

## Research Article

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# Institutional Logics as orchestras' strategic dilemma

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**Abstract:** In many societies, professional orchestras serve cultural, educational, entertaining, and economic functions, and they aim high: they aim to be artistically excellent. Pursuing partly cultural, social and economic goals, orchestras are exposed simultaneously to respective institutional logics. These logics provide a framework for relevant actors (state, benefactors, audiences) to support orchestras. Changing logics coupled with drastic changes in audiences afford to classical orchestras the challenge of developing strategies in order to survive. While Germany with its high number of orchestras per habitants experiences particularly high pressure to walk new paths, strategic development will become a more urgent topic in other countries as well since each performance begs for recognition in the big and increasing panoply of culture, education, and entertainment. Based on historical developments and an empirical study of German audiences we discuss two directions for strategic development, here for orchestras in Germany: a) the combination of elements from different logics, and b) the development of audiences.

**Keywords:** orchestra; strategic management; institutional logic; representation; entertainment; contemplation; purism

## 1 Introduction

Like in any organisational field, actors in the field of classical music (such as developers, performers, listeners, commercialisers, funding bodies) interact on the basis of values and beliefs, thereby (re)producing *institutions*.

Eras might be characterized by different ideas of what classical music performed by orchestras is good for and what constitutes a good performance etc. Common and consistent values and beliefs form an institutional logic that is an important guideline for actions and interpretations.

Next to institutions, a second important condition for orchestras is the *lack of replenishment in audience*: audiences are shrinking in size and increasing in age, with few new entrants.

Thus, orchestras feel the impact of two important developments: change of institutional logic and lack of replenishment of audience.

Therefore, the aim of this article is to analyse these impacts and develop suggestions for strategic development. The research questions are:

- How can orchestras develop a strategy to attract audience?
- How can orchestras develop an audience for their strategy?

The article proceeds as follows: Chapter 2 introduces institutional logics. Chapter 3 gives a brief account of history, followed by a description of classical orchestras and their development in Germany (chapter 4). Chapter 5 characterises key institutional logics relevant for professional orchestras. Chapter 6 describes various stakeholder views and discusses options for strategic development. We conclude with a summary and a critical reflection.

## 2 Institutional logics

Scott (1987, 496) defines institutions as „a shared definition of social reality—a conception whose validity is seen as independent of the actor's own views or actions but is taken for granted as defining the “way things are” and/or the “way things are to be done.” The term institutional logic was introduced by Friedland and Alford (1991) when they claim to (re)introduce society into organizations' analysis: the way, things are to be done are deeply

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influenced by context. For them an institutional logic is a set of principles and beliefs that provide guidelines for interpretation, acting, and justifying. Compliance with a logic means that behavior is expectation-oriented rather than outcome-oriented: conventions may supersede preferences; practices reproduce and strengthen logics. Institutional logics provide the context and legitimization for practices, yet, a logic is not unrivalled, rather, multiple logics may reign and thus, behavior of organizations will vary (Powell et al 2010).

Furthermore, institutional arrangements (that follow a certain logic) that at one time are conducive to gaining support (and resources) might become inefficient in a changing environment where other arrangements provide better solutions (Seo & Creed 2002, 227). Logics develop over time, they may complement each other or compete, be old or emergent, gain strength or disappear.

However, if orchestras – in addition to being exposed to the dominant logic of the time as expressed in audiences' expectations and evaluation criteria – have a self-concept of provoking, of surprising and going against the grain orchestras themselves might pursue institutional entrepreneurship. Thus, gaining legitimacy may include NOT behaving according to expectations of the different stakeholders, including the artistic direction.

Glynn and Lounsbury (2005) identify a logic of aesthetics focused on artistry and a market logic with a prominent profit motive as relevant for the symphony orchestra field. These categories provide a framework for emphasising opposing poles of orchestras' institutional logics, yet, they do not explain discrepancies between orchestras' and audiences' expectations and the presence of a multitude of institutional logics. Following the ontology of orchestras in Germany we identify four logics.

