation and expertise of the research institution and particularly the marketing department where the author was based as a doctoral student. The cases are summarised in table 4 below.

Name of case	Key specialism	Reason for selection
'GUCM'	Encouraging access to music. Audience is real and in person at the time	Reflects Glasgow international reputation as hub for music. Also encourages innovative approach to real-life Audience Development
'Amazing Audiences'	Audience represented as second hand data (e.g. box office data, postcode data)	A typical style of Audience Development agency, tasked with analysing audience data to offer solutions to arts organisations individually, the sector collectively, and provide data for government
'Digi-Arts'	Digital Audience Development, improving access to the arts through digital. Aim to engage new audiences in innovative ways	Innovative programme wholly funded by Creative Scotland, reflects changes in the sector and innovative approach to meeting needs through bringing together technology and the arts

Table 4 Background to the Cases

3.6.4 Data Collection

Following Eisenhardt (1989), the research was conducted by taking an opportunistic view of data collection, attending events and gathering data wherever the opportunity arose. The longitudinal study allowed for many different attempts for data collection and for year on year comparison. At a meeting prior to beginning the empirical study the Director of each of the organisations studied agreed on a confidentiality clause and the researcher agreed on a confidentiality clause, and the members of the organisation were all given pseudonyms to protect their identities, which was consistent across each of the cases. Data was recorded mainly through note-taking rather than tape recordings at the organisation's request for confidentiality. Data was gathered and stored securely using the University server and in a password protected Cloud Software.

Within organisational case studies there are a number of valid data collection tools and techniques which can be carried out separately and the results combined to create an overall view of the case in question. In this study, data was collected through conversations with staff, observations of meetings and working practices, attendance of work-related events and reading of relevant documents. As discussed, this thesis takes an ANT approach to methodology, borrowing some of the key specifics of ethnographic research to understand where and why the action occurred through following the actors. This meant that the researcher took an almost opportunistic approach to data collection, through participating or attending any event or opportunity made available.

Rather than conducting semi-structured interviews, the research took a more informal approach. To familiarise herself with the staff and the organisation, the researcher met with three members of staff individually out with the office environment, choosing a coffee shop near to the office to minimise disruption to the working day while allowing the staff members to be away from the distractions of desk, email, telephone and other colleagues. While the researcher had a list of points to cover in each of the conversations, this was not restrictive in order to reduce any disruption to the flow of the conversation.

Example topics for conversation

- Current role
- Educational background
- Previous experience (other jobs)
- Current responsibilities

- Any key skills or specialities
- Any project management (including history of projects)
- Forthcoming events/updates

Participating in these conversations allowed the researcher to gain familiarity with the members of staff, organisational practices and procedures. This was triangulated with document analysis to maximise validity and reliability. As the case studies was each examined over a three-year period, it was possible to return to the interviewee and site for clarification of field notes, definitions and to follow up on changes within the organisations studied.

The interviews were recorded through tape recording (where appropriate) and extensive note taking. Interviews were the most appropriate way of gathering information as the study was mainly exploratory, therefore carrying out research in this manner allowed an understanding of the ways in which the organisations worked and the role of the person. A director of one organisation was based in Edinburgh resulting in the introductory discussion taking place over Skype and recorded using a webcam. The researcher met with the staff members a number of times over the three-year period. Collecting data in this manner allowed access to rich data and a clear explanation of how the organisation and its practices had changed over the time period.

3.6.5 Observations

Goffman (1959) took great interest in both ethnomethodology and observational behaviour to understand social interactions within everyday encounters. He suggested that observers may become insiders over time and gain such as level of familiarity with the subjects and research field that they may be invited backstage as well as the ‘on show’ data. Goffman’s work draws

symmetry with ethnomethodological studies in the study of social behaviours, organisation and everyday life. His work suggests that when subjects interact on a face to face basis, they put on a performance which may not be truly representative of their real and actual behaviours. This is specifically of interest in observing organisational practices and behaviours as the researcher may not see the full and true story. Instead, they will be presented with a performance of the version of the truth that they wish to be recorded. As Goffman explains, people behave differently dependent upon the setting. This can lead to actors almost becoming institutionalised as they begin to behave in a way that is expected of them. Goffman suggests frames as a means of organising experiences, a concept which draws similarities with the work of framing within market settings.

In the present study, team meetings and board meetings were attended with the researcher in the role of an observer where the researcher was given access to confidential documents and presentations. Due to confidentiality, data was gathered by note taking only. However, the researcher was allowed access to minutes from meetings post-event, For the music performances some photographs were taken to act as memory prompts. The researcher also attended music performances (organised by the researcher with the assistance of the case study organisation). A number of Audience Development events organised by the organisations were also attended in a participant-observer role. These observations included seminars, industry conferences, and online webinars with accompanying live chat. Four half-days were spent carrying out observations in the offices of two of the organisations, observing their day to day practices, recording conversations, attending a team meeting and attending a focus group which evaluated the success of a recent project.

3.6.6 Document and Material Analysis

Document analysis, defined as a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents, both printed and electronic (computer based and internet transmitted) materials" (Bowen, 2009), with a view to gaining insight and understanding, and context behind a study. Document analysis can help to provide background information, to guide the research, or to note the process of change within organisations and to verify research ideas (Bowen, 2009).

To maximize validity and rigour, and to stress the importance of the non-human actors within this study the researcher also gathered materials were issued by the organisations including annual reports, blogs, tweets, Facebook posts, website updates, press releases were gathered for analysis. Documents were also collected from similar organisations across the UK and stakeholder, clients and funding bodies. This helped the researcher to gain an understanding of the industry and the role of the agencies in comparison to other stakeholders. This was also a means of checking validity. These included several public sector organisations (responsible for the arts and cultural sector), and venues, arts organisations and digital organisations, cultural sections of the press and Audience Development consultants across the UK.

3.6.7 Digital Materials using Social Media

Data collection took place from 2009 to 2013. During this time the use of social media changed dramatically, particularly the ways in which organisations engage with social media. The data collected from these sources was a mixture of primary data and secondary documents, articles and industry and sector specific news. This allowed the research access to up to date knowledge on the sector, and understand how the sector had changed over the years studied. The availability of Wi-Fi, 3/4 G mobile internet, mobile technologies (laptops, netbooks, and notebooks), Smartphones and tablets, especially IPads, had a massive impact on the digital

development of the arts sector, completing changing the ways that audiences could connect with organisations. This was particularly important for one of the organisations, which had a specific remit to enhance digital development and the use of digital technologies in the arts sector in Scotland. Some of the seminars were streamed online simultaneously, with a version available 'on demand' at a later date. This allowed the researcher to return to the event to confirm details and thus ensure validity. Further to this, there were online chats and tweets connected to the event itself.

Data was collected from organisation websites, blogs, email correspondence, e-newsletters, YouTube channels, and Flickr accounts. Often, following an interview or event, the interviewee or project manager would send a follow up email with any relevant materials or links to things we had discussed in the interviews. All email communications were stored using Nvivo. Data was also collected from social media feeds (Twitter and Facebook), using the Capture Social Media plug-in which forms part of Nvivo 10 (a qualitative data analysis package) to collect and organise social media data from Twitter and Facebook feeds. This tool became available in November 2011. Prior to this tool the data was captured using http://twdocs.com which allowed Twitter data to be extracted under a search term, Twitter handle or hashtag and then saved as PDF documents for analysis.

Twitter was also checked on a daily basis and any tweets that were relevant in relation to the arts sector, cultural development, Audience Development were stored. Using Twitter also allowed the building of relationships with the organisations by being able to closely follow their activities through their own Twitter feed and interactions. It also acted as a research tool in its application of following conversations about events.

	Interviews and shadowing(hours)	Events attended	Materials analysed
'GUCM'	3	7	18
Amazing-Audiences	25	3	16
'Digi-Arts'	5	4	23
Total	**33**	**14**	**57**

Table 5 Research Data Collection

3.7 DATA ANALYSIS

Data was typed upon and uploaded into a single Nvivo document. The data was then organised into each case study. The data was initially organised by Case Study organisation and then into sub themes. The data was organised into primary sources which included interview transcripts photographs, observation notes, and documentary evidence, which included Annual report, media sources, and web pages.

3.7.1 Computer-Based Qualitative Data Analysis

Nvivo was selected as a data analysis tool due to the ease of use and ability to upload a variety of documents including field-notes and interview transcripts, official documentation and photographs. Consistent with the agreement with the case organisations, no photographs or video footage were taken within the workplace. For the 'GUCM' project, photographs were taken within public locations and used to triangulate the written field-notes and as a prompt. Original data collection was given equal precedence to secondary documents.

The benefit of using a computer data analysis programme is that of ease of access to the entire data set. Once the document is uploaded all data is available within the same file. For security, the original versions of the data were also saved within Dropbox (a cloud storage system), along with early versions of the chapters, research notes and field-notes. Paper versions were

also saved where possible to allow cross reference between own notes and typed notes at a later date.

A further benefit of using the data analysis tools is the ability to break down data into manageable chunks, but also easily return to the original source –something which can be difficult to achieve using traditional pen and paper data analysis. A disadvantage is that researchers may find it difficult to immerse themselves completely with the data. As this study was conducted across an extended period of time, the researcher took time to refamilarise herself with the data upon each stage of analysis by returning to the original sources for clarification and memory prompting. Furthermore, not all computers are compatible with Nvivo 10, and there is not a cloud based version at this time. Therefore, data was stored on a specified machine with Nvivo – in this case within the University – which restricted times of access.

3.7.2 Coding Structure

In conducting research using ANT, there is the opportunity to collect data in an opportunistic manner to understand the enactment of practice. The coding structure was therefore based around the emerging themes noted within the data collection, which were loosely based around the literature themes identified. The emergent themes were more or less performative based around understanding how practice and exchanges are enacted through the data collection.

For each of the case studies the data was analysed by identifying different themes partly emergent from the literature and from the enactment of practice in the data collection. The data was organised into key themes, demonstrated in table 9 below. This table describes some of the different roles performed by each of the Audience Development organisations. To ensure validity, triangulation using materials including board meetings, online published resources

and external validation took place along with the primary data collection. For a study grounded in ANT, this method is a suitable and appropriate form of data analysis. The symmetry afforded to the material and social actors within the data allows equal importance to be given to the words from interviewees and the secondary documents created by the organisations.

Thematic Coding	Sub themes
Exchanges	What is exchanged
	What is the impact
	What is measured
Practices	Networks and relationship
	Social interaction
	Knowledge sharing
	Social networking
Practice and Materials	Intangible practices
	Day to day office practices
	Use of technology in practice
	Skills and expertise
	Devices used to shape exchanges
Affordances	Shaping the network
	Music's affordances
	Understanding the performance
	Reactions
Mediation	Acting as a network
	Arranging events
	Acting as Broker
Marketisation	Market shaping
	Framing and overflows
	Calculations and categorisation

Table 6 Thematic Coding

3.7.3 Thematic Coding

Free nodes were created based around the main literature themes. Free nodes act as a first level of coding, used to organise data and gather emergent ideas. Tree nodes were then created which go into a hierarchical format were more specific to the data collected. The researcher returned

to the data after a period of reflection (approximately three months) to re-examine the coding to see if other themes had emerged from the data. Thematic analysis of the data is defined as "a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns within data" (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.79). This type of analysis allows for rich description of the data. From this, patterns began to emerge as each data source was compared and contrasted using free nodes and tree nodes within Nvivo. To maximise reliability and validity the coding structure was printed out on paper and cut into themes which were then reorganised into themes.

Using thematic analysis other topics of interest began to emerge. Using this style of organisation allowed greater immersion into the data and ensure complete familiarity with all sources of data. From this the basic structure of the three empirical chapters emerged. At this stage the empirical chapters were written in draft based around these themes. A further period of reflection took place of approximately four months. A third stage of analysis then took place, reflecting on both the draft chapter and a return to the original data sources along with a re-reading of the literature to validate the codes chosen. This allowed for constant iteration of the data, reflection of the data and allowed for the researcher to become immersed in the data at multiple stages of the process.

The data themes were written on post-it notes and arranged on A3 paper to visualise the data. This data arrangement was then typed up in excel creating a spreadsheet for each case study which allowed for the final organisation of each of the empirical chapter.

Carrying out data analysis in this manner has several benefits but also carries risks, for example the researcher has complete familiarity with the data, and time is taken to allow reflection and refinement of research skills. However, the research may miss some aspects of the data due to

the time passed since collection and is reliant on the quality of field notes taken at the time. To minimise this, typing up field notes along with personal observations, photographs, follow up emails and other prompts can help to triangulate the data. Furthermore, the nature of using ANT as a methodology allows for this 'messiness of data collection' as the research aims to capture action as and when it occurs rather than in a more systematic formalised approach of data collection and analysis.

The organisation of data in this manner had a dual role of enabling coding on a case by case basis, and allowing for a cross comparison between cases to identify common and contrasting themes for each of the studies.

Having carried out the research and analysis, using the coding structure above, the decision was made to present the research findings as three separate empirical chapters, one per case. Each of these cases (and related empirical chapter) corresponds loosely to the literature chapters.

Within Nvivo, the entire dataset was uploaded into one complete document, and then categorised into three data sets, one per case study. The data was coded using these initial themes from the literature. The data was analysed using a framework of theoretical coding, guided by concern for triangulation. The data was read in full prior to upload into Nvivo and some initial themes outlined based around the key themes of the literature: affordance, mediation, sociomaterial practices and impact. It became clear from data analysis that each of the case studies appeared to correspond with one of the main themes emerging from the data.

3.8 RESEARCHER ENGAGEMENT

The organisations selected to participate in this study were fully engaged in the opportunity of knowledge exchange with higher education institutions and willing to participate in a longitudinal study. Other key authors identify the challenges of becoming engaged and immersed in the research. While Latour (1999) in Pandora's Hope describes his typical data collection of studying science in action, within a science laboratory, he applied the same skills to working in the Amazon following the process of science soil. He identifies in the book that while he was more comfortable in the laboratory "this field trip would not require too much prior knowledge" (p. 24). The present study offers a similar sentiment.

While the researcher was open-minded to the benefits of the arts there was there was little knowledge or experience in Audience Development or arts marketing, nor of the arts sector collectively. As such, the researcher was aware of the arts and cultural events in Glasgow but was a rare attendee. To minimise bias, the researcher did not meet any members of the organisations until the study began. Therefore, she was only known to the organisations as a researcher working on this topic.

To gather rich data, and due to the small sample and case study based approach, qualitative research was deemed to be the most suitable research method to undertake. Taking an ANT approach, the researcher was open to using quantitative methods if the data or actors led the researcher to this point due to following the actors within naturalistic settings. Although not required for this study, the researcher had an understanding of statistics which was potentially relevant for understanding the analysis of box office data. The research was more comfortable and experienced in qualitative data collection techniques, particularly observations.

Efforts were made to maintain a professional but friendly relationship with the research participants, who were mostly of a similar age, background and life stage to the researcher. Due to the need for a long-term relationship with the organisations studied and to build trust, the researcher was honest about her own background and motivations.

3.9 JUSTIFICATION FOR RESEARCH

The empirical study is broken into three chapters. Each chapter focuses on one of these studies and concentrates on one of the research questions identified, which is framed in literature. The discussion and conclusions chapters outline the similarities and contrasts between the cases, drawing out conclusions based around the final research question around the marketisation of Audience Development.

3.10 CONCLUSION TO THE METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

This chapter has outlined the justification for the choice of research methodologies and the underlying philosophies. Due to the focus on practices and materials, ANT is an appropriate methodology which follows similar approaches to other work in the area of Market Studies. Pragmatism informs the study of practice, and while slightly dated in its approach, is still taken today as appropriate for understanding the study of markets (Overdevest, 2009). Ethnomethodology is deemed an appropriate methodology due to the unpredictable nature of the data and its ability to almost test the environment in which the research is situated. Case studies are a suitable approach to data collection due to the relatively small size of sample, and study of the practices of Audience Development within a market setting, which appear to take a qualitative focus.

4.0 INTRODUCTION TO THE EMPIRICAL CHAPTERS

This thesis examines three different versions of Audience Development practices – in representing the audience as data, in using technology to help stabilise Audience Development services and to deliver arts and cultural experiences that encourage more people to participate and experience the arts. The ability to turn Box Office data into a data set that is meaningful to users, and the technology required to create apps as a way of formatting the producers, audiences, arts organisations and digital developers are all empirical examples of practice that will be discussed in the discussion chapters.

The conceptual framework of this thesis forms around the use of Audience Development agencies to increase access to the arts through understanding existing and new audiences. This fits with the Scottish government's remit to prioritise its cultural sector:

> "*The Scottish Government is fully committed to widening engagement with culture for all communities and individuals across Scotland. The policy is: for access to, and participation in, cultural activities to be as wide as possible, and for culture and creativity to be applied across the policy spectrum to help address key priorities such as education, health and enterprise*." (Scotland.gov, 2015).

4.1 THE UK CULTURAL SECTOR

The UK arts sector had a turnover of £12.4 billion in 2011 (Arts Council England, 2014), employing more than 110,000 people. This sector boosts local economies by attracting tourists, job and skills creation, the revitalising of the community, and talent development.

When considering the arts sector it appears that having the capability to fill an auditorium, while impressive, is not the only indicator of success. While making a profit is crucial to the survival of any sector, a thriving arts sector offers multiple contributions and benefits to society including increased tourism, employment opportunities, educational, health and wellbeing. Recent studies which focus on the benefits of the arts, including Taheri et al (2014) highlight the consumer experience of the arts with a study of visitors' levels of engagement in museums. The paper outlines some of the personal benefits of attending cultural events, specifically familiarity with the arts, development of cultural capital and personal enrichment. Each of these act as motivating factors in encouragement to attend, and, more importantly in understanding why people attend the arts.

Cultural tourism is highlighted as another important impact of the arts as a visit to a gallery may coincide with a hotel stay, transport, local meal, purchase from gift shop or perhaps visiting other cultural hubs.

There are a number of quantitative methods that can be used to measure the value of the arts, including contingent valuation, choice modelling, hedonic pricing, and travel cost (O'Brien, 2010). There are also issues in defining the economic value of different art forms, making it difficult to offer a sector wide guidance for measurement of value. The need to be able to measure the value of the arts, particularly during tough economic climates, is becoming more urgent:

> "*the sector is hindered by its failure to clearly articulate its value in a cohesive and meaningful way, as well as by its neglect of the compelling need to establish a system for collecting evidence around a set of agreed indicators that substantiate value claims" (*Scott, 2009, p.198)

Measuring the impact of the arts, therefore, requires the social benefits of exposure to the arts to be identified even if this is challenging. As explained by the Arts Council England (2014b):

> *"Of course, the inherent value of arts and culture is something that cannot easily be measured in numbers. Arts and culture illuminate our inner lives and enrich our emotional worlds, and this is what we cherish. However, while we do not cherish arts and culture because of the impact on our education system, our economy or on our health, they do confer those benefits and we need to be able to show how important this is."*

This quote from the Arts Council England begins to draw out the intrinsic benefits of the arts. A failure to nurture and protect the arts sector may even suggest risk to society as a whole. The public may not consciously understand the benefits of this sector, however funding cuts and reduced ticket sales may lead to a reduction in quality, which could in turn potentially lead to unimagined impacts to both the economy and society.

Ensuring a healthy and thriving arts sector is (one of many) priorities for government bodies, especially the ability to demonstrate accountability and impact for the public sectors, grant-holders and others who fund and support the arts.

The Guardian (2014a) highlights the danger of public sector cuts to the survival of the arts, warning of a 'looming crisis facing beleaguered regional arts organisations'. Peter Bazalgette, Chairman of the Arts Council of England warns that:

"I am not saying there is a current crisis, though some might say that. What I am saying is that in three to four years, if they keep losing 10% of their budget each year, you might see the loss of half the local authority arts income."

The National Campaign for the Arts uses the UK Arts Index to understand changes in spending and attitudes towards the arts. The Guardian (2013) published findings that indicate that while West End theatres do not appear to be affected by these changes, there has, however, been a reduction in public funding, dropping by £3.22 per person (16.4%), in 2011 to 2012, indicated in Table 7.

	2008	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**
National treasury	8.29	8.31	8.24	7.57	6.49
Lottery funding	1.28	1.22	2.12	1.34	2.40
Local government	9.33	9.59	9.29	8.77	7.53
Total	**18.9**	**19.12**	**19.64**	**17.68**	**16.42**

Table 7 Breakdown of Public Funding for the Arts (UK) (£m) taken from the Arts Index

(Source: http://www.theguardian.com/culture/2013/dec/05/art-declining-in-the-uk-decide-for-yourself[3])

Private investment from private companies and individuals represents 40% of all arts funding per person. In Scotland, business contributions account for £10,344,138 (2009/10), an

[3] Further information can be found on the following link https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/12KGG6LXgnscg0pPgULAgJO4MklU1djjDNoQkgiFid_8/edit#gid=25

increase of almost £40,000 from the previous year, while individual giving donations stands at £19,000,000, (2009/10) a slight drop from the previous two years.

Low Engagement with the Arts

The Arts Council England (2014) published a study identifying the regions in England with the lowest levels of engagement with the arts which found that particularly in the North, 55.6% of people were not engaged with the arts. The Arts Council then produced a funding call asking arts organisations to identify a vision where people can become inspired by the arts, feel able to participate and where arts organisations can experiment with types of engagement with the arts. There was an overall aim to introduce programmes that encouraged people from highly disengaged communities to become regular attenders of the arts.

The Arts sector in Scotland

In Scotland the number of people participating in and attending the arts has dropped significantly from the period 2007/2008 to 2009/10. A more recent study (published by the Scottish Government and using research from Scottish Household Survey 2013) indicated that the most common type of arts to attend (excluding cinema) was theatre (32%), museums (31%) and live music (31%). Reasons for not attending the arts included not being interested (34%), poor health (28%) and lack of time (15%). While the majority of the people surveyed welcomed and recognised the benefits of the arts within their local community, 25% of the sample agreed with the statement that the 'arts are not really for people like me.'

The study indicated some similarities between the findings from England, Wales and Northern Ireland, in that a lack of engagement is related with social background, ill health and poverty, whereas high levels of engagement and attendance are more likely to be from people with highly educated backgrounds (Hill, 2015).

	Number Participating	% Participating
2007/2008	3212672	76
2009/2010	1755374	41
	Number Attending	**% Attending**
2007/2008	3254944	77
2009/2010	3168236	74

Table 8 Number of people participating in the arts (Scotland)

In Scotland, the arts sector is supported by 'Creative Scotland' a quango of government and public bodies, which offer five main ambitions, to be achieved over the next ten years:

- Recognise the value of expertise and experiment across the arts
- Widen access to the arts
- Transformance of place and quality of life through arts participation
- Improving skillsets to ensure ideas can be fulfilled
- Capitalising of the distinctiveness of Scotland and Scottish culture and heritage (Creative Scotland, 2014)

A recent review of the arts sector in Scotland identified five national challenges for the industry: lack of regional cohesion, sustainable funding streams, the development of skills in the sector, collaborative working and the need to promote the sector (Maynor, 2014). The work of Creative Scotland therefore offers different benefits to society but all meet the overarching theme of encouraging a thriving arts and culture heritage which is available to all in Scotland. To help achieve this, Creative Scotland distributes government money and lottery funding to arts and cultural organisations across the country, usually through a series of funding calls and applications.

Audience Development Agencies as an Empirical Study

As discussed, Audience Development emerged from classic arts marketing and the challenges facing in marketing the arts, in a sector that is generally not customer-driven. The Audience

Development sector, through its practices and devices, is involved in making and shaping a market at the same time as stabilising Audience Development sectors to make it an exchangeable B2B service. By taking influence from social and technological changes, access to funding, public sector and public policy changes, and a lack of competition, this exploratory studies in this thesis demonstrates that there is not a definitive marketplace – rather it is ambiguous and constantly grappling with the market.

This thesis is arranged as a series of case studies conducted simultaneously, allowing for common themes to emerge and opportunity for overlap. For example, each of the cases were impacted by changes from government funding, the cultural sector, or within Glasgow and Scotland itself. It also allowed the researcher to gain familiarity with the sector while working with each of the cases at the same time.

What makes this study unique is the setting of the study, using three inter-connected cases which each represent a different version of Audience Development, but together contribute to the overall concept of improving access to the arts, understanding existing audiences and attracting new audience. This study argues if 'Audience Development' can be described as a market, and each case demonstrates a different version of the market. For 'GUCM', the market is not quite ready, and this case acted as a test, almost as a pre-market where the aim was to establish whether there could be a demand for live music in unusual venues, however there was no discussion of money or payment and so it does not form a typical market transaction. However, the wider exchange of 'live music' as a good can contribute to more intangible benefits of the arts, especially widening access, which in turn meets the specific requirement of 'GUCM' to allow more people to hear live music within the city. Thus, 'GUCM' were able to report to the funders (government and UNESCO) that they had completed this part of the

project and demonstrate it with reports, photographs and audience sound-bites. Thus, this fits the idea of music having multiple affordances within the network.

'Digi-Arts' received funding for a year with the remit of the programme to improve digital skills in the arts sector in Scotland. This was delivered as a series of training events with digital specialists and encouraging relevant organisations to attend with some qualitative comments, translated into twelve monthly reports in exchange for the funding. This was not specifically a market transaction and in this case it was difficult to define the market.

In the case of 'Amazing Audiences', this was a far more typical case of market transactions taking place where consultancy projects acting as a good were bundled together, framed as Audience Development and exchanged for money in a market setting. What made this case unique in Market Studies was the subscription model, where the arts organisations exchanged money (membership fees) on an annual basis in advance, in exchange for 5 unspecified days of 'consultancy' and access to other membership events. In this case Audience Development acts as a promissory organisation (Pollock and Williams, 2010) where the money was exchanged in expectation of a service in the future.

The format of the empirical chapters is as follows:

Equipping and Formatting an Audience Development agency

The first chapter of this section returns to the idea of affordances, taking into consideration the action within networks, and examining how things make or allow other things to happen. In particular, this chapter asks how the arts organisation formats the audience. Through this, the literature on affordances is re-examined to gain an understanding on the how the organisation of a music performance has impact and meaning for all members of the network.

The Practices and Exchanges of Audience Development

The second chapter focuses on practices, exchanges and market devices as a means of stabilising the B2B service of Audience Development. Through understand how to stabilise practices and exchanges, this chapter explores the role of the Audience Development actor-network as it performs within a market.

Stabilising the B2B Service of Audience Development

The third chapter focuses on the importance of the networks and mediating activities conducted by Audience Development agencies as a means of stabilising the B2B practice of Audience Development to allow exchanges to take place.

These chapters are followed by a discussion chapter, exploring the similarities and differences between the cases, finishing with the overall conclusions chapter.

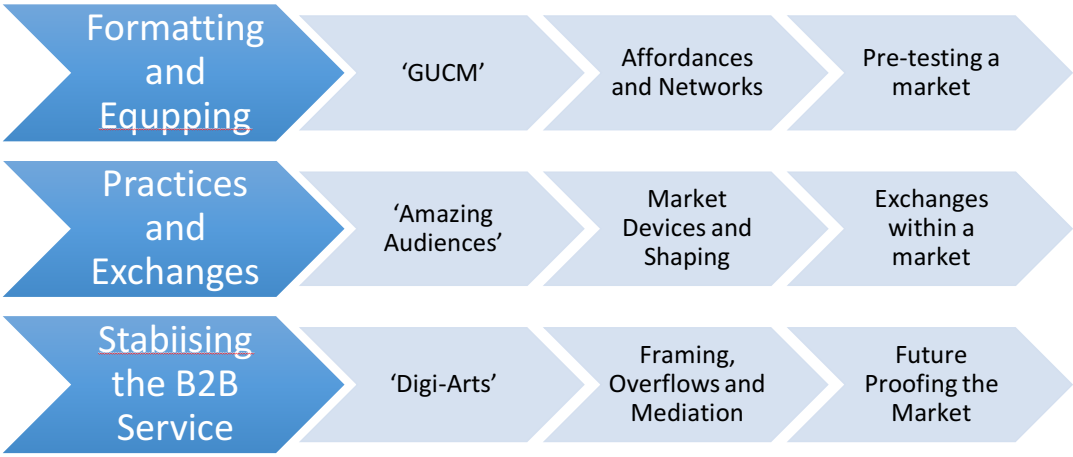

Figure 5 Empirical Chapters Format

4.2 FORMATTING AND EQUPPING AN AUDIENCE – LIVE MUSIC EXPERIMENTS WITH 'GUCM'

This chapter outlines the latter, examining a version of Audience Development with highly specialised forms of mediation. Through a series of musical experiments, the research investigates the immediate impact of the arts on audiences, staff members and the musicians themselves. These experiments examine the role of the audience and what the music affords the audience members. From this, the market is manifested in the following way. The position of the Audience Development agency in this respect is to almost act as a test-bed to understand how different potential audiences react to live music when coming across it within their everyday lives. In this project it is difficult to demonstrate any form of financial impact as there was no payment to the musicians, venue and no tickets to attend. This is therefore a more primitive strand of Audience Development. This chapter explores the concept of Audience Development agencies equipping and formatting the audience.

4.2.1 Affordances

The main points on affordances, as set out in Chapter 3 established that the theory of affordances is contentious. The work of Gibson (1973) and Norman (1999) demonstrates many disagreements throughout the literature, with Gibson proposing that objects are afforded action independent to how users appropriate them, whereas Norman argues that action is not possible without prior knowledge. DeNora's work on music's affordances describes music as an organising device or a tool for shaping lives (Krueger, 2010). Following DeNora (1995), music is a feature of everyday life which has different meanings for individuals. The review of the literature indicates the theory around the role of the network and joining together as being under-developed in affordances.

