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The manuscript of consumption

illustrating consumption patterns in five acts

Master thesis in Marketing, D-level

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Foreword

This master thesis was written at Gothenburg University during the spring semester of 2010.

We would like to express our appreciation to the Gothenburg Opera and Folkteatern for allowing us to perform the observations at their locations as well as helping us with valuable input. In addition, we would also like to thank the six interviewees for sharing their information with us.

Continuing, we would also to thank Centrum för konsumtionsvetenskap at Gothenburg University, Sveriges Tekniska Forskningsinsitut and Chalmers for their valuable part and cooperation in this project.

Finally, a special thanks to our tutor Ulrika Holmberg as well as Lena Hansson who supported us throughout the process and provided us with helpful knowledge and insights.

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Summary

Title: The manuscript of consumption

Subtitle: illustrating consumption patterns in five acts

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Date: June 2010

Key words: cultural consumption, sustainable consumption, practice theory, consumption patterns, ethnography

Purpose: The purpose of this report is to study how consumption of theatre and opera gives rise to other material and immaterial consumption and to illustrate these consumption patterns.

Background: The cultural board and the environmental board of Västra Götalandsregionen are at the time this report is written, drawing up a strategy regarding environmentally matters. This report is part of that project together with a Life Cycle Assessment conducted by Chalmers. One of the issues this project discusses is the sustainable aspect of cultural consumption and whether services should be promoted as sustainable consumption. From a consumer perspective, assuming that consumptions are connected, it is not sufficient to solely calculate the environmental effects of a theatre or opera visit alone. It is necessary to consider the whole perspective and impact of the visit, which includes both material and immaterial consumption, such as food and transportation.

Method: The approach of this report is deductive and we used a practice perspective in order to understand the data collected. We conducted an ethnographic study, performing two observations at the Gothenburg Opera and one at Folkteatern as well as carrying out a total of six interviews at the two locations.

Conclusion: This study illustrates different consumption patterns for our interviewees, showing that the interviewees with the highest degree of theatre and opera consumption also had consumption patterns related to the visit. In terms of patterns, we identified seven themes namely; age class and gender, profession, amount of spare time, social relations, emotion, materialization of the experience and music interest. From an environmental perspective our findings highlight that it is important to consider consumption outside of the theatre and opera as well, not just from an organizational perspective.

Sammanfattning

Rubrik: The manuscript of consumption

Underrubrik: en illustrering av konsumtionsmönster i fem akter

Författare: Gabriella Lundgren

Karin Svensson

Handledare: Ulrika Holmberg

Datum: Juni 2010

Nyckelord: kulturkonsumtion, hållbar konsumtion, practice theory, konsumtionsmönster, etnografi

Syfte: Syftet med uppsatsen är att undersöka hur teater- och operakonsumtion ger upphov till annan materiell och immateriell konsumtion och att illustrera dessa konsumtionsmönster.

Background: Västra Götalandsregionens kultur- och miljönämnd arbetar med att lägga upp strategier rörande miljön. Denna uppsats är en del av projektet tillsammans med den livscykelanalys som genomförts på Chalmers. En av anledningarna till projektet är att undersöka de hållbara aspekterna av kulturkonsumtion och om dessa tjänster ska bli marknadsförda som hållbar konsumtion. Från ett kundperspektiv, med antagandet att teater- och operakonsumtion är relaterad till annan konsumtion, är det inte tillräckligt att enbart räkna på miljöpåverkan från teater och opera. Det är även viktigt att se det från ett helhetsperspektiv, vilket innefattar både materiell och immateriell konsumtion såsom mat och transport.

Metod: Uppsatsen är deduktiv och är skriven ur ett praktikperspektiv för att lättare förstå insamlad data. Vi genomförde en etnografisk studie, då vi utförde två observationer på Göteborgsoperan och en på Folkteatern, tillsammans med sex respondenter med besökare från de båda platserna.

Slutsats: Studien illustrerar olika konsumtionsmönster för våra respondenter, vilket visade att de intervjupersoner som konsumerar mest opera och teater även visade på konsumtionsmönster i relation till besöken. Angående mönster identifierade vi sju teman: ålder, klass och kön, yrke, mängd fritid, sociala relationer, känslor, materialisering av upplevelsen och musikintresse. Från ett miljöperspektiv tydliggjorde vår undersökning att det även är viktigt att behandla konsumtionen som sker utanför teater och operan och inte enbart från ett organisationsperspektiv.

Table of content

Foreword	2
Summary	3
Sammanfattning.....	4
Tables	7
Figures	7
1. Introduction.....	8
1.1 Background.....	8
1.1.2 Theatre and opera consumption.....	8
1.2 Problem discussion.....	10
1.3 Purpose and research questions	11
1.4 Theoretical perspective	11
1.5 Limitations	11
1.6 Disposition	12
2. Theoretical framework.....	13
2.1 Drivers of consumption.....	13
2.2 Consumption and sustainability	14
2.3 Cultural consumption.....	15
2.3.1 Three arguments on social stratification.....	15
2.3.2 Age, family- and life cycle as influencers on consumption.....	17
2.3.3 Gender differences in cultural consumption	18
2.4 Practice theory	19
2.5 Summary of theory and research questions	20
3. Choice of method.....	21
3.1 Method structure	21
3.2 Ethnography.....	21
3.2.1 Sample.....	22
3.2.2 Data collection.....	22
3.2.3 Interviews.....	23
3.2.4 Ethnographic analysis.....	24
3.2.5 Researchers role.....	25
3.2.6 Equipment	25
3.3 Guides	25
3.4 Ethical aspects.....	26
4 Results.....	27
4.1 The Gothenburg Opera.....	27
4.1.1 Observations.....	27
4.1.2 Interviews.....	28

4.1.3 Summary of the Gothenburg Opera	33
4.2 Folkteatern.....	33
4.2.1 Observation	33
4.2.2 Interviews.....	35
4.2.3 Summary of Folkteatern.....	38
4.3 Consumption patterns	39
4.3.1 Cultural consumption and related consumption.....	39
4.3.2 Compiled consumption patterns	44
4.4 Sustainability.....	45
5 Conclusion	47
5.1 Critique and contribution	48
5.2 Further research.....	49
References	51
Appendix	55
Guides.....	55

Tables

Table 1. Belk et al. (2003)	13
Table 2. Categorization of interviewees according to consumption patterns	45

Figures

Figure 1. Disposition of thesis	12
Figure 2. The ethnographic research cycle, Spradley (1980)	23

1. Introduction

This chapter describes the research project initiated by the cultural board and the environmental board of Västra Götalandsregionen, which this report is a part of. It also touches upon the subject of cultural consumption and its environmental impact. Further, stage art consumption is defined and statistics around theatre and opera visits and visitors is presented. This section also discusses the purpose and problem discussion; as well as introducing the theoretical perspective, selected definitions and finally the limitations of the report.

1.1 Background

There is hardly any question that consumption of goods has an impact on the environment. “To consume is to use resources. There is no aspect of consumption that does not have an environmental implication. Making, moving and marketing goods has a footprint, using space, energy and human labour” (Gabriel and Lang, 2006, p. 22). Although, what is the case for service consumption, and especially cultural consumption?

The cultural board and the environmental board of Västra Götalandsregionen are at the time this report is written, drawing up a strategy regarding environmental issues. A project regarding the cultural consumption's environmental impact is therefore initiated by the cultural board involving Gothenburg School of Business, Economics and Law, and Chalmers Technical University. At the Center of Consumption Science at Gothenburg University, a literature review on cultural consumption has been performed by Niklas Hansson. Further, a literature study by Birgit Brunklaus on existing Life Cycle Assessment (LCA) studies has already been conducted by the department of Miljösystemanalys at Chalmers, showing that the environmental impact of cultural consumption is lower than that for products. However, there is a complex relationship between immaterial and material consumption, and consuming theatre and opera can cause other consumption like buying a new dress before the show, or having a glass of wine during the break. Therefore, in parallel with Chalmers further research on LCA, we have been assigned to investigate the theatre and opera visitor's consumption pattern to get a broader understanding of cultural consumption's environmental impact.

1.1.2 Theatre and opera consumption

The Swedish households' consumption of culture and leisure, decorating, clothes and shoes has increased significantly over the last 10 years. According to Bauman (2001), what we do on our spare time are important parts of our identity and communicates to others who we are. Further, that the consumption on our spare time is more driven by pleasure and enjoyment than by function. Much research within the field of service marketing has focused on the functional perspective of services (Wakefield & Blodgett, 1994). While functional motives are a driver behind consuming services such as dry cleaning and car washing, it is not necessarily true for consuming leisure services such as visiting the theatre or a sports event. When it comes to the latter, the consumption is also driven by hedonic (emotional) motives (Wakefield & Blodgett, 1994). Pine and Gilmore (1999) also makes a distinction between what they call functional services and experiences. The functional service focuses on the output of the process; that is, an expected result of the service paid for, for instance a car to be fixed or laundry to be cleaned. Experiences (theatre visits etc.) on the other hand, are focused around the consumption. In this case the consumer pays money to spend time enjoying a play or a concert.

Stage art includes various forms of music, dance and theatre. However, this thesis focuses on theatre and opera. The consumption of theatre performances in Sweden has remained relatively stable over the last few years. The proportion of the population, in the age group 16-84 years, who is visiting the theatre at least one time over a 12 months period continuously increased during the 1980's and 1990's. However, the positive trend now seems to be broken (Statens kulturråd, 2008). In 2008, 42 percent of the population visited the theatre at least once over a 12 months period, which can be compared to the numbers for 1989 which was 47 percent. Of the 42 percent from 2008, only 10 percent visited the theatre at least once every quarter. More women than men are visiting the theatre, and this apportionment has been relatively stable over the years, at least when it comes to occasional visits (Scenkonstens publik, 2008). For the frequent visitors, which in the report *Nya Kulturvanor* (2008) are described as people visiting the theatre five times or more during a 12 months period, there has been a decrease among the male visitors which has further strengthened the gender differences (*Nya Kulturvanor*, 2008). Also, fewer younger men are today visiting the theatre compared to earlier decades. Male theatre visitors are most common in the age span between 45-74 years and female theatre visitors are most common in the age span between 16-19 and 45-74. The relatively low share in the age span between 20-44 years is explained by focus on family life at these ages. However, other explanations such as focus on career could be another reason. According to a SOM-survey in 2007, referred to in *Nya Kulturvanor* (Statens kulturråd, 2008), there was a larger share of the respondents who wanted to visit the theatre than those who considered themselves going to the theatre as much as desired. The most common constraint mentioned, was lack of time.

For opera visits, there are not as much statistics available as on theatre visits. Opera is often grouped together with other stage performances such as concerts. However, comparable figures for 2008 are available showing that 15 percent of the population visited classical concerts and opera at least once over a 12 months period. Of the 15 percent, only three percent visited a classical concert or opera at least once every quarter. Classical concert and opera visits are slightly more frequent among women than men; 16 percent of the female respondents and 13 percent of the male respondents visit classical concert or opera at least once over a 12 months period (Antoni & Nilson, 2009).

Except for gender, which we shortly have touched upon above, what characterize the Swedish theatre and opera visitors? According to a study done by the SOM – institute (2008), the theatre, classical concert and opera visitors generally have a higher education and categorize themselves as belonging to a higher class (Antoni & Nilson, 2009.) Also *Nya Kulturvanor* (2008) mention the socio-economic differences for theatre visits, but points out that the differences has leveled out during the last 25 years. It means that the interest for visiting the theatre among blue collar workers has increased, while the opposite is true for the white collar workers. Statistics provided by the SOM – institute (2008) also show that the respondents who are being very satisfied with their life, are more often visitors of theatre, musical, dance performance, classic concert and opera. It also seems that theatre, classic concert and opera visitors more often engage in, or visit other cultural arrangements like musicals, museums, art exhibitions, rock- and pop concerts, and cinemas than the non-goers (Antoni & Nilson, 2009).

As explained above, attending the theatre is more common than attending classical concerts or the opera. However, focusing on the two study subjects in this report, Folkteatern and the Gothenburg opera, the latter has more visitors. Folkteatern gave 427 performances during 2006 and had in total 38 270 visitors. The corresponding numbers for the Gothenburg opera the same year was 373 performances and 231 447 visitors (SCB,

2010). One of the reasons for the difference in visitors could be the Gothenburg opera being a larger hall, hosting more visitors than the theatre. Another explanation could be that there are more theatres than operas in Sweden, giving visitors more theatres to choose from. Reasons to people's visits to the different stages will be explored further on in this report.