### 3 A brief look into history

Orchestras are organized ensembles of musicians playing various instruments together.

Producing and performing music for an audience goes back thousands of years. Here, we point out four important aspects: the transition from court to market, the emergence of practices to keep the audience interested, the impact of technology and the importance of place.

#### The roots of orchestras at court

The phenomenon of orchestras looks back on a long history. One of the oldest still existing orchestra was founded in 1571 in Wolfenbüttel (Sievers 1995, 129ff.). It

moved with the court to Braunschweig and took part in this study. The social function was **representing** the power and “sophisticated taste” of the sovereign. The repertoire focused on music for events with cantatas for weddings or coronations, “Tafelmusik”, and early operas.

#### Into the market

By offering *Academies* (small concerts in private houses with entrance fee) Mozart needed to **entertain** the bourgeoisie. The rising economic power of this class opened a wide market for musicians during the late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century. Orchestral music left the secure room of state funding (court) and opened itself for a market. And this is a first important root of today's orchestra crisis. The market logic creates a spiral of growth: in order to ensure refunding, the size of concert halls grew larger and larger. Beethoven's symphonies had their premiere performance with less than 40 musicians and an audience of about 150 people. The audience was surprised and deeply impressed by the sound intensity of the spectacle. In our days a regular concert hall has capacities of around 1200 seats. In comparison to Beethoven's time an orchestra would need more than 300 musicians to create the same effect.

#### The extreme: Monumentalism, virtuosity and programmatic music

To keep up the fascination of music in enlarging venues the composers of the 19<sup>th</sup> century used three approaches.

(1) Creating new sounds by interconnecting common instruments (for example flute and clarinet as a “third instrument” by Franz Schubert) was just the beginning of a tremendous increase of introducing new instruments (saxophone, ophicleide, tuba, and various percussions). This development led to Hector Berlioz's code of instrumentation-practise<sup>1</sup> and his respective compositions, or Gustav Mahler's 8<sup>th</sup> symphony<sup>2</sup> as a climax.

(2) Virtuosity (Liszt, Paganini)

Here the skills of the soloist are key to the evaluation of the performance. The focus is not on an artificial virtuosity as in the early baroque (for example Vivaldi) but a more

<sup>1</sup> Berlioz, Hector. *Grand Traité d'instrumentation et d'orchestration moderne*. (1844)

<sup>2</sup> Symphony of a Thousand



Figure 1: Hector Berlioz (caricature from 1845)



Figure 3: Franz Liszt (caricature from 1842)

sportive virtuosity<sup>3</sup>. The orchestra solely has the role of accompaniment to create a coulisse for the soloist. The soloist could tour through Europe and cooperate with the local orchestras. Examples are Franz Liszt or Niccolò Paganini as well as Clara Schumann. In our days this type would be designated a show rather than a classical concert. Modern examples are Nigel Kennedy, Vanessa May or David Garret.

### (3) Programmatic music (& melodram)

A third approach is storytelling by music: Although programmatic music had been a part of the music scene before (for example Telemann's overtures, or symphonies by Haydn), the genre of Symphonic Poems became very



Figure 2: Gustav Mahler conducts his 1<sup>st</sup> Symphony (caricature from 1906)



Figure 4: Niccolò Paganini (caricature from 1831)

popular during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Landscapes were painted in music (Smetana: *Ma Vlast*), fairy tales transferred into orchestra sound (Grieg: *Landerkenning*) or exotic places were designed (Borodin: *В средней Азии* [In the Steppes of Central Asia]). In this context also the creation of national styles could be understood as amplified music in terms of programmatic music, for example by the *морская кучка* [The Mighty Handful], Scandinavian Music by Sibelius or Spanish Music by de Falla. An indicator for this trend is the (nowadays forgotten) genre Melodram. A narrator tells simultaneous to the ongoing music a story, which is illustrated by the music. The character and effect is like a soundtrack but film had not been invented then. (Poulenc: *L'Histoire de Babar*, Grieg: *Bergliot*, Humperdinck: *Königskinder*).