4.2.2 Contribution of Chapter

The contribution of this chapter is to show that in a network there are multiple affordances involved as a means of stabilising the performance. By focusing on these highly mediated (but difficult to control) examples of Audience Development, the affordances of music and performance in a network are examined through a series of live music performances in unusual settings. The findings are arranged to demonstrate that the entire network (involved in staging these performance) is formed through the multiple possibilities which are afforded through the arrangement of these performances. The role of the Audience Development agency in this case involves the bundling together and organisation and stabilising of these performances through a multitude of practices to create the offering of a free music performance in a non-market exchange setting. Following Garfinkel (1967), these performances acted almost as breach experiments, taking place in unusual venues such as a day hospital and a medical centre with no promotion or announcement. This was crucial to the main purpose of this project – to bring

music to people who were not anticipated attending a live music performance in an unexpected setting.

This chapter focuses on the idea of developing an audience through a music performance. The concept of affordances picks up on the material dimension of music. Of concern in this non-market setting is to consider what is being exchanged and by whom. Specifically, what do the actors within the network think they are doing and how is music being afforded. This study addresses the role of materials and action as they bundle together to make people take action. This is of interest because by making people do things and it gets them to think and reflect. This study therefore investigates the ways in which musicians, audience members, site managers and others produced and appreciated musical performances it was decided to arrange a series of live music performances as 'experiments in the field' of Audience Development in the making, and then observe each of these performances. Following the analysis of the data collected three main themes emerged: the arrangement of the music performance, the responses to the performance and the role of Audience Development as a performance. Each of these themes contributes to the discussion on raw forms of Audience Development.

4.2.2 Background to Case

This part of the study involves collaboration with Glasgow UNESCO City of Music ('GUCM'), a micro-organisation with charitable status, with a full-time and high profile director.

This organisation is funded through a number of cultural, music based and political organisations in Scotland, and is responsible for delivering measurable economic, social and

cultural impact for Glasgow. Its specific remit focuses developing and embracing partnerships and collaborations with others located in or associated with the city, specifically about music. The role of Audience Development in this case focuses on the degree to which music is woven into the fabric of life in the City. In encouraging participation at concerts and events and in developing opportunities to learn about music, the organisations that form Glasgow's music scene, especially those involved in public funding, have a responsibility to encourage broad engagement among its citizens with the services of and associated with the performance of music.

UNESCO City of Music

The UNESCO City of Music title forms part of the worldwide "Creative Cities Network" which includes Cities of Literature (Edinburgh, Melbourne and Dublin), Film (Sydney and Bradford) and Design (Berlin, Montreal and Seoul). Its aim is to connect cities wishing to shape experiences, ideas and best practice in cultural, social and economic development. Other UNESCO Cities of Music include Bologna, Bogata, Ghent and Seville, and were appointed due to their experience in hosting musical events, musical histories and overall promotion of music to all with a view to encouraging new and potential audiences to engage in musical activities in established settings (such as concert halls and auditoriums) as well as featuring music in unexpected locations throughout the cities.

Following a selection process, Glasgow was appointed a UNESCO City of Music on 2008, due to its vibrant music history and heritage; and in recognition of the varying styles of music and venues across the city, with an average 130 music events taken place weekly generating £75 million annually.

Glasgow UNESCO City of Music ('GUCM')

This study focuses on 'GUCM''s activities as a small agency, especially in its role of Audience Development promoting and supporting music performances in Glasgow. As part of its remit as a city of music, UNESCO had the objective of using music to reach new audiences across Glasgow. While it was in agreement that the city centre of Glasgow had a flourishing music economy, and where it was relatively easy to access live music performances, it was clear that in the areas around Greater Glasgow, which are often classed as areas of deprivation and with high levels of unemployment, there are few suitable locations or venues for live music performances.

'GUCM', in partnership with the University of Strathclyde Applied Music course, formed an idea that would both fit the remit of providing live music, while creating a potential revenue stream for newly graduated musicians from the course. The collaboration with 'GUCM' had the aim of staging musical performances in spaces that are publicly accessible and in locations where music is not currently or commonly available. The idea was, based around the lack of suitable music venues in these areas of Greater Glasgow, the project would bring music to where people would naturally congregate. From an initial 'scoping' meeting with 'GUCM' in 2009 to discuss the role of music performances in shopping centres, Kayla, the director of the organisation, believed that this could be 'revenue generating' for the larger shopping centres. The benefit for her organisation in participating in such a program, where no money would be exchanged, is the "*ability to collect accountable data and therefore impact for 'GUCM'. It allows us to celebrate music mobilising, to show everyone what's there, this is what we are doing*."

The team then applied for funding to pay for academic expertise in marketing to help in a market-scoping exercise, to understand firstly how the public would react to these music performances, and secondly, should they venues see this as a success and beneficial, would it

be something that they would pay for in the future? The researcher was employed on an ad hoc basis to provide the marketing research and organisation of these performances, and to conduct observation and interviews to gain an understanding of the reactions from the musicians, venue owners and the audience members themselves where possible. The researcher then contacted a number of shopping centres, health centres, public transport hubs and other public areas to find locations that would be suitable to carry out these musical 'experiments'.

The musicians were selected from the University of Strathclyde's Applied Music Course by their Course Director who was also involved in the project. The musicians performed either contemporary jazz or Celtic folk music. The performances are comparable in that they drew upon two musical genres and performed these in locations which were comparable in terms of acoustics and in the ways in which people could walk by or linger and become for periods of time impromptu audiences. It allowed the researcher to observe the performances and engagements, and engage with the managers of those spaces in comparable ways.

4.2.3 Actors Involved

This study involved the following of a number of different actor, shown in Table 9.

Actor	Role in Project
Musicians and their instruments (including the music)	In arranging the performance, travelling, setting up, performing, and disbanding.
Audience members	Transient, as they passed the music on their day to day activities (unidentified)
Audience Development agency	Organising the event, participating and attending the event, discussions post event
Venue, managers, security	Arranging performances, paperwork and emails, setting up and observing, discussions post event

Table 9 Actors involved in GUCM

The project took three stages: Arranging the performances, observing the performances, and post-event analysis, shown in Table 10.

Stage of Project	Role of Researcher
Arranging the performance	**Contacting venues and musicians** • Arranging performances • Planning performances
During the performance	**Recording observations** • Music choice • Audience reactions • Musicians adapting to surroundings • Role of the venue
Post-performance	• Audience response • Musician's response • Venue response • Agency response

Table 10 Role of Researcher

Consistent with the conditions of access at one shopping centre, negotiated with its manager, it was agreed not to approach audience members during any of the performances, partly to be consistent across all cases and partly to be consistent with the research approach of observation. The performances were arranged in similar ways, adopting the same means of organising and staging the performances in the different locations and of recording data about the performances.

Performance Details

The details of each performance are shown in Appendix 1 and photographs of the performances are shown in Appendix 2. The purpose of this case was to investigate the reaction to a series of music performances which took place in a variety of locations (where live music is not usually heard) across the city of Glasgow over a six month period. Performances took place in two shopping centres, a day hospital, and an arts venue.

The analysis finds three often overlapping, themes emerging from the data: the arrangement of the musical performance, the material element of the performance, and the social reactions to the performance. The themes have emerged through the interpretation of the multiple of interactions captured in this case. This section draws from the empirical data to understand how the arts organisation can format the performance. These themes emerged partly based on theoretical coding. The process of music experiments was aligned with the thinking behind ANT. As the experiments progressed, it became clearer that the music performance itself had different effects on the members of the audience and the wider network involved with the arrangement of the performances. Therefore, the notion of affordances and the work of DeNora became more apparent as being relevant to this study. As the performances continued, evidence of the performance having as impact on the audience as a form of Audience Development became apparent, through a multitude of interactions between the music and the public.

Secondly the analysis explores how the performance can format the audience, focusing on the vocal responses to the performance from each of the three groups: the audience, the venue staff and the musicians. The researcher analysed the non-verbal reactions to these performances by each of these groups. The researcher then look at how the audience formats the performance, emphasising the interactions with the musicians. The study demonstrates that in the staging that music had a role in establishing and stabilising an environment for that particular performance, which is particularly interesting given the surprise among many participants of there being a performance within that space. Those engaging with the musical performances exhibited some notable reactions interspersed between musical pieces, which ranged from appreciation to mocking and critical. The researcher found that that small social groups (families, groups of friends) had a prominent feature, perhaps due to the performance being free and being held within an unusual space, so allowing for a common experience among that group. Each of these themes is now examined in more detail.

4.2.4 Arranging the Performance

In arranging the performances, it is important to understand the impact of the live performance itself, and how it establishes and adapts a surrounding environment over that period of performance. Emerging from the data was the social role of the performance, the organising, networking, and social dynamics that took place in order to make the performance happen, which extended to the involvement of those forming audiences.

The key elements of the performance were defined by: the style of music played, the musicians and their instruments, the performance location and more specifically the positioning of the performance within the space (always arranged by the management of the space, not the organisers), the response from the audience, and the response from employees within the space. Within the performance of interest was its unusualness, the flexibility of the musicians to perform in unusual settings and to an unprepared audience, and the flexibility of the audience to adapt to this unexpected experience while they shopped, or waited for their medical appointment or cinema to open. In this study music is an action, where the performance is an event made by many actors collaborating in performing.

The initial focus in arranging the performance was on shopping centres and transport hubs across Glasgow. As one of the remits of the study was to take music to people who would not normally attend live music performance, locations outside the city centre were selected, mainly in of areas of low income and with high levels of unemployment. This follows the evidence in chapter 1 that demonstrates that people choose not to attend the arts due to a feeling that it is 'not for the likes of us', and that the lowest levels of engagement and participation in the arts come from people living in areas of high deprivation and unemployment. For this study, Parkhead, Stobhill and Pollok were the areas of Glasgow chosen, which all classified by the

Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivations as being in areas of high deprivation[4]. The initial contact was by email to the manager of each centre, which was then followed up by a telephone call. The email provided some background information on the study and Glasgow UNESCO City of Music and stressed that it would be a free performance by professional musicians experienced in playing to audiences.

Initially there were issues in securing venues to hold the performances. Local public transport hubs refused to participate in the study, and most of the shopping centres approached either ignored the (many) requests to participate or refused to host a performance. Holding the performance at Shopping Centre 1 required completion of paperwork stating the purpose of the project. Conversely, the Centre Manager at Shopping Centre 2 was particularly keen to participate in this project, hence the resulting two performances hosted there.

The study was arranged as a set of experiments whereby the first performance was arranged and then replicated across several locations and times. The musicians were asked to play across a two-hour period at each location in sets of about 20 minutes. The musicians were not provided with information on the type of music they should play, or how they should present themselves. Following the theme of each performance being an experiment in the field (Garfinkel, 1965), the study aimed to observe how musicians responded to the audiences and to their location in addition to how the audiences responded to the musicians and their musical performance.

The role of the researcher in this case study was multiple, as the organiser of the performances along with the Audience Development organisation being studied, and also as a participant observer of the performance.

[4] http://www.understandingglasgow.com/indicators/poverty/deprivation

4.2.5 Arranging the Musicians

Arranging the performances led to some challenges in organising these events, for example when venues confirmed the performance two days before it was due to take place, which then led to difficulties in getting musicians to commit to participating. Recruiting the musicians proved to be a difficult task. A close relationship was formed with the Programme Director of the Applied Music course, who recruited students to play in these experiments. However, persuading them to commit to a performance for which there was no remuneration was difficult. Paid offers of work and their own part-time jobs always took priority, although in most cases the musicians offered substitute players in their place. The researcher often received text messages confirming or cancelling their participation late at night (sometimes at 3am), possibly after their own paid jobs had finished. To ensure that the musicians were able to get to the venue taxies were pre-booked (and paid for) from their homes to the location and back. Musicians always brought their own instruments, equipment and sheet music.

There were some issues in setting up performances in Shopping Centre 1 due to a change to the pre-arranged musicians and Shopping Centre 1 was told to expect a saxophone quartet, which would be mobile and not require seats or access to power.

> "*We had planned to have a saxophone quartet to play. We were allocated the spot next to the entrance opposite NEXT clothing. Only two musicians showed up, a saxophonist and a keyboardist. This meant that we needed access to electricity for the keyboard. Security was very helpful and also provided chairs as required. Due to the change in requirements we had to change our pre-arranged and moved to a wall space near Nandos. This is a travelling space in the centre*." (Shopping Centre A, observations).

There were similar issues with Shopping Centre 2 (visit 1) which took place on the same day as Shopping Centre 1.

"We went over to see security, who were extremely helpful and friendly. They showed us our spot, to the right of the red carpet near the door. We had three bingo/grab/jackpot machines behind us. We explained that due to the changes in musicians we now needed electricity, and they set up an extension cable next to the fruit machines. They were conscious of health and safety and sellotaped the cables to the wall."

It was observed that in Shopping Centre 2 security remained close for the duration of each performance. They explained that this was just as a preventative measure, as they were unsure how the public would react to this type of performance within the centre.

The second visit to Shopping Centre 2 was arranged around a "Sex and the City 2" premiere. The shopping centre had arranged a special showing of the film for staff members and their friends, with red carpet treatment and a photographer. Guests were expected to 'dress up' for the event. Two male musicians participated in this event: a keyboardist and a saxophonist. Both specialised on contemporary jazz.

"*The marketing manager was very enthusiastic about the project and told me that we would be welcome anytime. A few hours later I received another email from him, asking if we would be able to provide musicians for the centre's cinema which was holding a "Sex and The City 2" premiere. We had arranged to provide a saxophone quartet. Two days prior to the event the musicians and I visited the centre to assess the space and discuss requirements. The head of security commented that "older people might like something like this, but they [the musicians] might get some abuse from the younger ones*." (Shopping Centre 2, Visit 1, Observations).

The musicians were asked to play outside the cinema as a way of adding to the atmosphere around this event.

"The ladies start to form a queue behind the red ropes onto the red carpet. A pink limo appears – we deduce that this limo contains competition winners through Clyde (local radio station). Around 8 girls of varying ages come out of the limo, very glammed up. The other girls waiting do not look very impressed. Mark (the music director) asks the musicians to start playing something more upbeat as the music had got quite maudlin. Two security guards stand in front of the ropes leading to the red carpet with a clipboard and guest list attached. The musicians continue to play upbeat music while the guests walk the red carpet; each group is invited by a professional photographer to pose for photos. A member of staff from Cineworld takes photos of this happen, as do I. I then film the majority of the red carpet sequence."

(Shopping Centre 2, Visit 1, Observation)

In the day hospital, there were a number of different music performances taking place on different floors within the building. The day hospital was designed on an open plan basis, with large windows and lots of open spaces inside the building. This meant that sound could easily travel throughout the building. The musicians performing included three different saxophonists playing contemporary jazz, and one violinist playing Celtic folk music. The purpose of this was to attempt to gauge audience reaction.

"*As I entered the building a noticed a banner promoting 'GUCM' in the entrance way. It's a massive white space with escalators in the middle. There is a small coffee house to the right with a seating area*."

(Observations, Day Hospital)

"*Beth (the fiddle player) is now on the 1st floor on the opposite end of the building to the main entrance. It sounds quieter at the main entrance... it feels more like*

background music than a live performance. Hannah (from 'GUCM') suggests that it might be better having her at the main entrance near the café as we got a better reception last time."

(Observations, Day Hospital)

The musicians were not briefed on what to say; therefore, the whole purpose of the experiment meant that it was unclear to both the musicians and the audience why the musicians were there.

"*At Shopping Centre A the research team stood watching the performance for a while, and we noticed that people stopped to stand with us. One group of female shoppers, walking by, ask the musicians to play "Happy Birthday" for one of their party. The boys oblige, and the ladies are very happy. I later find out that they offered to tip the boys but they refused to accept!"*

Shopping Centre A (observations).

4.2.6 The Reaction to the Performance

Shopping centres and other public spaces often have background music playing, which is often passively absorbed by people within the space. By holding live music performances people encountered something unusual and distinct from the usual recorded music, deliberately selected and programmed to provide a fairly unobtrusive sound scape for a space. The music of the experimental performances was difficult to ignore and often provoked many reactions. Audience members were exposed to a (sometimes) completely new experience of live music. Holding performances in these settings gave people, who would not usually pay to attend jazz or Celtic music performances, the opportunity to experience these styles of music without any risk, such as the financial costs of attending, the organisation required to attend such an event such as requiring babysitters, or the risk that they might not like it, or understand it, or know

how to behave when they got there. There was also the risk of having music imposed on passers-by, particularly in the case of the saxophonist where the music was loud and intrusive and the style of music very contemporary and experimental. This provoked different reactions dependent upon the location, and if the person had to remain in the area (e.g. in a doctor's waiting room) or in a more transient space such as a shopping centre.

> "*… it is close to change overtime and different performances are about to start. I can see three small groups hanging around the lobby area chatting at the back of the space. Staff in the venue tell me that this space is normally empty, but having the musicians there encourages them to mingle and hang around there, which in turn makes the event look busier for people walking past…. We notice that most people seem to glance at the musicians as they walk in. Some small groups stand and chat near the musicians*."

(Arts Centre, Visit 1)

At Shopping Centre 1 member of the arts organisation (who was also a musician) commented that shoppers were not paying attention to the music (contemporary jazz) and decided to play a selection of pieces from well-known shows such as "The Sound of Music", to see if people would react to music that they recognised. This resulted in more passers-by slowing down and watching the performance for a minute or so.

The performances gave musicians the opportunity to perform their own choice of music at a new (to them) venue, thus giving them increased experience in playing to a live music as well as widening their audience and exposure. Having musicians and instruments playing together attracted passers-by in the Arts Centre, the Day Hospital experiment differed slightly for some of the performance where the saxophonist was placed in the top floor of the centre, so that the music travelled throughout the space but the patients, visitors and staff could not actually see him.

Having live music within public spaces involved action by a number of collaborators: the musicians, the centre management (and security), the agency, the research team, potential members of the audience and the non-human actors such as the instruments, the sheet music, the power supply and the location itself. The musicians formed groups whereby they could merge in situ. The individual musicians themselves did not appear to be particularly important in these performances as they were willing to substitute players to fit the requirements of the music piece. By this, groups of musicians appeared to be able to merge and play unprepared with other musicians to create professional sounding music despite having never rehearsed the piece together.

The Impact on Families and Groups

The audience appeared to be more willing to participate in the performance when they were already in groups together, particularly family groups with small children, who would ask questions about the instruments, encourage their parents to stop and listen (and dance) and clap at the end of performances.

> "*A little boy aged around 2 slowed down to watch the performance as he walked by. A few minutes later another little boy sits down against a pillar"*

At the Arts Centre (visit 1) I speak to the parents of two children who are dancing to the music.

> *"This is a nice space for the music, a nice welcome on arrival. The kids like it; they have never heard this type of music before. It's something to entertain the kids as there isn't really anything else here for them*"

> "*A toddler girl dances, and people walking past outside stop to watch her dancing.... 2 females stop, watch and listen, then come in and get some information leaflets and start to look around T103*." (Arts Centre, Visit 1, Observations).

"The children watch the performance for a while and then start to dance… I see that a small audience is gathering and people are waiting to see what comes next after the musicians finish a piece" (Arts Centre Visit 1, Observations).

"In the arts centre two small children see the musicians and run straight up to them. They start to imitate the musicians playing their instruments, while asking their dad what they are called." (Shopping Centre 1, Observations).

This set of quotes explains that children are more likely to ask questions and react to what they see. This reaction suggests that the remit of widening access to music fits with the audience reaction.

At the Day Hospital the groups of employees walking past the performers and discussing the music demonstrated the importance of social dynamic. At the Sex and the City premiere the girls we spoke to seemed to be greatly influenced by what their friends thought of the performance, sometimes waiting to see what she would say first before they gave their opinion of the music and the performance.

The Offering of 'Payment'

The Celtic musicians playing at Shopping Centre 2 (visit 2) were unsure how to react when audience members starting speaking to them, asking them why they were playing and why they were not playing for charity or busking.

Later at the same performance, an elderly gentleman watches the performance for a few minutes then looks for a busking hat. He comments:

"*It's a bit strange that they are playing for nothing… why don't they play for charity? Would they be able to play at my Parish church coffee morning*?"

The Choice of Venue Impacting On the Performance

The jazz players expressed slight concern at playing at Shopping Centre 2 as they were unfamiliar with the East End of Glasgow, and perhaps had some pre-conceived notions of what it would be like.

> "*On Sunday the musicians performed for one hour 20 minutes at Silverburn and then took a pre-booked taxi to Shopping Centre 2 (visit 1) with me. We spent the time chatting, I learned that the boys play at events such as weddings, and can expect to earn £100 per person for a two hour slot. The musicians were from the Bearsden area of Glasgow, and I think that this was their first experience of the East End of Glasgow. In fact, even on the M8 Kingston Bridge they were not sure where they were. Having already visited the centre on Friday and met with Gail, Andrew was 'apprehensive' of what to expect at this event. We arrived at the Centre, and we all commented about how different it was to [Shopping Centre 1].*"

At the Arts Centre and the Celtic performance at Shopping Centre 2 the musicians were surprised at the audience reactions, particularly when they clapped at the end:

> "*We noticed a couple of people our ages watching us and they clapped at the end of it which we were quite surprised about…. We really enjoyed playing here. It's a great space… we were given a very vague gist of what to do so we had an idea about what to play and just followed a vague set list.*"

(Celtic musicians, Arts Centre, Visit 2).

Verbal and Non Verbal Cues

As per the terms of the arrangements, audience members could not be approached directly. The verbal and non-verbal cues were observed to gauge the reaction and enjoyment of the

performance, including toe-tapping and head nodding to the beat, passers-by smiling at the musicians and pointing at them, dancing and most significantly rounds of applause when a piece ended. At the Day Hospital the most notable non-verbal cue involved a hospital porter mimicking shooting a gun at the saxophonist, suggesting that they were not enjoying the performance.

At Shopping Centre 1 it was observed that most shoppers walked past without paying attention to the musicians. It seemed that some were almost avoiding the space where the musicians were playing. There were some families who glanced over as they ate their meal at Nandos, opposite from where the musicians (a keyboardist and saxophonist) are planning.

The pace of the music has an impact on the behaviour of the audience. As the music becomes more upbeat it led to more physical reactions to the music.

> "*There are 15+ people watching, quite a fast tempo, and some audience members moving to the beat. A man and his son walk in, the son is aged around 4 with spiky hair and long at the back stand in the doorway and watch for a while, they seem interested in the instruments and the music*" (Arts Centre Visit 2, Observations)

> "*Laura is playing the fiddle, Lana is on the box, Heather on the keyboards… they are playing upbeat music. You can hear the music as you enter the centre. There are around twenty people scattered across the area watching, people are standing with their children and watching". The musicians change the style of music to a slower piece and I notice that people stop watching and walk away*." (Arts Centre Visit 2, Observations)

> "*We watch some people tapping their feet to the beat. There are mainly groups of parents with children. Most people entering or leaving the centre pause or look towards the musicians. Some people smile as they pass*." (Arts Centre Visit 2, Observations)

At Shopping Centre 2 (visit 2), two female musicians participated in the experiment, playing a clarsach and a fiddle. Similar to the experience in the Arts Centre it is clear that when they perform slow music people mainly walk by without stopping. As the tempo of the music increases more people stop to listen, to watch the musicians and again to smile.

This series of quotes demonstrates that the 'audience' members felt confused and perhaps a little at unease at these performances, particularly when they were unsure about the type of music being performed. In normal circumstances, people come across music performances within concert settings, or busking for money, or signposted as a free concert. The lack of any form of materials to indicate the reason for the performance meant that passers-by were unsure how to behave within this setting. Furthermore, the lack of familiarity with the type of music being played also suggested that it would be difficult to format an audience and encourage behaviour if they had never come across this type of performance before.

The Impact on the Network

The third theme of interest was the overall impact of the project on the network involved with staging these performances which refers to feedback from the musicians after their performance, communications with the space managers, discussions with the Audience Development organisation. Overheard snippets of conversations from our makeshift audience, which consisted of all the people in the space and included employees who were not always aware of, or informed of the purpose of the musicians, the interactions between audience members.

Impact on the Audience

Based on the verbal and non-verbal reactions of the audience it is assumed that many of our audience were unfamiliar with some of the musical styles performed; particularly contemporary jazz. The performances of contemporary jazz proved much more demanding for

the audience than the performances of Celtic folk music, as demonstrated by people commenting that they did not like the music.

At Shopping Centre 2 the jazz musicians played outside a premiere of the film 'Sex and the City 2', and some audience members commented on how having the musicians there added to the atmosphere, particularly as they played music similar to that heard in the TV series, with a female (20s) commenting "*I like it, it's kind of jazzy isn't it*." Another added, "*I've never really heard anything like that before*."

A male shopper in his 60s watched the full performance by the saxophonist and keyboardist and commented to us that "*this [jazz] is not for young people here, they don't understand it*."

Shopping Centre 2 (visit 2) involved two groups of Celtic musicians, which attracted a lot of attention, with groups of people gathering to watch the performance. I overheard a passing shopper commenting to the toddler with her, "*Nice music wee man, it's like a wee string quartet*." A women pushing a trolley walks past and comments to me "*Nice, isn't it?"*

The audience members in general appeared to enjoy the music performances, especially within the shopping centres as it added to the relaxed leisure activity of shopping. However, the music within the day hospital was not as well received, partly due to the overly effective acoustics within the centre, and the use of solo saxophonists. The Celtic music performed by the violinist received a more positive response from the audiences, as it appeared to be more relaxing and welcoming. This may also be due to the placing of the musician, near the centre of the hospital beside the coffee shop.

The aim of the project, to bring music to the people of Glasgow, appeared to be successful in that audience members were definitely affected in some way from being exposed to the music. However, it is difficult to measure any form of long term impact as there was no opportunity

for follow up. The verbal and non-verbal cues acted as an indicator to suggest that there was generally a positive reaction.

Impact on Employees

Having live music in the workplace had varying impact depending on the venue: at the Arts Centre the music was described as '*welcoming*' by a receptionist as she arrived at work, A staff member added that music "*gives a different feeling to the space*." Conversely the placement of the musicians at the Day Hospital provoked strong reactions and members of staff, particularly with the saxophonists, which we overheard employees saying making comments such as "*if you weren't ill before, that would make you ill*"; "*who thought this was a good idea*?", "*this music is giving me a headache"* However, employees of the café at the entrance of the hospital commented that the violinist "added a touch of class to the place."

The audience at the Sex and The City premiere were made up of employees from the shopping centre, so had a dual role.

> *"The music… It's alright but it's not the best space for it up here, not enough passing traffic. You should move the performance down to the main shopping area of the centre."*

When asked what type of music she would like to hear in the shopping centre she added:

"probably not this, just a band or something... something local, like maybe get the kids at school, or the higher music kids….there is nowhere to go for live music around here.. unless you want stabbed [laughs]… if we want to hear live music we go into the city centre."

After the performance at Shopping Centre 2 (visit 1), I conducted a short interview with the Marketing manager.

Me: what did you think of the performance?

Paul: "I am really pleased with this event; I'd say it was a success. I am very keen to have more music in the centre. We had a local dance group who brought the centre to a standstill."

Me: did you book 'The Box', [a local group of young dancers who were in the finals of a "Got to Dance", A Sky1 TV programme at the time of our meeting]

Paul: I tried to book them when they first appeared on the show, but that as they got more successful they became too expensive to book.

The success of this performance (from a makeshift venue perspective) confirms that holding live performances within the shopping centre, be it music or dance, attracts attention and offers an opportunity for a version of Audience Development. From a venue (shopping centre) perspective, having the music performances available adds an intangible value to the shopping experience to shoppers who are already in the centre, rather than acting as a promotion to attract new visitors to the centre. It is common to have music playing within retail outlets from a consumer behaviour perspective. Having live instruments is more unusual and therefore people are not prepared to behave as an audience.

Impact on the Musicians

Consistent with the work of STS and ANT, the musicians were followed through each performance and were interviewed immediately after they had played. At the day hospital the violinist was surprised to hear that she had more positive feedback from the audience than the saxophonist as she believed that the jazz music would have appealed to more people.

"*I think the sax has a much more ambient feel, more suited to the space*." (Fiddle player, Day Hospital)

At the arts centre, the musicians were impressed with the acoustics of the venue, stating that this improved the quality of the music.

"*There is a nice sound in here, we loved it, it's a beautiful space, I'd definitely would do it again… we like to vary our music with a mix between fast and slow*."

(Harpist, Arts Centre, Visit 2).

Having the live instruments in the performances attracted a great deal of attention from the makeshift audiences. At the Arts Centre a female teenager walking past the building noticed the harpist in the window and stopped to look, saying to her friend, "*Look at that [the harpist playing in the window], that's so cool*."

At the Arts Centre 2 there was a change in musicians. The harpist finished playing and an all-female band began playing in a different part of the centre. This attracted less attention than the visual spectacle of a harpist sitting in a window.

4.3 DISCUSSION

This section offers three main contributions to theory:

1.) The arts organisation formatting the performance to act as a method of Audience Development.

2.) The performances of live music create a network whereby there were multiple affordances for the actors concerned.

3.) The multiple exchanges at these performances help in understanding how arts organisations can format an audience, thus presenting a very basic idea of Audience Development.

Each of these are now examined in turn, summarised in Table 11.