1.2 Problem discussion

In recent years, society has become increasingly aware of the enormous environmental pollution degradation and global warming, which has led to an increase in environmental protection activities (McIntosh, 1991). The Oscar winning documentary, "An inconvenient truth", made global warming one of the main topics of conversation when it was playing in theatres around the world a few years ago. Another buzz was triggered by COP15, the UN's 15th climate conference in Copenhagen in December 2009, where the world leaders did not succeed in signing a new treaty to replace the Kyoto Protocol from 2005.

The demand for products and services making less impact on the environment has increased in recent years, so has companies' concern for the environment. Sustainability has become a key issue among environmentally concerned consumers, even willing to pay a higher price for purchasing environmentally friendly products (Chen, 2008). Culture and immaterial consumption, such as theatre and opera consumption, are sometimes viewed as a better option in terms of environmental aspects than material consumption. Whether this is true or not, will, as described in the background, partly be answered by the LCA carried out by Izuriet and Tengström at Chalmers Technical University in parallel with this thesis. Izuriet and Tengström are, mainly from an internal perspective, covering resource deployment and emissions associated to The Gothenburg Opera and Regionteatern. That is, what the organizations are contributing to pollution and resource deployment; using paper in the marketing department, energy use in the buildings, fabric use for costumes etc. From a consumer perspective, Izuriet and Tengström consider what is consumed within the Gothenburg Opera and at Regionteatern and they also provide some calculations for consumer transportation.

As a complement, this thesis presupposes the consumer perspective, including related consumption both within and outside the two study subjects, Folkteatern and the Gothenburg Opera. We assume that theatre and opera is not consumed alone; it involves a series of material and immaterial consumption before, under and after a visit. For instance, a visit to the theatre might also involve buying a new pair of shoes, transportation to and from the theatre, dining out before the show begins, and even a glass of wine during the break. These assumptions lead us to the purpose of the report and to see what consumption patterns are associated to theatre and opera visits. It is assumed to be a complex relationship between material and immaterial consumption and how the two are not mutually exclusive. From a social perspective, underlying norms can shape the way we act in different situations and environments. Consumption could be influenced by the whole culture of theatre and opera; making people act, consume and dress in a certain way. From a personal perspective, culture and related consumption can be driven by other factors than need and functional motives, influencing the consumption.

Assuming that consumptions are connected, it is not sufficient to solely calculate the environmental effects of a theatre or opera visit alone. It is necessary to consider the whole perspective and impact of the visit, which includes both material and immaterial consumption. The result of this thesis will not be included in the LCA; however, it is a valuable input and complement in understanding the environmental impact of theatre and opera.

1.3 Purpose and research questions

The purpose of this report is to study how consumption of theatre and opera gives rise to other material and immaterial consumption and to illustrate these consumption patterns. In order to fulfill the purpose, there are several questions that need to be answered. First, we want to look at how consumption of theatre and opera is connected to other types of consumption. As discussed earlier, a theatre ticket is not consumed alone but can also conclude other material and immaterial purchases. Since we have two study subjects, Folkteatern and the Gothenburg Opera, it is interesting to see if there are differences regarding consumption connected to theatre respective to opera. One assumption could be that the different environments affect the dress code, i.e. that a person attending the opera is more dressed up than someone attending the theatre. This could result in an opera visitor feeling “pressured” to spend money on a new dress or at least use the nice clothes they have which needs professional dry cleaning. Finally, as this assigned project regards the cultural consumption's environmental impact, one question to look at is whether it is appropriate to promote cultural consumption from an environmental perspective. If cultural consumption results in large consumption of other goods and services, it might not be appropriate to promote theatre and opera from an environmental perspective. The research questions will be further developed after analyzing the theoretical framework.

1.4 Theoretical perspective

This study adheres to a practice theory perspective, which is a theory aimed at creating an understanding of why people act in a certain way. Practice theory is a theory as well as a method, which is helpful to understand events where several people are integrated and involved, since it explains how actions are also based on the environment and other people (Bourdieu, 1984; Schatzki, 1996; Reckwitz, 2002). Practice theory is used as a tool to understand the participant's behavior and consumption patterns when consuming culture, this theory will provide the knowledge needed in order to understand what is seen during the observations and interviews. The perspective will greatly influence the selection of theory, the interpretation of it and the empirical findings. Had we decided on a different approach, the outcome of the interpretations could have been different. The practice perspective was chosen since it helps the understanding of a social context. Practice theory will be further discussed in the final section of the theoretical framework.

1.5 Limitations

This report focuses on cultural consumption. The discussion is limited to the two stage art forms: theatre and opera. We also would like to stress that the aim of the report is to provide a deeper understanding of the phenomenon theatre and opera consumption, but the results cannot be generalized. We have made a geographical selection for the data collection that is from two permanent stages in Gothenburg. Furthermore, the interviewees are from central parts of Gothenburg. Important to note, in terms of geographical limitations, this report is written from a western perspective and culture, and might therefore not be applicable to all cultures.

Lastly, to clarify the definition of sustainability, we have chosen to look at it from an environmental perspective, disregarding for instance the social dimension of e.g. production and suppliers.

1.6 Disposition

To facilitate for the reader, the structure of the report is presented in figure 1, showing the main chapters of the thesis and their content.

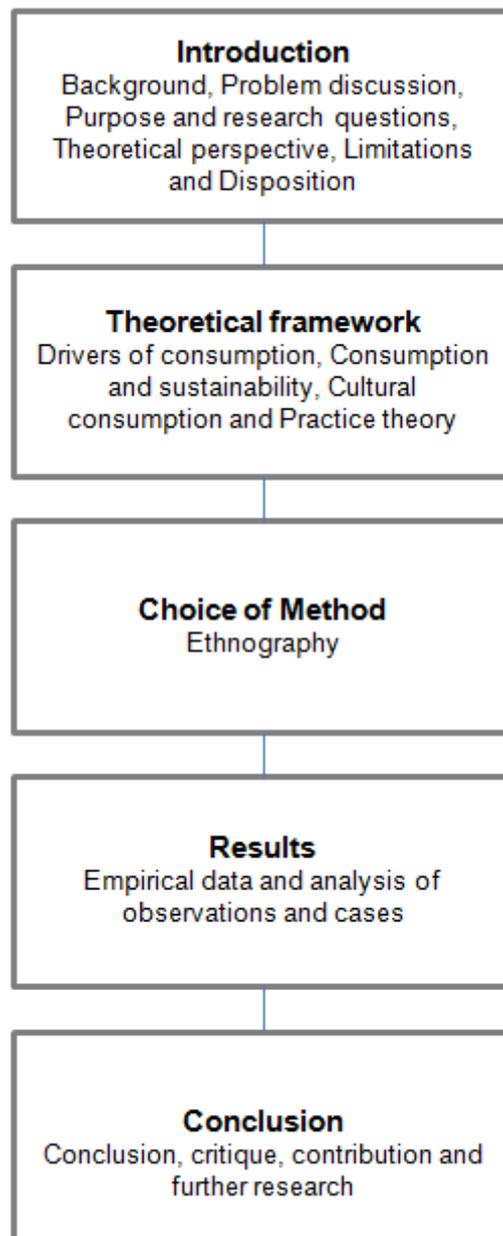


Figure 1. Disposition of thesis

2. Theoretical framework

The following section is presenting the theories used in order to support the analysis. First, theories regarding drivers of consumption are presented followed by consumption and sustainability, which is presented from a perspective on consumption in general. The next section will present theories concerning cultural consumption, presented in the areas of social stratification, age and gender. Lastly, practice theory, the theoretical perspective of the report, is further discussed.

2.1 Drivers of consumption

Gabriel and Lang (2006) point out that “discussions about consumption and consumerism are rarely value-neutral” (p. 2). On the one hand, the rise of the consumer is being celebrated and seen as the individual's freedom to make choices. On the other hand, there are commentators viewing consumerism as the final stage of commodification. That is, “where all relations between people are finally reduced to usage and exploitation, in which the consumer is easily co-opted” (Gabriel & Lang, 2006, p. 2).

In the Background section, it was mentioned that the consumption of leisure services are driven rather by emotional than functional motives. Since one of the aims of this report is to examine how theatre and opera consumption is connected to other consumption, we find it important to examine different drivers of consumption. Belk, Ger and Askegaard (2003) are concerned with consumer passion and question why consumers do not feel satiated. If the customer is an active agent free to choose, why cannot consumers have enough? Without the intention of oversimplifying, Belk et al. has summarized the main characteristics of needs, wants and desires and how they differ from one another, see table 1. According to Freund (1971), certain needs can only be satisfied with certain things. For example, if you are hungry, only food can satisfy your need. However, the need's relation to the object is open in that way that it could be any meal; a pasta dish, a hamburger etc. When it comes to desire, anything can become an object of desire, but the relation to the object is fixed; “it is a particular man, woman, car, house, shirt, or leisure experience that is desired, not just any other person, vehicle, shelter, garment, or experience” (Belk et al. 2003, p. 328). According to Belk et al. (2003), desire is “a passion born between consumption fantasies and social situational contexts” (p. 327); an interplay between the society and the individual. Furthermore, it consist of the individual's craving for goods which are not yet in their possession, and which appear to “promise magical meaning in life” (Belk et al., 2003, p. 327). It involves a search for otherness, sociality, danger and accessibility driven by among others longing, hopefulness, desire for desire and a fear of being without desire (Belk et al., 2003).

DESIRE VERSUS NEED AND WANT			
	Need	Want	Desire
Initial state	Fixed	Open	Open
Relation to object	Open	Open or fixed	Fixed
Cartesian relation	Body	Mind	Body and mind
Mode of expression	Necessity	Wish	Passion
Root	Naturalization of social institutions	Personal preferences	Strategy of modern governance

Table 1. Belk et al. (2003)

The article by Bauman (2001) discusses the new consumer culture, how it is no longer aimed at functionality of need, which was replaced by desire and is now driven by wish. It brings up arguments from Ferguson (1996), which states that the individual expresses themselves through possessions and how wish is now the new motivator of consumption. Bauman (2001) argues that desire is no longer useful. It brought the consumer addiction to where it is today, but is now replaced by wish, where Ferguson (1992) argues that a purchase can be fulfilling a wish and somehow our self-expression. Bauman (2001) continues to explain how the consumer market creates new attractive offers to the consumers, without jeopardizing its future through infinite offers. Also, making sure that desire never gets exhausted. It is also important for the consumers to be convinced that their choices are correct, supporting their decisions with the encouragement of experts, satisfied customers or high demand. The article critically describes the “game” of the market and how consumption is developing. Its critical standpoint tries, in an almost philosophical way, to describe how consumers are fooled to consume in order to fulfill a self-image or their lives.

2.2 Consumption and sustainability

As mentioned in the background, there is hardly any question that consumption of goods has an impact on the environment. Environmentalists have for many years been concerned about the increase in consumption, both on an individual and on an aggregate level. Sustainable consumption, which considers the environmental impacts of consumption, is a key term which has emerged in the academic and policy debates (Schaefer and Crane, 2005). There are many definitions of sustainability, but most are sprung from the Brundtlandt commission which states that “Development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987).

European Environmental Impact of Products (EIPRO) Project presents a thorough analysis of the environmental impact of products consumed by households. The study shows that 70-80 percent of the total impact comes from three categories; food and drink consumption, housing, and transport (Schaefer & Crane, 2005). Two of these categories, food and drink consumption and transport, are relevant to this study. First off, theatre and opera visitors have to travel to the place for the performance and the choice of transport (walking, public transport, going by car) affects the environment differently. Secondly, we assume that it is quite common to have dinner in connection to the show or drink a glass of wine during the break. Both how the food and drink are produced and transported, as well as how much is consumed affect the environment.

Schaefer and Crane (2005) are discussing different conceptualizations of consumption and their implications for notions of sustainability. Two contrasting views are presented; consumption as rational information processing and choice, and social and cultural views of consumption. The former has dominated most conceptualizations of green consumption and green marketing while the latter, which is predominant in sociology and anthropology, has had a minor impact to sustainable thinking. Schaefer and Crane (2005) mean that by understanding consumption as a social and cultural activity, some hope may hold out for making consumption more environmentally responsible; social and cultural needs can be satisfied in other ways than consuming goods. Although individuals, as the actual purchasers of goods and services, have a role in the change towards more sustainable patterns of consumption, it needs to be recognized that individuals are acting within a system and the options that the system is offering them (Kilbourne, McDonagh, and Prothero 1997). Schaefer and Crane (2005) conclude that “Under a cultural and social view of consumption, public policy might have a role in limiting the promotion of the sign

value of goods and instead promote other, more environmentally benign ways of fulfilling social and cultural needs” (p. 87).