<sup>3</sup> „Don't be frightened, Mr Gould is here ...“ Speech by Leonard Bernstein at 6. April 1962 in Carnegie Hall to the audience. Recording by Sony Classical 1963 (SK 60675)

## Long playing record (LP)

The medial presence of classical music on radio and particularly on LPs after the 2<sup>nd</sup> world war changed the experience of the audience completely. Up to the introduction of LP technology, attending a live concert was the only way to get into contact with orchestral music. With the diffusion of LPs more and more people were able to listen to the same music repeatedly, thereby getting to know the main repertoire very well. The LP did not substitute the live performance, but provoked a very **contemplative** way of listening. Knowing each single note allows the audience to concentrate much more on details, on variations in interpretation and the accuracy of the performance. The A&R of Deutsche Gramophon with their dominant market position formed the musical taste of this period. Especially the perfectionist and technical freak Herbert von Karajan created a leading aesthetic via recordings which is still present today. A minor group of listeners takes to a **puristic** music reception. They are open for contemporary music or specialize on historically informed performance (HIP). Bach performed by a modern orchestra is in their view unacceptable. This special group had as early adaptors great influence on the success of digital recording technology and Compact Disc in the early 90<sup>th</sup> (Hansen 2002).

## Extraordinary places

Orchestras in Europe are predominantly funded by the state. But also in other countries the need of state support has been rising (Baumol & Bowen, 1967). In Germany the funding of classical music takes up the biggest part in the

state cultural budget. But while the interest in classical music is decreasing, some cities build new Concerts Halls, in spite of existing ones (for example Cologne and the Philharmony Concert Hall (built in 1986) in addition to the traditional Gürzenich Concert Hall). The following Table shows some examples of new Concert Halls during the last decades.

In creating these extraordinary places (Kirchberg 2009) for orchestral concerts politics (or donators in the USA) return in a way to a logic of representation as known from the times of the court's dominance. The architecture of these new locations is extravagant. Former concert halls are regularly orientated at the shoebox shape (Vienna Golden Hall of the Musikverein, Vienna Philharmonic) or at a kind of theatre-atmosphere like Carnegie Hall (Boss 2009). Finding individual solutions and new concepts like in Berlin with a more central stage, the Auditorio de Tenerife in form of a volcano, or the spectacular organ façade of Walt Disney Hall adds a special room experience to the musical performance, sometimes at the expenses of acoustics. The function of representation moves from music to the venue.

## 4 Situation of classical orchestras in Germany

The situation of Germany's orchestras is unique: In the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century 'Germany' consisted of many independent states that were unified in the German Empire and – after two world wars – became the Federal Republic of Germany, now consisting of 16 federal states (Bundesländer). Today's Bundesland Lower Saxony for

**Table 1:** Extraordinary places

City	Concert Hall	Opening Year	former Concert Hall
New York	Avery Fisher Hall	1962	Carnegie Hall
Berlin	Philharmonie	1963	Titania Palast (Provisory)
Leipzig	Gewandhaus	1981	Kongresshalle am Zoo (Provisory)
Cologne	Philharmonie	1986	Gürtzenich
Freiburg	Konzerthaus	1996	Stadthalle
Philadelphia	Kimmel Center	2001	Academy of Music
Dortmund	Konzerthaus	2002	Theater
Los Angeles	Walt Disney Concert Hall	2003	Dorothy Candler Pavilion
Santa Cruz	Auditorio de Tenerife	2003	--
Luxembourg	Philharmonie	2005	Radio Luxembourg
Hamburg	Elbphilharmonie	2016?	Laiszhalle

example is a merger of four sovereign states (Hannover, Braunschweig, Oldenburg und Schaumburg-Lippe) – each with its own orchestra. Thus it takes continuous support by government to keep up this orchestral landscape. Baumol and Bowen (1967) estimate that the gap between earned money and financial needs of live performance arts – including orchestras – will grow automatically.<sup>4</sup> The need of public transfer rises in consequence.