Theme	Empirical Evidence	Theoretical underpinning
Arts organisation formatting the performance	Arrangement/ set up of performance	Affordances within a network, communities of practice
Multiple affordances within a network	Interaction, offering tips, inflexible repertoire, limited audience response	STS, affordances, practices and exchanges, music having material qualities
Audience Development in a raw form	How do they take things with them? What is exchanged? Audience Development in the making	Market Studies and exchanges, spill overs, techniques and tools,

Table 11 Empirical Analysis

4.3.1 Arts organisation formatting the performance

Holding these music performances in public settings therefore led to unexpected findings. While the style of music being played was perhaps not of interest to the audience, having the music and the instruments there generated conversation and led to discussion about music in general. Therefore, having exposure to music opened discussions on the type of music that would be of interest to that particular audience, and offered ideas for future engagements with this audience. It also highlighted some of the reasons why people do not currently attend live music events, due to a lack of appropriate venue within the local areas.

In the experiments there was no exchange of money. The focus is on the organising of a musical performance with multiple interactions taking place between actors. Usually, income is generated through ticket sales and the performers receive payment for participation. Audience members know when a performance is taking place and arrange to attend at a certain time. This study offers a different perspective. Considering Araujo, Finch and Kjellberg's (2010) work on Market Studies, non-monetary exchanges and calculations feature heavily in this study for all of the actors involved in the network. This case examines how the arts (the music performances) via the involvement of the Audience Development organisation ('GUCM'), can format the audience. In this instance, formatting means to have a role, an identity created for

the actors involved, with cues (verbal/non-verbal), and scripts and/or guidance on how to behave. By simply being in earshot or visually observing the performance, by standing still and taking it in, the music almost entices the person to become a member of an audience.

Once this audience is formed, members appear to follow customs and to get involved in making associations due to the involvement of the music, including applauding after a piece of music ends, toe tapping, commenting to friends and engaging with the performers. However, the opposite also occurred in this series of experiments, where an audience was not formed, as people walked by the performance and appeared not to react to it. Due to the intrusive nature of music, it would be impossible for passers-by not to hear the musicians unless they were wearing headphones. Even so, the visual presence of the musicians with their instruments is a clear visual cue about the performance.

This is a completely different type of Audience Development to the more formal data driven examples which will feature in the following chapters, whereby audiences can be segmented based on different bits of materials (e.g. box office, typical spend per performance, seat choices, and postcode data). This follows on from Cochoy (2009)'s work on shopping carts and shelf spaces, whereby shoppers conform to set behaviours which are influenced and performed due to the formatting which surrounds them.

4.3.2 The Affordances within a Network

The findings from the live music experiments demonstrate that in a network there are multiple affordances involved as a means of stabilising the performance. This chapter asks how the arts organisation can format the audience. The findings are arranged around a contribution about affordances. For all members (human and non-human) of the network involved in staging these performance, the empirical evidence demonstrates that the music affords multiple possibilities. Arranging the music performances allows a means of stabilising the actions undertaken.

Following DeNora (2010), W. Gibson (2006) and Tanaka (2010), it is clear that music has affordances, whereby everything has material qualities and meaningfulness to all of the actors within a network. Thus, the music provokes reaction to those who come across it.

The empirical findings reflect flexibility in the performances whereby each experiment had a slightly different reaction from the audience, the musicians and the location manager. The intertwining network, alongside the knowledge of ANT explains that in the performance network all actors were perceived to have equal importance in the performance. There could be no performance without instruments, musicians, a location, amplification and electricity, agreement with the owners. The interactions between the audience members, and the audience to the musicians became more significant as the research developed.

Having live music in unusual settings was unsettling. The surprise of having a live music performance in one's place of work, or on a shopping trip, or waiting for a medical appointment provoked varying reactions. For the musicians it was the opportunity to perform to a live audience without prejudice or expectation; for the audience the music afforded different types of action there were occasional hugely positive reactions from some, from others the music provoked a strong negative reaction all reflected in the comments and reactions noted. The stabilising qualities of the music and the roles of the musicians and the audiences also have importance. Reflecting on Latour's comments on affordances having infinite possibilities for the object and actor that the music affected each member of the network (human and non-human) in different ways, this study explains that the material and physical qualities of music affect the audience as music has different meaning to individuals. The material-ness of the music was hugely significant. Although music does not have tangible qualities, it has material representativeness through the instrument, but also through the skills, prior experience and expertise of the musicians playing the instrument, as seen in W. Gibson's work. The music

impacts on the acoustics of the location, and thus affects the space in which the music is heard. It almost invades the listener's subconscious; it is not a choice whether to listen to the music.

The existing literature on affordances appears to be fairly simplistic and abstract in terms of producers and listener. This series of experiments draws upon the work of Gibson (1977) by demonstrating that music affords different actions and reactions dependent upon the actor. The multiple interactions taking place throughout these experiments helps in forming a network.

The main contribution of this chapter is therefore to show that music's affordances are arranged and adapted in particular settings. This study demonstrates that each affordance has a more improvised and unexpected outcome. This study contributes to the literature by developing the work of affordances, which are generally thought of as subject and actor, and beginning to address the notion of affordances within an actor network.

4.3.3 'GUCM' and understanding Audience Practices

The music performances discussed in this study fall under the broad heading of potential audiences. The inclusion of the term' ongoing relationships' appears to draw comparisons with the formation of actor-networks for the arrangement of performances. As part of its remit, 'GUCM' had a specific requirement to take music to areas of Greater Glasgow where there were few opportunities to hear live music. Offering these performances free of charge in public spaces provided an ideal situation to fulfil this element of the remit. By replicating the study across seven different performances in Glasgow, this allowed 'GUCM' to showcase local music talent. The research extends DeNora (2000)'s work of "Music in Everyday Life" by demonstrating that music has material qualities and is meaningful to actors. DeNora's focus on music's affordances forms the theoretical basis of this chapter. The work of Gibson appears to also be appropriate to this study.

Through following an ANT approach, the research was able to follow each performance, from the arrangement of the performance, recruiting of musicians, location and time of performance, the music itself and the post-event follow up. Conducting seven music experiments gave the opportunity to study seven embedded cases within the overall case study of Glasgow UNESCO City of Music.

However, as a business or market model, there leads to questions regarding exchanges. Within a market setting, as discussed in Chapters 2 and 4, there is the expectation that an exchange takes place, usually financial. In these situations, there was no fee paid to performers, no space rented from the venue, no ticket entry fees or promotional costs. Therefore, there are no traditional devices used to measure the benefits of this project. As discussed, there was no feedback or follow up survey conducted. However, the arts organisation still deemed the performances and the project overall as a success. It can be concluded, therefore, that in these almost wild, experimental performances of music, the logistics of organising, the establishment of new audiences, the multiple barriers including people unaccustomed to hearing live music of this sort, did lead to certain elements of success, and learning through practice. However, the repetition of hosting these performances across different venues allowed 'GUCM' to reflect on each of the experiments and address some audience challenges between each event. For example, the acoustics differed across the venues, meaning that audiences had a very different sense of the tone of the music between the Day Hospital and the shopping centres.

Furthermore, contemporary jazz was perceived as melancholy and added to the stress of the doctor's waiting room, compared to the jazz performances outside the Sex and the City performance, which added to the positive atmosphere. Therefore, taking the surroundings into consideration was crucial in understanding the successes or issues with this project.

Traditionally, research would be gathered on music performances which were of a reflective nature, carried out a while after the performance, and probably not during the event or within the venue. Due to the fluid nature of these experimental performances and the lack of audience information, data or contact details to hand it was not suitable to arrange follow up interviews or findings to investigate the impact of attending these makeshift music performances. The evidence gathered through the data collection captures reactions and feelings that were entirely 'of the moment', gathered in real-time. There was no opportunity to follow up the reaction, or to provide or guide the listener to further opportunities to hear this type of music or witness a similar performance. Therefore, the data gathered is representative of the immediate affordances that the music had within all actors in the network.

4.3.4 'GUCM' and the role of Actor Network Theory

In this study the material and human actors were of equal importance. In actor networks, social and materials are bundled together as a series of interrelated things which create something which is meaningful and can be examined. In this case, the organisation of the performance, location, music, instrument, musicians were all brought together in a relatively disorganised way and with little order or instruction and were tasked with the project of putting on a music performance in front of an audience who were unprepared to deal with the music. The success of the project was reliant on the ability of the musicians to play music which the audience would find engaging and meaningful. Being able to follow the actors afforded the opportunity for data collection before, during and after performances.

4.4 CONCLUSION

The chapter demonstrates that an Audience Development organisation can format an audience by offering performances with limited mediation. Music has material qualities. The empirical findings relate to the cognitive, social and material meanings and understandings of Market Studies. Due to the fluid nature of the performances there is little opportunity for measureable

impact and understanding of practice within a market setting. The data collected from these experiments is not enough to justify or support the claim that there is the option to marketise this service. However, the outcomes from the series of music performances begins to demonstrates that there is interest from the various members of the network (the musicians, the venues and the audiences) to collaborate and begin to investigate further what can be exchanged in a paid-for market setting, in a way that is beneficial and has value to all of the actors involved.

4.4.1 Can Audience Development agencies format an Audience?

In response to the research question, "can an Audience Development agency format and equip an audience', this study moves forward the work on affordances, specifically affordances in music, to demonstrate that arranging music performances offers opportunities for audiences to be 'developed' to a certain extent, albeit sub-consciously. The empirical evidence (for example the verbal and non-verbal cues) shows that passers-by do begin to act and behave like an audience by reacting to the music. Hearing music in shopping centres is not unusual in itself; however, the presence of the musical instruments and vocalists, the live element of the performance, attracts attention and almost provokes a reaction.

4.4.2 'GUCM' and the Marketisation of Audience Development

The final point to explore in the study is the prospect of marketisation of Audience Development services. This particular case is difficult to classify, due to the lack of money being exchanged within this setting. These performances were arranged as experimental performances, but also as a test case for the potential in offering live music in unusual settings as a paid-for service. Therefore, this case examined a pre-market rather than a fully stabilised market.

Using calculations, routines and organisations helped to stabilise and create successful performances. The musicians exchanged their own time and musical expertise and while receiving no remuneration they were given exposure and the chance to play to an audience. For the centre managers it was the use of the space in their centre in exchange for professional musicians entertaining their shoppers. In large shopping centres there are areas of floor space that can generate rental income. In this study there was no rental income received from the performers; however, it was anticipated that hosting the performance would create a more positive feeling within the centre. Of interest here is the role of human behaviour, identify, background, understanding, the affordances for whom, and through this some form of Audience Development is captured. For the audiences, being exposed to this music is a very nuanced form of Audience Development whereby this may generate a new interest in live music as a whole.

This study therefore offers opportunities for both calculations and qualculations (Cochoy, 2009) to take place, which is fitting in the discussion of Audience Development. The impact of hearing live music in an unusual setting is difficult to quantify. Music has links to the quality of life, and is used differently by different actors, indicating that music can be a resource or an entity to be used for purposes, plans or scenarios apart from being in the here and now of the listening. How people listen to, understand and learn from music depends on many things such as their own previous experience, family background and lifestyle.

Returning to the literature, the performance of a market involves making something which is exchangeable and has value. This project is unique in that there was no opportunity for financial exchange. There were some loosely defined objectives set by Glasgow UNESCO City of Music which included bringing live music to people who may not usually hear it. Specifically, the

project was aimed at people within areas of socio-economic deprivation. As there was no opportunity for follow up with audience members it is difficult to measure the non-financial benefits and impact of this project rather than just ticking a box on Government targets. There were no measureable quantities such as the number of people who stopped to listen, and it would be impossible to estimate how many people were affected by the music performances. The gathering of qualitative data and observational data is the only real way of understanding people's feelings about the music performances.

As shown, this chapter deals with a very nuanced form of Audience Development, taking music performances to audiences and observing the results. The next chapter takes a more data driven approach, exploring the use of practices which are undertaken by Audience Development agencies as means of formatting audiences through data analysis and organisational practices.

4.4.3 Limits to the Experimental Format

While this study is not of music specifically, some brief insights are offered. Music has material qualities and is meaningful to different people, evoking strong memories and feelings. Music is a resource which can be used selfishly, as a way of embodying a person's identity. This case found that it was used sometimes used selfishly by the jazz musicians, who took the opportunity to pay their own choice of repertoire. Some of the musicians seemed almost unaware of the audience around them.

The purpose of these experiences was partly to attempt to remove any form of elitism by taking the musical performances to the public rather than inviting the public to organised performances. The empirical study demonstrates a perceived elitism where knowledgeable audience members (and perhaps the musicians themselves?) assume that others do not understand contemporary jazz. DeNora (2010)'s work on 'brief body encounters' such as toe tapping and head nodding was reflected in the cases, which allowed the observation of audience

members reacting positively to the music. However, it was difficult to make a judgement on what the overall impact of these experiments were, due to them being one off performances.

Chapter 7 will offer comparisons between each of the empirical cases. However, for this chapter it is clear that the role of GUCM focuses on an experimental nature of Audience Development, rather than one based on data representations of an audience. By offering music in unusual spaces, people are given the opportunity to interact and behave based around the appearance of the musicians and the sound of the music. This case contributes to Market Studies through testing an opportunity where a market could be made, (where money may be exchanged for a live music performance), in a situation where this is a new occurrence.

The following chapters examine very different versions of Audience Development, where 'Amazing Audiences' introduces the idea of an audience being represented as box office data combined with background information and other sources.

5. THE PRACTICES AND EXCHANGES OF AN AUDIENCE DEVELOPMENT – FOLLOWING THE ACTORS AT 'AMAZING AUDIENCES'

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines a second approach to Audience Development through understanding the practices and exchanges of the Audience Development agency, referred to as 'Amazing Audiences'.

'Amazing Audiences' has a very different remit to 'GUCM'. Acting as an applied research agency, the employees have multiple roles in Audience Development, including analysing box office data, delivering training, carrying out traditional marketing research (focus groups and interviews) and carrying out consultancy and advisory services for the cultural sector. The agency is funded through subscriptions from arts organisations, one-off payments, public sector grants and government funds.

The contribution of this chapter is to understand how Audience Development agencies use materials in their B2B practice of delivering Audience Development services as a means of shaping and reshaping the Market by understanding the role of ANT. In this sector, Audience Development agencies make exchanges with arts organisations, audiences and stakeholders with the view to transforming and formatting an audience. In this instance the audience does not refer to those sitting watching a performance, but rather the data-led version of an audience, meaning the available audience data on their engagements with box office, venue and perhaps critical responses after a performance. The outputs of this data analysis will be used by artist touring companies, venues, artists and the government to help with programming, pricing, types of acts and reach to potential audiences.

In understanding how this data is collected and applied, this chapter presents an analysis of the internal activities which take place within the organisation, those which support the 'behind the scenes' practices which fit together to create the work of an Audience Development agency. This chapter demonstrates the impact of marketisation on the Audience Development sector by considering market devices, tools through which customers and clients can 'join in' with the organisation in order to create viable outcomes of Audience Development. The first section of this chapter explores the themes of practices and exchanges. First of all, the day to day practices within organisations are examined, then looking specifically at the data-led practices of Audience Development. From the analysis of the data a number of distinct and overlapping themes emerged. The main findings from the research indicate the importance of personal networks in bringing together people, organisations and tools to deliver a service which could be classified as 'Audience Development' that could be packaged and exchanged within a market setting.

5.2 BACKGROUND TO CASE

'Amazing Audiences' is a micro-organisation based in the centre of Glasgow. It was formed in 2004, with the aim of providing market intelligence to the arts sector in Scotland to help the arts organisations understand and develop their audience, thus increasing ticket sales and improving attendance. There are two other similar organisations in Scotland, with 'Amazing Audiences' covering Glasgow and the West of Scotland and the other two agencies cover the East Coast and the Highlands and Islands respectively. Each of this agencies are funded in part by public grants, membership fees and government funds. These organisations are not in competition with each other for day to day delivery of Audience Development, but may be for bespoke consultancy projects and in bidding to manage National projects.

'Amazing Audiences', on its website describes itself as:

"*We work with cultural organisations supplying the intelligence and ideas to help stimulate and sustain audience growth. In partnership with several arts organisations, agencies and stakeholders, we specialise in research, marketing planning and business development.*

Across all sectors of the arts sector and creative industries we deliver projects that influence how organisations find and develop new audiences. We provide industry statistics to explain and measure the impact of the arts on ordinary people's lives as well as training and networking events which bring professionals together to create strategies, share knowledge, contacts and ideas.

Just as the internet and social media have increasingly become part of our lives, they are also playing a greater role in our sector, by engaging people and rapidly spreading the word about what the arts can do for everyone. We are fully committed to creativity and innovation in this process, and we have put in place new digital and dynamic multimedia platforms to engage with our members, clients and stakeholders to share the intelligence around."

'Amazing Audiences' work mainly in the B2B sector, providing solutions to arts organisations and the arts sector using a combination of box office data, market insight, sector specific knowledge, local intelligence and expertise, market research and other useful sources of data. The organisation also carries out bespoke consultancy projects, delivers national projects, organises training and development events and provides networking opportunities for the arts sector in Scotland.

‘Amazing Audiences’ has twenty-three member organisations which include a variety of venues, cultural organisations and production companies across Scotland. Each of these members pays an annual membership fee, and in return they receive membership consultancy days (usually five in a year), participation in national development projects and training events. As well as delivering Audience Development services to individual clients and members, ‘Amazing Audiences’ is involved in the management of two national Audience Development projects (‘‘Brilliant Box Office’’ and ‘Digi-Arts’). Jean Mitchell describes these projects as “key projects…virtual tools help to position ourselves” (Jean Mitchell, AGM, 2010).

As an agency, ‘Amazing Audiences’ uses audience data and other available information, combined with analysis tools and social skills, to deliver a more nuanced version of Audience Development, which can be exchanged within a market setting. In contrast to the previous case, which operated on an experimental, almost ad hoc basis bringing together performers, music, a venue and the assumption of an Audience, this organisation works in a highly managed organisation which must deliver specific targets to funders, board members and those who pay a membership fee. This is a more performative form of Audience Development, whereby it sets up processes that yield data about audiences that would not otherwise be acquired. The case in this study builds upon the first, third and fourth research questions, in understanding practices and exchanges, in stabilising the B2B service of Audience Development and in investigating the marketisation of the sector.

‘Amazing Audiences’ typically works directly with and for arts organisations in Scotland. Arts organisations are typically small and medium size organisations that specialise in delivering their own form of arts and culture. These organisations are usually under-resourced financially and lack the specific marketing skills and equipment to be able to understand their existing and potential; audiences. Small arts organisations are often supported by public sector grants and

lottery grants aimed at firstly ensuring the survival of the organisation and partly to widen access to the arts. This sector requires significant work among its practitioners in stabilising an array of services, including demonstrating the benefits of the arts.

5.2.1 Actors Involved

In this case a number of human and material actors are involved in the delivery of Audience Development services. There are eight full time members of staff, including two senior partners, a social media associate, a finance and administration specialist and a project manager, who manages 'Amazing Audiences' flagship project, summarised in Table 12.

Name	Role
Jean	Managing Director
Amanda	Manager- ''Brilliant Box Office'' and Senior Partner
Jacqueline	Manager: ''Digi-Arts''
Pauline	Senior Partner
Declan	Social Media Expert
Anne	Finance and Admin
Mark	Associate
Maria	Associate

Table 12 Actors Involved

5.3 ESTABLISHING PRACTICES AND EXCHANGES

As the study developed it became clear that the main framing of the research was built around the requirement to deliver a service which is difficult to compare within a market setting, due to the specialist nature of Audience Development. Unlike other marketing agencies who may deliver similar services, 'Amazing Audiences' provided information and services which were often funded through public grants and memberships.

Social Practices within Audience Development

An Audience Development agency which delivers findings combined with data is usually public funded and exists on a regional capacity, leaving little opportunity for competition and typical market settings. It is therefore important to be able to demonstrate validity and a need for the existence of the service. While there are perhaps no direct competitors to the agencies, arts organisations may choose to use other marketing or research agencies for assistance. Furthermore, arts organisations and agencies could also compete for public grants and support without the assistance of an Audience Development agency.

There is no direct qualification to work in Audience Development. However, there must be expertise in marketing, understanding of the cultural sector, competence in using technologies, and presenting information to a variety of audiences. Within an organisation there needs to be a mix of skills, qualifications and expertise from staff to be able to deliver a number of different services and is therefore crucial in shaping how an organisation performs within a market.

'Amazing Audiences' are based in the city centre of Glasgow overlooking the River Clyde, on level 2 of a building similar to a typical Glasgow tenement flat. It has four offices, a boardroom, bathroom facilities and a kitchen. Office 1 is home to Amanda and Jacqueline. Office 2 for Pauline and the Marketing team. Office 3 is for the admin and support team and Jean occupies Office 4.

> "*I take a look around the office. Amanda and Jacqueline sit at desks facing each other. Amanda uses a PC and Jacqueline uses a Mac. It has furniture that I recognise form Ikea including a small coffee table, two round orange floor mates, a rug, plant, some framed paintings, posters, candles and desk lamps. The office is tidy but personalised and homely feeling. There are very few files and paperwork lying around. A high shelf has box files with the names 'Project (Intelligence)', ''Brilliant Box Office'',*

'Demographic Information (Centre),' 'Economic Impact (Methodology)'. There is also a poster with 'Amazing Audience's Annual Report on the wall."

Inside 'Amazing Audiences' there are clearly defined job descriptions for each member of staff, although like most organisations there is a need for flexibility to meet client demands and deadlines and adapt to a rapidly changing marketplace. However, it should be noted that there is some ambiguity as to whether Audience Development agencies form a typical market setting, where it is difficult to clearly define the organisation's role within the market. Job Advertisements for roles in 2009 and 2010 help to explain the person specification for working within an Audience Development agency:

"*We undertake* ***research, analysis and marketing****. This means you will need to demonstrate your technical skills and experience in these areas, especially with new media. This is a role where you can demonstrate your* ***analytical skills and creativity as well as your interest in people, new social networks and digital technologies****"* (2009)

"*Your workload will be varied including project work with 'Amazing Audiences' members, work with the Director and Senior Partners,* ***learning to use Market insight tools (such as MOSAIC and Area Profiling) to complete various analyses****. Undertaking statistical analyses such as market penetration, audience profiling analysis and audience mapping; collating audience feedback on events and other company activities, undertaking and reporting on primary and secondary research analysis for 'Amazing Audiences' projects, undertaking regular evaluation of 'Amazing Audiences' activity, contributing to the design of 'Amazing Audiences' portfolio of Audience Development, training and capacity building events and projects. Management of 'Amazing Audiences' databases, CRM and intelligence systems;*

Development and maintenance of social networks for 'Amazing Audiences', our initiatives, events and services (LinkedIn, Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Flickr etc.). (2010)

Both adverts demonstrate the importance of research and analytic skills along with an interest in the arts and cultural sector, and ability to adapting to an ever-changing environment, which is influenced by the organisations, the activities of the actors involved and through framing and overflows.

Membership of the Audience

It is essential that 'Amazing Audiences' provide a service which has value to each member organisation. 'Amazing Audiences' has 23 members who each pay an annual fee. In return they receive five days of consultancy, access to training and development and projects. This is managed using an Excel spreadsheet which shows the members, numbers of consultancy days used, projects that they are working on and other activities. This also highlights when memberships are up for renewal. Renewing memberships involves receiving funding clearance from the arts organisations, often at Senior Manager and Board level, therefore the arts organisations must be prepared to justify this spend and demonstrate the value of the membership and outputs. Arts organisations rarely cancel their membership with 'Amazing Audiences', and in those rare occasions they do it is only due to budget constraints. This suggests that companies see the value of working with such as organisation to improve their understanding of their audiences.

Day to Day Working Practices

An early stage of the research involved carrying observations of day to day working practices within the office. The purpose of this was to gain familiarity with the practices and exchanges of this version of Audience Development.

"*I arrive in the office just after 9am to carry out observation of day to day working practices. As Jacqueline makes me a coffee I notice that there is a piece of paper taped inside the 'cups' cupboard, typed and branded similar to all 'Amazing Audiences' communications, which details each staff member's name, their preferred choice of hot drink and cup for both mornings and afternoons. There is also a list detailing cleaning rotas, where all staff members are allocated different jobs*."

All agendas, minutes, expenses form and other pieces of professional work are similarly branded in 'Amazing Audiences' colours and logo. Furthermore, there is a company diary available online, colour-coded for each person so that all staff can immediately see where other staff members are. Like most businesses, employees go through a process of reclaiming work-related expenses. This process is fairly simple and quick, with very little bureaucracy to go through.

"*Jacqueline decided to complete her expenses. She is supposed to submit them monthly to Anne (administrator). She goes through her receipts and realises that she has some dated from the end of October (it is mid-January today). She examines each receipt and then consults her diary to see what she did on that day and how the expenses tie in with the trip. She completes a personal expenses claim form, downloaded from the shared drive. She explains "This system works fine; I am in charge of my own budget so I am not going to overspend. The expense form is available from the server and you personalise it, fill in the details your way [there is lots of space to write in the detail of the spend]. The spreadsheet then automatically calculates the total.*"

These day to day tasks are essential to the running of a normal organisation, and are included in this study to gives some rich context to the study. Running an organisation which operated within a typical office setting helps to maintain the image of the company as operating within

a market setting. Having to justify expenditure and using pro-formats and other established working practices helps to ensure that the company, due to having charitable status, can operate in a manner which can demonstrate value and impact using clear and precise financial measures. It also allows staff to build in overheads when pricing for research projects and other work. These identified practices help ''Amazing Audiences' to contribute directly to the transforming and formatting of audiences through having established practices, document templates and standardised outputs. This gives clients confidence in the quality and appropriateness of the work carried out.

Planning

This section highlights the planning processes and practices undertaken within the organisation. 'Amazing Audiences' uses these opportunities to discuss new formats and the review and renewing of existing formats, which again is useful in establishing working practices and clearly defining the roles and tasks within the organisations. Staff must attend a team meeting which takes place every week in the Boardroom. While staff members share office and kitchen space, and interact regularly face to face and online, this meeting is necessary to keep everyone up to date with business and client issues, share any organisation and industry news, and offer support to each other.

> "*The meeting lasts around forty minutes with everyone prepared and taking their turn to speak. There is a set agenda to follow, and staff happily chip in to offer support where required. It seems important for this organisation to meet face to face regularly to ensure that everyone is kept up to date and all staff are aware of each-others workload. There is a fairly relaxed and friendly atmosphere where staff are welcome to dress casually at work. However, it is clear that the staff take their professional roles seriously.*" (My observations, Staff meeting, January 2011)"

At the team meeting there is discussion about the need to plan for future events, including an update on the events taking place that week and how participants can benefit from it.

> "*'Digi-Arts' event taking place that Tuesday is the type of thing that people can put towards their CPD [Continuous Professional Development].*" (Jacqueline)

Amanda, discussing "'Brilliant Box Office'" gives details of how the project is developing:

> "*I need to look at case studies, segmentation and speakers for organising the next event. This event "Data Control" will be aimed at Marketing directors*".

Maria, working on the Annual Awards ceremony for 'Amazing Audiences' members, updates the team by stressing the importance of nominations for content.

> "*The awards are two weeks away, today is the closing date. We need nominations for the content… we have one submission so far. I have made a list of members contact so we can get in touch with them. I need to do some mass communications, events bookings and promptings. These awards are intense showcasing work… we need to make it more exciting – big, then small, then big again, but not expensive. I've done lots of work today with a local film-maker to make introductions for each nominee.*"

Running team meetings in this manner gives the team the opportunity to exchange ideas and knowledge on their own specific projects, thus helping them to ensure that all projects are delivered to an equivalent standard following a specific template. Exchanging knowledge in this manner allow staff to update each other on changes within their partner and client organisations which ensures professionalism in approach. Junior staff can use these meetings to learn from senior staff on project delivery and getting things ready to be exchanged within a market setting.

Why does this Agency exist?

The role of the Audience Development agency, in this version, is to format and transform a version of audience, represented through analysis of audience data. 'Amazing Audiences' is funded through a combination of public sector grants, membership fees and income generated from consultancy and other projects. 'Amazing Audiences' explain that it is always a "challenge to define impact and a clear need to understand how to speak to decision makers." Alongside the quantitative measures, 'Amazing Audiences' also focus on the soft skills of building and maintaining networks and relationships with clients and other cultural organisations. The behaviour and output must be justified to the board and an Annual General Meeting (AGM) takes place every November, to which all members, board members and clients are invited to, with an agenda, minutes and a digital version of the Annual Report circulated and made available on public forums.

As well as discussing issues and trends across the sector, the AGM involves the appointment of new board members and reappointment of existing members. There is an official pro-forma to be completed whereby board members must be nominated. At the 2010-2011 AGM, the four longest serving board members are asked to stand down, with a re-election to take place two months later.

> "*Drawn from industries across the cultural sector, the 'Amazing Audiences' board of directors are experts in various fields including the arts, policy and research development, funding, design, advertising, Marketing, education, PR, communications and digital media*." (AGM Minutes)

Board members meet every three months and are responsible for making decisions about the direction of the organisation, using their own expertise and experience to shape and direct changes.