Continuing, there has been a hope among people that consumption of rich countries will change more or less automatically towards a sustainable direction, as consumers reaches a level of satiation of material goods and will change their desire to immaterial services instead (Røpke, 2001). This assumption is challenged by Røpke (2001) and there is little evidence for such development, consumption will not change by itself. Also, it is important to note that the use of a service or product is important when discussing its environmental impact. One can simply not say, shift consumption from material goods to services or assume that it will shift by itself (Røpke, 2001). Røpke (2001) argues that in order for a change to occur, incentives from authorities are needed. This reflects back to the reason for this report, since the research project, which this paper is a part of, was initiated by the Cultural board of Västra Götalandsregionen.

2.3 Cultural consumption

Theories above have discussed consumption from a general perspective while now the focus will change to cultural consumption as consumption of theatre and opera is the focus of this report. Three variables will be discussed; class, age and gender, with focus on how these variables are influencing cultural consumption.

Bihagen and Katz-Gerro (2000) conclude that characteristics such as class and gender can be used to predict the levels of cultural consumption. However, the area of cultural consumption should not be over-simplified and it is of greater interest to understand the interconnections between variables like class and gender than trying to prove one's superiority over the other in influencing cultural consumption (Bihagen & Katz-Gerro 2000). This is also in line with the research paradigm intersectionality, which is “the relationships among multiple dimensions and modalities of social relations and subject formations” (McCall 2005, p. 1771). Furthermore, intersectionality explores “how multiple social systems (such as race, class, gender, education, marital status, sexuality, religion, nationality, immigration status, disability, etcetera) co-determine the experience of human life” (Gopaldas, Prasad & Woodard, 2009, p. 789). We think it is important to have this research paradigm in mind when reading the following sections as the variables are interconnected although they are presented in different sections.

2.3.1 Three arguments on social stratification

In the background, information about what characterizes theatre and opera visitors in Sweden was presented. Class and cultural consumption is a widely discussed area, and in the sociological literature three rivaling arguments regarding social stratification and cultural consumption have been discussed to a large extent. Chan and Goldthorpe (2005) label the three perspectives the homology, the individualization, and the omnivore-univore arguments. The latter is referred to as combining highbrow and lowbrow. These arguments are being described below.

Homology argument

In short, the homology argument claims that social stratification, i.e. the existing structure of inequality within a society, and cultural stratification are both closely connected. Individuals who consume “high” or “elite” culture are often those in higher social classes, as well as individuals in lower classes are said to prefer “popular” or “mass” culture (Chan

& Goldthorpe, 2005). This is supported by for instance, Wilson (1980); Sobel, (1983) Bourdieu, (1984); Barbalet, (1986); Neveu, (1990) who state that highbrow and lowbrow cultural consumption are often analyzed in together with class differences in cultural preferences. It is argued that consumption of highbrow culture, from an educational and occupational view, is connected to solidarity, creation of identity, and practices of exclusion (Bourdieu, 1984). It gives the consumer a feeling of being somewhat “better” than someone else. Bourdieu’s (1984) research argues that some dominant classes have certain cultural tastes that can be used to show off their cultural capital and in a way to preserve their advantage in economic, social, and cultural settings. When the individuals can show their knowledge and familiarity with specific cultural products and symbols, when interacting with others, it is a way of showing their identity and find others that are similar to them, creating a certain belonging (Bihagen & Katz-Gerro 2000). In this context, the cultural capital is used as a tool to distinguish between social groups and settings. Examples of this can be how it creates advantages and barriers concerning education, in the office, class mobility and also when finding a partner (Bihagen & Katz-Gerro 2000).

Combining highbrow and lowbrow

Continuing on the highbrow and lowbrow discussion, the omnivore – univore argument regards, just like the homology argument, cultural differentiation is closely connected to social stratification. However, rather than an elite-to-mass distinction, the omnivore-univore argument means that the cultural consumption among the individuals in the higher strata is greater and much wider than it is in lower strata. That is, individuals who belong to higher strata do not only consume highbrow culture, but also middlebrow and lowbrow culture (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2005). “Higher status, higher educational qualifications and a higher income all increase individuals’ chances of being an omnivore rather than a univore. In sum, theatre and cinema attendance, like musical consumption, is quite evidently socially stratified, but on omnivore–univore rather than elite–mass lines” (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2005, p. 208).

High status people are not only being more omnivore than others, the group of high status people has shown to become more omnivore over time. The latter is showed by data collected in the USA on musical taste in 1982 and 1992 and thereafter compared to one another. The shift from highbrow snob to omnivore is speculated to be influenced by changes in social structure like broader education, social class mobility and presentation of the arts via media. Other influences discussed are change in values, art-world dynamics, and generational conflict (Peterson & Kern 1996).

According to research based on musical taste in the USA, all highbrows are not perfect omnivores who like all sorts of music; omnivores should not be interpreted as liking everything, instead as the openness to appreciate everything (Peterson & Kern 1996). Individuals in lower strata are on the other hand highly limited to more popular types of culture. Research in England on musical consumption in the first round, and theatre, dance and cinema attendance in the second round, favored the omnivore – univore argument, while lending little support to the homology and individualization arguments. In the second study, only two main types of consumers were identified. The first type, about one third of the sample, were individuals appearing to be omnivores and with a high probability of visiting all sorts of theatre performances as well as going to the cinema. The second type, about two thirds of the sample, was individuals who appeared to be univorous and was cinema-goers only, if at all visiting cinema and theatre performances (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2005).

Emmison (2003) is, with the concept of *cultural mobility*, aiming at advancing the debate over the cultural omnivore and differ between the two issues taste and knowledge. He

criticizes Peterson for analytically blurring the two and according to Emmison (2003) the cultural omnivore does not have to like all music, but they have greater level of knowledge in a wider range of music than univores.

The individualization argument

Different from the other two perspectives, which are discussed in this section, the individualization argument does not consider cultural differentiation to be connected to social stratification. “In modern, relatively affluent and highly commercialized societies, it is held that differences in cultural taste and consumption are rapidly losing any clear grounding in social stratification: age, gender, ethnicity or sexuality, for example, all can, and do, serve as alternative social bases of cultural differentiation” (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2005, p. 194). More radical forms of the argument (Featherstone, 1987; Bauman, 1988) stress individuals' increasing ability to break free from social norms and to choose their own identity and lifestyle. Choosing a lifestyle also includes choosing patterns of cultural consumption. The individualization argument clearly turns away from the homology argument (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2005).

2.3.2 Age, family- and life cycle as influencers on consumption

As stated in the Background section, theatre and opera visits are not stable over different age spans; theatre visits among both sexes are most common in the age span of 45-74 years, and for women also in the age span of 16-19 years. Age shape to some extent what goods we consume and we also tend to have different preferences and tastes depending on how old we are. Consumer socialization, occurs in early ages, and refers to the process when children “acquire knowledge about products and services and various consumption related skills” (Peter & Olson, 2005, p. 360). The knowledge and patterns formed in early ages can influence people throughout life (Peter & Olson, 2005), which implies that having parents going to the theatre and/or opera has an effect on their children's extent of cultural consumption later in life. However, the consumer socialization is not restricted to early ages and to parents influencing their children. It can also occur later in life, for example when one part in a relationship influences the other when cohabiting (Peter & Olson, 2005).

The concept Family Life Cycle (FLC) is according to Lawson (1991) commonly used in the literature to describe and explain consumer behavior. The FLC describes how “from the time it is first formed by marriage until the death of the last partner, the family passes through alternative phases of relative want and plenty. This cyclical effect mainly is caused by the arrival and then dispersal of children and then later by retirement and old age”. Focus on family life is as earlier mentioned one of the reasons given by the Statens Kulturråd (2008) for the relatively low levels of theatre visits in the age span of 20-44 years. The relative difference is however larger for women than men, which will be further discusses in the next section; consumption differences related to gender. The most common constraint for not visiting the theatre as much as one wanted, is, as mentioned in the background, lack of time (Statens Kulturråd, 2008), which might be the case in child rearing ages. However, it cannot explain why women to a larger extent than men consume theatre in early ages. When discussing the FLC, it is important to note that households are not always family based and today there are a greater variety from the “traditional” family life cycle described above; single households, gay households etc.

Lepisto (1985) discusses the psychological life-cycle from a consumer behavior point of view, stating that adults go through various stages and experiencing different transformations in life, resulting in changes in priorities as well as a change in the view of herself and the world. Some personal characteristics remain stable over time, while others

change and can be triggered by these crises or transformations (Lepisto, 1985). Such a change affecting cultural consumption could be changing priorities from career to hobbies. There are life-cycle theories stating that these transitions take place at certain ages, Lepisto (1985) however mean that “these transitions occur at different ages for some people and other people never experience those changes” (p. 48).

2.3.3 Gender differences in cultural consumption

In previous sections, theories regarding class and age related to cultural consumption were presented. In this part, focus will be on gender's impact on the consumption of culture as a leisure activity. Studies show that there are differences between men and women in the amount and kind of culture which is being consumed. This subject is touched upon in the background and will be further discussed in the following sections.

The constraint model

The most dominant model for understanding women's leisure activities is the constraint argument (Shaw 1994). ”The constraint argument traces gender differences in cultural consumption to power differences between men and women in contemporary patriarchal society, where women's leisure is constrained in time, opportunities, resources, and legitimacy. Married women, mothers, and homemakers experience the most constraint on their leisure” (Bihagen & Katz-Gerro 2000, p. 329). Most research does not argue that women have no leisure; it argues that women have less leisure time than men and /or that it is more constrained (Shaw, 1994). It is also said that women's consumption is more home centered, which implies that women to a lesser extent than men would consume highbrow culture (Bihagen & Katz-Gerro 2000).

Gender differences in cultural consumption in Sweden

Bihagen and Katz-Gerro (2000) has separately from other socio-economic factors, explored the importance of gender in forming cultural consumption patterns in Sweden. Due to the combination of the Swedish state mechanism's ambition to reduce differences in class and gender, and the facilitation of cultural supply, it can be expected that differences in cultural consumption in Sweden are relatively small across class and gender (Bihagen & Katz-Gerro, 2000). Men would even be expected to consume more highbrow culture than women as men are overrepresented in the dominant classes and women's leisure being more constrained. However, most empirical evidence draws another conclusion. As stated in the background, more women than men are consuming theatre in Sweden and the findings of Bihagen and Katz-Gerro (2000) show that women are to a larger extent than men consumers of highbrow culture activities, while men more actively consume lowbrow TV watching. Furthermore, the findings of Bihagen and Katz-Gerro (2000) indicates that gender differences in cultural consumption not only are substantial, but also are stable independent from the effects of education, occupational class position, age, family, status, and income. The gender difference already exists in early ages and is relatively stable over time. However, the gender difference in consuming highbrow culture is somewhat weaker for the respondents being high skilled manual workers, not in the labor market, and married or cohabiting. Why women to a larger extent than men decrease their highbrow culture consumption when being a high skilled manual worker cannot be explained by Bihagen and Katz-Gerro (2000). The latter observations can however be explained by the constraint argument described above. That is, men have a dominant position in the society and when women having a partner their leisure time gets more fragmented. If it was not for these inequalities, the gender differences between men and

women might have been even more substantial. But at the same time the constraint argument can explain consumption differences among women in different marital statuses, it cannot explain why Swedish women consume more highbrow culture than men. Bihagen and Katz-Gerro (2000) suggest two possible explanations for further research. First, is the process of women challenging power, and to an increasing extent take part in dominant culture. As the subordinated group, women seek to adopt consumption patterns of the superior group, men respond by distinct themselves in other ways. Second, women tend to be more engaged in highbrow leisure as they “play an important role in the education of the children, in cultivating their cultural capital, and in representing the household” (Bihagen & Katz-Gerro, 2000, p. 345).

2.4 Practice theory

As mentioned in the first section, practice theory is aimed at creating an understanding of the underlying reasons to why people act in a certain way. Bourdieu (2009) states that practice can be seen as a spectacle. The observer has no part in the situation, more than just observing. In certain situations, it is necessary to understand “predetermined set of [...] actions appropriate to a particular stage-part” (Bourdieu, 2009, p. 2). Culture can function as a map, aiming at navigating people through unfamiliar environments and help an outsider to understand the surrounding and how to cooperate with it. It is not sufficient to solely look into the situation itself, it is also necessary to interpret actions in order to get a complete understanding (Bourdieu, 2009).