## From World War II to the 70s

After WWII traditional orchestras immediately took up their work. (Mehner 1995, 1188) Music was seen as apolitical and helping to create an atmosphere of normality. In both successional states, German Democratic Republic (DDR)<sup>5</sup> and Federal Republic of Germany (BRD)<sup>6</sup>, as early as 1945 new orchestras were founded, for example in connection with the new public broadcasting companies. In the first years in both states economic growth ensued. Therefore no discussion about state funding of culture took place. In DDR, classical culture – such as running various orchestras by the state – was supported without major financial constrictions until the reunion in 1989 1991?. A large number of ensembles were the cultural heritage of these politics.

## First crisis

In the BRD the first critical point was the economic downturn after the oil-shocks in 1973 and 1979 during which some orchestras were closed. At the same time a broad research-activity about the relationship of culture and economics started; the *Journal of Culture Economics* for instance was founded (1977). A large pool of macroeconomic knowledge about cultural effects was created.

## The 80s

The following period of respite was characterised by economic stability and continuous growth. More and more microeconomic research in the cultural field took place. Especially business-management practices as a means to achieve efficiency in arts administration ran into the focus.

<sup>4</sup> The mechanism is quiet simple: In most sectors, productivity and wages raise with technological progress. Even if this is not equally the case in the area of live performances, wages have to be increased nevertheless to the same extent to avoid pauperisation of musicians.

<sup>5</sup> DDR=Deutsche Demokratische Republik

<sup>6</sup> BRD=Bundesrepublik Deutschland

## Second crisis

The reunion of Germany fundamentally changed the economic situation. The DDR had run an enormous cultural infrastructure but had neglected the physical infrastructure such as streets, public buildings, communication channels etc.. Thus, even though an extra tax<sup>7</sup> was raised, a lot of institutions were cut back. Out of over 180 orchestras, 54 were suspended or merged with others.

## Third crisis

Increasingly, economic thinking is shaping cultural politics. Financial criteria become more important in negotiations between government and cultural institutions. The orchestras are working hard to enlarge the audience and they are successful: During one decade the number of sold tickets rose at about 20 %. However, in the same period the total number of concerts rose at 63 % (Heinen, 2013, 22). Thus, orchestras are more effective in reaching a bigger audience albeit with decreased efficiency. Orchestras are losing their political recourse.

## German audiences: shrinking, not changing

Audience Development becomes an important issue in daily work of orchestras. Some spectacular examples like “rhythm is it” by the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra gained a lot of media attention and provoked an extensive discussion about barriers associated with traditional concert formats. The audience gets “older, motley, less” (Dreyer 2009, 37).

In 2010, the authors conducted a survey of audience members (N=2.943) of seven orchestras<sup>8</sup> in northern Germany<sup>9</sup>. The study was edified as a replication study of a similar survey by the Knight Foundation (2001) with 15 US orchestras. However, while in the US the study shows a variety of types of music consumers, the German situation is quite different from that: In the North German study the audience was extremely homogeneous with regard to musical knowledge, general education level, social milieu, and expectations

<sup>7</sup> Solidaritätsbeitrag

<sup>8</sup> Staatsorchester Braunschweig, Göttinger Symphonieorchester, Staatsorchester Hannover, NDR Radiophilharmonie Hannover (Broadcasting), Lüneburger Sinfoniker, Oldenburgisches Staatsorchester und Osnabrücker Sinfoniker.

<sup>9</sup> For a more comprehensive description see Heinen (2013).



from orchestra concerts (listening for enjoyment).<sup>10</sup>

**Table 2:** Audiences' characteristics: Germany

	German study (2010)
Age: mean	66,2
Age: median	69
Education	at least "Abitur" (76,9%)
Social milieu	homogeneous
Musical knowledge	96,3 % "some" or "much"
Subscribers / single ticket buyer	72,2 % / 27,8 %
Concert-Visits per year (average)	11,7
Cultural activities per year (average)	21,8
Volunteer activities	30%

These results are alarming: The average age was 66,2 years, with a median of 69 years. (Heinen 2013).<sup>11</sup> As Hamann (2004) notes, the classical music audience grows older three times faster than society in total. This is alerting the classical music field.