> "*Appropriate board members should have a seasoned objective point of view. They should not be too close to the organisation, and be able to separate good and bad ideas. They must have belief and sense of purpose, and finally, they must believe that audiences are fundamentally important*." (Jean, board re-elections, AGM)

5.3.1 Technologies And Skills

This section focuses on the combination of technologies and skills that are required for staff members to perform and deliver Audience Development, by focusing on practices and exchanges. Appendix 2 details the technologies used by 'Amazing Audiences' to help deliver Audience Development programmes. These include software for data extraction, an online map tool and customer profiling tools. To build on knowledge and expertise and to stay ahead of the game, staff use various methods to keep up to date with news, current affairs and to build relationships.

Keeping up to date with current affairs and market trends

A vital role of Audience Development is to provide information and be knowledgeable about the sector at a local, national and international level. In terms of Audience Development, being aware and knowledgeable about the sector and the wider environment helps to format the version of audience by providing context and sector specific knowledge to ensure the data clearly represents the best version of audience. Furthermore, the rapid changes in the economy, improvement to digital infrastructure and changing audience behaviours all contribute to how an audience can be formatted and transformed into something that can have value to the arts organisations, the Audience Development agencies and the funding bodies. Pauline, a Senior Partner, uses a multitude of web based tools, sites and resources, including Tweetdeck, a tool

for organising multiple social media accounts into the same place. She admits that it can be overwhelming, explaining,

> "*I have to switch it off when I am concentrating as there is so much coming in*".

Pauline saves online reports into Dropbox (an online cloud storage system) as she comes across them so that she can read them later. These cover many relevant sectors including tourism, the cultural sector, European funding, and museums. She explains:

> "*The museum side really think about audience engagement… we need to be up to speed, sometimes because we are not in the space, we are here in the office, so we might not feel part of it, but we need to keep up to speed with what is going on…. I like The Drum [Marketing magazine], Harvard Business Review, we need to keep up with what is going on in Europe as it impacts on us, with things like data protection, I am part of various Linked-in groups amongst other things. There have been lots of role changes, people who have taken over digital in organisations, so we have to create from scratch. I am interesting in anyone who is aggregating data in a creative way. There are general patterns in audiences… we could talk about readership, consumer profiling but it takes*

The Use of PowerPoint as a Project Delivery Tool

The team meeting there is discussion over the use of PowerPoint, Amanda explains that there is a "*compatibility issue… we need a quick fix. The system keeps crashing and burning, whenever we import charts from Excel it keeps crashing*." This is crucial as part of the role of the organisation is to use box office data and analyse it in Excel, then present it using PowerPoint in a way that is meaningful to the client.

As data is translated into useful insight for clients, the findings need to be displayed in a standardised way which meets client expectations. Excel is an essential tool used to analyse data and create charts and tables which are meaningful. Furthermore, PowerPoint is used to

present the information in a digestible form, quickly and accurately. Therefore, the compatibility issue discussed reduces 'Amazing Audiences' ability to deliver information in a stable format which is meaningful to the client.

Using Eventbrite to build an event registration site

Jacqueline is setting up a registration site for an event entitled "Is a digital picture worth a thousand words?" She explains:

> "*I have already written most of the content for this. I just need to place in a picture of the event location. We use Eventbrite for all of our events… I've got much better at it as I understand my way around the website*".

She includes pictures of each of the speakers. She copies and pastes some biographical text from an email she has been sent by a speaker. She adapts the tense of the wording slightly and the paragraph style so it matches the ones she has already written. She makes some tiny changes until she is satisfied that it looks perfect. She then decides on the number of tickets that can be booked through the system.

> "*The venue takes approximately sixty attendees…we are also running a smaller 'salon' prior to the event as an added value extra on top of the proper seminar. This will be aimed at high level staff about different levels of practices*."

As Jacqueline sets up the page using Eventbrite she includes the logos for all of the organisations involved in this particular event. She gives one organisation a partnership credit because "*he has not asked for money… should I call it a partnership? It's not really actually*." As she sets up the page she explains that it is important to fill in the description and title boxed to improve accessibility for screen readers. She then gives a member of another organisation administration access to the site so that he can see it before it is launched. She explains that

this also allows him to "*see who is registered… and stuff like that. If he really wanted to he could send invitations to people, which would be great*."

Summary

This section has outlined some of the day to day practices of Audience Development. This indicates that 'Amazing Audiences' operates in a way typical to other professional organisations, with branding, standardised work, regular meetings, a suitably qualified board. The employees attempt to stay up to date by using a combination of technologies. The use of technologies and tools to deliver Audience Development services will be covered in the next sector.

5.3.2 Developing and Exchanging Service

Exchanges Between 'Amazing Audiences' and its Clients

This section highlights some of the key roles performed by Audience Development agencies. In its main aim, as formatting audiences, there is a need to develop and exchange services and to ensure that the activity is benefiting from becoming more stable. The agency carries out three main tasks: bespoke consultancy services, national training and development, and benefits for member organisations. This section takes an in-depth examination of specific practices which constitute delivering Audience Development services to understand what is being exchanged between Audience Development agencies and their clients, represented through a series of vignettes which outline typical projects undertaken within the Audience Development sector. Table 13 highlights the different programs and main roles of audience analysis and formatting performed by 'Amazing Audiences'. These represent typical projects undertaken by the organisation, which look a formatting and representing audiences in different ways.

Task	Type of Practice
'Brilliant Box Office'	A national training programme for invited participants
Registering and Promoting an event	Specific training event
Data analysis and creation of a report	Bespoke consultancy
Evaluation of a specific past event	Member consultancy
Social media measurements for members	Member benefit

Table 13 Examples of Amazing Audience's practices

Running a National Project

The first example is a way of delivering Audience Development through offering a training and development through a national project. 'Brilliant Box Office' extends the reach of the organisation across Scotland and provides a national audience benchmark, bespoke audience profiling, specialist training and reporting in the use of audience data by teaching small arts organisations how to manage their data, targeted at marketing teams within these companies. This data can come from purchased reports such as TGI and MOSAIC reports which use postcode data and drive distance to create a profile of the audience, along with data generated from box office systems.

The concept of the programme came from an evaluation of arts organisations in Scotland and a need for touring companies to have better relationships with venues.

> "*We carried out a literature review and data and depth interviews looking at planning and marketing activities. We found that not a lot had changed in the past twenty years. In terms of tools and techniques used, it was more a 'finger in the air' for what they were using. We wanted to empower people to use tools to get information and training. We carried out an audit of box office equipment, based on the needs of the organisation and looked a change on a national scale for box offices*." (Amanda)

Amanda explained that:

> "*The initial vision consisted of data analysis and skills across Scotland so people can extract data and use it for stuff to make it good… We drove around Scotland; we relied on buy in for people wanting to participate. We literally drove around Scotland, we went to see everyone, looking for match funding, grants, and got organisations to pay to participate, and we did everything we could to sell it to them. Everyone signed and*

we ended up with 42 participants (27 venues and 5 national companies). We decided that for Glasgow and Edinburgh venues, if they were already getting data through their existing memberships with the organisation] then they could not participate in this programme."

In this programme Amanda's role involves project management, administration, budget control, and organising and commissioning training. When designing the programme, she conducted a training needs analysis across the arts sector in Scotland, offering options on types of training.

"*From that we achieved a 30% response rate and developed three courses on data aimed at different levels of marketing professionals, working alongside a trainer who also developed a DVD which goes alongside a group workshop*."

As part of the research, 'Brilliant Box Office' training workshops were observed in Edinburgh (August, 2010). Amanda, Senior Partner at 'Amazing Audiences' was leading a presentation to approximately 40 people including marketing personnel from the Scottish cultural sector. Amanda began by discussing the creation of clean databases. MOSAIC profiling involves using information gathered about postcodes in Scotland, and using that to build a profile of the people who live in that area. This data is then combined with the data already gathered on customers by arts organisations. One of the main concerns with any data set is how relevant, up to date and clean it is.

The initial focus of the project was to understand what the current situation is, by looking at what others have done using the MOSAIC Profiling Tool. Amanda explains that the aim of this

project is a focus on clean data, at a national level. Previously there was no clear consistent policy on data. She asks:

> "*Think about the expertise in the area, look at gathering consistent data, from venue data, thinking about getting it individually, with the aim of creating knowledge and expertise… how can we see things at that level? The aim of 'Brilliant Box Office' is for sustainable organisations… there is strong capacity across the sector, but we must do something with the data, something that allows organisations to use the data in a strategic way*."

As well as comparing similar arts organisations, the purpose of the project is to compare standards and processes at a national level, for example between Perth and Glasgow.

> "*We need to talk about capabilities and skills, looking at hardware through a training needs analysis, people who are looking after the hardware and operating it. We need to consider the training when it started and since then, that and the level of skills all indicate issues in infrastructure. Feedback from the training on data management included comments such as "interesting, informative, a useful prompt to take time to analyse all the data we took so much time collating, therefore it was both useful and practical*" (Amanda, 2010).

A customer data set is a valuable asset to any organisation. For the arts sector in particular the right data can be used to increase audiences, generate revenue and save money by allowing programmes and campaigns to be more specifically targeted to the correct audience. At the 'Brilliant Box Office' workshop, a speaker from Experian (credit check organisation) explains the relevance of keeping data up to date, and advised organisations to "*look at the storage of your data, look out for duplicate detection, update customer data considerations, review the*

data and make sure it is done correctly at the start" ('Brilliant Box Office' workshop, 2010). This confirms that regardless of how powerful or expensive a Box Office System is, it is entirely dependent on the quality of the data.

In exchange for participating in this programme, as well as the knowledge gained from the workshops and the networking opportunities, arts organisations also received training packs for each course, an annual report for all involved organisations, and access to a blog which was regularly updated with news and relevant features.

Calculating the Potential to Attend an Event

Creating reports and intelligence from audience data is one of the main roles of 'Amazing Audiences'. A second example of Audience Development in practice is the analysis of box office data into something which is valuable and has meaning. This is, in overview, how an Audience Development agency approaches transforming and formatting its version of audiences, that is making it into something that has meaning for the end-user (who may be the arts organisation or collectively gathered to represent a version of the arts sector as a whole). This process allows for a representation of an audience by sector, by geographical location, by type of performance, by demographic segment, income bracket and so on.

An efficient box office system is essential for arts organisations in order to organise ticket sales and gather customer information. There are a number of different systems on the market which are designed for different types of audiences, from small venues to football stadiums. Some systems allow deep automated insight while others provide very little data to analyse. For those that allow analysis, organisations require resources to the organisation to spend time analysing the data produced.

'Amazing Audiences' – Audience Analysis in Practice

Amanda is working on a project for a theatre group to map attendance at a recent ballet performance which would overlay the existing data showing propensity to attend data, mapped it in Brighton, Stoke and Glasgow.

> "*The Divisional head of Marketing for the venue phoned me on my mobile at home on Friday offering us this work but saying he needed it back by close of play Wednesday. I knew it would take a day and a half to do and I knew I could move things about to make it happen. I am the only one who can do it. But I knew I didn't have an associate to help me out, so if I needed to work late on it, or if other things came up, it was my choice and I would need to make it happen. But, he's a really good client, and we have a strong relationship with them… and, at the end of the day its money…he gives us a lot of information because he trusts us and he likes what we do*".

She uses a piece of software called 'Map point' to undertake postcode analysis for a theatre in South-East England. She opens the Arts Council area profile, which is an Excel spreadsheet full of numbers against postcodes. She wants to create a hot/cold map, which would overlay pushpins showing the Target Group Index (TGI) from Area Profile Reports. The data comes from surveys carried out by BMRB/TGI, which are them purchased by regional Arts Councils across the UK. This enables her to answer questions such as 'are you likely to attend' for people who are in a 30-minute drive distance from the venue.

> "*Much of what we do in here is process driven, due to the depth of analysis… it is difficult to understand initially… ongoing tedium… but to get to the end point so we can be consistent, rely on the data as being robust information. This can be difficult for people to understand…. People see a spreadsheet and think 'what do I do with this?'*

so we have to make it work… It's similar to the outputs of 'Brilliant Box Office'. Here, we are using Box Office data to manipulate, but looking at the situation across the UK."

She says that she has created a query in Access re spacing in Postcodes, as "*Map Point likes them one way, MOSAIC likes them another… so it can be extremely confusing*."

The output of this piece of work allowed the client to visually understand the potential audience for their theatre (created through a combination of box office data, postcode data and other sources, and combined with the agency's own industry expertise and experience). This research was presented in a way that was easy to understand, and that could be shared with other staff members and allow them to make decisions on marketing and promotions to target this 'missing' audience.

Identifying Repeat Attendees

A third example of Audience Development in practice uses box office data to identify repeat attendees for an annual festival taking place in Scotland. Mark, an Associate, is working on data analysis using the Box Office ticket system. All box offices have DDX which sends part of the data to a central host that staff at 'Amazing Audiences' can access. This can be combined with Vital Statistics, a web based data analysis package to generate reports, shows ticket sales/number of households, carry out MOSIAC profiling, and show drive distance/time to help create a representation of the actual attendees of the event.

In discussing the data, he added:

"*This is not a cheap service… it costs thousands of pounds, so you do pay for having the privilege of accessing this data*."

Mark previously worked for another Audience Development agency in Scotland. He explains that while he is familiar with the system, 'Amazing Audiences' appears to manage some parts slightly differently from the other organisation. The aim of his work today is to generate an

evaluation of a series of festivals for the past year using a functionality that asks a series of questions. This will generate an overall picture for all the festivals under scrutiny, as well as providing insight on the individual festivals. From this he is able to build an event profile plus a customer profile based around repeat attendees.

On observation of Mark's practices in carrying out this method of data-led audience analysis, it is noted that Mark questions his processes.

> "*This is quite fiddly… well the way I'm used to doing it is, it might be different here… different ways of using databases. How many single events did a household buy a ticket for in a year? Large organisations with residential postcodes can skew certain sales; we need to be aware of this. There are also some differences between drive distances depending on database/measurements used*."

Mark's findings will be presented to the individual festival organisers as well as national organisations (such as the government) to show the impact of these festivals, identify any missing audiences, and to create customer profiles for existing/repeat customers to understand their ticket purchase behaviours.

Application of Social Media Metrics

The fourth example of the creation of the monthly Social Media metrics chart. Declan updates the monthly spreadsheet on Social Media Metrics. In this instance, the social media activities of each organisation are represented as figures on a spreadsheet, allowing for a comparison across the sector. This formatting of this version of a digital audience helps identify participation levels and uptake of each of the digital activities and any lack of skills or uptake across the platforms. He explains:

"*Every month we collect data on social media activities for 160 arts organisations across Scotland. The data from December needs to be tidied up to get it into a useable state. I do them every month so really this is just a sense-check. It is called the Social Media Metrics" (Master Sheet) created on Excel. It is broken down for Twitter, Facebook, Klout, YouTube, Tweets, RTs are the social media metrics which are monitored every month. As new tools and platforms emerge and become more popular (more widely used) then these are added to the spreadsheet*."

Declan explains that the Social Media Snapshot is an attempt to measure the impact of social media for each of the organisations studied.

"*We took 'hard to define' goals like reach, brand, audience conversion, and put indicators to measure each one. Then we managed to find indicators to give a sense of action, measuring and goals. We looked at the underlying philosophy, how to develop a business, new connections, how to build content to reach people or to hit the right networks. We took the general category of social engagement, page per view, time repeat visits, community size, social element built into website*."

He explains that measuring the impact of social media is complex.

"*To ensure that it is working you need to set goals, make sure you are using the right platform, measure impact and response, refine and improve. You need to think about what you measure and how. Each tool has a different way of measuring impact, for example Facebook uses analytic tools (insight) which is difficult to use, and you can extract key things, get an idea, and then ignore the rest. With Twitter, it can be retweets, something relevant, @s and mentions, conversation, whereas YouTube can do detailed analysis with a focus on video content*."

On the Facebook check-ins, Declan notices that there are "*huge jumps in Facebook check in... I am assuming that this is due to pantomime in December*."

Declan notices that negative figures appear in the You Tube channels. He explains that a lot of the metrics he uses are experimental:

> "*... we are not sure what they (the metrics) will show….it depends on the number of videos that a channel has. If you uploaded new video or videos are deleted it changes things… in this count we are studying the YouTube channel rather than the individual videos, so this is a metric to be careful with. I developed this out of curiosity but might not work properly…. This sheet could be automated but it's constantly changing metrics and options within social media and so on, so I feel like having a fully automated sheet would be a waste of time. "*
>
> *"It is developed through Social Network APIs, which can communicate with databases, I use google spreadsheet into each site, this returns some data then I work with it in excel spreadsheet and we do it for all ''Amazing Audiences'members*." (Declan)

Me: "*What kind of things do you use it for?*

> "*The initial goal was to create a picture of how people use social media but now we use it for project work, if we are focusing on specific clients we track their activity… are they active on social media, which networks they use? It is good for looking at groups e.g. theatres, visual arts. You can make these requests through the web-browser. Google spreadsheet has built in scripting, you can automate it to make these requests…. you must authenticate when using Twitter/FB [be logged in]. These APIs can limit the rate of data transfer and also the total amount of data available (especially Twitter)."* (Declan)

Declan carefully examines the data, scrolling through each column. He then notices a discrepancy in the number of video views, which has dropped over a month. He explains:

> "*So, in these videos there is a discrepancy with GlasGay's YouTube channel, between the videos and view compared with November's figures. So first we check the data from the original source in case it was copied across incorrectly. It appears to be fine. Then we check the YouTube channel. YouTube change their interface regularly and also their API, so it could be something to do with that, there is a possibility that they have deleted an old video… it is good to do these checks to ensure there is no error in our formulas*."

When asked about the design of the spreadsheet, Declan explained:

> "*When I started [working here] there was someone would visit each social media profile via web browsers and manually enter data. The whole idea is constantly being worked on so it hadn't updated the rest of the system to reflect the changes so when I posted the stuff it didn't fit. Our goal is eventually to get it as automated as possible, I am from an engineering background so I don't like to do repetitive tasks as a computer, but it is finding the point when this becomes feasible. Now we are getting an intern to help us add organisations, making it a benchmark for Scotland*."

This section offers a very specific area of Audience Development services, represented as an excel spreadsheet of information, that is can be used to art organisations to understand their digital footprint in comparison with others. This also allows measurement of the engagement with digital tools and techniques, which in turn identifies gaps in knowledge at an individual, sector, or specific arts sector.

Encouraging Engagement at a Venue

The final example of Audience Development detailed here in practice is encouraging engagement. Pauline (Senior Partner) is working on a study for a small theatre in West Scotland which aims to re-position the venue after a three year long renovation, forming part of a wider Creative Scotland project to revitalise the venue. Through the transformation and formatting of existing box office and customer data related to this venue, combined with other data sources she can then produce a data-version of the potential audience that can be used by the venue to shape its new strategy and audience engagement programmes.

For this project she uses a combination of data and tools including postcode information, demographics concessions, existing engagement with the venue, Google analytics for the venue's website and sociodemographic information around people who live within a 45 minute drive distance to the venue to begin to create a version of the potential customer base.

Pauline works from the office in Glasgow, with assistance from a freelancer who works at the venue three days per week. Pauline compares relevant data and reports for consistency and accuracy, for example comparing data from the National Records of Scotland with data provided by Experian. She gives some examples of potential outputs from her research:

> "*I can tell them things like Google analytics shows that [the venue name] is more prominent in searches than [location of the venue]. Things like the ticket sales/yield over times of day. The Experian data shows that Dumfries and Galloway are in a 45 minute drive time to this venue but have very low attendance so they would need a campaign specific to that area to encourage more people to attend this venue. I can see that most of the existing customers come from a local town…. things like that*".

Pauline explains that she can often find problems within the dataset which makes it difficult to offer recommendations:

> "*There are 4,500 postcodes in the potential audience area, but lots of the information is missing. I can't collect some things due to the data management system. There is no pre-intelligence [data from before the closure of the venue before the renovations] as the council took it. There is short term intelligence but essentially we are starting from scratch in areas. The venue has established twelve key areas to focus on. It is a big challenge to make recommendations that are achievable as there are lots of unknowns*."

The day to day running of the theatre is operated by a team of over eighty volunteers, including a core group of twenty full time volunteers who are mostly over the age of fifty-five. Their aim is to get the theatre up and running again and to position it at the heart of the community.

> "*What I need to do is make a phone call for information, get the information then give it in an individual way. They had the biggest SWOT I had ever seen! They have a severe lack of resources…The information came from a business plan to leverage funds. The venue's aim is to become a self-sustaining venue as opposed to being subsidised by public funds and donations. We can give them results which can compare what they are doing with the bigger picture: for example, they find that 6% of people visit their website through social media but the national average is 7%. There is a high opt-out rate for communications in the area, this makes it difficult. So, we collect lots of wee nuggets of information in the data - if half of your potential audience is opting out of communications then that's a major issue. What we do is take the intelligence and then match what we have got, compared to their organisational objectives. I familiarise myself with local area so that I can speak with confidence*." (Pauline)

The project is funded through a Creative Scotland grant, local fundraising and council funds. Prior to Pauline's involvement, the theatre had employed someone for intelligence and created a market overview which shows the aspirations of the theatre while also carefully and strategically aligning themselves to Creative Scotland's agenda. The venue has also received capital funding to refurbish the building however this means that while this is taking place only certain parts of the theatre/seating are available for shows, which reduces the number of tickets available to sell, thus impacting on potential revenue.

Pauline explains her role in the project.

> "*My role is to interrogate their [venue staff and volunteers] thinking, spread across a number of months. It is much easier to see external/internal communications structure but there are challenges, especially with the volunteers - they get close to you and expect more. Also, when you challenge someone with a fixed idea, you can clash. It is hard when you disagree, sometimes you do just need to stand back. So we show them things like pricing websites and recommend that they speak to them*.

There is a risk in delivering Audience Development services that the organisation moves too far ahead of the market place, due to the developments in technologies and a lack of resources, time, equipment or organisation backing to encourage people to participate.

To summarise, this chapter has provided examples of four different roles performed by this type of Audience Development agency, using different sources of data to create new versions of an Audience that can then be used by arts organisations, venues, and public bodies to gain an understanding of the current and potential audience for a venue. Through the transforming and formatting of audience data (that can be gathered from a number of sources including box

office, postcode data, drive distance, social media metrics, government reports and other news sources) one version of audience can be transformed into another version of the audience that is meaningful for the end-user, and also has meaning in being able to represent the national audience as a whole to give value to funding bodies, government, and to the board of 'Amazing Audiences'.

5.4 DISCUSSION

'Amazing Audiences' builds trust and relationships with partners and clients by providing expert services in the area of data analysis within the arts sector. This chapter explores how the agency stabilises the 'audience' as a saleable commodity. In this respect format has a very different meaning to the previous chapter. 'Amazing Audiences' can achieve its intermediate aim of formatting audiences its way, as well as the ultimate aim of offering a reliable, robust and comparable service to stakeholders. Market devices such as box office data help with the translations of data. By focusing on stability in the production, this chapter argues that organisational stability uniformity and routine are a necessary part of understanding the practices and exchanges of Audience Development in representing a professional appeal to clients. Being able to present organisational stability contributes to the notion of promise on which the agency's revenues depend.

In comparing the work carried out by those working in the agency a common theme emerged of staff being unsure about the validity of the data provided through technology, and the need for them to make decisions and interrogate different sources of data in a number of different ways to find the most appropriate way of presenting the data in a way that would be meaningful for the client.

The examples given in this chapter also show that there is a need for the level of staff expertise and the use of an agency to provide economies of scale. As shown, purchasing the data sources

(such as box office data, analysis programmes and Mosaic) are expensive and require a level of expertise for operating these to the best of their abilities. For the arts sector, where there are limited resources and where it is unlikely that there would be strong levels of data analysis and technology skills in-house, it is beneficial to be able to utilise Audience Development agencies as an external (paid for) resource.

This chapter continues to question the marketisation of Audience Development agencies, and the example of a Scottish agency analysing English box office data (and being recruited specifically for this project despite not having specific local knowledge), demonstrates the recognised ability of the work of these agencies in being able to combine a number of data sources, packages and tools, along with their own expertise, to be able to present something that is sale-able as Audience Development. More importantly, the repeat business and the offering of payment for this service as a transaction rather than as a condition of funding or membership, very much positions this agency as behaving as part of a market.

5.4.1 ANT and 'Amazing Audiences'

Returning again to the work on ANT, and the later Market Studies, the role of each actor is significant within the network in order to create a useful practice. In this case, the social and technological factors are of equal importance and come together to form networks which are formed on a temporary basis to meet specific tasks (Callon, 1992). A key aim of ANT is to overcome the subject object divide and any distinction between the social and the natural worlds and to see the reality as enacted. Practices are therefore entangled and joined together to shape every day practices and help in stabilising the organisation and exchanges (Suchman, 1987; Orlikowski, 2009). This section has outlined the practices which the organisation has undertaken in order to establish itself as an agency which delivers Audience Development

services. The combination of skills, materials, practices and people within the organisation, the AGM, minutes, lectures and talks are all empirical examples which demonstrate the fact that that the organisation can exist within a marketplace.

As shown in the literature review, there is materiality in all forms of organising; however, until recently little attention was paid to the importance of the materials in practice. While the term material implies a level of tangibility, the literature review demonstrated that artefacts have materiality regardless of their tangibility, and that technologies are crucial in understanding organisational practices. The technologies identified in these examples (PowerPoint to create a document and report, Eventbrite to arrange an event, Tweet desk to organise social media feeds) are all hugely important in the delivery of Audience Development. As Kaplan (2010)'s work on PowerPoint showed, the tool can be used to create documents, but it also has alternative uses as a way for people to organise ideas through material artefacts. Technological artefacts are used to help social practices as they move through their series of translations to become a stable entity which is ready to be exchanged.

5.4.2 How does 'Amazing Audiences' format and equip audiences?

The formatting of the versions of the audience allows for the Audience Development agency to create different versions of the audience dependent upon the needs of the stakeholders. The ability of 'Amazing Audiences' to offer comparable services and reassurance to clients, through formatting different versions of audiences. 'Amazing Audiences' as an organisation is continuously formatting, responding to market trends, technologies and customer needs, government targets and requirements and making things stable and comparable to other organisations. By being able to offer similar products and services which are easily adaptable and gathering data which can be cross compared and generate quick insight. Thus, components

are formulated and the stabilisation of materials comes from standards and requirements through satisfying the needs of multiple stakeholders.

5.4.3 What are the practices and exchanges of Audience Development agencies?

The principle of this study is that products and services need to be made stable so that they can be exchanged. 'Amazing Audiences' can help to achieve stability for its service offering in part through its own internal organising processes. The description of the organisation, the office systems and layout, the staff and job descriptions and the branding are all evidence to demonstrate how 'Amazing Audiences' became a stable organisation, with set processes, practices and procedures.

Having consistent methods of budgeting and invoicing allows 'Amazing Audiences' to maintain paperwork for accounts and auditing offers examples of practices being used to shape the behaviour within the organisation. These simple tasks, while mundane in nature, ensure that there is a procedure set in place which others can follow, thus bundling together market practices to create norms which lead toward a stable organisation which becomes a representation of market practices.

The practices of having written instructions and routines, colour coded diaries and procedures represent the organisation and becomes part of the organisation itself. This is important because it demonstrates the use of materials in assisting with day to day social practices. Having all of the processes and procedures in writing and available in shared folders online demonstrates the tools and techniques required so that the day to day practices can be delivered to the same standard every time. The company branding and consistent use of font and data audit means that paperwork is easily recognised externally and internally. Having a typed list of hot drink

requirements and a cleaning rota, and a weekly team meeting suggests a team-based culture where each member of the organisation is valued and treated equally within the team.

The combination of the skills and expertise described above allows 'Amazing Audiences' to create a tightly bundled package of services which is presented as 'Audience Development' and can be exchanged to clients for money. The money from the clients is often obtained through grants and external funding, and occasionally their own revenues. To make things calculable, this bundle must be moved into a single space where it can then be represented in an exchangeable format – in these cases the output can be a PowerPoint presentation (Kaplan, 2010), a written report, or materials after a training session.

For organisations who are classed as 'members', they are expected to pay an annual membership fee and in return receive five days of consultancy as required, as well as access to events, networking and training sessions.

The Audience Development package has a number of benefits for clients. In general, the service will allow venues and cultural organisations to understand their existing client base, improve their Marketing, sell more tickets to the 'right' audience, understand the impact of their own activities – such as shows, performances and events. Furthermore, to secure the future of the cultural sector, Audience Development services can help to identify and attract potential new audiences.

'Amazing Audiences' prides itself on having in-depth knowledge of the sector and the Market, by knowing the local area and having specific expertise. Through the building of networks staff are kept aware of trends as they emerge. By monitoring the macro-environment surrounding

the sector through Twitter, news sources and reports, staff stay aware of trends within the sector. With careful recruitment and the use of job descriptions to organise staffing roles, each member of staff knows their strengths, both individually and combined as a team. Having an influential board helps to stabilise the organisation. By having a clear pricing structure and strategy, 'Amazing Audiences' are able to understand the market and are in a position to make exchanges, therefore marketising their service. By understanding the challenges within the market the organisation is able to offer solutions and guidance to clients and members of the network. Through maintaining a clear focus on the arts sector this demonstrates a professional direct service specifically within that sector. Through consistently and reliably delivering professional services the clients are presented with an offering which meets their requirements and expectations.

Having the company diary extends Jung et al (2010) and Ekbia (2009)'s work on digital artefacts which have forms of materiality within the workplace. This indicates professionalism and organisation, whereby staff are always aware of their location of their colleagues. There is a growing trend in the Audience Development industry to deliver digital services as well as offline, and these 'digital artefacts' also have their own materiality. These artefacts are equally as important as the physical objects such as laptops and desks in being bound together to stabilise practices whereby things can be brought together and exchanged within a market setting.