Further, other authors such as Schatzki (1996), has based research on Bourdieu’s findings, and also try to explain practice theory and help to understand that people’s behavior is connected by links. Everything that is said and done is reflected by the situation, context and environment, not only from the actual person it comes from. Schatzki (1996) identifies three major avenues of linkage. The first linkage would be to understand what to say and do. “[Continuing with] explicit rules, principles, precepts and instructions; and through ‘teleoaffective’ structures embracing ends, projects, tasks, purposes, emotions and moods” (Schatzki, 1996, p. 89). All of these are connected and influence how people act and talk. Patterns are created, both through body language but also from ways of understanding and knowing how (Reckwitz, 2002). These are mental activities which people process and are qualities of a practice of what context the person is within and may not necessarily be qualities of the individual him/herself (Reckwitz, 2002).

There are two types of practices integrated practices and dispersed practices. Relevant for this report is dispersed practices that discuss how to do a certain thing that is understood by a large group of people (Schatzki, 1996), in this case attending the theatre or opera. It is a collective practice that allows people to perform in a context, creating a common understanding. People understand how to behave in certain situations (Schatzki, 1996). When analyzing a social situation, this is helpful since it enables us to understand that people does not only act on their own behalf. Opera and theatre visits are social phenomenon and definitely has predetermined set of rules to the culture and the interaction among people.

As previously mentioned, practice theory is part of our actions. In addition, Warde (2004) discusses how it also influences consumption, since consumption itself is not an isolated action but connected to other aspects. He argues that practices steer consumption. Meaning that what we consume is also a practice. The article of Warde (2004) discusses how consumption cannot only be viewed from a demand perspective but has a symbolic significance, what is consumed is also reflected by less rational influences such as culture. Continuing, Pantzar and Shove (2005) discuss how new practices emerge and the

connection between practitioners and providers; as well as how there is a circulation of meanings, competences and products. Attending theatre shows is not a new phenomenon, but it might be to some consumers that does not necessarily consume it on a regular basis. Then how does a new visitor “learn” how to act at the theatre or opera? The article of Shove and Watson (2008) discuss how knowledge and competences are collected and influenced by our surroundings, e.g. family, friends and colleagues. Then, this knowledge could be spread to a new visitor by someone close to them. Again, the actions we undertake are not always influenced by ourselves, but also by our environment.

Keeping these aspects in mind, practice theory will be helpful when performing the observations, helping us to understand the entire picture of the visitors’ behavior. The next chapter, choice of method, will give an account of the choice of method and the area of observations will be described in more detail.

2.5 Summary of theory and research questions

In the theoretical framework several theories has been presented. Looking at the drivers of consumption, it is clear that we no longer only consume what we need, but also consume what we desire and to fulfill our self-image. This consumption behavior of today brings up the issue regarding what impact it is having on the environment and the roles of both individuals and authorities. Changes are needed both from the individuals’ behalf, as well as the society as a whole, which brings up the first research question for the project initiated by the Cultural and the Environmental Board of Västra Götalandsregionen, *should cultural consumption be promoted more from an environmental perspective?* This perspective will be regarded and discussed in this study; even though our results will provide helpful knowledge, this question will not be answered in this particular report.

Moving from a general consumption perspective to cultural consumption, it is concluded that various factors such as class, age and gender affect to what extent culture is consumed. Practice theory, which is the theoretical perspective of this thesis, also contributes to the understanding of the underlying reasons to why people act, consume and dress in a certain way. The understanding of what affects cultural consumption, brings us to the first research question regarding consumption patterns *how consumption of theatre and opera is connected to other consumption?* Since we have two study subjects, Folkteatern and the Gothenburg opera, it leads us to the second research question, *if there are any differences regarding consumption connected to theatre respective to opera?*

3. Choice of method

This section will describe the method used in this report. The method structure is a deductive study with qualitative and primary data. The main method used is through an ethnography understanding the underlying patterns of consumption connected to opera and theatre. To perform the observations and interviews, guides have been created to ease the data collection, which are presented at the end of the chapter.

3.1 Method structure

After the theoretical review and understanding practice theory, it is necessary to create a proper method in order to understand what motivates people to consume culture and the consumption patterns of theatre and opera. The method reflects on the theory, problem and the research questions and will help create a proper format to collect the empirical data. First off, it is necessary to introduce the approach of the report, which is deductive and suitable for testing theory. The previous research and theories helped us understand what was going on and testing whether our findings were in line with the previous (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2007). In addition, the results of this thesis complement and add to existing theory.

Further, it is also helpful to discuss what kind of research was conducted. Qualitative research is defined as in-depth understanding of human behavior (Hornig Priest, 1996). This study aims at illustrating the consumption patterns when consuming culture. In order to obtain this information, qualitative research was an appropriate tool to gather the primary data.

Continuing, after exploring theory, it is suitable to collect data. Primary data is information collected first hand by us. Ways of obtaining this information were through, observations and interviews. The primary data method aimed at answering a purpose specific for the study; it is therefore highly reliable due to its distinctiveness (Collis & Hussey, 2003). On the other hand, secondary data is data that is already collected and published by other researchers. Sources used for finding the data were research papers, articles and textbooks (Collis & Hussey, 2003). For this report, both primary and secondary data was necessary. Secondary data was based on previous research, theory and articles, and helped to provide a background to the problem as well as helping the analysis. Primary data was collected through an ethnographic study, combining observations in the field and interviews. These methods were chosen since ethnography creates a deep understanding of the participants' behavior and will help us understand the motivations and patterns of the informants. Ethnographic studies and methods will be described in the next section.

3.2 Ethnography

Machin (2002) states that ethnography is the science of describing a group and their habits in detail, with the purpose of creating a deeper understanding of how people behave, rather than aiming at making general statements. The most characteristic element of an ethnographic research is the fieldwork, where we enter a field with the aim of identifying behavior and patterns, our field for the observations was the Gothenburg Opera and Folkteatern.

Further, we had to be open-minded when entering the fields, to be able to identify all important details. Note that being open-minded and unprepared is not the same thing. It is necessary for the ethnographer to collect background information, such as previous research, to be able to interpret and make use of what is being observed (Fetterman, 1998). As stated above, the background information for this report consists of previous research.

Also, before we started, ethnographic method theory guided us throughout the study and simplified the interpretation of collected data (Fetterman, 1998).

3.2.1 Sample

The sampling was non-random since we chose the time, place and people. Marshall (1996) argues that it is random sampling, if the characteristics of the research are normally distributed for the population, it will probably result in a representative sample. However, this research is qualitative, aiming at understanding the motives and behavior of the visitors, and it is not proved to be normally distributed, making the probability approach not suitable for this research (Marshall, 1996). Note that even small samples can generate informative data and keep in mind that generalizability is not the aim of this research (Marshall, 1996), but rather to try to identify and understand patterns. The observations took place during three nights, during week 17-18. The observations were performed during one night at Folkteatern and one afternoon and one night at the Gothenburg Opera. We arrived in advance and observed before the show started and also during the break, in order to understand the group's behavior. The first observation at the opera took approximately five hours, while the second took three hours and the observation at the theatre took about three hours as well.

Continuing, six interviews were conducted. In total we interviewed seven people; however two of the interviewees are a couple and will be considered one interviewee, since they visit the theatre and opera together. Appropriate for this study is to make a *judgement sample* (Marshall, 1996), to make the sample as productive as possible. During the observations, we also looked for potential interviewees. At first, the judgment was based on visible criteria such as gender and age; aimed at obtaining a representative group of opera and theatre visitors. The second criteria was based on their amount of theatre and/or opera visits per year as well as where they lived. Since the second criteria is not visible, we asked a few controlling questions to the potential interviewees. Four of the interviewees are frequent visitors while the other two have an interest in theatre but are not attending shows on a regular basis.

3.2.2 Data collection

Ethnography helped this research and collection of data, during the observations at Folkteatern and the Gothenburg Opera as well as the interviews. There are different ways of conducting an ethnographic study, but in this case, data was collected according to the following model. First, the project for the ethnography was selected, hence the purpose of this study. Then, data was collected through observations, where we were complete observers; this will be explained in section 3.2.5. Before the observations, it was helpful to understand theory, practice and culture for this specific context and also to possibly ask short controlling questions, during the observations. The next step was the collection itself, which followed by the actual recording. After these steps, we analyzed the data and finally wrote the actual ethnography. A model is displayed to clarify the process, see figure 2. For the interviews, as mentioned, the respondents were recruited at Folkteatern and the Gothenburg Opera. The interviews were based on the data collected during the observations, and then provided a deeper understanding for the visitors and their behavior. The interview technique will be explained further in the next section 3.2.3.

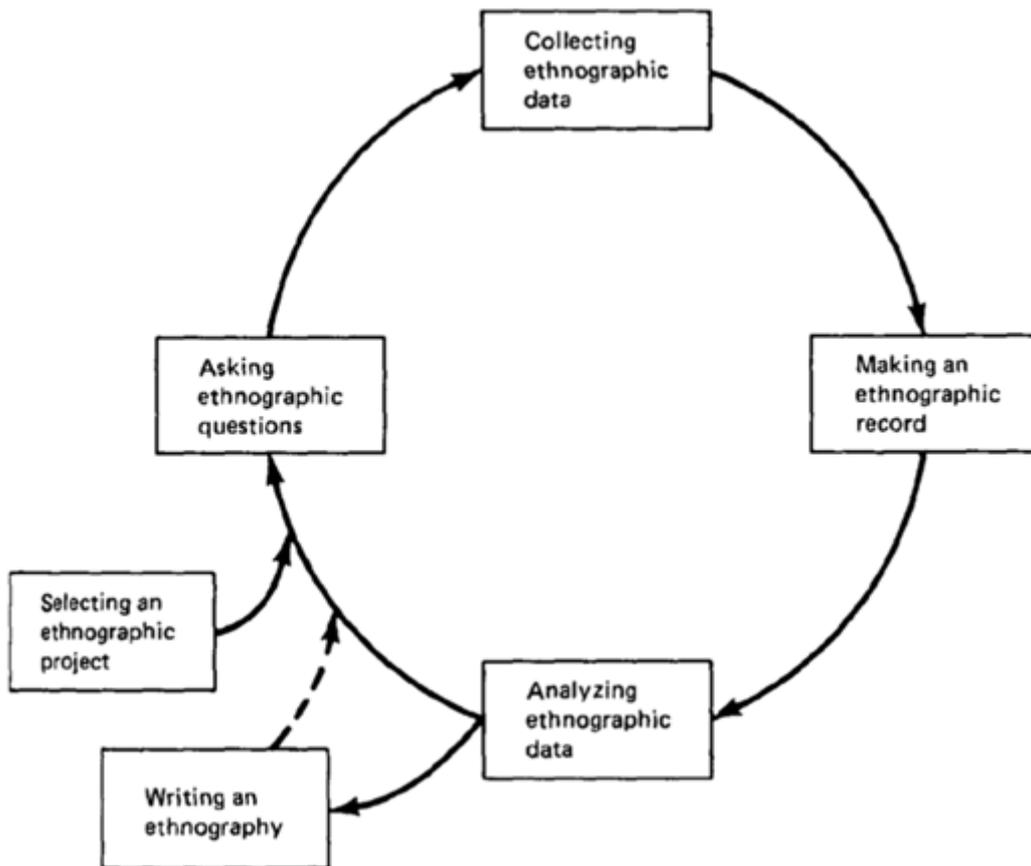


Figure 2. The ethnographic research cycle, Spradley (1980)

3.2.3 Interviews

For exploratory and qualitative research, interviews are an appropriate method for data collection. The interviews complemented the ethnographic observations and helped us to understand what was going on. This method gave us the opportunity to probe answers, in order to make the interviewees explain or build on the responses; this added information to obtained data and helped understanding a phenomenon (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2007). We conducted six interviews with seven respondents during approximately one hour each, during week 19. Four out of six interviews took place at the interviewees' homes, to get a deeper understanding of the participants.