Another critical point is the supposedly intellectual orientation of the existing audience: 76,9 % of the participants of the survey had a university-entrance diploma and 52,9 % an academic background, though in that generation the percentage of higher education was less than 10 %. The audience can be described as quite intellectual.<sup>12</sup> In his milieu-studies Schulze (1992) recognized that people visiting classical concerts form their own milieu (Niveaumillieu) which is homogeneous in political attitude, educational background, income, etc. (Schulze 1992, p. 143). The findings of Schulze recurred twenty years later: Instead of creating a segmentation of visitors analogue to the Knight-Study the data analyses lead to a completely different question: Why is the German audience still extremely homogeneous? What are the barriers for all other – especially for younger – audiences? One answer seems to be the very different history of orchestras in Germany in comparison to the US orchestras. Both systems are working in different institutional logics.

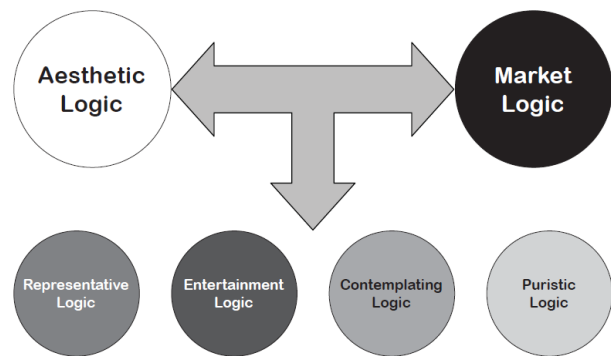
## 5 Institutional logics relevant for classical orchestras

Looking at the historic development, we propose that four major institutional logics can be identified: The *Representative Logic* derives from the primal function of orchestras at the courts of Europe. The creation of conspicuous concert halls as extraordinary places for performances is an indicator that this logic still is active.

The kick Mozart got by his bishop (Henneberg 1992) threw him from the court into the market. The bourgeoisie looked for *Entertainment*, which became the aesthetic currency in the market. There are plenty of examples that this currency is still valid today.

The possibility of recording and distribution of music into individual households caused a tremendous change in the way of listening. Audiences know the main repertoire very well and are not expecting to hear something new but enjoy the familiar sound. This leads to the *Contemplating Logic* in concert live.

The possibility to concern oneself with classical music at home and get deeper into the material by listening to recordings or reading about composers and their music<sup>13</sup> leads to a *Puristic Logic* which opens various niches in the orchestra market.



**Figure 5:** Institutional logics of German orchestras

## 6 Strategic developments

An orchestra's key stakeholders are the audience as the basis for legitimization of orchestras work, the conductor as strategic manager who takes the responsibility for the repertoire presented by the orchestra, and the government as a major funding body, however, other stakeholders such

<sup>10</sup> Some categories as racial/ethnic background had no relevance in the German audience.

<sup>11</sup> The *League of American Orchestras* found in their „Audience Demographic Research Review December 10, 2009“ the same alarming results: The average age of cultural visitors is rising faster than the average age of society in total (p. 17)

<sup>12</sup> See also Adorno (1968)

<sup>13</sup> The roman-biography Franz Schubert's by Peter Härtling for example was a bestseller.

Table 3: Four institutional logics in the field of orchestra

	Representative Logic	Entertainment Logic	Contemplating Logic	Puristic Logic
pursuers	Politics Conductors Boulevard	Politics Management Sponsors	Audience Record companies	Musicians Critics
emergence (time)	17 <sup>th</sup> century	late 18 <sup>th</sup> century & 19 <sup>th</sup> century	early 20 <sup>th</sup> century	late 20 <sup>th</sup> century
audience	conspicuous	MOR easy listening	traditional	specialized
performance	elaborate setting	moderation unusual places	quiet enjoyment	smaller locations fine acoustic
motive	attention	profit (market)	artistry	authenticity
examples	World Premiers Festivals Baden-Baden	Last night of ... New Year Concert Picnic Concertos André Rieu	subscription Classic/ romantic repertoire	Contemporary Music HIP
share	elites	popular	backbone	niche