5.4.4 Stabilising the B2B Service of Audience Development

As well as understanding the practices and exchanges of Audience Development organisations to understand how to create a more efficient service and be able to share resources and knowledge. The use of Market devices such as MOSAIC profiling, Experian coding, 45 Minute

Drive Distance, PowerPoint, Excel, Website creation, Social media metrics and other tools allows 'Amazing Audiences' to offer a standardised stable service, where they take data from cultural organisations and use the devices bundled together with their own day to day practices to transform the data into useful information for the client. In terms of Audience Development, the ability of 'Amazing Audiences' to format a version of the audience, based on box office data to create a different version of the audience that can then be exchanged within a market setting, is the key role of the agency in this setting. Producing this successful is a basis to develop services and exchanges.

There are common themes which emerge from each of the practices identified earlier in the chapter. Each uses a different example of audience data with a different tool or technique to manipulate the data into a stable set of information which can be presented back to a client. The use of computer technologies and tools to analyse and present data into meaningful information for clients, written job descriptions, processes and procedures, board meetings, AGMs, boards, funders are all examples of actors which are bundled together to form the stable service of Audience Development. This develops Orlikowski (2007) concept of sociomaterial assemblages, whereby the combination of the data, the analysis tool, the computer, all enacted by the employee, are temporality bound together in order to make something stable and formatted into a recognisable output ready for exchange within a Market setting.

The market devices (Eventbrite, PowerPoint, Tweetdeck) are all used to help to stabilise the service of Audience Development. As shown in Market Studies, goods and services must become objectified and go through a series of translations. Coho's concept of qualculations becomes relevant here. The use of devices helps to stabilise market practices through creating centres of calculations and classifications.

Given the ever changing nature of Audience Development, influenced by changes and developments in technology, cultural policies, grants and market trends, the job description must regularly be adapted to suit the changing environment. 'Amazing Audiences' appears to be changing its environment to make it easier to earn revenues, trust and reputation. Through reflecting on how the agency can frame the version of the audience, by deciding what should be excluded and what should be excluded within the version of the audience, the agency can then format its versions of the audience as appropriate. Returning to Mol (2002)'s multiple versions of reality, it is clear that the original box office and audience data has different meanings for each of the stakeholders, following the transforming and formatting of the data.

From the empirical evidence it appears that 'Amazing Audiences' is uniquely positioned to place devices that it can use, but that others do not have access to (such as Mosaic Profiling and other data tools) into the Market space. It then uses these to create a model of what a Market might look like, and in doing so recruits others into this vision/format. There is an exchange or result (on the part of the arts organisation) from the activities which is measurable and countable, which can include increased ticket sales, an up to date Market/customer profile.

The combination of training in Box Office Data analysis, improvements in technology and infrastructure may eventually allow some organisations to analyse their own box office data into useful information. This information could then be fed back to 'Amazing Audiences'. They can them combine this data with that from other arts and cultural organisations to develop a national profile or picture of the sector which can be delivered to meet government and public sector targets and guidelines. In this respect, the materials (data, information) and the people are of equal importance in the performance of Audience Development within this organisation.

Focusing on "Amazing Audience", the data demonstrates that the B2B service of Audience Development appears to be a series of practices all bundled together. The empirical evidence shows that this knowledge comes from having an understanding of what similar organisations are doing, and ensuring that staff deliver a similar service.

5.4.5 To what extent is the marketisation of Audience Development apparent in this form of Audience Development?

Marketisation involves multiple processes incorporating calculative devices and other materials. The contribution of this chapter examines the 'promise' of Audience Development (Pollock and Williams, 2010) where arts organisations pay in advance for five days of consultancy. In Audience Development it is not entirely clear that there is a market available, especially due to the inclusion of public bodies, governments as key partners within the organisation. From a B2B perspective, the difference in studying Audience Development services in comparison to 'normal' B2B transactions is in the formation of the marketplace. In exchanges between arts organisations and 'Amazing Audiences', there is little opportunity to bargain or barter as the pricing structure is already determined through pre-paid consultation fees.

The service provided by an Audience Development agency is generally paid for through a combination of grants and external funding which is directed towards a specific task – that of 'Audience Development' In a market setting there is usually an exchange between two parties. Here multiple tools and techniques are used, with very little mediation. The employees involved are permanent and established in the role, with strong reputations across the sector. The Audience Development agencies help to frame a version of an audience, represented as data, with little spillovers.

One of the key outcomes of this research is to demonstrate that product and services can be made as a common range which come together to develop a recognizable standardized way of working. For example, when using MOSAIC software, 'Amazing Audiences' need to demonstrate that, despite seemingly fluid areas of expertise, there are some stable entities in the background.

Of interest is how 'Amazing Audiences' can stabilise its offering within the boundaries, and the use of technology that has become stable. There is the opportunity for 'Amazing Audiences' to adapt practices and devices to address specific customer requirements. Kaplan (2010)'s paper on PowerPoint, and Orlikowski and Yates move from Communities of Practice into something where products and services are designed to address multiple stakeholders. Thus, for 'Amazing Audiences', and Audience Development organisations in general, to make a product, then the things that are being stabilised around it happen in collaboration with a number of stakeholders. Therefore, what emerges from the market is the requirement for something that is stable and can lead to confidence in terms and benefits. This can be confidence to clients (e.g. arts organisations), audiences, funding bodies and the government) in demonstrating the impact of the work of Audience Development.

6. STABILISING THE B2B SERVICE OF AUDIENCE DEVELOPMENT - 'DIGI-ARTS' IN PRACTICE

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The final empirical study examines a further example of Audience Development, which uses different forms of mediation to stabilise the B2B service of Audience Development. Taking on the role of a broker, 'Digi-Arts', the agency in question, acts as a mediator between arts organisation and digital tools, consultants and training opportunities. In this respect, the audience, as in those people who eventually consume the art and cultural activities are not directly considered within this case. Rather, the role of the agency is to provide services, guidance and training that will in turn encourage future and those perceived to be excluded audiences to consume the arts in new and innovative ways. This differs from the previous chapters focusing on making markets and acts as a way of stabilising and future proofing the market by ensuring that the sector is making the best use of all available technologies

This version of Audience Development examines a different version whereby the agency acts as a mediator between arts organisations and other interested actors (including other arts organisations) but with a specific interest in digital. This chapter focuses on the organisation 'Digi-Arts' and its role as a mediator in its B2B practice of delivering Audience Development as a means of shaping and reshaping the market. The aim of this chapter is to establish how to stabilise the B2B practices and exchanges of Audience Development through the lens of mediation.

Mediation involves the joint performance of action, performed by both humans and non-humans. In working through a network, an actor may move through a series of mediations as it becomes stabilised. While the trend in marketing has been for disintermediation, there are

still some areas where mediation is welcomed through a third party so that informed action can take place.

This chapter focuses on the mediating activities of Audience Development organisations as they bring together people from arts organisations, funding opportunities, training events, digital developers and consultation to bring about solutions which impact on Audience Development activities through this in-depth case study.

6.2 BACKGROUND TO CASE

This case study examines a specific Audience Development programme which specialises in improving digital reach for the arts sector across Scotland. ‘‘Digi-Arts’’ a pseudonym is managed by ‘Amazing Audiences’ and has the remit of encouraging digital development with arts organisations. It is a not-for-profit organisation set up as part of a programme for the creative sector, which offers Audience Development services to arts organisations and supports bids for funding under large programmes policies (such as the NESTA programme and Creative Scotland sponsored projects) which support the use of digital technologies within the creative sector. Arts organisations are small and medium size organisations, which often lack the expertise, knowledge and awareness of digital developments and confidence in embracing new media into their programming.

In B2B services there are always multiple exchanges taking place. Digi-Art's overall aim is to enhance and shape the interactions between arts organisations and their audiences, and extend the reach of arts organisations to new audiences through digital technologies. As proposed by the Arts Council of England (2014) “the use of digital technologies and how arts and cultural

organisations are using this technology to become more resilient;" and this is considered a major part of the overall arts strategy for the UK. There are several national programmes which "support digital technology building business models and enhance audience reach" including the NESTA Digital R&D Fund for the Arts. The Scottish Government has recognised digital development as a priority for the creative sector and as such has set aside funding for specific Audience Development programmes in this area and thus requires measurable ways of demonstrating impact and success.

Using this as a starting point, the chapter identifies three distinct examples of mediation within the work of 'Digi-Arts': brokerage, networking hosts and knowledge exchange. By broker relations this concentrates on skilful investment, whereby the agency demonstrates expertise in reinterpreting what happens in a way that is helpful and meaningful. In acting as event organisers, 'Digi-Arts' brings together arts organisations and digital developers into the same place so that relationships can be developed and projects are formed. Through knowledge exchange, 'Digi-Arts' uses digital technologies as a form of mediation.

This chapter follows an embedded case structure by identifying a number of projects for which 'Digi-Arts' have responsibility. Under the project remit and in agreement with Creative Scotland and other stakeholders, 'Digi-Arts' must deliver the following outcomes during a twelve month period: eight workshops, training events and road-shows across Scotland, an Annual Digital Day and the co-ordinate a series of consultancy projects arranging them between digital consultants and arts organisations with a budget of £100,000.

This case study presents 'Digi-Arts' in a role as a mediator. Mediation, in the broadest sense of the word, refers to any situation where actors are brought together with the assistance of a

third party, usually at a cost, with the aim of coming to an agreement or making things happen. As demonstrated in chapter two, mediation is an appropriate theoretical concept when undertaking a marketing study which is rooted in ANT, due to the symmetry it allows humans and materials. As a mediator, organisations may take a number of roles including acting as a facilitator, moving towards a change and offering guidance and support of Latour (2005)'s work as mediation being a form of action being jointly performed, along with helping to understand how actions have consequences.

The 2009 Annual Report describes 'Digi-Arts' as a two-year long programme which has: "*Encouraged arts organisations to be exemplars in the use of digital technologies by providing access to specialist consultancy and a programme of advocacy, knowledge sharing and learning events as well as a web enabled knowledge base. Here, and through our own growing use of digital technologies, we share knowledge, feedback and practical examples which stimulate new relationships and collaborations on and offline*" ('Amazing Audiences' Annual Report, 2009).

The aim of the programmes and specific funded projects were to demonstrate innovation in delivery and devising of services. There are five key actors involved in the Digi- Arts programme. The programme is managed by 'Amazing Audiences' with Jacqueline, a full time programme manager and Kat, an administrator, with Kayla the lead consultant on the programme.

6.2.1 Actors Involved

Table 14 outlines the people involved in the 'Digi-Arts' project and their roles within the organisation.

Actors involved	Job title/role
Kayla	Founder - Working in the arts marketing sector in the early 2000s inspired her to start her own business working in the arts, culture and heritage sector.
Jacqueline	Project manager
Jean	'Amazing Audiences' Manager – responsible for overall management of the programme
Kat	Administrator

Table 14 Actors Involved - Digi-Arts

Alongside the permanent team, consultants and other experts are on call to participate and offer expertise as required. Jacqueline describes the team as "*basically a virtual organisation… it is more a programme with a team of people who have come together… more widely it is about holistic development and business models.*"

Kayla's interest in digital arts marketing came from a background working in the arts, cultural and heritage sector, where she realised the challenges of working with digital in an under-resourced sector.

> "*It gave me a kind of insight into what the issues were in the arts culture and heritage sector in relation to digital, and that was not just digital in relation to audience development, because probably a national company were at the time at the time were beginning to do Audience Development with digital tools fairly well… this was because they had an excellent marketing department, but at the same time I was kind of watching an organisation struggling to become digital operationally, so they were struggling to roll out email… they had one email address for ten people between them.*"

From working in this large arts organisation Kayla gained experience in the sector, and then changed sector in order to expand on her expertise.

> "*I went to work for some new media companies as their business development director, because while I was at the national company I had a gift for getting what the technology companies were talking about and turning that back into lay peoples speak and arts speak and I fancied doing it the other way round. After about 2 years of dong that I wanted to go back into the arts again, I felt quite confident that I had a good proposition that I could help the arts engage with digital technologies, enhance their core product and business models as well as operations, as well as Audience Development needs, so I formed my own consultancy at that point, that was about 2003 I think.*

Kayla made the decision to return to the arts after gaining experience and knowledge in the area of digital development. The 'Digi-Arts' programme was then trialled with arts organisations in England who were unsure what they wanted, but had an interest and appreciation of the benefits to digital to the arts sector. After a successful trial in England, Kayla then proposed a similar version to the Scottish Arts Council which was based in both content creation and organisational development. This was launched in 2009 and managed by 'Amazing Audiences'.

The data is organised into three vignettes, each of these demonstrate different types of exchanges carried out by 'Digi-Arts'. First the company is considered in its role as a broker between arts organisations and digital organisations for specific small consultancy projects. Second, the chapter concentrate on the role of 'Digi-Arts' as an events organiser, organising live events which bring together digital specialists and arts organisations to create opportunities for collaboration. Finally, the role of 'Digi-Arts' is examined as managing a range of social

media and online networking tools and technologies to enhance collaboration within the industry.

6.3 BROKERING AS A FORM OF MEDIATION

In 2009-2010 arts organisations in Scotland were invited to apply for a funding for a new programme, which had the specific remit of demonstrating organisational change focused about the theme of digital development. This programme aimed to co-ordinate specific projects between arts organisations and digital consultants with the overall benefit of introducing the concept of organisational development incorporating digital tools and technologies as a means of enhancing audience engagement. Throughout of this project 'Digi-Arts' played a number of mediating roles.

Issuing the Call for Funding

'Digi-Arts' sent the call for funding applications to all arts and cultural organisations in Scotland. Within this call, a pro-forma was included the aim of which was to complete by identifying a specific need for digital development which would result in organisational change. Successful applicants would be expected to work with a relevant consultant to help design a business case. It was anticipated that some of the business cases could then be used as a way to move forward and apply for further funding (through different sources unconnected to 'Digi-Arts') to implement the project. Fifty-five participants were chosen to participate in the project.

Jacqueline explains that her role is "*hands on with relationship management and event management… we have 55 participants, my role is to keep communications open, check how they are doing, are they progressing*" (Interview with Jacqueline, 2011).

Allocating Partner/Associate Status

The fund for this project was around £1 Million, with more than £600,000 aimed at directly funding arts organisations. Funding and status was set up based on the application Successful organisations received between £300 and £50,000 dependent upon their requirements." Based on the completed application form, 'Digi-Arts' made the decision on whether projects would be allocated either 'Partner status' or 'Associate status'

> *"We allocated some organisations 'partner status' these were the ones with the clearest vision in the applications. They were given five days of consultancy services plus extra training and support sessions. We also set up a networking event to get partners to see each other, to get them to talk to associates. I want partners to lead the way".* (Jacqueline)

Associates were allocated one half-day of consultancy services. Although this project was deemed to be successful, there were some issues identified. At an evaluation focus group of Partners and Associate members it was found that some arts organisations were unhappy with being awarded Associate rather than Partner status.

> "*We didn't actually know what we needed, and so it was difficult to write it down on the form. Then we find that another organisation is doing a very similar style of project but is getting 5 days of consultancy and we only got 1...We could have really benefited from 5 days*" (Associate member, focus group evaluation, 2010).

When asked if there were any low points of the project an Associate member said

> "*It was when they said you were an Associate, after all that time spent applying... we weren't very happy then it turned out we could get quite a lot. I really thought we'll*

never do it in a day but 'Digi-Arts' organised wider days, clearly it opened those doors and it worked."

Selecting Appropriate Consultants

A further role of 'Digi-Arts' was to select consultants who were appropriate for the specific project.

> *"We sent out an open call for people [consultants] to bid, from this we selected about 17 and then we allocated them to different organisations. Most consultants got an average of 6 days work, with 115 days delivered in total. They all had different strengths, marketing, social media, technical skills, building websites, some online sales and some for organisational development for things like strategic direction. Some consultants were not really techy, some not arty. We had some really stand-out consultants." (Jacqueline)*

In a discussion with Jacqueline regarded the role of the consultant she stated that most of the consultants were happy to participate, and had an almost altruistic view of taking part, saying:

> "*Some consultants did it pro bono, as CSR work*, *it was like they were giving back something…they saw it is strategic public sector working, extra training, giving them access to new markets, some of them say it is a no-brainer, we need to be in this*" (Interview with Jacqueline, 2011).

The consultants had agreed to sign up for one or five days of paid consultancy, but many offered their days split into hours and half days spread across a longer period of time so that the arts organisations could maximise their use of the service.

> *"For the Associate member who had one day consultancy, it looked at things like where are you and what you want to do, and the technology audit will inform the decision*

making process. Some consultants spread out their one day into eight hours through distance working if that suited the arts organisation." (Interview with Jacqueline, January 2011).

In a later interview she added "*The consultants notice that they [the arts organisations] get a lot for free (in comparison to the private sector), they don't understand how exceptional it is*" (Interview with Jacqueline, 2012).

Bringing Together Arts Organisations and Consultants

In bringing together arts organisations and consultants to complete the specified digital projects 'Digi-Arts' took on a brokerage role.

> *"Prior to starting the consultancy project each organisation was asked to complete a digital audit so that the consultant could understand their existing digital knowledge, abilities, infrastructure and facilities… we then brought together organisations and consultants to make it happen."*

The role of 'Digi-Arts' and the consultant was to encourage arts organisations to fill in the technology audit, conduct a mini-audit on feasibility, and look at ideas such as technology development, writing specifications for new websites, implementing social media policy and other digital-related issues. There were occasional problems with this project, whereby some arts organisations did not submit the necessary documents to complete the project. 'Digi-Arts' could only issue payment to the consultant for their services once they had received these documents which resulted in one consultant waiting several months for payment.

Although the match between the arts organisations and the consultants was usually fruitful some organisations were disappointed with their consultant, stating that they did not feel that they really understood their needs. Others were delighted with their consultant, stating:

> "*We never felt that we were bothering him, any questions we had he helped us straight away even though he was really busy… The consultancy was great for bringing a level of expertise that influenced other aspects of the organisation….for us it was about ticketing. He endorsed that 'yes we can get change' and he saved us time as we could see what we could afford with his level of expertise. It helped to push it through at board level faster*." (Associate member, focus group evaluation, 2010)

Another added:

> "*We found it hard, there were some basic things and exciting parts and our consultant was great – he split up the session to what we wanted to do over the time. The additional benefit from 5 day consultancy may have been the opportunity to bid into a pot of money to develop... depends on who your consultant was. Even a smaller pot of money to bid into would have been good…*"

"*We really enjoyed the consultancy part of the project, getting the one on one expertise*." (Partner member, focus group evaluation, 2010)

Evaluating the Programme

This programme ran for twelve months. Many projects used the service to build relationships with their consultant, and to apply further funding in order to implement their ideas, which ranged from a new box office and ticketing system, to a smartphone app that museum visitors could use when visiting a tourist area in the Highlands. 'Digi-Arts' remained available for advice and support, including directing the collaborations towards new funding sources and

expertise to implement the needs identified from the business case. In return, 'Digi-Arts' required the completed business case and a digital audit from the organisation. Once received, these artefacts were used to as evidence to demonstrate the success of the project to the funding bodies. Further, the completed documents acted as the trigger to pay the consultants for their time, and signalled the end of the project.

> "*Applying for the funding looks good for us – it shows that we are trying to do something… It did add weight to say there was collective energy, this is not flash in pan, there is a genuine trend and this needs to be pushed forward. Marketing strategy must marry up with our technology and performance side, so it does add weight to be able to say that this is what others are doing*." (Partner organisations, focus group evaluation, 2010).

The focus group outlined concerns of members as to how they would implement the findings from their consultancy work.

> "*Ours was about freeing up time to support how we were going to do this. It was about everybody (all 3 of this) realising that it is the responsibility of all three of us, the artists and social networking and to try and tie these things in our day to day lives*" (Associate, focus group, 2010).

Despite the programme being funded by the government (via 'Digi-Arts') some of the participating organisations found it difficult to justify to their boards and directors about the resources required to commit to this programme.

> "*It's difficult to explain to some of our board members why we need an app, they just don't get it*."

"For example, we wanted a new CRM system but we felt like the board though it was a bit like 'nippy people in Marketing wittering on about CRM system' whereas when we had support from a project supported by 'Amazing Audiences' and Creative Scotland the board recognised it was something that could make a difference, not just a Marketing thing and involves everyone" (Partner organisation, focus group evaluation, 2010).

One of the Partner Organisations added:

"*We tended to enjoy the implementation of the [box office] system, the seeing that come together and take shape and looking at functionality that we are going to have, about to launch…. is our highlight, making it happen, moving it on, thanks to [our consultant]*"

Some of the partners agreed that the original bidding process could have been clearer:

"*If I was going to apply for funding now, I would have applied for money to do a much broader scope of work, what might have been better was pre-consultancy then a level of understanding of what other organisations were bidding for and would have given a more level playing field*" (Associate member, focus group evaluation, 2010).

An Associate added:

"*It was more frustrating when I discovered that a partner was doing pretty much the same project as me... which they have offered to share with me. It would have been really good to know what other peoples' projects were so we could have shared from the beginning. A lot of us were learning about technology at the same time*."

However, the Associate members felt that they had lost out on some of the benefits of the programme.

> "*I don't mean to be negative but the division between partners and associates... I got the impression that there was a day in Edinburgh which was for partners in the morning and all in afternoon, think the session was on writing a brief for web development, I think if we had been morning involved in that part, even without the money getting the knowledge would have been good*" (Associate member, focus group evaluation, 2010).

This set of quotes from the focus groups indicates the lack of connection between what was expected by the arts organisation in comparison to what they had received. Despite receiving this consultancy through a bidding process and without charge, there were elements of jealousy in how the funding and consultants were allocated, which had been the role of Dig-Arts.

Following the conclusion of this project, Jacqueline was interviewed to understand the learnings from the project. For the next year, 'Digi-Arts' had decided that rather than a partner and associate, a pool of money was allocated available for different kinds of projects, including 1) hiring consultants for intensive planning in digital development, 2) improving technical skills development, and 3) structural change looking at low level organisational change. The new funding bids work on a rolling basis rather than deadline based funding allocations due to the need for continual basic training, and taking into account the fact that tools change so quickly.

Reflecting on the feedback from the focus group and discussions with participating organisations Jacqueline explained that there would be changes in how consultants are allocated. In the new stage of the programme, arts organisations pay consultants from their own

pot of funding, allowing the arts organisations to manage and match consultants. With the previous year's funding, arts organisations were asked to complete two pieces of paperwork: a digital audit and a business case. 'Digi-Arts' described this process as "fairly painless", however in the project evaluation it was noted that although the concept had been for the paperwork to be completed by arts organisation and its consultant collaboratively, however as there was no money exchanged and the consultancy had already been carried out, it was difficult to persuade participating organisations to complete the paperwork. This led to issues from consultants, as 'Digi-Arts' could not pay for their time until the paperwork was complete.

6.4 MEDIATION WITHIN AN ACTOR NETWORK

The second area of focus is 'Digi-Arts'' role in organising networking events which bring together arts and digital organisations within an organised setting in order to build relationships and foster an environment of rich collaboration. Alongside the consultancy days, participants were invited to attend a series of seminars aimed at developing ideas and building networks. The extra training and support sessions were introduced as a way of allowing people to meet face to face. At the focus group Partner members who had attended the meeting discussed this involvement with this part of the programme.

As part of its remit to Creative Scotland, 'Digi-Arts' is committed to offering seven training events at locations across Scotland each year. These training events included a series of roadshows in Edinburgh, Dundee and Stirling and more remote locations such as Skye and Pitlochry and Aberdeen, as well as full day mini-conference for the digital and cultural community which takes place in Glasgow.

The format of these events involved key note speakers for the first half of the day, and more practical workshops in the afternoon, targeted towards independent arts organisations. The training events were set up with six half day sessions delivered over three full days. The events were then replicated and delivered at different locations across Scotland. The subject matters for each of the events were based around customer demand for knowledge, new trends and technologies and other topics of interest in the area of digital development in the arts and cultural sector.

The programme also organised a series of "Getting digital cafes" across Scotland and webinars. Topics included "Sponsorship and Crowd Funding", "Designing Cultural Events", "Social Media Marketing Workshop", and "Digital Media Webinar: Maximising Audience Engagement and Reach". The events were offered on a complimentary basis and communicated to the community through an email list of people who have shown interest in engaging with 'Digi-Arts'. This can be through attending previous events, registering for the newsletter or interacting with 'Digi-Arts' through social media. Events were also publicised using the website and social media tools, and during any face to face interactions. Lists of attendees were released to participants prior to the event taking place. Discussing a networking event at Pitlochry, Kayla explained:

> *"So far 43 in person have registered, and 17 on the webcast… the CEO popped us on the newsletter [to promote the event, being held in a theatre in the North of Scotland/. Numbers are consistent, sign-ups not so high… we can do more to push that.*"

Through attending the event in person, participants had the opportunity to meet people and to network during breakout sessions during interactive elements of the workshops and at the refreshment breaks. This was seen as a hugely important part of the workshop:

. "*I loved the day in Stirling – really inspirational, loved the programme, wide examples of how people are implementing strategies, the breakout stuff great and opportunity to pick someone's brain at lunch"* (Partner member, focus group evaluation).

Another attendee added:

"*There was a nice sense of positivity; everyone seemed quite energised by it at the end of the day… it was in the coffee session at the end that everyone was really positive*."

"*The wider seminar programme was good as well. Talking about implementing things and coming away full of enthusiasm. Having a day aside to think about it was good.... it motivated you*" (Partner organisation, focus group evaluation, 2010).

Another participant added "*I really liked the day in Edinburgh, getting ideas, networking*."

During data collection, seminars and webinars were attended as an observer. The full day event was set up as a number of different sessions, and participants were invited to attend two sessions of their choice in the morning, followed by lunch and then a seminar with guest speakers in the afternoon. The seminar was also broadcast as a live and interactive webinar.

Mediating Online Conversations

'Digi-Arts' offers a number of services which involve mediating online conversations. These involve participating in a live chat and webcast of events, managing social network feeds, and participating in web forums.

There were seven webinars delivered in total, each of the events were free to attend, and open to all interested parties There were a limited number of tickets available to the actual event based on the size of the room. Each followed a similar format: a one hour talk from specialists and experts in the selected area, with an introduction from 'Digi-Arts' and a Question and Answer session following the talk. At each of the 'live' events organised by 'Digi-Arts', a

simultaneous webcast took place, broadcast live on the internet, thus opening the event to a wider audience, and as such offered a number of benefits:

- To allow those interested people to participate who could not attend in person due to geographical restrictions
- To allow people to 'test out' the event, if they were unsure if it was useful for them, without using resources
- To reduce the overall carbon footprint of the event

Those attending online were still able to join in and interact with the live event through an online chat function, moderated by a member of staff from 'Digi-Arts'. Questions and comments from the chat were incorporated into the live event. While attending online meant that attendees could not meet in person, or speak face to face during coffee breaks, the online chat gave participants the chance to communicate and build relationships with people within similar networks. The filmed seminars were made available as 'on demand' content via the 'Digi-Arts' website a few days after the events had taken place, meaning that the content could be revisited or shared with interested colleagues and others within the network

For the webinars to succeed there were a number of technological requirements including:

- Sufficient bandwidth for broadcast and viewing
- Reliable Wi-Fi or broadband at the event venue
- Proficient technical team at the event venue
- Fully working equipment – some of the events were fairly remote and therefore difficult to access alternative equipment should there be a failure or fault

At the focus group evaluating the 'Digi-Arts' programme it was found that some arts organisations found the webinar format to be extremely useful, where it was difficult to get out of the office in Glasgow for a full day to attend a workshop in Aberdeen, or when they were not sure if an event was really for them. Having it as a webinar meant that they could start to watch and then if they realised that it was not relevant then they could leave the website. Some participants enjoyed having the ability to attend the actual event for the opposite reason – it allowed them to leave the office, to meet likeminded people, and to generate discussions. It also acted as a means of demonstrating the importance of digital development to employees who were perhaps not fully engaged in the concept, by giving them the opportunity to attend events free of charge.

The online chat was enhanced by Jacqueline greeting and interacting with members and engaging them in conversation, sharing relevant web links and answering their questions. The chat also highlighted problems with technology. For example, a user complained that they could not access the webcast through an IPad at the webinar which ran alongside the speakers at the Annual Conference.

Social Networking as a form of Mediation

'Digi-Arts' excel in using a combination of social media channels as a way of communicating and engaging with relevant organisations.

'Digi-Arts' also operate a regularly updated Twitter account with 2771 followers, and following 3155 accounts. As of 29 May 2012 the account had sent 12689 tweets, It is ideally positioned as a provider of relevant information to the community on the Twitter account, a tool to support collaboration within the existing and potential new networks, and a means of

keeping in touch with contacts. An active Facebook page with over 420 'likes,' is also keep updated with details of events and news stories.

The social media feeds are also used as a way of linking together attendees of events organised by 'Digi-Arts'. When completing applications to attend events, participants are asked to include their Twitter handle (their Twitter name). A list of all attendees is collated included the Twitter handle so that people can make connections through Twitter prior to meeting face to face.

Hashtags, represented as '#' preceding an appropriate word, are used on a Twitter as a means of starting a conversation and encouraging others to join in and engage with the conversation and the participants within. A hashtag can be described as a digital representation of an event. For others to join in they require the technology for using it, namely a Twitter account, internet connection and knowledge and understanding of how Twitter works. Hashtags were created organically by Twitter users as a means of marking keywords and categorising messages. The choice of hashtag is therefore a version of symbolic communications. The choice of the word, the chaos when there is similar words and different methods of recruitment for people to join in the conversation all have a material effect on online conversations.