First off, in order to get the interviewees to agree to an interview, we made sure they were fully informed about the situation, the terms and whether they have a saying in when, where and how long (Saunders et al., 2007). The interviewees agreed to the interviews without any problem and enjoyed talking about their cultural consumption. As interviewers, it was important to consider body language that could have affected the interviewee to respond in a certain way or take on values of the interviewer (Saunders et al., 2007). Further, the questions were an important part of the interview. Sometimes it is helpful to start with warm up questions in order to make the respondent confident and relaxed (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe & Lowe, 2002). First off, we let them talk about themselves, their profession and hobbies. Then we tried to cover certain topics during the interviews rather than asking direct questions and let the interviewees speak freely, to create a relaxed conversation rather than a formal interview. Open questions let the respondent talk freely and describe an event, but it was still necessary for us as interviewers to lead the discussion at the right direction throughout the interview. Open questions often start with

why, how or what? (Saunders et al., 2007). Another aspect is recording, the notes were taken as discretely as possible, to not distract the interviewee. A guide for the interviews is presented in section 3.3.

The aim was to create a comfortable atmosphere in order to get the respondents to open up and be willing to answer the questions as thorough as possible. Contributing to the comfortable atmosphere, we chose to be one interviewer at each occasion, to create the informal conversation setting. Also, it is important to keep in mind that the interviewee is not a direct reflection of the “real world”; the answers will be reflected by the setting of the interview, the questions and the people involved (Moisander & Valtonen, 2006). As practice theory suggests, what the respondents reveal are not only based on their own beliefs, but reflected on the social environment and in which cultural groups they are involved in (Moisander & Valtonen, 2006). Regarding quotation, the quotes from the interviewees are transformed in a comprehensive way to the reader, without changing its meaning.

Continuing, this method has high validity since the researchers can truly explore a phenomenon. However, it will not be possible to make generalizations about the population based on the results but the findings will still be relevant for the study (Saunders et al., 2007). As Moisander and Valtonen (2006) suggest, the aim is not to obtain as much information as possible, but rather to create a cultural understanding.

3.2.4 Ethnographic analysis

Fetterman (1998), states that the mission is not only to collect data, but to make sense of the collected information. Note that the field study was just the beginning of the analysis. The creative part the study was the process of making sense of the notes to see the connections. Therefore, the clarity and structure of the notes were important, and all situations, moment and feeling needed to be written down (Arvastson & Ehn, 2009). That was the reason to why the guides were created beforehand, to structure the data collection.

Furthermore, there were two steps in the process of translating the findings (Spradley, 1980). To begin with, the notes needed to be understood and data decoded to find patterns and to understand the social situation at the theatre and the opera, and interviews. Then the conclusions were written down in a clear way in order for others to take part of the study. Therefore it is important to be able to present the findings in a comprehensive way so that others understand them (Spradley, 1980). Our findings are presented in chapter four. It was important not to underestimate the process of writing an ethnographic report since it was sometimes difficult to take all interpretations and underlying factors into consideration (Hornig Priest, 1996). When being swallowed up by the research during a longer period, it is possible to lose track of the reality and making us see what we want to see. Therefore, it was helpful to be two observers, to discuss with each other to stay on track throughout the study. Another issue when observing is to avoid two possible outcomes: to either identify valid but uninteresting data or invalid but fascinating data (Fetterman, 1998).

In ethnography, there are certain techniques to understand data. Important for this report is *patterns*, this is a technique that creates reliability of the findings (Fetterman, 1998). Since one of the aims of this study is to understand consumption patterns we found this to be useful. First off, we looked for patterns when coding the data from the observations. We compared the three observations to each other in order to discover interesting themes, such as social relations and how the visitors behaved. Further, we continued with

interviews according to the same technique, however, this time we were also looking for patterns from the interviewees and repetitive themes.

3.2.5 Researchers role

There are different types of roles a researcher can take on when performing observations. In this study two different approaches were used; one of us was a complete observer and the other one asked the visitors controlling questions, these roles changed as we took turns. A complete observer does not reveal the purpose of the activity to the participants nor does the observer participate in the activities (Saunders et al., 2007). The observations took place at a theatre and opera; there the researchers discretely observed the visitors without them noticing, which was proved during the observations since visitors did not look at us or sat down next to us without being bothered by our activities. This way, the visitors were not affected by our presence and were able to act as normal as possible.

3.2.6 Equipment

Spradley (1980) states that, when observing, records are kept through pictures, field notes and/or tape recordings, in order to document documenting the social situation. In many cases, video tapes are appropriate to use, however, participants might act differently if they spot a camera and not feel comfortable. The aim was to make the set as natural as possible for the participants and therefore we used pen and paper for the recordings. These tools were convenient for the situations and enough to gather all data, both for the observations and interviews. An option could also have been to use a computer. (Fetterman, 1998); although, it is possible that a computer distracts the participants more than pen and paper that could be kept more discrete, since we did not want to be exposed. Therefore, the notes taken were transferred from paper to the computer when presenting the findings.

Important to remember is that it is difficult to record everything going on in the field which makes it important for the observer to focus on certain aspects and make sure to note them simultaneously as the observation occurs. This method is called condensed accounts, where we recorded single words, phrases and shorter sentences in order to keep up with the phase of the observation (Spradley, 1980). We argue that being two observers at the scene benefited the documentation and more details could be noted when there was more than one person documenting. Continuing, expanded account extends condensed account further, and means that we completed the condensed account with details and thought of the bigger picture (Spradley, 1980). This occurred immediately after leaving the field when the situation was still fresh in mind.

Finally, it was reasonable to have a structured system of the field notes since this was a difficult process to obtain as much important information as possible and also since there are two observers for this study (Fetterman, 1998). The structure benefited the recordings as well as easing the analysis of the findings when we came up with the concluding remarks.

3.3 Guides

We have constructed two guides to ease the data collection. Complete format is presented in the appendix. In short, for the observations we looked for patterns and behavior of the group, also considering simple demographics such as age and gender. The observations were categorized into four areas; weekday and time of day, people (dress code, grouping

etc.), environment with regards to atmosphere, temperature, crowding etc., and last, consumption looking at to what extent and what people purchased. The interviews further covered areas which helped us answer the research questions of this report; how often and why they are visiting the theatre and/or the opera in order to understand the motivators of the theatre and opera consumption, way of transport connected to the theatre and opera visits etc. These areas of discussion aimed at both identifying and comparing the consumption patterns between the theatre and opera, and to get insight into the environmental impact of a theatre and opera visit. The latter is connected to the research question whether cultural consumption should be promoted more from a sustainable perspective.

3.4 Ethical aspects

During the observations and interviews, it was important to consider the ethical aspects in order to respect the privacy of the visitors and interviewees. For the observations, there was no film or tape recording that could upset any one the visitors. In terms of the notes, the time and place were noted, but no one was singled out, we simply identified general demographics, possible types of people and the behavior of the group as a whole.

Continuing with the interviews, we made sure that the respondents were aware of their role in the study, where and how the report will be published as well as being offered anonymity in order to protect their privacy (Collis & Hussey, 2003), which is the reason to why we gave the interviewees fiction names for this study. The aim was rather to make a general profile of the informants, to understand what type of person was interviewed, since that is relevant to the study. No tape recorder was used, because we argue that the informants felt more comfortable without it and there was no problem with the data collection as the notes were sufficient. Finally, being aware of this, we feel certain that there has been no problem with the ethical aspects.

4 Results

The results chapter is a combination of empirical data collection and an analysis based on theory. The two sections, empirical data and analysis, are presented together in order to make it as comprehensive as possible. First, the results from the Gothenburg Opera are presented, followed by Folkteatern. The second part of the results chapter points out the consumption patterns concluded we found. The last part discusses opera and theatre consumption from a sustainable perspective. At the end of this chapter, the results will contribute to a deeper understanding of opera and theatre consumption and provide an illustration of consumption patterns.

4.1 The Gothenburg Opera

The following pages will present the empirical data and analysis based on two observations and three interviews. The most important aspects after coding the notes are presented in a comprehensive version below.

4.1.1 Observations

As mentioned, practice theory suggests that people's behavior reflect on the specific situation and environment they are in, with explicit rules to consider and these visits being dispersed practices (Bourdieu, 1984; Schatzki, 1996; Reckwitz, 2002). This became obvious during the observations, since the behavior and atmosphere differed between the two venues. At the opera the atmosphere was more formal compared to the theatre. Looking at the dress code for *Mästersångarna i Nürnberg* and *La Boheme*, the older people was properly dressed, wearing suits or dresses. The younger people tended to look more casual but were still dressed up to some extent. One example of how practice influences the behavior of people was a school class visiting the opera. They were 9th graders, dressed up, calm and on their best behavior. The boys were walking around, imitating the men. This follows the idea of practice theory, how we get a sense of a new practice, in this case, how to behave at the opera. The boys were learning by doing, and copying the style of the men (Pantzar & Shove, 2005). Also, as stated by the host at the opera, if there were regular visitors at the show, they would get annoyed if they were instructed where to go or where the wardrobes were, almost offended as they would not already know. The host also informed us that many of the regular visitors and subscription holders were often above 60 years old. As an interesting note, we observed that even the most experienced visitors have their limits; during the observation of *Mästersångarna i Nürnberg*, two older couples discussed what show to see next, flicking through the program. When asked about why they picked this show, the reply from one of the men was: *If I knew it was going to be six hours long, I never would have gone.*

As observed, there are different ways to gain knowledge of a new practice, by imitation or by learning. One could get a sense of a practice through imitation as this happens simultaneously, while learning a new practice is an extensive process, which evolves over time, and could happen through constant influences from e.g. the family and friends (Shove & Watson, 2008). During the performance of *La Boheme*, there were several couples with combinations of e.g. one father and one son or parents in law along with the younger couple. Another one, at *Mästersångarna i Nürnberg*, that stood out was two confused teenage girls following their grandparents around in order to imitate them how to behave. This illustrates how the "beginner" would adopt the behavior of the influencer, to get a sense of how to behave.

Regarding the overall consumption there was a difference between the shows *Mästersångarna i Nürnberg* and *La Boheme*. For the first one, quite a lot of people had programs, which could be explained by the fact that most visitors that night was subscribers who receive programs by post. If they bought them at the entrance the cost was 40 SEK. Further, some people were having coffee before the show started while some were eating sandwiches and others having pralines with their coffee. This increased during the break when most people were having something to drink, all tables were booked and the distribution between coffee and wine drinkers was even.

Continuing with *La Boheme*, the bar mainly served white wine and shrimp sandwiches with a few exceptions for people having soup of the day. The restaurant was fully booked, 100 guests were served; most of whom had had two courses before the show, and the dessert during the break. Only a few people were drinking and eating in the foyer and the consumption of food and beverages in the café was limited. On the café menu we noticed that two out of three sandwiches were organic. The school classes brought candy and soft drinks from the nearby candy shop "4 gott". As far as we could tell, not many programs were sold on this night. During the break most of the tables were reserved, and people without advance bookings were walking around and tried to find some kind of seating. Except for the regular serving areas, a mobile candy station were placed in the café area and food, snacks and drinks were also served through the wardrobes. The line to the café was constantly increasing, but people did not seem to be bothered by this. Unlike before the show, there were not many people at the bar. There was a 50/50 spread between wine and coffee drinkers. Regarding the dining facilities, the host said that most people ordered something at the café. Both the bar and the café were fully booked during the breaks.

In relation to consumption, Warde (2004) suggests that what we consume is also a practice. Rather than being rational decisions, consumption is a reflection of the situation. The opera has a formal atmosphere, including the food offered. Our observations also revealed that the consumption was more extensive at the opera than at Folkteatern, but then again it reflects back to the practice of the event, meaning if it is accustom to have something to eat or drink in the break, more visitors are likely to do so.

4.1.2 Interviews

Margareta

The interviewee is a 67 year old woman with an active life style, who we will refer to as Margareta. She retired six years ago and lives alone in Majorna, Gothenburg. She is born and raised in Långedrag, Gothenburg, but lived in Floda with her husband for 20 years, where they also raised their son who is about 40 years old today. Before she retired, she worked at an office in Gothenburg with administrative tasks.

Margareta is a regular visitor to the opera, theatres, concerts at Scandinavium, concerts in churches, cinemas and museums. In other words she is omnivorous in her cultural consumption; however, she does not typically belong to higher income strata (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2005; Peterson & Kern, 1996).

She always visits the opera and theatres together with a certain group of friends and has been doing so for the last ten years. Today, the group consists of about ten women who are all retired. Not all the women go to every event due to different preferences, and only about four of them visit the opera. Before a show they always meet up; most often to have a glass of wine at an "after work", and sometimes to have dinner together at home. The

reason for not eating out, is mainly financial as they are all retired and do not have much money to spend. They prioritize meeting often over spending lots of money on fewer occasions. If wine is served in the break, it is usually consumed. The group of opera visitors always goes to the opera on New Year's Eve. After the show they head home to one of the women to have catered dinner and drink wine. The group has created a practice among them and for their New Year's Eve celebration.