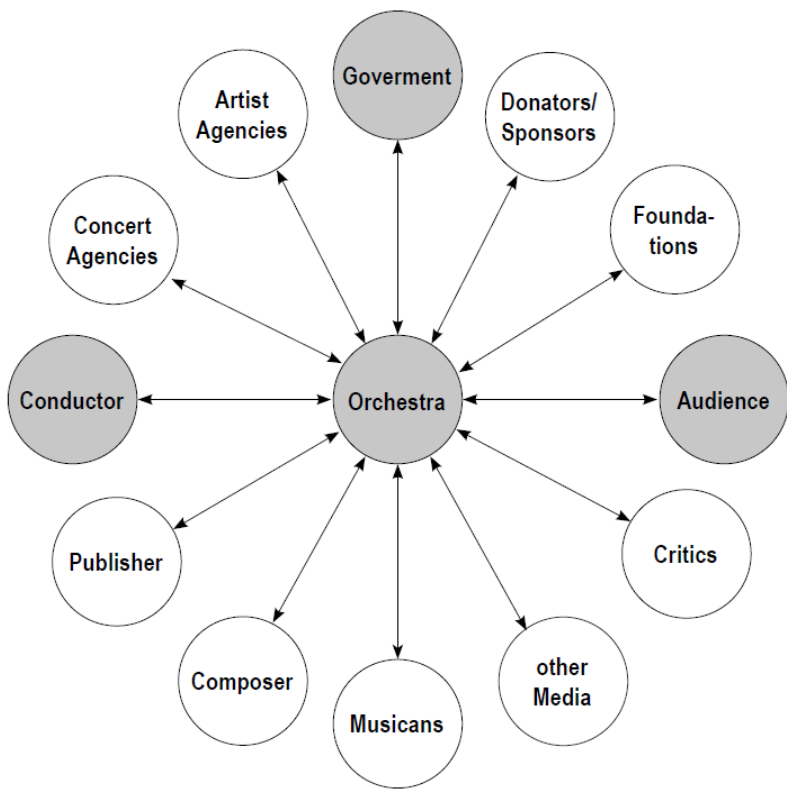


Figure 6: Stakeholders of an orchestra

as critics (Glynn & Lounsbury 2005) or media may have also substantial influence on the strategic orientation.

## Audience

A common way to segment potential users of free time activities is to break up age groups. For this study, the simplest model with three segments was chosen:

(1) Young people are those potential visitors, who are still in an education process. That means, it is not a particular age but the end of a socialization process. Especially the accumulation of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1982), necessary for the contemplating logic needs time and experience. Specializing in a purist niche may help to separate from parents, but this seems not to be a common path. The logic of representation does not work for young people: Classical music in their generation is not very popular.<sup>14</sup> To get the attention of their relevant reference groups, visiting classical programs is not helpful. Therefore it is not surprising that this group represents only 1,9 % of the total audience in regular subscription concerts. With the example of BBC-Proms, Kolb (1998) demonstrates the importance of the “fun-factor” (= entertainment logic) for younger audiences. This seems to be the major key for capturing a new audience, which might grow into the regular concert live over time.

(2) Medium aged people are in a period of live in which they work on their career and build up their own family. They have the smallest time-budget and pick out only single concerts or events but do not subscribe to the regular program. 24,9 % of the audience are in a regular working process.

(3) Older (retired) people generate the main part (68,5 %) of the audience. Through their long time dealing with orchestra music they have a large experience with this music. 53,6 % declared in our survey that they have “some” knowledge about classical music, 42,7 % stated that they know “very much” about. So 96,3 % have a more or less

extensive background of knowledge for music reception. And they want to develop their basis: In total 98,4 % quote that they want to learn more or even much more about classical music. But the concert itself is taboo: Neither should the orchestra play more popular music, nor should the concerts be shortened in time. Furthermore, it is not very popular in this audience if the conductor talks to the audience and explain the music. Asking the existing audience if they have visited a festival-concert during the last twelve month 62 % deny, 14 % had visit more than one.