Following Twitter culture, a 'hashtag' was created so that Twitter users could follow and join in conversation online for each event. At the Digital 2012 conference, the hashtag #digital2012 was created so that Twitter users could see what others were tweeting about the event, and also help them to network and collaborate before, during and after the event. However, this did lead to problems during this specific event when one of the keynote presentations did not appeal to the audience who then took to Twitter to discuss their (negative) opinions on the work being

presented. As the 'tweeters' used the #digital2014 hashtag this meant that the event was instantly connected to this negative feedback.

Jacqueline was simultaneously monitoring the Twitter feed while attending the event. Through following the conversation around the hashtag, she was immediately able to see that her audience were not enjoying this presentation but was unsure how to react. At an interview with us after the event she commented:

> "*It was difficult knowing what to do, looking back I would have probably said something to remind them that what they were posting was appearing on a worldwide website, however having never come across this kind of thing before we could never have anticipated that the Twitter audience would have reacted in that way*."

There was an active 'Ning' community (a type of social network) which allowed users to post information and questions and to interact with other interested parties. From discussions with arts organisations it was found that there were groups of organisations where people wanted work with each other, but were not sure how to get in touch, and how to make this happen. In an effort to build a community the Ning aimed to facilitate collaboration across groups. The introduction and monitoring of the Ning gave 'Digi-Arts' the capacity to make these connections and "build a network of collaborator." by organising members into areas of development, for example web development, so that organisations could see who was working on similar projects for example, or to obtain some specialist advice where appropriate.

At the focus group with users of the service the Ning was described *"one of these things I keep meaning to look at*" and "*yet another thing I need to remember the password for*." Following a training event one member of the group had tried to start a discussion using the Ning to carry

on the networking from the event, however she said "*I got no responses from it*". Eventually it was decided that the Ning was no longer an appropriate tool to use, and closed at the end of 2011 because "*it didn't really take off*" (Interview with Jacqueline, 2012).

Using the Website and Newsletter as a Communications Tool

The 'Digi-Arts' website is regularly updated with videos, photographs, blogs, external sources of relevant information, and links to news sources. Jacqueline explained that the programme intended to revamp the website, stating "*we are not very happy with it. We want to keep the content, make it functional and accessible*" (Interview with Jacqueline, 2012).

The website links into the Twitter feed and allows users to interact, collaborate and contribute to the content of the website through its comments features. Finally, regular news emails are sent out to an active email list of existing contacts, detailing upcoming events, achievements, and updates to the website.

To summarise, this chapter has outlined three specific embedded cases within the 'Digi-Arts' organisations, as organisers of networking of events, running social networks and online communities and channels, and organising collaboration between arts organisations and consultants. Each of these roles have a participatory role in the overall aim of enhancing audience engagement and ensuring survival of the arts sector by emphasising the possibilities afforded through digital development. As such, each of these roles forms a version of mediation.

Indicators for Measuring Success

To develop formal measures of performance and delivery, aligned with overall policy, 'Digi-Arts' developed a number of targets including committing to a specific number of training events and road shows across the year, distributing and co-ordinating a certain number of consultancy projects, and having information sources available on the website. They must

complete a form outlining their achievements, spend and impact on a monthly basis. This is measured quantitatively as follows:

- Number of people attending events in person
- Number of people attending events on line
- Number of times a video or online content is accessed on the website
- Number of interactions, mentions and retweets on Twitter
- Number of completed consultancy projects (and what happened next as a case study)
- Number of emails received

Furthermore, data is gathered qualitatively through having discussions with participants during the events, through external evaluation methods (such as the focus group), through questionnaires after events, comments on videos, blogs and other social media channels.

In 2013, Jacqueline explained a new plan for demonstrating impact.

"*As part of the Get Ambition site there are trialling new ways of doing funding reports, where they create and upload videos on what they have used their money for. So we are setting up limited access for those users who need to upload content to the site to test a beta version of this site*."

After each event, feedback forms were sent via email asking for comments and responses to the event, including topic, location, speakers, refreshments, venue and other information. The quantitative and qualitative data collected from this is used to justify to funding bodies the success of each of the event and assist in showing impact. Comments such as "*We were really delighted by the findings you produced for you. You backed up several of our hunches and also presented us with some unexpected findings" and* "Thank you so much for the report on our drama audiences – the depth of information was, and will be, really useful" are excellent qualitative examples of demonstrating impact and value. As well as delivering qualitative

measures of success, the feedback helped gain awareness of opportunities to improve services and delivery.

6.5 DISCUSSION

To conclude this section, the three vignettes demonstrate three different roles played by 'Digi-Arts'. In each of these roles different types of exchanges take place and made calculable. Services are exchanged, knowledge is exchanged, and relationships are formed and mediated.

In this chapter, 'Digi-Arts' was equally important to the success of the programme and in bringing people together with the aim of developing audiences through building capacity within the arts sector

The empirical evidence demonstrates there are three key areas of exchange from 'Digi-Arts' – as an advisory service, to enhance social interaction, and to encourage knowledge exchange and collaboration, each of which perform a different version of Audience Development. Returning to the research questions, this chapter address questions 3) How can be the B2B service of Audience Development be stabilised and realised, and 4) what impact does the marketisation of Audience Development have on the arts sector.

6.5.1 What work is ANT doing in this chapter?

For success within Audience Development agencies, mediation and translations are essential. As discussed with the theory of ontological politics, there are always multiple versions of reality, which have different meanings for the actors involved. In the case of 'Digi-Arts' there are clearly multiple versions of Audience Development taking place. 'Digi-Arts' must meet specific government targets which are both UK wide, and more locally supported in Scotland to demonstrate digital development within the arts sector. For the arts organisations which

participate in the programmes, they must be able to show value and benefit of participation at a board level, particularly in dedicating resources which could be to the detriment of other organisational behaviours. For Audiences, there is the implied benefit that participating in this programme will result in an improved user experience for the audience themselves. Audiences therefore feature in this actor network and will be impacted following the interactions but are represented the arts organisation.

'Digi-Arts' therefore acts as a mediator in bringing actors together, forming actor-networks which consist of both materials and social interaction, in order to create something which is meaningful and exchangeable. Markets are constantly changing, and particularly in terms of digital development, it is almost impossible for arts marketers to stay ahead of technologies. It is therefore the responsibility of 'Digi-Arts' to create an offering which can be adapted to suit different markets and changes within technology. In this study it was found that these exchanges very rarely involved money, rather it was allocation of public funds, and that this money was almost always provided by government grants and funding. 'Digi-Arts' was also able to report on successes using qualitative measures such as published case studies from success projects and events. There is almost a 'qualculative' element of stabilising in this case study. 'Digi-Arts' appear to be in the business of exchanging knowledge to meet market demands, in a market that is constantly changing and impacted on by externalities such as changes in technology, hardware, software and government funds.

Organisations did not need to pay for the consultancy services, the training events or access to the materials available online. The combined success of 'Digi-Arts' is in coming together to success in delivering the programme and in enhancing digital development.

6.5.2 Can the B2B Practice of Audience Development be stabilised

The story of 'Digi-Arts' is one of mediation - for it to happen there is an element of enrolment. Therefore, Jacqueline can be seen as almost altering a network as a precondition of entering the network. As discussed in the literature review, Mediation links together practices, marketisation and performativity to implement the job of Audience Development.

Latour (2005) sees mediation as a form of action being performed jointly and as a way of understanding how action makes things happen. As the empirical evidence demonstrates, each of the roles performed by Dig-Arts outlines a specialist mediating role. Following the work of Ekbia (2009) the properties of digital artefacts are directly linked to the processes they mediate; as mediators, the actors (both social and material) can transform the meaning or element carried and transform it into something completely different so that action can take place. By examining the staff within 'Digi-Arts' as mediators, the evidence demonstrates that these people hold a position between organisations and actors. The mediating role is one of supply and demand, of amending things so that action can take place through organising interactions and exchanges.

This chapter proposes that 'Digi-Arts' acts as a broker within a defined role of mediation in the process of Audience Development and arts marketing. Brokering is a well formatted type of mediation activity. In this example, there is very little focus on technology – rather the emphasis is on not only mediating exchanges but bringing together a network. As discussed in the literature review, a market device is something that can calculate and /or qualify things, for example running a set of tests to qualify a product. This allows users to apply some form of meaning and value to a product or service. Mediation is a form of ontological politics which can pass that value along once it has been established. Following ANT, mediation is about

exchanges and making things exchangeable. Mediation allows organisations to exchange money, create possibilities and co-development of opportunities.

This study follows the work of Sasson (2008) by demonstrating that actors working within a mediating service can achieve improvements, make things happen and lead to some set of results which are beneficial to all involved actors. The mediating role extends the typical Arts Marketing tasks to include offering mediating services, supporting bids, mediators bringing together people, organisations, data and material in order to perform the role of delivering digital Audience Development services to the arts sector in Scotland. Without this programme it would be extremely different for arts organisations to receive a similar level of support, advice and connections in order to improve their business practices in the area of digital development.

The arts sector is a loose network which is continually being made, rather than an established network that people can easily step into. In this version of the network, products and services are not being made, they are being exchanged and becoming something which can be made ready to exchange. In 'Digi-Arts', the role of organising consultancy projects and other events is seen as an example of surrogate consumers (Sasson, 2008). Through recommending digital development tools and consultancy projects, this allows the arts organisations to carry on with their main remits, which is to deliver high quality arts and cultural programmes within Scotland. In this role, the staff at Dig-Arts can influence arts organisations within their recommendations for consultants.

This is important to this study as it helps to link together the role of the Audience Development organisation as a mediator between arts organisations and the audience; as a mediator between

training providers and the arts organisations, and as a means of bringing together arts organisations and digital providers to offer new and innovative ways to practice Audience Development.

For the consultancy projects Dig-Arts exchanges knowledge and advice through its strong position in the market place and knowledge of digital and the arts. This is stabilised through the bundling together of 5 days of consultancy plus the relevant forms and output into a service called 'Consultancy' which can be exchanged. The challenge for 'Digi-Arts', in these circumstances, was making the consultancy services seem of equal value to the participating arts organisations. The interview finding suggested some feelings of inequality or a lack of support. The two tiered level of funded (divided as Partner and Associate) led to confusion from arts organisations (as customers) who were unsure why they had been awarded the lower status.

For 'Digi-Arts', each project had to exchange a completed report to 'Digi-Arts' in return for their funding and consultancy services. This completed form acted as a representation of project completion, and was therefore the signal to pay the consultant. As shown, 'Digi-Arts' struggled to obtain this completed form from some participants which delayed the payment process. In maintaining the market, the onus was on 'Digi-Arts' to keep in touch with both the consultants and the arts organisations to ensure that the project was running smoothly and to intervene if need be.

In its capacity as a networking events organisation, 'Digi-Arts' had a number of roles. The event had to meet the specific remit set by Creative Scotland. There also had to be a certain number of participants to ensure that it ran as a viable event. In exchange for attending the

event, 'Digi-Arts' also offered opportunities for networking through coffee breaks, through the exchange of social networking contact information. As a stable service, each event was organised and publicised in a similar manner, and took a similar format. This stabilisation of practices helped to demonstrate the validity and the professionalism of the event taking place. In maintaining the market, 'Digi-Arts' used the networking event (and associated guest list) as a marketing and communications tool to encourage connections between 'Digi-Arts' organisations, and to be able to share other relevant information.

In running digital tools and technologies, 'Digi-Arts' (represented through its online activities, Twitter handle and emails) took on a mediating role by creating a platform where interested arts organisations could come together to share information and knowledge using social media. Hosting a specific social network platform called a 'Ning' offered a safe space for organisations to share information and knowledge online. These processes were stabilised by ensuring an identical brand message was delivered across each of the platform, with the same tone of voice used. Messages were regularly responded to, and posts updated.

6.5.3 Mediation forming practices and exchanges of Audience Development

Mediation involves actions being jointly performed by humans and non-humans, artefacts taking a mediating role in action through demanding or influencing the way that actors perform tasks. As discussed, 'Digi-Arts' mediate online and networking events through the organisation and attendance and recording of information. The resulting video of the live stream and copy of the online chat follows Latour and then Ekbia's concept of using mediation (translation) to use the social (those attending the webcast) and the technology to create a third actor – the webcast. Although the webcast is free to register and attend, it is specifically targeted at people

who work in the arts/arts sector in Scotland who have an interest in a particular area of digital development.

For actors to be able to join in, they should be able to meet a set of significant requirements and contributes. This form of mediation has an anticipated outcome, that knowledge will be created and exchanged, and that this will as a whole contribute to improvements at both an organisational and national level. The role of 'Digi-Arts', in organising and monitoring such events, is to ensure that they offer value to organisations and participants as well as offering opportunities for further networking, relationship building and identification of potential collaborations in the future.

6.5.4 What Impact does Marketisation have on 'Digi-Arts' as an Audience Development agency?

'Digi-Arts' offers a service which is free for arts organisations to use. However, these 'free' services are created through a combination of Creative Scotland grants and payments, of which 'Digi-Arts' receives a sum to deliver the services. In return to Creative Scotland, 'Digi-Arts' must complete monthly report which includes a quantitative metrics such as number of attendees, number of website hits, and followers on Twitter. 'Digi-Arts' are therefore always performing the market as such, using calculating devices to demonstrate value and impact at different stages of the process. When considering the marketisation of Audience Development, it appears that in this case, 'Digi-Arts' does behave as within acting within a market.

7.0 CROSS CASE ANALYSIS

This chapter offers comparisons between each of the cases to understand how these cases form similar and different versions of Audience Development.] The research questions discussed Chapter 1 emerged from the review of the Market Studies literature, specifically in understanding practices and exchanges, and of stabilising B2B markets through calculations and performativity. The empirical research was conducted to begin to understand the marketisation of Audience Development as a B2B service operating as a centre point between arts organisations, the government and other funding bodies in Scotland. This Not-for-Profit sector operates in a similar way to market, while also introducing intrinsic benefits to society as a whole, and protecting the future of the arts sector.

The benefits of Audience Development agencies are multiple. These agencies have access to large data sets and specific market knowledge. They have highly embedded networks and are confident in using new and emerging technologies. This allows arts organisations to remain competitive, to sell tickets, to organise performances and exhibitions and attract suitable audiences, and to widen access to the arts as a whole. In simple terms, when done correctly, investment in these services can be represented on a balance sheet as being beneficial in increasing revenue through ticket sales. However, as shown throughout this thesis, the Audience Development organisations do not focus on ticket sales alone (or one off transactions), preferring to work towards increasing engagement and building relationships with the arts long-term, who in turn can build relationships with current and future audiences.

This study contributes to Market Studies by offering a novel approach to the performance of markets, through a new and under-researched sector, that of B2B services, and specifically

those which do not participate in traditional market transactions and have multiple stakeholders. Specifically, the thesis contributes to the discussion of marketisation with the public sector, through understanding the practices and exchanges within this niche market and understanding the processes of stabilisation and framing to ensure that this B2B practice of 'Audience Development' can be exchanged within a market setting.

7.1 WHERE IS THE AUDIENCE IN EACH CASE?

First, in each case the term 'audience' means something different to the Audience Development organisation in question. For 'GUCM', the aim of the project was to bring music to people in Glasgow who would not usually hear live music in their day to day lives. There was no target to measure against, and very little money was exchanged, apart from expenses covered. The project was deemed a success if the performance took place as intended, if the 'audience' engaged in any meaningful way this was almost a bonus for the organisers. The project which features in this study was a very small part of an ongoing relationship between UNESCO and Glasgow Life, so the fact that the project took place almost acted as a 'box ticking exercise' for the remit of bringing live music to unusual settings in Glasgow. Further to this it is difficult to measure the benefits of this particular project. Gathering data through snippets of conversation, photographs, post-event feedback from hosts and musicians, and researcher observation of 'audience behaviour' was therefore the most appropriate way of demonstrating the impact of the project.

For 'Amazing Audiences', the audience became a general term, usually represented by a combination of data sources including box office data, Experian and Mosaic postcode data combined with the knowledge of the Audience Development managers and prior experience.

‘Digi-Arts’ could also be considered as being one step removed from the audience who would eventually consume the arts, and instead focused on working with arts organisations to ensure that they could provide access to the arts (through technology) that would encourage more people to participate and consume the arts now and in the future, thus focusing on future proofing the organisations and industry. Table 15 shows the cross case analysis.

	‘GUCM’	**‘Amazing Audiences’**	**‘Digi-Arts’**
Who is the Audience in this case?	People actually experiencing the arts through live music performances	A representation of the audience based on data overlayed with Mosaic/profiling data	The audience is once removed. This case focuses on the organisations who will then pass on the knowledge to attract new audiences
Theoretical framing of this chapter	Market Studies Affordances Formatting and equipping	Market Studies and devices performativity Promissory	Market shaping and developing through exchanges, practices and exchanges.
Where is the market?	Testing the market for a potential new market where money will be exchanged by venues to ‘GUCM’ in return for live music	Making the market and Stabilising through consistent delivery of services,	Stabilising the market (through knowledge and information)
What and where are the exchanges taking place	Financial exchange between UNESCO and agency to provide services, exchange of services/venue in return for increased audience/ remit for UNESCO	Financial exchange between the arts organisation and AA, exchange of knowledge, data with govt for funding	Financial exchanges between ‘Digi-Arts’ and consultants, exchanges of time/services/knowledge
What work is ANT doing?	The importance of the material (music) and the performance to have an impact on behaviours, where objects form part of the social network	Understanding the importance of social and material actors in the exchanges taking place, and the relational ties across the network	Mediation and translations of the social and material to create something new to exchange
What is different before and after? (how is the audience changed, if at all)	While it cannot be measured specifically, more people are given the opportunity to experience live music, this may lead to a more open-	The data allows for a representation of the actual and potential audience or arts organisations, allowing them to	The information and training from this company allows arts organisations to reach potential new audiences through

	mindedness to experiencing new music	directly target potential new audiences	innovative ways, using new technologies
What is exchanged with the government bodies/public sector	Evidence that there has been increased access to live music in areas of deprivation (as required under UNESCO conditions)	Evidence to show the changes across the arts sector (e.g. increased ticket sales, access to wider sectors of the population, understanding of future challenges issues	Impact evidence for spending of grant money, how this will encourage more audiences to attend in the future, where are skills gaps/knowledge/funding across technology/Digital in Scotland that negatively impacts the arts sector

Table 15 Cross Case Analysis

7.2 WHAT ARE THE PRACTICES AND EXCHANGES OF AUDIENCE DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES ?

For the government bodies who fund these agencies and Audience Development programmes, the results can be represented in other ways which have meaning to their stakeholders, both quantitatively and qualitatively. It can be represented on tourism promotions to encourage people to visit an area, to attend an event or exhibition. It can be used to demonstrate increased employability and contribution to the economy. However, a thriving arts sector has links to emotional and physical well-being.

> "*The core benefits of the arts are their impact on people – individually and collectively. For individuals the arts provide (or enhance) internal congruence – self-understanding, self-acceptance, identity, and pleasure to name a few. Between individuals, the arts… facilitating relationship building and understanding. In the community/society context, the arts foster social capital – both bonding among people of similar interests and backgrounds and bridging across lines of difference*" (Arts Journal.com, 2015)

The same article highlights the work of arts organisations as "doing things that impact on people's lives in ways that they cannot help but see." Understanding audience behaviour and formatting of audiences is one part of the remit of Audience Development. While there are few monetary exchanges taking place, there are public funds which are constantly moving around between actors within these networks. Markets are 'collective devices that calculate compromises on the value of goods.' (Araujo, 2007, p.212).

While the Audience Development market is not a typical commercial market with two parties coming together to make an exchange which has financial benefit, there are behaviours which mimic market transactions where multiple calculations take place such as the exchange of consultancy services for money, which is agreed using an established framework based on past experiences and relationships.

Less easy to define are transactions such as the exchange of a live music performance in return for data collection (in the trial stage of establishing a market for live music in unusual settings), and free to attend training sessions, where are conducted as part of a remit to deliver a specified number of training sessions in Scotland across a year as a condition of the grant.

Marketisation, defined by Çalişkan and Callon (2010, p. 3) as *"the entirety of efforts aimed at describing, analysing and making intelligible the shape, constitution and dynamics of a market socio-technical arrangement"* is clearly referring to market-shaping activities. Despite the limited financial exchanges there are calculations taking place and translations of data into something meaningful and exchangeable.

To encourage a new generation to participate in the arts, digital tools and techniques can be used to enhance experience with the arts and attract a new audience. The success of Audience Development is not judged solely on the ability to attract new audiences, but to ensure that the audience is of value to the sector and will continue to attend. It is not enough to sell tickets – the quality of the audience is crucial. As indicated in the introduction, Audience Development services involve taking traditional marketing tools and techniques alongside data and sector knowledge to truly understand audiences. The role of the Audience Development agency is to bundle this knowledge together, making it trustworthy, reliable and to the points, so that it is meaningful and has value for a number of different actors involved. Therefore, the aim is to make Audience Development into a B2B service that can be exchanged between organisations.

'Amazing Audiences' collect and analyse data through a number of sources including box office data from arts organisations, cultural surveys, post-show reviews, focus groups and interviews. The staff working in the agency then use a series of tools and techniques to create something that has meaning to the end user using devices to enable the calculations to take place. These devices take a particular approach to modelling data and other financial models such as discounted cash flow and these models can be used to help shape markets (Mackenzie 2006). As such, these ideas refer to the "performativity of economic sciences; the import of economic ideas on the shaping of markets" (Kjellberg and Heglesson, 2006, p.839).

'Digi-Arts' was organised as a programme to improve digital capabilities in the arts sector in Scotland, funded by the government and managed by 'Amazing Audiences'. The programme government acted as a mediator between arts organisations and digital consultants to arrange specific projects for each organisation. For this the consultants were paid on completion of the paperwork signalling the end of the project. A further remit of the programme was to arrange

a specific number of training and networking events across Scotland delivered free of charge to the arts organisations.

7.3 HOW CAN AUDIENCE DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES EQUIP AND FORMAT AUDIENCES?

While Audience Development agencies act as marketing agencies in providing reports and recommendations, the novelty of their work and the requirement to make stable and exchangeable their service is in validating the multiple ways in which audiences and audience data are valuable to arts organisations and to policy makers. Audience Development agencies do not generally have a remit to work specifically with audiences, rather they tend to focus on building relationships with the arts organisations who then transfer the knowledge to audiences. Likewise, Audience Development agencies rarely see a live audience – instead they deal with a version of the audience, represented as box office data, evaluations and feedback forms, and social media feedback. This information is then translated into useful information which allows the arts organisation to better understand its audience and equip and format the audience accordingly.

However, the case of 'GUCM', carrying out experimental music performances allowed for a form of Audience Development with specific mediation. The music offered different affordances to each of the actors involved in the performances. Following DeNora, these actors were human and material, with music having material qualities. Callon and Muniesa (2006)'s discussions on market devices draw upon Gibson's work on affordances which have an impact on the practices and can results in shaping and reshaping the market. The cases taken an ANT approach whereby a series of social and material actants are bundled together to create a hybrid

collective whereby calculative practices can take place. The role of actants having affordances is considered within an actor-network setting rather than a subject/object perspective which is typically represented within the literature.

'Amazing Audiences' took a very different approach to formatting, where the Audience Development agencies are equipped with devices such as Excel spreadsheets, data sources and box office data allowing them to join in and make decisions on new approaches to Audience Development. Likewise, with 'Digi-Arts', providing arts organisations with the right tools and techniques (e.g. access to Wi-Fi, or improved computer facilities) allowed them to join in and become active participants and users to technology to improve the audience experience.

The practices of Audience Development involve a combination of social and material interactions within networks. Following Granovetter (1985) there are elements of embeddedness as people form strong and weak ties within networks, where 'spaces' for people with similar interests (that of improving the cultural sector) to come together to share knowledge and exchange information with the overarching view of creating new practices.

Markets as Practices

This thesis follows the 'markets as practices' approach where market objects are shaped and stabilised through the performance of a series of interlinked activities known as market practices (Geiger, Kjellberg and Spencer, 2012, drawing up upon Araujo, Finch and Kjellberg 2010); Callon, Millo and Muniesa 2007) and Kjellberg and Heglesson, 2007). These practices include the delivery of established training within the arts sector, the arrangement of music performances, the organisation of networking events and the detailed analysis of audience data that is translated into meaningful information for stakeholders which represents 'the audience'.

Through the repetition of practices, Audience Development agencies can present a stable version of services which can be delivered. This is demonstrated most clearly in the case of 'Amazing Audiences' and 'Digi-Arts', who brought people together both in physical locations such as networking and training events, and virtually through online webinars with live chats, through the Ning social network and to a lesser extent with the consultancy projects where the Partner organisations received training and networking days as well as a specific consultant-led project.

For 'GUCM', there are few established market practices within the organisation and delivery of the service, due to the experimental nature of the programme and the lack of formal exchanges (especially of monetary value). For 'Amazing Audiences', the delivery of Audience Development services consists of a combination of practices based around market devices such as data analysis tools which are combined with existing data sources and knowledge to create output which is meaningful to the arts organisations. These devices include established box office software tools, excel spreadsheets, financial models, social media data and other organisational devices.

As shown with 'Amazing Audiences' the ability to use a combination of market devices including MapPoint software combined with existing box office data and postcode software on an excel spreadsheet can create a report which can give detailed audience profiles for a specific venue, thus allowing said venue to firstly understand their core audience, and also to identify the missing audiences and work out the most appropriate ways to target these audiences. This contributes to the overarching theme of Audience Development and fits with the remit of the agency.

The ability of Audience Development agencies to format a version of an audience is a crucial element of this thesis. For each of the cases in turn, the agency had a different version of audience, and as such had different outputs from clients and for stakeholders. Andersson, Aspenberg and Kjellberg (2008) focus the study of market practices on "the main detailed forms in which market actors may appear" (p.68). Actors may appear in different forms across different situations (ibid, p.69). In the case of 'Digi-Arts', the organisation develops market practices dependent upon the requirement of the actors at that specific time. There are multiple markets within the case of 'Digi-Arts' and money moves in a fluid manner. Taking the example of consultancy projects, the market transaction and exchange of money takes place upon completion of the project, indicated through the submission of completed paperwork by the arts organisation receiving the consultancy. The money is then paid to the consultant by 'Digi-Arts'. This should be a very simple form of transaction. However, this transaction was frequently subject to delay as the paperwork had not been completed.

The market device can refer to the object or product which is there to be exchanged (Slater, 2002). In the case of 'Digi-Arts' the organisation itself could be seen as the market device as it is the thing which is used within the market as having value, due to the combination of the skills and expertise, its access to both digital and cultural sectors and its value as a government-funded programme which is able to deliver digital improvements within the sector.

7.4 HOW HAS THE B2B SERVICE OF AUDIENCE DEVELOPMENT BEEN STABILISED AND REALISED?

The arts sector is constantly changing and adapting. Data are collected based on historical audience data (including attendance and participation) and analysed to create a model based on

a specific time. As shown, markets are performative and based around market practices. This is connected specifically with Audience Development agencies who are constantly trying to stabilise and shape the market over a period of time, through the representation of a version of the audience. Each version of the audience will have multiple meanings dependent upon the need of the end user (Mol, 2002). For Audience Development services, box office data is gathered to understand a specific snapshot of time. The data is then analysed using a set of established tool and techniques and calculating devices. Due to there being multiple versions of reality (Mol, 2002), the data has different meanings dependent upon who is the recipient of the data.

Digital development in the arts is of interest from a policy perspective in establishing the success of the arts sector through improving access and engagement opportunities with the arts. As the process of digital development is new and underexplored in the cultural sector, the 'Digi-Arts' project acts almost as a test case, which fits with the ideas of ethnomethodology and performativity. Following performativity, the market is constantly changing. Through these experiments (in using social media, in running webinars), it is difficult to predict how the market will behave.

Using market devices and calculating devices such as monthly reports and budgets or the number of attendees at an event, all help to create a representation of the market, and in stabilising the practices and exchanges. This gives 'Digi-Arts' the opportunity to qualify and requalify the services offered. As objects move through translations in ANT, they are impacted upon by mediator, which results in the change in the object. 'Digi-Arts' acts like a mediator (in an ANT sense) through the continued translation of the service being delivered, be it

consultancy or event organisation, or networking which in turn has an impact on the Arts organisation and its potential practices.

The efforts made in stabilising the market reflect a need from 'Digi-Arts' to ensure that there is a demand for the service, and that the service meets the market demand. This is difficult to quantify, particular as the services offered are often things that arts organisations either do not perceive that they need, or are not aware of. Therefore, the notion of 'qualculations' (Callon and Law, 205; Cochoy, 2008) are also inherently important.

Stabilising practices is complex due to the constantly changing technologies which affect this sector, for example, the timescale of this study saw the introduction of mobile technologies in the form of smart phones and tablets, the creation of apps, the increased availability of Wi-Fi and 3G signals allowing greater access to the internet, new social networks such as Twitter, and increased use of Facebook and other social networks for business purposes. For this study, mobile apps and social networks can act as devices in helping to shape the market. The role of 'Digi-Arts' was to act as a mediator in bringing together arts organisations and digital experts to create these new digital developments (e.g. creating an app or website).