Margareta is the driving force behind the group of women and she sends out emails to everyone on a regular basis, with suggestions for what to see and what to do. She is a daily reader of GP and the first pages that she looks at are the entertainment pages for new ideas on what to do. The interviewee has also introduced both her son and her nine years old granddaughter to musicals and the opera.

I think it is important to introduce children to various types of cultural activities, not just the cinema.

Both affecting the cultural consumption of her closest friends and her family are in line with the concept consumer socialization (Peter & Olson, 2005), which is referred to in the theoretical framework. This is her way of teaching others a practice she enjoys. If someone was to join Margareta at a cultural event for the first time, that person would probably imitate her behavior (Shove & Watson, 2008), just as we observed at the opera; the two confused teenage girls following their grandparents around in order to get a sense of how to behave. Further, when going to the opera Margareta likes to dress up and admits that she sometimes has bought something just because of the opera visit. When visiting the theatre, she does not dress up as much as she does to the opera; it depends on where the show is playing. Dressing differently to "fit in" in with different environments can be seen as a part of a practice within that group.

She always travels to the opera and to the theatre by the tram. However, this is not an action driven by environmental motives, rather by the fact that she has no access to a car and lives in central parts of Gothenburg where public transport is easily accessible. Her friends also use public transport to a large extent; going by bus, tram or train depending on where they live.

When Margareta first lived in Gothenburg, she visited cultural arrangements several times, but when she moved to Floda this happened less often because of the distance. After moving back to Gothenburg about 15-20 years ago, she started attending different cultural activities more often again. Due to a heavy workload she was home on sick leave for some time and that period also changed her priorities in life. She decided to do more things that make her happy, rather than just focus on work. She started to prioritize her spare time and consume more cultural activities for the sake of her own well-being. This transformation and change in priorities can be seen as an expression of the psychological life cycle, which is discussed in chapter two (Lepisto, 1985).

Not only development at work is important, we need development in life. Culture gives me more in life...I cannot explain in words how much it means to me. I need it; it makes me feel better...

Culture has an important role to play in the Margareta's personal development. It is clear that she is driven by emotional motives rather than functional ones, which is also in line with the theory about the consumption of leisure services (Wakefield & Blodgett, 1994). Going to the opera is all about the complete experience for her:

The music, the fantastic building, I really like the building... the scenery, the clothes, a glass of wine, the beautiful music...

Margareta really enjoys her life as retired. She visits cultural arrangements as often as she wants and has time to. She meets her friends for other activities as well; having picnics,

taking the boat to Eriksberg, strolling around Klippan Kulturresevat or visiting Konstcaféet.

Carl

The interviewee is a 46 year old single man who lives in a large house (under construction) situated on Hisingen, Gothenburg. Not using his real name, we will refer to the interviewee as Carl. Carl was until recently working on a large ship as a technical chief, which is one of the highest positions. He has a degree in Marine engineering from Chalmers. Working on a ship, he was away for five weeks, and at home for five weeks until the next trip. Being home for five weeks at a time, he has more spare time than the average working person, which he spends on constructing his house, in the garden or at the opera. He does not attend cinema or theatre events, since he finds these too folksy and he visits the opera mainly for the music. The discrimination between highbrow and lowbrow culture is quite evident just like the homology argument states; individuals who consume “high” or “elite” culture are often those in higher social classes (Bourdieu, 1984; Chan & Goldthorpe, 2005). However, in opposite to the view of Carl, theatre consumption is in theory generally regarded as highbrow culture.

The interest in classical music has always been there, however, Carl only started going to the opera regularly about five years ago. The first show he saw was Carmen, a classical piece, which he saw with some friends who convinced him to go. Although he enjoyed the music, the show did not impress him much. Therefore, it was years before he went again, this time to a Russian show, which he commented on with the following words:

The soloist was amazing, the scenery was magnificent and the whole show blew my mind. After that, I was hooked.

The friend who brought him there is still one of his companions to these events. That reflects to consumer socialization (Peter & Olson, 2005), since this is an important experience to Carl which he wants to share with people around him. It is a pleasant event to visit together.

Also, the company Carl worked for sponsors the opera, which mean that they get sponsor tickets. When he found out he asked for tickets, got them and encouraged some of his colleagues to join him at the shows. After a while, the interest in the opera tickets increased and every one at the company wanted to go. Carl’s influence and interest created a practice at work, creating an interest that did not exist before, which increased the demand for the tickets.

The interest in opera also runs in Carl’s family; he and his brother often go together, as do he and his cousin. Reflecting back to consumer socialization again (Peter & Olson, 2005), this is something Carl and his brother enjoy doing together, a common value that they share. When he and his brother go together, or he and his friend, they often have a beer before the show, as well as place an order for the break one hour before the show. Sometimes they go to “Bommen” afterwards to continue the night. Carl described how the musicians from the opera also go there sometimes, which he seemed to enjoy.

Sometimes the soloists and the orchestra come to Bommen as well... Then you can walk up and talk to them about your opinions of the show, if you dare to...

On the other hand, if Carl is going with his cousin, they often have dinner before the show, but never at the opera restaurant as his brother told him that it is expensive to go there. They often travel to the events by bus, not for environmental reasons, but because it is

more convenient if you wish to have a drink. Besides that, he often uses the car for transportation in the city.

In terms of purchases for the opera visit, he bought a new tuxedo once, since his old one did not fit. He feels like he is part of a higher elite group, that cares a lot about the opera and feels only cultural people understands it, in line with the homology argument (Bourdieu, 1984; Chan & Goldthorpe, 2005). Since this is important to him, he carefully considers what to wear at each occasion since:

It is accustom to wear tuxedo to premiers at the stall.

Carl often attends premiers, which he finds out about from the opera catalogues that he collects as well as the tickets from the shows. The collection of tickets and opera catalogues shows his devotion to the opera and how important the shows are to him, like precious memories. Carl goes to opera shows about 10 times a year. He does not hold a subscription card since he needs to be flexible as to when he can attend shows and not. If Carl really enjoys a show, he might see it about two or three times. This reflects his great musical interest as he refers to a lot of shows that he has seen, the soloists and musicians in each show, as well as the scenery and the acoustics. According to Carl, if a show is really good, he would hum on the music, unaware of his actions, after the show ends. Finally, regarding reviews as part of the information search, Carl made the following comment:

Since I always attend premiers, I don't read the reviews before hand; however, I enjoy reading them after I have seen the show.

Bengt and Ulla

The interviewees are a couple, both 67 years old and retired since two years back, who will here be referred to as Bengt and Ulla. Bengt is a former lawyer, and Ulla is a graduate economist with her background in accounting. They live in a three-room apartment only a few blocks away from the Gothenburg Opera, they appreciate the location since it is close to everything. Their walls are covered with art, many with marine motives. They explained that they collect art, especially from local and upcoming artists, but they do not have the space to hang all the paintings; some are standing on the floor along the walls.

Ulla stated that they are subscribers at the opera and that is what makes them go as often as they do, five to six times a year.

One would think since we are living so close to the opera we would run there every now and then. But that is not the case; we do not plan our visits that much in advance.

They used to have a subscription at the Theatre hall, but not anymore. However, they occasionally go there. Last time they went to the concert hall was for the Medicinarspexet. They get discount tickets to Folkteatern through Hyresgästföreningen, which they also take advantage of every now and then. As can be understood from above, they are a culturally active couple and they revealed that they, on a regular basis visit theatres, the opera, museums, collect art and listens to music at home. They both enjoy classical music and modern music, and Ulla stated:

I like Andreas Johnson very much. He has such a wonderful voice. You do not like him that much, do you? (she nodded at her husband).

The first fifteen times maybe, he said and they both laughed. He continued:

P2 (the radio channel) with a lot of classical music playing is nice to listen to at home. However, when I do the dishes I like to listen to music from the 50's and 60's. Radio 88 plays that kind of music.

The couple is omnivorous in their cultural consumption; liking all sorts of culture except for modern ballet (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2005; Peterson & Kern, 1996). With regard to their professional background, we would also assume them to belong to a higher income stratum.

Both Bengt and Ulla have always had an interest in classical music and they have enhanced each others' interests. He grew up in Arvika, a town with a rich music stage. Music runs in their family, his father played the violin and the piano. They have also influenced their two daughters who also have a great interest in music; singing and playing the piano. From the examples above, parallels can be drawn to consumer socialization; enhancing each others' interest, being influenced themselves as young, and influencing their daughters' interest in music (Peter & Olson, 2005). Music is the most important driver for visiting the opera. He also mentioned the lush grandeur, which he finds appealing. They both enjoyed the last show they went to, Wagner's *Mästersångaren från Nürnberg*. They were a bit surprised, that it was as humoristic as it was. The actors were for example chasing each other in the rows where the audience was sitting. The words used for describing the experience; lush, humoristic, beautiful, clearly relate to emotional rather than on functional motives.

I also brought a small memory from the show, he revealed and showed a pretzel, hanging in a thread from the ceiling.

They were throwing these out to the audience and I caught one, he says and smiles. This indicates their devotion to the Opera and how much it means to them; a precious memory to remind them over and over again of their experience. They also like to read the reviews after they have seen the show.

Since Bengt and Ulla retired two years ago, their cultural consumption has increased due to more spare time.

Since you can clean the house and do the laundry during the days, there is time left in the evening to do something fun, Ulla said.

Bengt also started to sing in a Church choir when he retired, with which he now travels to various music festivals.

They never dine out before a show, neither do they buy anything at the theatre or opera and have never done so.

It seems to be a bit hectic buying something to eat and drink and then find some place to sit or stand, he explained.

They almost always go out afterwards, for example to Bommen nearby, and have a beer or something else to drink. Sometimes the performers also go to Bommen after the show; they tell me enthusiastically, which could indicate that they are identifying themselves with that crowd. Since they live nearby, it is walking distance to the opera. They also walk to Folkteatern when they go there, except when it is raining; then they take the tram. They have a car, but do not use it much. Walking and cycling are their most preferred way of traveling within the city. The car is used when they go to Arvika where they have their weekend cottage. They also keep a boat in Arvika as they love to sail. Their active lifestyle is also reflected in them being members of various associations like the local city council, an art union, Hyresgästföreningen and Odd Fellow. In the latter, Ulla has a lot of female friends, with whom she goes to the lunch theatre at Stadsteatern.

I like the lunch theatre very much. First we have lunch, and then we see some show. It is a very good arrangement.

They do not dress up that much when going to the theatre or the opera; however they admit that they dress nicely, which is an expression of practice; the way to dress is reflected by the situation, context and environment (Schatzki, 1996). Bengt and Ulla have never bought a new piece of clothing just because of going to the opera. However, she bought a new top which she actually wore for the first time when she was going to the opera with a friend not too long ago. She felt that she looked really nice and that people noticed it.

There is a certain dress code (at the opera)... But, it can be even worse being overdressed, he said. Many years ago, you could not even go to Eva Palais wearing trousers. Today you can dress almost as you like wherever you go.

Their concern about the dress code shows an appreciation of and consideration to the practice of opera or the environment they are in.

4.1.3 Summary of the Gothenburg Opera

Summing up the case of the Gothenburg opera, the atmosphere was formal and most people had dressed up which was also stressed by our interviewees. They all mentioned some dimension of concern for the dress code, which shows the influence this practice has. Drinks and food were observed to be consumed both before the show, but mainly during the breaks. Our interviewees gave additional information regarding consumption, giving examples of how they consume food and drinks before, during and after the show not only at the opera, but at other locations as well. All interviewees mentioned the social dimension of their opera consumption; Margareta always visits the opera with a special group of friends, Carl visits the opera with colleagues or some family members and Bengt and Ulla almost always go together. The social dimension also included going out for food and / or drinks before or after a show.

All interviewees are characterized by having lot of spare time, and they all had a high level of opera consumption, visiting the opera between three and ten times a year. Margareta and Bengt and Ulla are culturally active and like most types of culture, while Carl prefers elite culture and only visits the opera. Other interesting themes were the interviewees' shared interest in music and the expressions of emotions related to their opera consumption.

4.2 Folkteatern

This section presents the empirical data and analysis based on one observation and three interviews. As with the interviews and observations at the opera, the notes were coded and presented in a shorter version.