They also use the concerts as a social event – meeting friends and talking about the music experience. 94,4 % have relatives or close friends who share the interest in classical concerts. Their deep connection with the orchestra (Heinen 2013, 66) and the unwritten laws of individual behavior in concerts (Hope 2009) build a high barrier for new audiences getting into the traditional concerts. On the other hand experimental formats with populist tendencies preclude an Contemplating Logic and provoke a sniffy way of listening.

## Conductors

The conductors have the major influence on the programmes of the orchestras. Usually they keep the last decision on the repertoire, though usually the dramaturgy, the soloist and the management are involved in the decision process. Therefore, a glance at the situation and needs of conductors, especially of chief conductors (GMD) is necessary in this context.

The regular contracts for chief conductors in Germany are limited to five years, of course with the option of extension. They need to be at least 15 years at the same orchestra to get tenure. Politics and management avoid tenured contracts so each conductor has to monitor the market of occupied and vacant positions. To manoeuvre themselves into a promising position, conductors have to serve the decision makers' logic.

**Table 4:** Audience groups & institutional logics

Audience groups	Representative Logic	Entertainment Logic	Contemplating Logic	Puristic Logic
younger	<i>No interest</i>	Cross-over-Concerts	<i>Not enough cultural capital</i>	<i>Not enough cultural capital</i>
medium	World Premiers	Prom-Concerts Stars <sup>15</sup> Festivals	<i>Job and family as barrier (time)</i>	avant-garde Concerts
older	Reference performances <sup>16</sup>	<i>Sniffy listening</i>	“Standard Concert”	HIP Concerts

<sup>15</sup> Like Garret, May, Kennedy, Pavarotti etc.

<sup>16</sup> With a complete different kind of stars like Argerich, Brendel, Perlman, Mutter, etc. as soloists

<sup>14</sup> statistical data are available on [www.miz.org](http://www.miz.org)



To get the necessary attention the aesthetic logic promises success: the media focus on World Premiers (Representative Logic) or “archaeological excavation” of lost repertoire which both open the market of broadcasting recordings or CD production. Another strategy is the specialisation in avant-garde music or HIP to distinguish from mainstream (Porter’s niche-strategy (Porter 1980)). The “stars” in the scene with a label-contract and position at world primary orchestras can be seen as reference-points in the market (Porter’s quality-strategy).

In order not to lose the established audience and to keep the box-office results on a high level conductors also follow the market strategies by offering the traditional subscription concert, but they try to introduce representative logic.<sup>17</sup> Under the aspect of audience development the field of entertainment logic has a considerable increase.

<sup>17</sup> See Knackstedt 2009

## Government

Politicians look at orchestras’ activities mainly from two perspectives. Firstly, they have a close look at the economic impact. Because of the extremely high amount of taxpayers’ money which is needed to run the orchestras, politicians need arguments for spending public money. They define the mission, which used to be the conservation of the cultural heritage. But to legitimate the funding they ask orchestras for educational programs, enlarging audiences, reducing costs and getting more “earned money”. These goals support the entertainment logic, because this is for orchestras the easiest way to improve on key criteria. The effect has been described before: 63 % more concerts to get 20 % more visitors. This is an inefficient strategy.

Secondly, politicians adhere to the representative logic. As mass-media report they give politicians a platform to raise their own publicity. Sitting in the first row or even addressing the audience helps to build their reputation. Neither in the contemplating logic of subscription concerts nor in the highly specialised field