The Performance of the Audience Development Market

In performativity terms, the performance of the Audience Development market consists of instability, of fluxes and is constantly changing and adapting. Furthermore, it is difficult to anticipate market demand and changes as it is so dependent upon a bundle of things being brought together. Therefore, a combination of stable practices and a flexible nature to meet new market demands are both essential to ensure that Audience Development agencies

continue to meet the needs of new and existing audiences while satisfying funding bodies and other intangibles.

7.5 FRAMING, OVERFLOWS AND EXTERNALITIES

There are multiple opportunities for framing within Audience Development as a means of stabilising goods (as Audience Development services) ready for exchange. In Audience Development the frame will adapt dependent upon the end user. Therefore, following Mol (2002)'s work on ontological politics, there are multiple versions of reality. Taking a performative approach, the market is constantly changing and evolving, new data and information is always appearing The concept of framing and formatting audiences allows Audience Development practitioners to act as mediators by offering advice and brokerage for the overall value of the sector. The agencies in question used frames which included specific remits for participation. For 'Amazing Audiences', the members must be arts or cultural organisations based in Scotland. For 'Digi-Arts', the organisations participating in the programme must be interested in improving their own digital capabilities and contributing to the improvement of Scotland's arts sector overall.

External factors such as government policies and the state of the economy will impact on each of the stakeholders involved. Of interest here is the externalities and overflows. Any overflows can be carried forward as opportunities for further development. For example, the 'Digi-Arts' programme was identified through a recognised lack of digital skills in Scotland's arts community and was then funded through government sources. The 'GUCM' 'Music in Unusual Spaces' programme was formed through the recognition that there were limitations in how people could access live music within Scotland and the 'Brilliant Box Office' programme

was funded after a review of existing systems showed a lack of knowledge in the sector. Therefore, for something like Audience Development services, there is a need for stability to ensure survival and standardisation of the sector, but the overflows are equally of use in moving the sector forward.

As the benefits of the arts has both quantitative measures (ticket sales, economic measures, employment figures and qualitative measures, those which ae intangible and therefore difficult to analyse and measure in numerical terms and these fall into the category of externalities – those outcomes that benefit the community despite not directly participating within the arts. These include health and wellbeing, benefits to education, improvements to the economy and community building.

As shown in at the beginning of the discussion chapters, the arts sector in the UK is under a number of challenges, include reductions in audience attendance and participation, and in money received to the sector in the forms of in public funds, grants, donations and sponsorships. remains a general lack of participation from those in low socio-economic groups and from areas of deprivation, reasons for which include a lack of interest, lack of time, and ill health. However, digital participation in the arts is increasing, and so too is the expectation that digital versions of the arts will be more easily accessible to disengaged communities as access to technology and skills improves.

As the Arts Council of England (2014a) indicates, participation in the arts has a number of benefits, including improving health and wellbeing. Glasgow has a reputation of being the 'sickest city in Europe" with recent statistics showing that a quarter of the male population die before the age of 65 (BBC News, 2014). Therefore, it may be assumed that any project which

widens access to music and culture and without requiring the public to make any financial contribution or real effort to attend, must have some benefit to both individuals and society as a whole. As De Nora shows, music has meaning to different people, based around prior experience, the social situation and other factors Hearing traditional Celtic music, or contemporary jazz while shopping or waiting for a doctor's appointment may trigger memories or emotions which have positive or negative implications for the individuals. The role of the Audience Development agency in this respect is to understand the impact of this form of participation on the individual and on society as a whole, and thus remains a subject ripe for further study.

7.6 AUDIENCE DEVELOPMENT AS A PROMISSORY SERVICES

While the customers (arts organisations) do not perceive to have exchanged money for services, they do exchange time and other resources, in exchanged for the possibility of improved Audience Development specifically in the digital sector. As such, 'Digi-Arts' and 'Amazing Audiences' form a promissory organisation (Pollock and Williams (2010). 'Digi-Arts' offers the promise that technological innovation will offer improvements to the services already delivered by arts organisations. 'Amazing Audiences' receive annual funding from member organisations on the understanding that they will receive five day's consultancy services in return, but with no set dates or specific remits on what the consultancy will offer. In this respect, running 'Amazing Audiences' as a stable B2B organisation will help to reassure member organisations that this annual upfront investment (at a time where budgets are tight and under intense scrutiny) will be of benefit to them during the forthcoming year.

7.7 THE MARKETISATION OF AUDIENCE DEVELOPMENT

Audience Development agencies have a dual role, in gathering large data sets associated with audiences as well as being able to work with both policy maker and arts organisations definitions of value. This returns to the idea of establishing 'what counts' in Audience Development. As such there are multiple versions of reality for each of the stakeholders involved in Audience Development. In creating a frame within this sector, it allows the market to help understand what should be included in Audience Development and what should be considered an overflow. This study demonstrates that there are different versions of Audience Development which makes it difficult to standardise. Araujo (2007) defines market exchange as being 'enabled by a process of framing that allows distinct agents to come together and agree a price for the exchange of goods and money.' (p.212). In this study the market exchanges were not always clearly defined.

'GUCM' look specifically at widening access to music as its main objective and as such form a boundary around this to include live music performances within unusual settings. Different actors may try to shape the markets at different stages (Kjellberg and Heglesson, 2006, 2007). As demonstrated throughout this thesis, Audience Development agencies provide different types of service, including data analysis, market research, performance arrangement and event organisation. For each of these services, there is a different good to be exchanged, and a different set of calculating practices involved. Furthermore, different buyers may require the same data but presented in a different way.

To make goods calculable the good or object should be detached from the seller (in this case the Audience Development agency) and exchanged in a market transaction to the buyer. For

Audience Development agencies the buyers are multiple, and each has a different need for the 'object'. Buyers could include arts organisations, the government, the local authorities, arts networks or venues. The goods produced may be required to offer a regional or even national comparison on the state of the cultural sector. In sum, there is no one way of presenting or performing Audience Development in the market. Therefore, multiple versions of calculations must take place using different calculating devices.

Secondly, one of the main roles of Audience Development is to provide mediating services, through the organisation of networking events or training programmes. These services are generally offered for 'free,' in that members of the arts sector do not have to exchange money to attend or participate. However, these programmes are usually paid for through a government issued grant. Therefore, the Audience Development service (as the seller) must deliver events which the government (the buyer) can perceive as having value for investment. Therefore, in understanding how Audience Development works, while calculating devices are of course crucial, there are also qualculating factors in play – including by not limited to, the ability to deliver value for money, to demonstrate impact, to ensure that there is a later benefit from cultural organisations from participation. These things are more difficult to measure. Therefore, Audience Development agencies experience challenges in justifying the objects of exchange in these circumstances.

The 'Digi-Arts' programme specified its purpose as improving digital capabilities to the arts sector in Scotland, and set its boundary accordingly. 'Amazing Audiences' had less specific remits and had other similar organisations across the UK which were comparable and thus easier to replicate the framing process. For 'Digi-Arts' and 'GUCM' money was rarely exchanged in a market setting, whereas for 'Amazing Audiences' there were multiple income

streams including funding, consultancy fees and subscription fees. Audience Development services refer to activities which specifically meet the needs of existing and potential audiences for cultural organisations and to help develop ongoing relationships with audiences. This is a fairly loose definition meaning the good which represents Audience Development can be different dependent upon the market in which it is being exchanged. It can refer to translation of box office meaning into meaningful insight for box office managers, analysis of market research for marketing departments, research undertaken to gain insight on a geographical location, training and development opportunities or the organisation of a music performance for a venue. As Azimont and Araujo (2007) state: "a good implies a stabilisation of characteristics at the moment an entity, product or service is ready to be traded.' For 'GUCM' this stabilisation was difficult to quantify as it was an experimental live performance with no time-limit, no programme (set-list), no tickets to sell, no promotion and no organised or prepared audience.

Having summarised the three empirical studies and offered comparisons and contrasts between the cases, the thesis now moves onto the final chapter, offering overall conclusions to the study.

8 CONCLUSION

This study has drawn on and developed the emerging area of market studies, a recent body of literature combining Science and Technology Studies and economic sociology with a strong focus on performativity and practice. Appropriate with the development of the literature in marketing, this is an exploratory study. This study contributes to this area of literature by investigating the underexplored context of Audience Development agencies. These agencies consist of micro-organisations, generally with charitable status, which bring together the needs of a range of stakeholders including arts organisations, cultural policy and public consumption of arts in order to understand the needs of the arts sector. Specifically, these organisations use a combination of market devices, data sources, knowledge and social practices to combine these different things into a package of something which can be stabilised and exchanged as a form of Audience Development services. Taking a practice-based approach, this thesis has followed theory rooted in economic sociology and science and technology studies to help understand organisational practices. Overall and in general terms, the thesis explores how a number of arts organisations have worked together to make a novel B2B service called Audience Development.

The thesis has addressed the development of Audience Development from the lenses of ANT and market studies. Drawing upon contributions to ANT and market studies, the thesis advances the literature through understanding the different ways in which audiences and arts organisations can be formatted. Using the concepts of affordances, the thesis suggests that an arts organisation can format an audience with specific mediation. Using market devices as calculating tools and frames (which act as a form of limitation) the practices and exchanges of Audience Development agencies can be formatted to create a stabilised version of Audience

Development which can then be exchanged. Learning how to stabilise this type of market is significant. Audience Development also acts as a form of mediation, bringing together likeminded arts organisations to deliver new approaches to understanding and enhancing audiences. Framing must take place and spill overs will occur.

Audience Development has become a marketised setting of sorts but this is not an inevitable service, nor does it demonstrate the complete picture. Audience Development is of type of service which can be made stable and open to being exchanged; this is surprising given the balance of commercial and state-funded activities addressed by Audience Development. While offering quantitative reports such as the number of attendees, postcode data, and other countable form, Audience Development, as a B2B service, has acquired a notable degree of formatting.

The performance of the market is therefore difficult to appreciate and communicate when it is difficult to justify the benefit of the events and it is not always clear why people attend. Established research into arts marketing has shown that arts marketers and theatre managers have traditionally focused on the people who actually attend, rather than examining the potential of who the audience may be. When organisations are privately funded and self-sustaining then this is an appropriate way of managing the market. However, when arts organisations receive subsidies from governments then impact and measurability become of great importance across the arts sector.

This study takes the literature from three specific areas: market shaping activities and devices, affordances and market practices applied to the work of three different Audience Development agencies. This was carried out through the lens of Pragmatism, taking a methodological

approach rooted in ANT. Data were collected through ethnographic and ethnomethodological methods through three case studies focusing on three agencies, each of which delivers different Audience Development services. ANT was deemed appropriate due to the symmetry considered for both the practices of human actors and materials which are then bundled together to create something specific which can be exchanged as Audience Development services. Ethnomethodology is appropriate due to its concerns with everyday mundane practices and accountability impacting on social order (Garfinkel, 1986 and later Suchman, Trigg and Blomberg, 2006). Latour (1999) argues that ANT (that forms the basis of Market Studies) "is simply another way of being faithful to the insights of ethnomethodology."

Ethnography and ethnomethodology do not fit easily together, however in fitting with other empirical studies in Market Studies (Rinallo and Golfetto, 2006) and other studies of practice (Kaplan, 2010) an ethnographic study is appropriate due to the exploratory nature of data collection and in taking an ANT approach as a methodology. It allows for the symmetrical treatment of the social and the treatment, represented through the importance of materials such as documents and data within these case studies. Arranging this thesis as a series of case studies conducted simultaneously allowed for common themes to emerge and opportunity for overlap. For example, each of the cases were impacted by any change in government funding or changes around the cultural sector, or within Glasgow and Scotland itself. It also allowed the researcher to gain familiarity with the sector while working with each of the cases at the same time.

Conducting this research as a multi-sited study allowed for multiple versions of music performances across times, date, location, and with various musicians and types of music. This allowed the researcher greater familiarity with the style of performance and understanding of the sector, allowing for rich data to be gathered across several sites and allows for themes to

emerge across the different performances which can then be cross-referenced against the academic literature.

The conceptual framework of this thesis forms around the use of Audience Development agencies to increase access to the arts through understanding existing and new audiences. This fits with the Scottish government's remit to prioritise its cultural sector:

> "*The Scottish Government is fully committed to widening engagement with culture for all communities and individuals across Scotland. The policy is: for access to, and participation in, cultural activities to be as wide as possible, and for culture and creativity to be applied across the policy spectrum to help address key priorities such as education, health and enterprise*." (Scotland.gov, 2015).

Furthermore, as Audience Development agencies are funded partly by public monies, the location of these agencies is generally focused within a specific geographic area, allowing the agency to hold a dominant position within its setting. Therefore, this thesis asks whether these agencies can be considered to be part of a market when there is little competition, funded by public grants, and within a not-for-profit setting. This thesis moves away from a traditional understand of markets and behaviours within a market setting to investigate whether the Audience Development sector can be considered as something which can be marketised.

To justify the public investment funding and government remits, the Audience Development sector must be prepared to quantify its contribution to the creative industries through a series of measures and outputs. As discussed, agencies receive income through a variety of sources including public funding. Often, an arts organisation (acting as a client of the Audience

Development agency) will pay an annual fee which will entitle them to certain services to be provided by the agency. However, as these organisations typically receive funding for such services through government grants, there is also a need to justify the expense and resources attached. Therefore, the industry operates using a continuous circle of funds moving between the government, the Audience Development agencies and the arts organisations, with each set of actors tasked with its own set of deliverables and measureable outputs.

Marketers may perform a wide range of services and tasks with practices, processes, devices, tools and deliverable outcomes, which are bundled together and called marketing. In this study Audience Development agencies addressing a niche area with a highly specialised knowledge around the arts sector and the arts. Audience Development agencies can act as mediators in a B2B context, working between arts organisations and digital organisations, venues and musicians, and arts organisations and arts organisations as will be established in the empirical cases studied in this thesis. While successful Audience Development agencies run organisations which are inherently social, offering opportunities for the arts sector to come together through social events, workshops and through online forums, this does not sufficiently explain what Audience Development organisations do in practice.

8.1 CONTRIBUTION OF THE STUDY

Having analysed each of the empirical cases individually, this thesis now moves to understanding the similarities and differences across each case. While case study analysis and ANT does not examine data specifically for statistically significant differences, this study affords the opportunity to understand why each of these public-funded organisations can survive within the same geographical area.

This study has contributed to the existing literature on Market Studies to demonstrate understanding how a market can be formed and that a market is shaped and re-shaped through market practices within the B2B sector of Audience Development agencies.

The literature on Market Studies typically refers to industrial including self-service retailers (Kjellberg and Heglesson, 2007); or using categories to help shape and qualify markets (Azimont and Araujo, 2007), or the use of shopping carts as calculating devices (Cochoy, 2008). This study contributes to the literature by taking the empirical example of the Audience Development sector, which is a B2B service working with arts organisations and funded through government policies, to understand how a market can be made. This study follows the established field of Market Studies through an analysis of the literature, specifically focusing on the performance of markets through establishment of market practices. The design of this study was appropriate to Market Studies as the multiple case studies allowed for in-depth analysis of each cases and cross-comparison of cases, and followed other studies in the area, for example as published in the Special Issue of Journal of Marketing Management (Geiger, Kjellberg and Spencer, 2011). The nature of promissory organisations, typically referring to technological developments, can also be applied to Audience Development organisations, where the 'promise' of Audience Development service is stabilised and realised through the testing out of new behaviours or ways of consuming the arts with new audiences.

In considering the work of Actor Network Theory and Market Studies, Audience Development agencies demonstrate a novel approach to combining different sources of material actors with human actors to create an object of 'Audience Development' that can be stabilised and exchanged between two parties.

This thesis also contributes to the literature by offering an understanding how exchanges are performed within a market and non-market setting. In performativity, markets are constantly in flux, and objects must be stabilised and framed ready for exchange. For Audience Development agencies these 'frames' help to shape and understand how current audiences behave. However, the data or objects that do not fit easily within a frame are referred to as externalities and spillovers. For Audience Development agencies, the spillovers, the left over data, the unexpected findings or gaps in research can assist in future planning to ensure that arts organisations can plan and make changes to meet new sector needs, be it through bringing music to people who might not already experience it physically or through technological developments.

Further to this, the idea of externalities, where the spillovers have unexpected benefits to those who are not directly involved within the exchange are especially important in understanding the work of Audience Development agencies. As shown in the empirical chapters, society benefits from thriving arts societies, and reductions in funding has led to reduced participation and attendance for the arts. For this thesis, the benefits of applying Audience Development services extend to the wider community, where the changes implemented through the delivery of this service results in an overall benefit to society.

8.2 PRACTICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

The contribution of this thesis is to understand these behaviours within a non-traditional market setting. Audience Development services are typically set up through government bodies and public policy with the aim of understanding audience behaviours within the arts

sector. This differs from general commercial exchanges as there are intrinsic benefits to participating in the arts, and having access to a thriving cultural sector, which are reflected in the literature as well as economic benefits including increased employment, cultural tourism as well as ticket sales.

This study contributes to Audience Development at a practitioner level by giving an understanding of the benefits of this sector to arts organisations and to the economy as a whole. The area of Audience Development has been under-researched in general and is constantly changing and adapting to suit the market place. Through taking a focus on this market, this study justifies the need for such a service, specifically in the translation of box office data into meaningful insight for arts organisations. Arts organisations lack the resources, expertise and access to data carried by these organisations. Through the exchange of this information, arts organisations are more able to identify potential audiences and target them accordingly, thus increasing ticket sales and increased income. Likewise, the data can identify areas for improvement which can support applications for government subsidies.

Through a focus on understanding practice and calculating devices, the thesis offers recommendations on delivering value for money and impact across the sector. As the RSA write "As spending cuts continue to impact on arts funding, the need for measuring impact is more important than ever." There is a need for what the Guardian (2010) refer to as 'a coherent arts policy' by the government, with the same article explaining that 'any arts organisation worth its salt needs sustained income over a number of years… after a number of years of experimentation we know this is gained by two things: ticket sales and subsidy." The argument at this point is to justify the funding of Audience Development services. If the arts organisations

are struggling to survive, how can the government justify investment in a programme to support the arts organisations, rather than just giving to the organisations directly.

The value of Audience Development agencies appears to be in its ability to translate data and market information into something which has meaning to arts organisations and which will allow them to continue to deliver their programmes to existing and new audiences while widening access to the arts in general. Having a clear idea of what stakeholders require can help by analysing data at a number of levels and for a number of audiences. While it is difficult to justify that Audience Development services benefit the general public specifically, the combination of services that these organisations provide allow arts organisations to continue to deliver programmes and entertainment that will appeal to audiences, increase attendance and have economic and social benefits.

8.3 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study has a number of limitations. It is geographically situated in Glasgow featuring three cases with multiple organisations within each case. The study could be expanded to include other cities for the use of case study limits the findings to theoretical generalisability and as such no statistical generalisation. However, in terms of developing and advancing theory, the case study contributes to Market Studies literature which is mainly rooted in empirical cases and qualitative research. The sample selected was of convenience but validated through annual reports and analysis of the digital footprint of the company.

There may be other organisations in Glasgow or indeed across Scotland who are worthy of this study. This thesis takes the focus of the Audience Development agency with little research

undertaken on the consumers and producers of art or the policy makers. Each of these could be developed in more detail to understand the impact of Audience Development services from a different perspective. Political instability in Scotland and from Europe reflects a limitation for further study, due to the recent dominance of the Scottish Nationalist Party and the forthcoming decision on fiscal autonomy for Scotland.

Further limitations are based around the theoretical approach to this study. While an Actor Network Theory approach was deemed appropriate for the exploratory nature of this study, it is impossible to generalise these findings. What would be of interest is to show the changes in this sector as a longitudinal study (over an extended period), to show the overall impact of the political, economic and societal changes in Scotland as a whole, and be able to draw out stronger conclusions between changes in funding options, developments in technology, the ever changing political and economic landscape combined with a study on the arts overall.

This study positions the Audience Development agency as the 'hero' of this story, almost implying that without these agencies, the sector would not survive. A more balanced view, comparing arts organisations who use these services compared with those who don't, would allow for a stronger - more statistically significant - conclusions around the success of, and need for, this sector.

8.4 AVENUES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

There are several areas for further research based around this study. Theoretically, it would be useful to compare one of the agencies studied with other similar organisations (such as research organisations or arts organisations who operate this type of service in- house). This would

allow different conclusions to be drawn around the question of marketisation, and of identifying where the market is.

This study is situated within Glasgow and could be replicated in other cultural hubs across the UK and internationally to draw out cultural differences and to understand how this service compares to others offered globally. As shown, even in the UK there are inconsistencies in the practices of data analysis to create different versions of audiences.

Furthermore, the Audience Development 'sector' is ever changing, in keeping with technological changes, funding differences and ever-changing customer demands. Even in the duration of this study, GUCM and Digi-Arts both closed projects due to a lack of funding while 'Amazing Audiences' went through a complete rebrand.

> "*This rebranding and repositioning was an important response to the changing arts sector and a means of better reflecting what we do best. 'Amazing Audiences' continues to reveal more evidence about the impact of culture on people's lives through harnessing the intelligence about a much wider range of visitors, participants and learners in addition to the ticket buying public and through the use of emergent digital tools and technologies. Our assets are our audience intelligence, working smarter…. The Board, staff and team all have skills that we need, where previously there was a lack of confidence*."… ." (AGM minutes, 2010) /

The term 'Audience Development' is almost redundant in the industry, with agencies preferring to integrate the terms of culture and research to widen their remits. For example, 'Amazing Audiences' (in 2013) proposed a new definition of the work that specialise, describing themselves as:

> "*Experts in cultural research, project management and innovation, with the aim of brokering relationships across the sector, identifying and targeting potential new collaborations and stimulating audience growth*."

This change reflects recognition for a need to further justify the need for Audience Development services within the arts sector. There is a danger that with multiple funding cuts there will no longer be a public appetite for spending in the arts. Being able to offer a variety of services and adapt that service across sector shows a strong degree of marketisation. As the market practices are being performed specifically for the arts sector s they are also being developed and adapted to suit new and emerging markets, thus helping to ensure survival in an unstable sector.

Since completion of this research, 'Amazing Audiences' has combined with the other two Audience Development agencies in Scotland to create one Scottish agency which may implies that while there is a market need for this service, the need for multiple players within the geographical market is no longer required. Another way to consider this change is that the offering of one Scottish agency rather than three means that all of the 'experts' in Scotland now work in partnership, and the combined resources and knowledge ensures that they have extremely specialised knowledge of the Scottish market.

On a similar note, the 'Digi-Arts' Programme has also ended since the completion of the empirical research. The staff identified the next trend of interest as sustainability within the art sector (using digital tools). This study could be developed to include a new way of investigating Audience Development in practice.

There are further opportunities to develop the findings of this research by widening the context to other not-for-profit sectors, particularly those which rely on public funds and donations with multiple stakeholders. This study could be replicated with social enterprises or across the charitable sector, or within the public sector. Each of these are under-represented within Market Studies and organisational studies literature and are worthy of Scotland. Furthermore, this study could be replicated within the Sports sector. Both sports and the arts sectors are competing for funding and recognition within education, health and wellbeing, infrastructure, training, and financial support. Both sectors provide employment and improve public morale, but are reliant upon ticket sales, sponsorship, public funds and lottery grants for survival.

There are many events which combine culture and sport, for example the London 2012 Olympics and Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games both organised cultural festivals to run concurrently with the sporting events. Therefore, there is the opportunity to compare sports development and arts development organisations using a similar structure to this thesis.

To conclude, this thesis has applied the work of Market Studies theorists to understand the market practices and exchanges of a micro-sector who specialises in providing knowledge and data that will in turn shape the arts market in Scotland. Through understanding how markets are performed and stabilised, the business to business agencies operating in this sector are able to offer transactions and exchanges of services using a combination of market devices, tools and human actors to create something that can be exchanged as 'Audience Development'.

REFERENCES

Alcadipani, R. and Hassard, J. (2010) 'Actor-Network Theory, organisations and critique: towards a politics of organising'. *Organisation,* 17 (4), pp.419.

Alderson, W. (1965) *Dynamic Marketing Behavior: A Functionalist Theory of Marketing*, Homewood, Illinois, Richard D. Irwin.

Anderson, R and Sharrock, W. (1993) 'Can Organisations afford knowledge?' *Computer Supported Cooperative Work (CSCW)* Volume 1, Issue 3, pp 143-161

Araujo, L and Kjellberg, H. (2009). 'Shaping exchanges, performing markets: The study of market-ing practices.' In MacLaran, Saren, Stern and Tadajewski (eds.) *Handbook of Marketing Theory*. Blomberg, Jesper

Araujo, L. (2007) 'Markets, market-making and marketing. *Marketing Theory,* 7 (3), pp.211.

Araujo, L., Finch, J. & Kjellberg, H., (2010). *Reconnecting marketing to markets*, Oxford

Araujo, L.M. and Spring, M. (2006) 'Services, products and the institutional structure of production' *Industrial Marketing Management*. 35, 7, p. 797-805.

Araujo, L., Kjellberg, H. and Spencer, R. (2008). 'Market practices and forms: Introduction to the special issue'. *Marketing theory*, *8*(1), pp.5-14.

Arnould, E.J. and Price, L. (1993) 'River magic: Extraordinary experience and the extended service encounter'. *Journal of Consumer Research,* 20 (1), pp.24--45.

Arts Council England (2006), *Grants for the Arts Audience Development Factsheet*

Arts Council England (2013), 'Great art and culture for everyone', Arts Council England, 2013

Arts Council England (2014a) 'The value of arts and culture to people and society- an evidence review.' March 2014.

Arts Council England (2014b) 'Creative People and Places Application Form' Arts Council England, 2014

Arts Council England (2014c) Now published: the value of arts and culture to people and society. Available at http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/news/arts-council-news/published-today-value-arts-and-culture-people-and-/ accessed 13 June 10114.

Austin, J.L. (1975) How to do things with words. Oxford University Press (2nd Edition)

Azimont, F. & Araujo, L., (2007). Category reviews as market-shaping events. *Industrial Marketing Management*, 36(7), pp.849–860.

Azimont, F. and Araujo, L. (2010a) 'Re-classifying and re-valuing goods: a case-study'. IMP *Conference Proceedings, 2011.*

Azimont, F., and Araujo, L. (2010b) 'The making of a petrol station and the 'on-the-move consumer': classification devices and the shaping of markets*'. Industrial Marketing Management*. 39, 6, p. 1010-1019.

Baiocchi, G, Graizbord, D. and Rodriguez-Muniz, M (2013) 'ANT and the ethnographic imagination: an exercise in translation' *Qualitative Sociology*, 36, pp.323-361

Bagozzi, R. P. (1975). 'Marketing as Exchange.' *Journal of Marketing* 39(4): 32-39.

Barley, S. R (1986). 'Technology as an occasion for structuring: Evidence from observations of CT scanners and the social order of radiology departments,' *Administrative Science Quarterly*, volume 31, number 1, pp. 78–108.

BBC News (2014) 'Why is Glasgow the UK's sickest city?' available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-27309446 . Accessed 13 June 2014.

Beyes, T. and Steyaert. C. (2011) 'The ontological politics of artistic interventions: Implications for performing action research'. *Action Research,* 9 (1), pp.100--115.

Born, G. (2005) 'On Musical Mediation: Ontology, Technology and Creativity'. *Twentieth Century Music,* 2 (01), pp.7.

Bourdieu, P. (1973), Outline of a Theory of Practice (translated by R. Nice). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P, (1990), 'Structures, habitus, practices', in The Logic of Practice. Cambridge: Polity, pp. 52-65

Bourdieu, P. (1996) 'Understanding'. *Theory, Culture & Society*, *13*(2), pp.17-37

Bowen, G.A (2009). 'Document analysis as a qualitative research method' *Qualitative research journal*, *9*(2), pp.27-40.

Bowker, G. and Star, L. (1998) 'How things (actor-net)work: Classification, magic and the ubiquity of standards,' *Philosophia*, Vol. 25, Nos. 3-4, pp. 195-220

Brown, J. & Duguid, P. (1991) 'Organisational learning and communities-of-practice: Toward a unified view of working, learning, and innovation'. *Organisation science,* 2 (1), pp.40-57.

Butler, J. (2010) ‘Performative agency’ *Journal of Cultural Economy* 3.2 (2010): 147-161.

Calışkan, K. and Callon. M. (2009) ‘Economisation, part 1: shifting attention from the economy towards processes of economisation’. *Economy and society,* 38 (3), pp.369--398.

Calışkan, K. and Callon.M. (2010) ‘Economisation, part 2: a research programme for the study of markets’. *Economy and society,* 39 (1), pp.1--32.

Callon, M. (1986a) 'Some elements of a sociology of translation: domestication of the scallops and the fishermen of St Brieuc Bay'. *Power, action and belief: a new sociology of knowledge,* 32 pp.196–233.

Callon, M. (1998a). ‘Introduction: The Embeddedness of Economic Markets in Economics. In The Laws of the Markets, Wiley Blackfield, pp.1-54

Callon, M. (1998b) 'An essay on framing and overflowing: economic externalities revisited by sociology'. *The laws of the markets,* Wiley Blackfield, pp.244--269.

Callon, M. (2006), ‘What Does it Mean to Say that Economics is Performative?’ in D. MacKenzie, F. Muniesa and L. Siu (Ed.), Do Economists Make Markets? On the Performativity of Economics, Princeton: Princeton

Callon, M. & Law, J. (2005) 'On qualculation, agency, and otherness'. *Environment and Planning D,* 23 (5), pp.717.