4.2.1 Observation

Looking at the context of Folkteatern instead, the data collected differs to some extent compared to the information gained at the opera. The atmosphere at the theatre was casual and merrier; people were also more casually dressed, without looking sloppy. The practice of the theatre influences the visitors in a different way affecting the atmosphere, the visitors, surroundings and offers. To again take the example of the school classes, there was another school class of 9th graders visiting the theatre. Compared to the opera, the behavior at the theatre was different. Not only was the dress code of the school class more casual, they were also more casual in their behavior. The noise was substantially higher and they acted more on impulse, without regard to their surroundings, for instance shouting or

chasing each other. Also, their behavior did not seem to bother the other visitors, but they would probably have behaved differently at the opera as well as the other people's reactions would have been different.

Another example is that the atmosphere felt cheerful and people were chatting with each other. At 18.45, 15 minutes before the show, there was an introduction of the play in the inner foyer, which resulted in the volume decreasing drastically and the inner foyer getting crowded, while the outer one was empty. Still, even during the presentation, the atmosphere was easy, people turning off their mobile phones and quietly joking with each other. The same state of mind seemed to apply to the actors; after the presentation of their characters one of the actors reminded the visitors to:

Remember to turn on your cell phones when you leave the theatre.

The age span among the visitors mostly varied between 50-60 years, however, with several exceptions consisting of women in their 30s. The mix of people mostly consisted of female friends, in pairs or threes. As a rough estimation, we assume at least 70 % of the visitors were female. One of the staff told us that the crowd, except for the school class, well represents the regular visitors. Also observed was that the visitors did not seem confused by the situation or surroundings, something which was more common at the opera. Most people are introduced to theatre during their early school years which means that more people are accustomed to it; it is not as new and confusing as the opera might be. It is practice taught by the school over several years. There may also be a difference in how many tourists the two scenes attract, that is, there are different levels of familiarity.

In terms of consumption, we could observe mostly coffee and bottled water being drunk before the show. The sandwiches ran out before the show started and therefore there were only pastries, coffee, wine and beer for the break. No programs were sold, instead a staff member at the entrance was handing out flyers before the show. One of the members of staff told us that they have had their wine license only for three weeks, and so far they do not get more than 10 pre-orders of wine for the break, since people really have not grasped the system yet. Since this consumption is not part of the practice yet, it is difficult for Folkteatern to create a new behavior with information.

Continuing, unlike before, the serving area is nowadays run by staff from Folkteatern instead of being outsourced. During the break, we observed that there was an even distribution among wine and coffee drinkers, the majority of the wine drinkers drank red wine. One of the staff mentioned that they serve more coffee during the winter, that is, when it is cooler outside. As previously mentioned, what we consume is also a practice (Ward 2004) influenced by both the location and the environment, as well as by weather and season. This could explain the differences in consumption at the opera compared to the theatre. As observed, and stated by the staff, the majority drank red wine at the theatre. Does that imply that everyone who enjoys theatre prefers red wine or is that created by the social context? If the way people behave depends on a specific situation, the consumption is likely to do so as well. Also, the consumption of food differed as well. At the theatre, the offering was limited to simple cakes and one type of sandwich. People then consumed less food there, but that is influenced by the offering, which reflects on the more casual context and atmosphere at Folkteatern. Visitors to Folkteatern might not expect high end food at Folkteatern, while the opera visitors would. Does that mean that all visitors to the different occasions have the same food preferences, or is that created in the whole context of the theatre and opera respectively? Different practices apply for the different locations, then the whole package and feeling need to be considered, from the setting, to the atmosphere as well as the food.

4.2.2 Interviews

Kristina

This interviewee is a 63 year old woman who is divorced and lives in a three room apartment in Johanneberg, Gothenburg. During this study, she will be referred to as Kristina. She works part-time at the university with staff administration and registration where she has worked for 34 years and her education level is up to high school.

Kristina is an active woman who, besides her family, spends a lot of time with her group of friends who often travel together and attend different cultural events. Although we met at the theatre, she enjoys opera as well. One of Kristina's friends is a theatre representative, which also means that she often encourages her friends to go to different theatre shows. The whole idea of this consumption is socialization. These friends are going out to have fun together, the event itself might not be the main aspect, it is more that they have found some interests that many of them share and plan events that everyone enjoy. When Kristina goes to the theatre with her friends, they often go for a glass of wine or something to eat before the show. Wine during the break is also very important. Kristina and her friends often dress up when they attend the theatre but she does not buy new clothes just because she is going there. This is almost a common practice between them, how they dress, act and socialize with each other. Further, in terms of transportations, she lives nearby and does not need the car to get there. Kristina tries not to use her car when she is going somewhere in the city centre, partly because of consideration for the environment.

Kristina's interest in the theatre is not limited to Sweden, as she travels a lot. She has seen many shows abroad, for instance in London and she always make sure to see a show whenever she is there. Her interest in the theatre and opera has always been there, ever since she became an adult and was not influenced by her family as no one in her family shared her interest. She listens a lot to classical music. The interest has shifted between opera and theatre. Opera came first, followed by theatre, then a combination of both. It is now three years since she went to the opera. The first show she ever saw was La Boheme with some friends, which she much enjoyed. Kristina and her ex husband used to go to opera together, she influenced him with her interest, which they then shared; another example of consumer socialization (Peter & Olson, 2005). They both sponsored the opera, resulting in them having their names on the wall there, and holding a subscription card for many years, although that is not the case anymore. Sponsoring something that is important to them, in this case the opera, indicates their devotion to the practice. Kristina explained that she has tried to get her daughter interested in classical music, but without any success, stating that:

We always played classical music at home, and went to a few shows, but it never caught her interest.

Kristina has influenced her friends to join her at both the opera and theatre, i.e. this is a big part of her interest that she likes to share with the people around her, which is also a way of teaching others a new practice. She tried with her daughter while she was a child, converted her ex husband to opera and is probably learning new practices through her group of friends, all with different interests, influencing and teaching each other.

A play she saw recently with a friend was "Sista dansen", which she much enjoyed. Kristina admits that she sometimes thinks theatre performances are boring and too long, she does not like them to be longer than two hours. Nowadays, she appreciates that it is possible to order wine for the break to the theatre as well. When Kristina selects plays to go to, she often reads reviews and listen to what people around her have seen, to get good recommendations.

Besides the opera and theatre, she also goes to the concert hall, where she has a subscription card. Looking at the theory, she fits the description of an omnivore in her cultural consumption due to her wide taste and many interests (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2005; Peterson & Kern, 1996). She can also be assumed to belong to a higher income stratum. She stated that she goes to concerts about eight to ten times a year. She has influenced her friends to join her at these events too and her favorite days to go are Fridays at 6 pm, since:

That is a perfect time to go because then you can go out afterwards for some wine and dinner.

Linda

The interviewee is a 24 year old woman, here referred to as Linda, who lives with her boyfriend and their two cats in a two room apartment in a storey house in Kviberg, a few tram stops away from SKF. Until recently Linda lived in Helsingborg, where she studied sociology. Now, she is working as a personal assistant and has applied for a few jobs since she moved back to Gothenburg.

Linda spent part of her childhood in Halmstad and moved to Gothenburg with her parents when she was about 12 years old. Her seven years older sister, who herself was a professional actress for some time, influenced Linda to follow in her footsteps. The theatre group which Linda joined in Alefors meant a lot to her and took up much of her time during her teenage years. Linda describes the special feeling of belonging to a certain group and that it both helped her personal development and offered an opportunity to escape reality for a while. What she describes is a form of search for otherness, described by Belk et al. (2003), and how belonging was important for her self-image. Some of the same reasons are also given when she explains why she likes visiting the theatre; to escape the reality and for personal development. Interpreting and analyzing the meaning of the play is also something which interests Linda and brings her much joy and satisfaction. This could be seen as a way for her to connect with the play on another level, not only during the show but also to preserve and evaluate the feelings afterwards. Her emotional motives for visiting the theatre are described as:

It is a way of breaking the habits of everyday life; it makes me happy when I go...

Nowadays, Linda does not visit the theatre often. She has seen some professional plays throughout the years with her sister acting, but before she went to Orestien it had been a year and a half since her last visit. This is not due to a lack of interest, rather because visiting the theatre is not a regular habit of hers and because of a lack of initiative. Since Linda is not devoted to the practice of theatre, it is also hard for her to learn. Linda went to Orestien with her friend and had told her in the break that they have to do this more often. The initiative to visit Orestien was not taken by Linda. Neither did she take the initiative the time before that when she visited an English play in Helsingborg while she was studying there. She went to that play after being invited by her friends who had a spare ticket. The lack of initiative is surprising considering her views and feelings towards theatre. It is reasonable to believe that theatre is a passion or desire for her, when evaluating her descriptions. However, if it was truly a passion, you would expect her to have drive of her own. One explanation could be that she is not as passionate as she sounds or she could be expressing a self image she wishes to be true, but lacks the initiative to fulfill.

No consumption was associated with her last two theatre visits, although when we met at Orestien, Linda was eating a cake coming from the theatre's café even though she stated during the interview that she did not buy anything to eat; indicating that people are not always aware of their actions and whether she usually did buy something to eat or not, she did that time. Linda also stated that she and her friend, who she met at the theatre, did not

go anywhere before or go after the play. The way of transportation was by tram for Linda and by tram and bus for her friend. Linda's household owns a car, but normally her boyfriend drives it.

In her spare time Linda likes to meet with friends, most often at someone's house to drink coffee or watch a movie, but occasionally at a cafe in the city centre. Once in a while she follows her friend, with who she went to Orestien with, to various activities like open lectures and Sjöfartsmuseet. However, just like the theatre visits, the initiative is almost never taken by her.

Nicklas

The next interviewee is a 41 year old man with a family consisting of him, his wife and two children, four and six years old. For this case, he will be referred to as Nicklas. He is a researcher, within mechanics, who is also a teacher since lectures are part of his work. His title is Doctor and he has been doing research for 10 years. Before his Doctors degree he was a student at Chalmers within mechanics as well.

During his spare time he spends a lot of time with his family. He is an active person who enjoys being outdoors, both for jogging, cycling and just enjoying nature. He likes to go bird watching and as well as fishing. One of his cultural hobbies is literature, preferably old classics from the 19th century. This is one of the reasons to why he chose to see Orestien. Another reason was that he had read a book about Greek history, which is part of the plot of Orestien. Besides theatre, Nicklas enjoys going to concert halls, church concerts as well as classical music; however, not opera. He has been to a few opera shows, one about a year ago, but this is not something he would chose to go to. Nicklas is an omnivore with a wide span of interests and cultural preferences (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2005; Peterson & Kern, 1996), we also assume that he belongs to a higher income stratum based on his level of education and profession. He expressed his opinions about the opera:

I don't like the opera and its snobby atmosphere. I prefer Folkteatern since it is more casual.

Nicklas goes to the theatre once every year, when his wife is on a trip. He chooses the theatre then because it is something different to the cinema, which he visits more often. His theatre habits have changed over the past five years, before then he did not use to go at all, but when his wife started going on yearly trips, he made it a tradition to go to the theatre whenever she was away. No one in his family or his friends has an interest in theatre, therefore he goes alone, which he does not mind, because it is less distracting and he can focus on the show completely.

In terms of purchases he has not bought anything just because of a theatre visit such as clothes etc. At the theatre he does not usually buy anything to drink neither before the show, during the break, nor after the show, therefore he has no special consumption connected to the visit. However, later on during the conversation, without thinking about it, he explained how he went to Burger King during the break of Orestien; again proving that people are not always aware of their actions. At that time, he was driven by functional motives; he was hungry and needed something to eat.

Another exception is if his wife was to join him, they would go out to dinner before the show and maybe have a drink afterwards if there was time. But that does not happen often, and it depends on whether they can get a baby sitter or not.

Regarding transportation, Nicklas usually takes his bicycle, since that is natural for him to use. If he was to use public transports he would take the tram. Since he lives in the city

centre, he tries not to use the car, both because it is easier without it and for environmental reasons.

Continuing, Nicklas stated that he would like to visit the theatre more often, although he is not sure what would motivate him to increase the number of visits. It is not due to the price, and it is easy to get tickets and to get there. One issue could be a lack of time, another that the theatre is not a top priority for him. It is more of an effort to go to the theatre, and harder to get people to join you there. It is easier to go to the cinema because the range on offer is wider and it appeals to more people. Also, being a family man, the children take up for a large proportion of his time, this is discussed by Lawson (1991) as being part of the Family Life Cycle.

In terms of searching for information search, he usually reads the reviews in GP to see if there are any good plays on. Sometimes he gets some advice from his mother as to what is on that is good and worth seeing. As Shove and Watson (2008) suggest, practice is something we learn from our influencers, e.g. the family; which was also clear from the other interviewees with e.g. Margareta and Kristina as well as observed at the opera. However, the fact that he gets advice from his mother seems contradictory to his claim that no one in his family had any specific interest in culture. One possible reason is that she is well informed or has friends who go to the shows instead.