**Table 5:** Stakeholders’ main institutional logics

Stakeholder	Main Logic	Examples / Comments
Government	Representative Logic	self-marketing
	Entertainment Logic	pressure to create “good” data
Benefactors / Sponsors	Representative Logic	marketing
	Entertainment Logic	
Foundations	Representative Logic	Support world premiers
	Purist Logic	Enthusiastic requirement
Audience	Representative Logic	(see above)
	Entertainment Logic	
	Contemplating Logic	
	Purist Logic	
Critics	Representative Logic	To get attention in national press orchestras have to create a program alongside main-stream by doing world premiers or highly specialized performances.
	Purist Logic	
Media	Representative Logic	Media reports focus on the event itself. A red carpet with VIP-guests (Festspielhaus
	Entertainment Logic	Baden-Baden) or festivals in a strange locations are strategies to catch their interest.
Members of orchestra		Individual activities in different fields.
Composers	Representative Logic	World premiers and contemporary music
	Purist Logic	
Publisher	Representative Logic	The publisher forces the orchestras to play contemporary music in order to get attention
	Purist Logic	for their composers. Another relevant market are HIP for critical editions of historic music.
Conductor	Representative Logic	see above
	Entertainment Logic	
	Purist Logic	
Concert Agencies	Contemplating Logic	Agencies buy single programs of orchestras and arrange a season in places where no orchestra exist. They take the commercial risk and focus on traditional audience as a secure basis.
Artists’ Agencies	Representative Logic	Depending on the musicians who are under contract.
	Entertainment Logic	
	Contemplating Logic	
	Purist Logic	

of purist logic is a place for self-marketing – the audience would not accept such behaviour.

## Other Stakeholders

Although the key-stakeholders have major influence on orchestras' strategic decisions other groups should not be neglected. The table above summarizes the main logics of each stakeholder and gives examples. Stakeholders may follow different logics at the same time as shown with the audience.

Orchestras with limited time, restricted budget and certain competences and preferences that are expressed in a particular profile face different stakeholders' expectations (becoming manifest in an institutional logic) and a shrinking audience.

The strategic dilemma of orchestras is illustrated in Table 3. The greater part of the audience follows the contemplating logic. No orchestra can risk losing this backbone. However, demographic changes force orchestras to be open for the entertainment logic and political reasons may require elements of the representative logic. Only the puristic logic seems not to be important for mainstream orchestras as this logic is expressed in niches served by special ensembles such as Ensemble Modern (Frankfurt) or Ensemble Resonance (Hamburg) on the one hand and the Historic Ensembles like Hanover Band, Concentus Musicus or academy of ancient music on the other hand.

The combination of two logics in the same concert leads to a typical "sandwich-programme" starting with a classical overture followed by a modern piece of music and after the break follows a classical or romantic symphony to reconcile the audience: Neither fish nor fowl. Only orchestras which are not involved in opera production can afford to create separate programs in different logics, for example Broadcasting Orchestra Hannover (NDR Radiophilharmonie).

To fill concert halls with audience the orchestras will have to build bridges into the contemplating logic. Loosing this backbone would mean a fragmented audience and a reduction of repertoire. The contemplating logic helps orchestras to play with limited resources in large venues and get therefore better revenues instead of serve all logics at the same time.

## 7 Summary and critical reflection

Orchestras in Germany range in a field of four major organisational logics. To satisfy the different

stakeholders at least three logics have to be supported. The representative logic is necessary to get attention by national media, sponsors and it is a strong force to keep government's support. The artistic management – e.g. the chief conductor – supports with regard to his own career this logic, too.

A new audience can be created by the entertainment logic. With the lowest barriers it is the easiest way to enter the classical concert system. Indepth knowledge is not necessary and the atmosphere is unceremonious. The danger of typical "mistakes" like applauding at the wrong time is not given.

The contemplative logic is the approved method to keep the existing audience's loyalty. And at the same time contemplative listening enables to play classical repertoire (Mozart, Hadyn, Beethoven) with a small orchestra in "to large" venues (see chapter 2), because this audience is adapted to avoid every ambient noise.

Only the purist logic is a boundary area. It is the extraneous characteristic of contemplative listening and can only on rare occasions be served by traditional orchestras.

The main contradiction concerning audience development is between entertaining and contemplative logic. A lesson could be drawn from looking back: The repertoire used in the contemplative logic was created for entertainment. The settings were different, the programmatic structure of "academies" were much more diversified. But the music was the same. So looking for more informal formats with the core repertoire could build a bridge into existing audience.

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