Callon, M. & Millo, Y. and Muniesa., F. (eds.) (2007) *Market Devices.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Callon, M. & Muniesa, F. (2005) 'Peripheral Vision Economic Markets as Calculative Collective Devices'. Organisation *Studies,* 26 (8) pp.1229-1250.

Clarke E. F. (2005). *Ways of Listening: An Ecological Approach to the Perception of Musical Meaning*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Cochoy, F. (2008) 'Calculation, qualculation, calqulation: shopping cart arithmetic, equipped cognition and the clustered consumer'. *Marketing Theory,* 8 (1), pp.15--44.

Cochoy, F. (2009) 'Driving a Shopping Cart from STS to Business, and the Other Way Round: On the Introduction of Shopping Carts in American Grocery Stores (1936--1959)'. *Organisation,* 16 (1), pp.31--55.

Cordella, A. (2006) 'Department of Information Systems London School of Economics and Political Science Working Paper Series From Epistemology to Ontology : Challenging the Constructed ‘ truth ‘ of ANT'. 44 (0).

Creative Scotland (2014) ‘The Ten Year Plan’ available at http://www.creativescotland.com/what-we-do/the-10-year-plan

Cultural Enterprises (2015) ‘Creative Industries’ available at

http://www.culturalenterpriseoffice.co.uk/resources/sector-overview/creative-industries/ Last accessed 16/5/2015)

Culture Hive (2014) *Audience Development Toolkit* Available at http://culturehive.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/Arts-Derby-audience_development_toolkit.pdf Accessed 16/05/2015

Czarniawski, B. (2004) 'On Time, Space, and Action Nets'. *Organisation,* 11 (6), pp.773--791.

Darke, P, Shanks, .G, and Broadbent .M. (1998) 'Successfully completing case study research: combining rigour, relevance and pragmatism'. *Information systems journal*. *8*(4), pp.273-289.

.

De Certeau, M. (1984). *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

DeNora, T. (1999) 'Music as a technology of the self'. *Poetics,* 27 (1), pp.31--56.

DeNora, T. (2000) *Music in everyday life.* Cambridge Univ Pr.

DeNora. T. (2003) *After Adorno: rethinking music sociology*. Cambridge University Press

Denzin, N. K. (1970). *The Research Act in Sociology*. Chicago: Aldine.

Dewey, J. (1931). Philosophy and civilisation.

Diggle, K. (1994) *Arts marketing*. Rhinegold Publishing Ltd

Dubois, A. and Gadde, L-E. (2002) 'Systematic combining: an abductive approach to case research'. *Journal of Business Research*. 55. 553-560

Easton, G. (2010) 'Critical realism in case study research'. *Industrial Marketing Management,* 39 (1), pp.118--128.

Eisenhardt, K.M. (1989) 'Building Theories from Case Study Research'. *Academy of Management Review,* 14 (4), pp.532--550.

Ekbia, H.R. (2009) 'Digital Artefacts as Quasi-Objects : Qualification , Mediation , and Materiality'. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology* 60 (August), pp.2554--2566.

Elkjaer, B. and Simpson B. (2006) 'Towards a Pragmatic Theory of Creative Practice' *Paper presented at Second Organisation Studies Summer Workshop. Re-turn to Practice: Understanding Organisation as it happens*. June 2006

Emirbayer, M. and Maynard, D.W. (2010) 'Pragmatism and Ethnomethodology'. *Qualitative Sociology,* 34 (1), pp.221-261.

Feldman, M.S. and Orlikowski, W.J. (2011) ‘Theorizing practice and practicing theory’. *Organisation science*, *22*(5), pp.1240-1253.

Finch, J. and Acha, V. (2008) 'Making and exchanging a second-hand oil field, considered in an industrial marketing setting'. *Marketing Theory,* 8 (1), pp.45--66.

Finch, J. and Geiger., S. (2010) 'Positioning and relating: Market boundaries and the slippery identity of the marketing object'. *Marketing Theory,* 10 (3), pp.237--251.

Finch, J., Horan, C. and Reid, E. (2015). ‘The performativity of sustainability: making a conduit a marketing device’. *Journal of Marketing Management*,*31*(1-2), pp.167-192.

Fox, S., 2000. Communities Of Practice, Foucault And Actor-Network Theory. *Journal of management studies*, *37*(6), pp.853-868.

Fulk, J. (1993).’ Social construction of communication technology’. *Academy of Management Journal, 36,* 921-950

Garfinkel, H. (1967). *Studies in Ethnomethodology.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Geiger, S., & Finch, J. (2009). ‘Industrial sales people as market actors.’ *Industrial Marketing Management*, *38*(6), 608-617.

Geiger, S., Kjellberg, H. & Spencer, R. (2012) ‘Shaping exchanges , building markets’ *Consumption Markets & Culture* (August 2012), pp.37–41.

Gibbert, M., Ruigrok, W. and Wicki, B. (2008). ‘What passes as a rigorous case study?’ *Strategic Management Journal*, *29*(13), pp.1465-1474.

Gibson, J.J. (1977) ‘The Theory of Affordances’ In R. Shaw & J. Bransford (eds.). *Perceiving, Acting, and Knowing: Toward an Ecological Psychology*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum. (pp. 67-82)

Gibson, J.J. (1979) *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin,

Gibson, W. (2006) 'Material culture and embodied action: sociological notes on the examination of musical instruments in jazz improvisation'. *The Sociological Review,* 54 (1), pp.171--187.

Giddens, A. (1984) *The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration*. Univ of California Press.

Goffman, E. (1959) *The Presentation of self in everyday life* New York. Anchor Doubleday

Goldkuhl, G. (2004) ‘Meanings of Pragmatism: Ways to conduct information systems research’. *Action in Language, Organisations and Information Systems*.

Granovetter, M. (1973) 'The strength of weak ties'. *American journal of sociology,* 78 (6), pp.1360.

Granovetter, M. (1985) 'Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness': *The American Journal of Sociology,* 91 (3) pp . 481-510

Greener, I. (2008) 'Markets in the public sector: when do they work , and what do we do when they don 't ?' *Policy and Politics*. 36 (1), pp.93--108.

Guardian (2013) 'Is the arts declining in the UK? Decide for yourself' available at http://www.theguardian.com/culture/2013/dec/05/art-declining-in-the-uk-decide-for-yourself Accessed 16/5/2015

Guardian (2014a) 'Peter Bazalgette on regional arts funding: 'blame lies with council cuts'' 14 June 2014, accessed on 15/06/2014 available at http://www.theguardian.com/culture/2014/jun/14/peter-bazalgette-london-not-threat-regional-arts-funding

Hagberg, J. and Kjellberg, H. (2010) 'Who performs marketing? Dimensions of agential variation in market practice'. *Industrial Marketing Management,* 39 (6), pp.1028--1037.

Hardie, I. and Mackenzie, D. (2006) 'Assembling an economic actor: the agencement of a Hedge Fund.' *The Sociological Review* 55 (1) pp.57-80

Heidegger, M. (1927) Sein und Zeit. Tübingen 1986, 16th ed.: Niemeye

Hill, E, O'Sullivan, C., and O'Sullivan, T. (1995) *Creative arts marketing.* Oxford: Oxford : Butterworth Heinemann.

Hill, E. (2015) 'Survey reveals cultural engagement in Scotland' Available at http://www.artsprofessional.co.uk/news/survey-reveals-cultural-engagement-scotland Accessed 13/52015

Houghton, N. (2013) 'The Architecture of Foresight' available at https://njhoughton.wordpress.com/2013/05/24/the-architecture-of-foresight/

Ingram, J., Shove, E. and Watson, M. (2007) 'Products and Practices: Selected Concepts from Science and Technology Studies and from Social Theories of Consumption and Practice'. *Design Issues*, *23*(2), pp.3-16.

Jarzabkowski, P.A., Le, and Feldman, M. (2012) 'Toward a Theory of Coordinating : Creating Coordinating Mechanisms in Practice'. *Organisation Science* 23 (4), pp.907--927.

Jang, D., Mattila, A.S. and Bai, B. (2007) 'Restaurant membership fee and customer choice: The effects of sunk cost and feelings of regret'. *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, *26*(3), pp.687-697.

Johri, A. (2011) *'*Sociomaterial bricolage: The creation of location-spanning work practices by global software developer*' Information and Software Technology 53* (2011) 955–968

Jung, H., Blevis, E., and Stolterman, E. (2010). ‘Conceptualisations of the Materiality of Digital Artefacts and their implications for sustainable interaction design.’ In Proceedings of the Design Research Society DRS2010 Conference, Montreal

Kaplan, S. (2010) 'Strategy and PowerPoint: An Inquiry into the Epistemic Culture and Machinery of Strategy Making'. *Organisation Science,* 22 (2), pp.320--346.

Kjellberg, H. & Helgesson, C.F. (2006) ‘Multiple versions of markets: Multiplicity and performativity in market practice’. *Industrial Marketing Management*, 35(7), pp.839–855

Kjellberg, H and. Heglesson, C.F. (2007a) ‘On the nature of markets and their practices’. *Marketing Theory,* 7 (2), pp.137—162

Kjellberg, H. and Heglesson, C.F. (2007b) ‘The mode of exchange and shaping of markets: Distributor influence in the Swedish post-war food industry’. *Industrial Marketing Management,* 36 (7), pp.861--878.

Kjellberg, H., Azimont, F. and Reid, E. (2015) ‘Market innovation processes: Balancing stability and change’. *Industrial Marketing Management*, *44*, pp.4-12.

Kjellberg, H., Storbacka, K., Akaka, M., Chandler, J., Finch, J., Lindeman, S. and Nenonen, S. (2012) ‘Market futures/future markets: Research directions in the study of markets’. *Marketing theory*, *12*(2), pp.219-223.

Klimke, M. & Scharloth, J. (2009): ‘Utopia in Practice: The Discovery of Performativity in Sixties’ *Protest, Arts and Sciences*’, Historein, 9, 46-56

Kochan, J. (2010) 'Latour's Heidegger'. *Social Studies of Science,* 40 (4), pp.579--598.

Kotler, P. and Scheff, .J. (1997) *Standing room only: Strategies for marketing the performing arts.* Harvard Business Press

Kotler, P. (1973) ‘The Major Tasks of Marketing Management’. *Journal of Marketing,* October 1973, Vol. 37, Issue 4, pp. 42-49.

Krueger, J.W. (2010) ‘Doing things with music’. *Phenomenology and the Cognitive Sciences,* 10 (1), pp.1--22.

Landry, C, Bianchini, F, Maguire, M and Worpole, K, (1993) The Social Impact of the Arts A Discussion Document, Comedia, Stroud, 1993

Latour, B. (1987) *Science in Action, How to Follow Scientists and Engineers through Society*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge Mass.

Latour, B., 1993. *The pasteurisation of France*. Harvard University Press.

Latour, B. (1994) ‘On Technical Mediation’ *Common Knowledge* Fall 1994 V2 N2

Latour, B. (1999) *Pandora’s Hope* Harvard University Press

Latour, B. and Venn, C. (2002) ‘Morality and technology the end of the means’. *Theory, culture & society*, *19*(5-6), pp.247-260.

Latour, B. (2005) *Reassembling the Social - An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory. Oxford University Press*

Latour, B. and Woolgar, S. (1986) *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts*. Princeton University Press

Lave, J. (1988). *Cognition in practice: Mind, mathematics and culture in everyday life.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Law, J. (1999) ‘After ANT: complexity, naming and topology’ In Law, J. and Hassard, *ANT and After*. Whiley Blackwell

Law, J. (2004) *After method: Mess in social science research*. Routledge.
Vancouver

Law, J. (2007) *Making a mess with method* (pp. 595-606). Sage.

Law, J. (2008), 'On STS and Sociology', *The Sociological Review*, 56, 4, 623-649.

Law, J. and Benschop, R. (1997) 'Resisting pictures: representation, distribution and ontological politics'. *The Sociological Review*, *45*(S1), pp.158-182.

Law, J. and Callon, M (1994). 'The life and death of an aircraft: A network analysis of technical change'. In Wiebe E. Bijker and John Law. *Shaping technology/building society: Studies in sociotechnical change*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press. pp. 42–46.

Law, J. and Hassard, J. (1999) *ANT and After*. Oxford: Blackwell

Law, J. and Singleton, V. (2005), 'Object Lessons', *Organisatio*n. 12: (3), 331-355.

Law, J. and Singleton, V. (2014). 'ANT, multiplicity and policy'. *Critical policy studies*, *8*(4), pp.379-396.

Law, J. and Urry, J. (2004) 'Enacting the Social,' *Economy and Society*, 33, 3: 390-410.

Leonardi, P.M. and Barley, S.R. (2008) 'Materiality and change: Challenges to building better theory about technology and organising'. *Information and Organisation,* 18 (3), pp.159--176.

Maynor, K . (2014) *Arts and Business Scotland Consultation, 2014 Overviews and Findings*

MacKenzie, D. & Millo, Y., (2003). 'Constructing a Market, Performing Theory: The Historical Sociology of a Financial Derivatives Exchange'. *American Journal of Sociology*, 109(1), pp.107–145

MacKenzie, D. (2004). 'The big, bad wolf and the rational market: Portfolio, insurance, the 1987 crash and the performativity of economics'. *Economy and Society*, 33(3), 303−334.

MacKenzie, D. (2006). 'Is economics performative? Option theory and the construction of derivatives markets'. *Journal of the History of Economic Thought*, *28*(1), pp.29-55.

MacKenzie, D. (2006). *An Engine, Not a Camera. How Financial Models Shape Markets*. MIT Press

MacKenzie, D. (2007). 'The material production of virtuality: innovation, cultural geography and facticity in derivatives markets'. *Economy and Society*, *36*(3), pp.355-376.

MacKenzie, D., Muniesa, F. and Siu, L. (2007) *Do Economists Make Markets? On the Performativity of Economics* Princeton, NJ:

Magaudda, P. (2011). 'When materiality 'bites back': Digital music consumption practices in the age of dematerialisation' *Journal of Consumer Culture* 11(1) 15-36

Mattesson, L. G. (2003). 'Understanding Market Dynamics. Potential Contributions to Market(ing) Studies from Actor-Network Theory'. *Paper presented at IMP Conference*

McCarthy, K.F., Ondaatje, E.H., Zakaras, L. and Brooks, A., (2001). *Gifts of the muse: Reframing the debate about the benefits of the arts*. Rand Corporation

McGrenere, J. and .Ho. W. (2000) *Affordances: Clarifying and evolving a concept'* pp.179--186.Methods. London: Sage Publications.

Mead, G. H., (1938) *The philosophy of the act*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Miles, J.A. (2012). *Management and organisation theory: a Jossey-Bass reader* (Vol. 9). John Wiley & Sons.

Miller, D. (2002) 'Turning Callon the right way up' *Economy and Society* 31 (2) 218–233

Mol, A. (1999) 'Ontological Politics, a word and some questions'. In Law, J. and Hassard, *ANT and After*. Whiley Blackwell,

Mol, A. (2002) *The Body Multiple: ontology in medical practice*, Durham, NC, Duke University Press

Morrison, A., Lynch, P. and Johns, N. (2004) 'International tourism networks'. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, *16*(3), pp.197-202.

Muniesa, F. (2014) *The provoked economy: Economic reality and the performative turn*. Routledge.

Nimmo, R. (2011) 'Actor-network theory and methodology : social research in a more-than-human world'. *Methodological Innovations Online*, *6*(3), pp.108-119

Norman, D.A. (1999). 'Affordance, conventions, and design'. *Interactions*, *6*(3), pp.38-43.

Norman, D. (2004) 'Affordances and design'. *Unpublished article, available online at: http://www. and. org/dn. mss/affordances-and-design. html*.

North, D.C. (1977) 'Markets and other allocation systems in history: the challenge of Karl Polanyi'. *Journal of European Economic History*, *6*(3), p.703.

O'Brien, D. (2010) *Measuring the value of culture: a report to the Department for Culture Media and Sport* Arts and Humanities Research Council

O'Sullivan, D. (1999) 'Gender Equity as Policy Paradigm in the Irish Educational Policy Process'. *The Economic and Social Review*, 30(3), 309–336.

Orlikowski, W.J. (1992) 'The duality of technology: Rethinking the concept of technology in organisations'. *Organisation science*, *3*(3), pp.398-427.

Orlikowski, W.J. (1996) 'Improvising organisational transformation over time: a situated change perspective.' *Information Systems Research.* 7,1, 63-92

Orlikowski, W.J. (2002). ‘Knowing in practice: Enacting a collective capability in distributed organizing’. *Organisation science*, *13*(3), pp.249-273.

Orlikowski, W.J. (2007). ‘Sociomaterial practices: Exploring technology at work’. *Organisation studies*, *28*(9), pp.1435-1448.

Orlikowski, W.J. (2010). ‘Engaging Practice in Research: Phenomenon, Perspective, and Philosophy.’ in Damon Golsorkhi, Linda Rouleau, David Seidl, and Eero Vaara (eds.) *The Cambridge Handbook on Strategy as Practice.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 23-33

Overdevest, C. (2011) 'Towards a more pragmatic sociology of markets'. *Theory and Society,* 40 (5), pp.533--552.

.

Peirce, C.S. (1905) 'What pragmatism is'. *The Monist*.

Pickering, A. (1995) *The Mangle of Practice: Time, Agency and Science*. University of Chicago Press.

Pinch, T. and Bijsterveld, K. (2004). ‘Sound Studies: New Technologies and Music’. *Social Studies of Science*, 34(5), pp.635–648.

Pollock, N. and Williams, R. (2010). ‘The business of expectations: How promissory organisations shape technology & innovation’. *Social Studies of Science*. May

Reckwitz, A. (2002). ‘Toward a Theory of Social Practices: A Development in Culturalist Theorizing’. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 5:2:243-263.

Rinallo, D. and Golfetto, F. (2006) 'Representing markets: The shaping of fashion trends by French and Italian fabric companies'. *Industrial Marketing Management,* 35 (7), pp.856--869.

Roscoe , P (2013a) , ‘Constructing the retail investor : performativity and power in the market for investment services’ *Paper presented at 38th Annual Macromarketing Conference , Toronto , Canada , 4/06/13 - 7/06/13*

Roscoe, P. (2013b) ‘Economic embeddedness and materiality in a financial market setting’ *The Sociological Review* . 61 (1) pp. 41-68

Roscoe, P. (2013c).’ On the possibility of organ markets and the performativity of economics.’ *Journal of Cultural Economy*, *6*(4), 386-401.

Ruiz, C.A.D. (2013). ‘Assembling market representations’. *Marketing Theory*, p.1470593113487744.

Sasson, A. (2008) ‘Exploring Mediators: Effects of the Composition of Organisational Affiliation on Organisation Survival and Mediator Performance’. *Organisation Science,* 19 (6), pp.891--906.

Schatzki, T.R., (1997).' Practices and actions a Wittgensteinian critique of Bourdieu and Giddens'. *Philosophy of the social sciences*, *27*(3), pp.283-308.

Schatzki, T.R. (2001). 'Practice mind-ed orders'. *The practice turn in contemporary theory*, *11*.

Schatzki, T. (2005). 'The Sites of Organisations,' *Organisation Studies,* 26, 3:465-484.

Scollen, R. (1999) 'Talking theatre is more than a test drive. Two Audience Development methodologies under review'. International Journal of Arts Management 12(2) pp4-13

Scott, C. (2009) 'Exploring the evidence base for museum value' *Museum Management and Curatorship* 24(3) 195-212

Scottish Government (2015) 'People, culture and heritage in Scotland.' Scottish Government Publication January 2015

Shove, E. & Araujo, L., 2010. 'Consumption, materiality, and markets'. In Araujo, L., Finch, J. & Kjellberg, H., 2010. *Reconnecting marketing to markets*, Oxford

Shove, E. and Pantzar, M., 2005. Consumers, Producers and Practices Understanding the invention and reinvention of Nordic walking. *Journal of consumer culture*, *5*(1), pp.43-64.

Simpson, B. (2010) ‘Pragmatism, Mead and the Practice Turn’. *Organisation Studies,* 30 (12), pp.1329--1347.

Slater, D. (2002) ‘From calculation to alienation: disentangling economic abstractions’. *Economy and Society* 31 (2) pp 234-249

Star, S. and Griesemer, J. (1989). ‘Institutional Ecology, 'Translations' and Boundary Objects: Amateurs and Professionals in Berkeley's Museum of Vertebrate Zoology’, 1907-39’. Social Studies of Science 19 (3): 387–42

Suchman, L. (1987) *Plans and situated actions: the problem of human-machine communication.* Cambridge Cambridgeshire ; New York : Cambridge University Press

Suchman, L. (2005) ‘Affiliative Objects’. *Organisation,* 12 (3) pp.379--399.

Suchman, L., Trigg. R. and Blomberg, J. (2002) ‘Working artefacts: ethnomethods of the prototype’. *The British Journal of Sociology,* 53 (2), pp.163--179.

Svabo, C. (2009) 'Materiality in a practice-based approach'. The *Learning Organisation.* 16 (5), pp.360--370.

Tanaka, A. (2010) ‘Mapping Out Instruments , Affordances , and Mobiles’. *Nime*, pp.15--18.

Uzzi, B. (1996) ‘The sources and consequences of embeddedness for the economic performance of organisations: The network effect’. *American sociological review,* pp.674--

698.

Uzzi, B. (1997). 'Social Structure and Competition in Interfirm Networks: The Paradox of Embeddedness.' *Administrative Science Quarterly* March, 42:35-67

Van de Ven, A.H (2007) *Engaged scholarship: a guide for organisational and social research.* Oxford

Van de Ven A.H. & Poole M.S. (1995). 'Explaining development and change in organisations'. *Academy of Management Review* 20(3): 510-540.

Venkatesh, A. (2006) 'Arts and aesthetics: Marketing and cultural production' *Marketing Theory* 6 (1) pp.11-39

Venkatesh, A, and Penaloza, L. (2006) 'From marketing to the market a call for a paradigm shift' in JN Sheth and RS Sisodia (eds) *Does Marketing Need Reform, Fresh perspectives on the future,* Armonk NY, pp134-150

Verbeek, P. (2005). 'Artefacts and Attachment. A Post-Script Philosophy of Mediation'. In *Inside the Politics of Technology*, edited by H. Harbers. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press

Vollmer, H., Mennicken, A. and. Preda, A. (2009). 'Tracking the numbers: Across accounting and finance, organisations and markets'. *Accounting, Organisations and Society,* 34 (5), pp.619--637.

Walmsley. BA (2011) 'Why people go to the theatre : a qualitative study of audience motivation.' *Journal of Customer Behaviour* 10 (4) pp. 335-341

Watters J.K. and Biernacki, P. (1989) 'Targeted sampling: Options and considerations for the study of hidden populations.' *Social Problems*. 36:416–43

Whittington, R. (2006) 'Completing the practice turn in strategy research'. *Organisation Studies,* 27 (5), pp.613

Yin, R.K., (2013). *Case study research: Design and methods*. Sage publications.

Zwick, D. and Cayla, J. (2011). *Inside marketing: Practices, ideologies, devices*. Oxford University Press.

APPENDIX 1 GUCM PERFORMANCE DETAILS

Description of location	Set up of visit
Arts Centre City Centre council run arts centre - recently converted and developed. Glass fronted with large window space.	Visit 1 – "First Thursday" exhibition night, with the opening of a number of different installations and art shows. The musicians are playing in the arts centre on an evening when a number of exhibitions are taking place across different parts of the venue. The musicians are placed close to the entrance, which also acts as the central lobby
	Visit 2 – Celtic Music Day for Families. (Saturday afternoon). Here the musicians were placed in the foyer close to a glass window facing the main street and played their own selection of Celtic music. We had two groups of musicians at this performance: a harpist and clarsach (small harp) player, and a traditional Celtic four-piece. All of the musicians were female and in their late teens/early twenties, and were recruited from the University of Strathclyde Applied Music course.
Shopping Centre 1 a newly built "stunning undercover, architecturally inspired space with other 100 upscale stores and high street staples" based in the south side of Glasgow. Featured across one level with wide bright open spaces within the centre. (Sunday afternoon, March 2009)	This performance consisted of a saxophonist and a keyboard player, playing on a Sunday afternoon in a busy middle-end shopping centre in South Glasgow. The musicians were placed near one of the main entrances of the centre, outside NEXT. We had arranged for a saxophone quartet to perform but as we arrived at the venue a saxophonist and a keyboardist also. The musicians interacted with passing audiences, at one point playing a request of 'Happy Birthday' to a group of shoppers. The acoustics of the building meant that the music could be heard across the whole of that end of the centre. We recorded some of the music performed using an mp3 recorder.
Shopping Centre 2 an older indoor shopping centre in the East End of Glasgow, close to several areas of deprivation, and near to the developing Commonwealth Games 2014 site. The centre is over 40,000 square feet and seventy shops, a cinema, restaurants and family entertainment available. The centre is across two floors and has a glass roof which gives it a great deal of light.	Visit 1 - This performance followed the Shopping Centre 1 performance, with the same musicians. We set up a performance outside the cinema in this small mainly discount shopping centre in the east end of Glasgow. The performance coincided with the cinema's 'glitzy premiere' of Sex and The City 2, where employees of the shopping centre were invited to a red carpet first showing of the popular film. The cinema is at the top of level one, close to a car park but away from the majority of the shops. The performances were arranged to take place around 3pm on a Sunday afternoon.
	Visit 2 - On this occasion the musicians were placed outside Primark, near the main entrance and one of the main travelling spaces within the centre. The musicians participating were a traditional celtic duo and a trio (all female), who played separately for thirty minutes. As we reached the end of the allotted time, the two groups combine and begin to play several pieces together
Day Hospital A newly build in the North end of Glasgow, which hosts various clinics and surgeries. This newly built area has a very modern feel, with lots of open place spaces across three levels, a small café. A number of day clinics were taking place at the time we visited. The building was full of huge windows and excellent acoustics, allowing lots of light to flood into the hospital, and for sound to travel across the building	The performance was on a Monday morning and consisted of two male saxophonists playing contemporary jazz and a female violinist playing traditional Celtic music. The musicians performed in different spaces located throughout the hospital, including a saxophonist on the top floor (the design of the building allowed the sound to travel throughout the building) and the violinist next to the coffee shop on the ground floor entrance to the hospital.

APPENDIX 2 PHOTOGRAPHS FROM MUSIC PERFORMANCES

Music performance in Shopping Centre 1

Music Performance in Shopping Centre 2

Music Performance in Window (visit to Arts Centre 1

Music Performance in Shopping Centre 2 (Sex and The City 2 Premiere)

APPENDIX 3 AMAZING AUDIENCES –TECHNOLOGIES USED

Technologies used by Amazing Audiences to deliver Audience Development

Technology	Type	Purpose	Main Role
Vital Statistics	Software	Data extraction	Analysis
Excel	Software to analyse and organise data, calculations	Used to analyse data and create findings	Analysis –
MapPoint	Data tool	Online map tool used to show drive distances around venues	Analysis
MOSAIC	Consumer profiling tool based on postcode data	Used to segment audience due to demographics	Analysis – market device which organises, sorts things out, hidden algorithm, if you change this it changes the map
Blogpost	Blogging software	Social media communications tool linked to website	Communications
Intellicontact list management	Email list software	Used to communicate newsletter and events with members, clients and interested parties	Communications
Tweetdeck	Online social media orgaanisation tool	Used to organise social media feeds and lists	organisation
iCalendar	Online calendar	Colour coded, used to show all staff meetings/appointments and locations	organisation
Eventbrite	Online events management programme	Online booking system for events	organisation
Interactive PDFs	Online document	Allows user to click into live weblinks	Delivery
Powerpoint	Presentation software	To present findings	Delivery
SNAP	Data analysis software	Project/client evaluation	Delivery
Doodle	Online web calendar	Used to arrange staff/board/client meetings	Delivery
Written reports with branded. Standardised formats			

APPENDIX 4: AUDIENCE DEVELOPMENT: QUALITATIVE MEASURES OF SUCCESS

Qualitative measures of impact	Measures of Success	Constraints
Digi-Arts	Monthly pro-forma delivered to stakeholders Seeing arts organisations changing, moving from a point of fear to become confident, innovative users with critical mass has built Collective knowledge, resources and case studies shared Development of core set of skills Workshops can run to meet public demand *The right people were here, we need to jump in quickly and target the right people to make this work*	Lack of resources to continue development Must not be seen to waste public money There were cases where companies went out of business or ran out of money half way through Sharing resources to develop-smaller versions of ideas
Amazing Audiences	AGM, Annual Report, three-monthly board meetings Audience access, engagement, participation and attendance are key priorities Harness knowledge base and maximise opportunity for service delivery, work in collaboration with the rest of Scotland and in conjunction with our colleagues south of the border. Need to constantly innovate and respond and to cross market to different audiences. Be aware of trends such as Groupon, mystery bags and innovative pricing structures in order to improve opportunities within the recession. ”	“difficult to keep ahead of the trends when there is no comparison “we have moved away from the term “Audience Development” as no one really knows what it means, we prefer cultural engagement. Scotland has been relatively protected, unscatched in budget cuts,local authorities have made recent cuts of around 20% in the arts which is starting to be reflected in other programmes “*We need to up our game, but we don’t have the core staff to it this…. We need to know what’s outside and how do we draw on it? We don’t want to get too far ahead of the Marketplace*.” There is a need to remember that Arts organisations are selling ‘the great art’ and must respond to visitors and other opportunities. Difficult to find the difference in the market place, same mistakes being made, arts organisations often too close. .
GUCM	Regular updates to UNESCO Successful music experiments	Being able to use test cases to demonstrate success when entering the market.