Finally, Nicklas stated that Chalmers gives out tickets to the cinema for Christmas to their employees, and have done so for a long time. Last year, he suggested that they could hand out theatre tickets instead; however, he was not met with any enthusiasm, as they believed that people would not appreciate it as much. The attitudes are more conservative towards it. This shows tendencies that he would like people to share his interest and tries to introduce them to a practice he enjoys. He stated that:

I would probably never have thought of theatre tickets if that wasn't something I enjoyed myself, but now it was closer to heart and I thought it would be a good idea and something the others would enjoy.

If a practice is something that is understood by a large group of people, and the majority of this group does not understand it, it could be difficult to influence and “teach” them all for only one person.

4.2.3 Summary of Folkteatern

The visitors of Folkteatern were not as formally dressed as the visitors at the Gothenburg Opera and the atmosphere was also merrier. Not as much food and drinks were served, and this also reflected on the level of consumption by the visitors. The observations made it clear how different the practices are at the two locations.

The respondents differed somewhat from one another in their level of theatre consumption; Kristina is attending theatre events several times a year, Nicklas once every year and Linda does not go on a regular basis. Kristina was the only one, who included consumption of food and / or drinks in the theatre experience; having a glass of wine together with friends before and / or after the show. The related consumption of Linda and Nicklas was not pre-planned. Kristina also highlighted the social dimension of the theatre visit opposed to Nicklas who went alone and Linda who consumed theatre more randomly and not with a specific group of friends.

Kristina and Nicklas are both culturally active; however Kristina is the only one who also visits the opera. None of the interviewees considered themselves going to the theatre as much as they would like to, and a lack of time as well as a lack of initiative was given as reasons for this.

Finally, when both looking at the cases of the Gothenburg Opera and Folkteatern, seven themes were identified namely: age, class and gender, profession, amount of spare time, social relations, materialization of the experience, emotions and music interest. These themes will be further developed in the following section.

4.3 Consumption patterns

This section will present our contribution to a deeper understanding of opera and theatre consumption as well as the related consumption patterns. First, the seven themes will be discussed followed by the compiled patterns

4.3.1 Cultural consumption and related consumption

Age, class and gender

In the theoretical framework, three variables affecting cultural consumption are discussed; class, age and gender. Without the intention of over-simplifying, and still bearing intersectionality in mind, we have through the observations and interviews found support for the theories presented earlier on. Since, during the observations only age and gender were possible to observe, class in terms of income could only be based on assumptions and cannot be observed.

During our observations we noted that a vast majority of the visitors were women at two out of three shows; Orestien (Folkteatern) and La Boheme (The Gothenburg Opera). This over-representation of women was also confirmed by the staff who worked at the theatre and opera at the time of our observations. These findings supports the statistics in the background given by Statens kulturråd (2008) and Antoni and Nilsson (2009), but also supports the findings of Bihagen and Katz-Gerro (2000) regarding gender differences in cultural consumption in Sweden. They argue that women to a larger extent than men consume highbrow culture activities. From our observations, the gender differences seemed to be less evident at the opera than at the theatre, especially when taking the observation of *Mästersångaren i Nürnberg* (the opera) into account, as there was a 50-50 spread among men and women on that occasion. This also supports the findings of Antoni and Nilsson (2008), showing that the gender differences being larger at theatres than at operas. Furthermore, Bihagen and Katz-Gerro (2000) show that gender differences are stable independent from the effects of education, occupational class position, age, family, status, and income, something which we cannot comment on. However, our observations may find support to the finding that gender difference already exists in early ages and remains relatively stable over time. With a few exceptions mainly observed at *Mästersångaren i Nürnberg* (the opera), and not taking the school classes into account, the younger crowd consisted mainly of women. This was especially evident at the theatre where many female friends in their 30s attended in pairs or threes. Our observations partially also support the statistics given in the Background section relating to age; that the bulk of visitors are between 45-74 years old. We would even say that 45 years is a bit young according our observations, and that the bulk of visitors at Folkteatern are in their 50s and 60s, and 60 years and older at the Gothenburg opera. Female visitors in the age group between 16-19 years old, is according to our observations, rare; except for the school class going to Orestien that night, something which is not particularly common according to one of the members of staff on duty that night.

From the interviews we can draw some parallels to the theories regarding social stratification, especially the homology argument and the discussion about omnivores and univores (Bourdieu, 1984; Peterson & Kern, 1996; Chan & Goldthorpe, 2005). One of the interviewees, Carl, clearly identifies himself as belonging to a higher stratum and only

consumes highbrow culture, which according to him consists of opera and classical music. Opera consumption is an indicator of status. His attitude is expressed through the following quotes:

[Some working class professions] cannot even spell to culture

And

I do not go to theatre or cinema; it is a bit too folksy

Another interviewee, Nicklas, expressed his dislike of the opera as being too snobby, and despite his interest in classical music he has not visited the opera for several years.

Theatre, classic concert and opera visitors are described in Scenkonstens public (2008) as people who more often than non-goers engage in, or visit other cultural events like musicals, museums, art exhibitions, rock- and pop concerts, and cinemas. Looking at cultural consumption in general, five of the interviewees are very culturally active in their spare time; Margareta, Carl, Bengt and Ulla, Kristina and Nicklas. All but Carl are clearly omnivorous in their cultural preferences and showing openness in appreciating all kinds of culture (Peterson & Kern 1996); however, not all of them typically belong to higher income strata. Of the omnivorous, all but one, Nicklas, enjoys going both to the theatre and to the opera. Also, as Margareta stated:

Except for opera and theatre, I like rock music very much. My friends and I have been to concerts at Scandinavium quite a lot lately.

Looking specifically at theatre and opera consumption, Margareta, Carl, Bengt and Ulla and Kristina are the most frequent visitors, which differ somewhat from the amount of culture consumed in general as Nicklas is not included in the group. Although he (Nicklas) reads plenty of books, often listens to classical music, and goes to concert halls and churches for concerts, he is not a frequent theatre nor opera visitor. Linda on the other hand stands out from the rest. Except for a few occasional visits to the theatre and to Sjöfartsmuseet, Linda has a low level of cultural consumption and is also quite univorous, mainly watching movies at home:

I do not have that much interest in culture except for theatre... and I don't go very often to the theatre either.

Profession

Continuing the class discussion, according to the study Scenkonstens publik by the SOM-institute (Antoni & Nilsson, 2008), which is referred to in the Background section, theatre, classical concert and opera visitors generally have a higher level of education. Four out of our six interviewees have a higher education, however Linda is newly graduated and not yet working within her profession. She is also the only one having a low status job, working part time as a personal assistant. Margareta and Kristina do not have a higher education, but are or have been working on in offices with administrative task. Although this cannot be regarded as a high status profession, it is not regarded as a low status job. Based on our interviews, the job situation rather than the level of education reflects in the amount of cultural consumption enjoyed by our interviewees. This could indicate that the practice of each profession influences the way employees behave in their spare time and what they consume. Based on our interviewees, five of them have higher status jobs or at least worked in an office, and they all consume culture to some extent. While the one interviewee with the lower status job, was also the one who consumed the least amount of culture as well as mostly lowbrow culture.

Amount of spare time

Three of the interviewees, Margareta, Carl and Bengt and Ulla consider themselves to consume as much theatre and opera as they would like to. As described in the Background section, Statens kulturråd (2008) states that a large share of the respondents did not visit the theatre as much as they would wish to and that most common constraint mentioned, was a lack of time.

Continuing, lack of time and lack of initiative or not prioritizing it enough are mentioned as reasons for not going more often by Kristina and Nicklas; an active part-time working woman and a family man. For the latter being a family man in his 40s with a limited amount of spare time, can be a reflection of the family life cycle which is mainly caused by the “arrival and then dispersal of children and then later by retirement and old age” (Lawson, 1991). Linda has the time; however she is despite her interest in theatre lacking the initiative.

All but one of the interviewees, Nicklas, have quite a lot of spare time; Margareta and Bengt and Ulla are retired, Kristina and Linda work part time, and Carl works intensively for five weeks in a row and is then off for five weeks. To some extent the amount of spare time also reflects in the consumption of theatre and opera. Bengt and Ulla state that they have increased their cultural consumption since they retired and also explain this by mentioning that they have more time nowadays. However, for the omnivorous, the consumption of theatre and opera is competing with other cultural activities like going to museums and visiting concerts. This is especially true for Margareta, Kristina and Bengt and Ulla. Linda is the only one of the interviewees who has quite a lot of spare time and still does not have a high level of cultural consumption.

Social relations

It has been mentioned earlier in this report, that culture can be viewed as a social phenomenon. This is something that is not consumed on its own, but rather seen as a fun event to enjoy with family and friends. As stated by some of the interviewees, both Margareta, Carl and Kristina all enjoy cultural events with people around them, e.g. Kristina who influenced her ex husband to share her interest in the opera and both Margareta and Kristina who went out with a group of friends. As we consider this to be an interesting finding, we looked at whether the interviewees were influencers or were influenced by others, and for three of the interviewees it worked both ways. We considered the influencers to be Margareta, Carl, Bengt and Ulla and Kristina, due to their high engagement in involving friends, colleagues and family. The ones being influenced were mainly Margareta, Carl, Bengt and Ulla, Linda and Nicklas, as people around them first started their interest for culture, were the ones taking initiatives or performed the information search for up and coming events. Bengt and Ulla, the married couple, are influencing and enhancing each others interests, however, neither of them has introduced the other to theatre, opera or classical music; they had those interests separately before they met.

Also, we noticed that a high degree of cultural consumption is connected to other consumption. The four interviewees Margareta, Carl, Bengt and Ulla and Kristina all have a high degree of cultural consumption, which is connected to related consumption, e.g. restaurant visits and going out for a glass of wine. All of these show some kind of pattern or rituals that they have with their friends or family. To give a few examples, Margareta often celebrated New Years Eve with her friends at the opera, this is associated with both nicer, sometimes new clothes, and with having catered dinner. Carl stated that:

If I am going with my cousin, she often wants to have dinner before. Since I usually buy the tickets, she treats me with dinner.

Therefore, the frequent visitors among the interviewees have certain patterns as well as a higher degree of related consumption than Linda and Nicklas, who do not go as often. We can also see that the ones with the highest level of consumption are the ones attending the opera. Even though Kristina is interviewed as a theatre-goer, she is also a visitor and fan of the opera, which is why this applies to her as well. The dress code also affected other consumption. Bengt and Ulla and Kristina would perhaps not buy anything new just because of a show, but would definitely dress up, whilst both Margareta and Carl states that they have bought new attire to wear to the opera. The consumption and dress code of the opera is not that surprising as it fits the practice of opera and the whole culture around it.

Another aspect we have noticed is that consumption is not only based on our own decisions, as Warde (2004) suggests, it is a non-rational practice. We would like to illustrate this with an example from Nicklas, who does not have any consumption patterns on his own, but revealed that if he went to the theatre with his wife, they would be dining out before the show and:

...maybe go out for drinks afterwards, depending on if we had a babysitter or not.

Meaning that the cultural consumption itself is not necessary a social phenomenon for him, but the related consumption is. When he goes alone, it is steered by influence and practical reasons such as:

I was hungry, and the sandwiches were out, so I went to a nearby Burger King.

Emotions

As the statistics provided by the SOM-institute (Antoni & Nilsson, 2008) show, people who are satisfied with their lives are more often visitors to various cultural events, such as the opera and theatre. From what we could conclude from our interviewees, they all seemed pleased with their lives. This was not a particular discussion topic, but something that could be interpreted by listening to the interviewees describing their lives and situations. This was an interesting finding since it was not something we particularly looked for but that came through anyway.

As expressed by our interviewees, there are a lot of emotions are associated with theatre and opera consumption, something that was also evident during the observations. The atmosphere at both locations were merry, people were smiling, chatting and happily socializing with each other. There was a slight difference at Folkteatern where the atmosphere was merrier and more relaxed. The atmosphere seemed to spread to most of the visitors, enhancing their own emotions and state of mind, and might be a reason to visit these locations, not just the theatre and opera shows particularly.

As earlier stated, the consumption of leisure services is driven by emotional rather than functional motives (Wakefield & Blodgett, 1994). The emotional motives were clearly described by our interviewees and to give a few examples, Margareta said that she needs culture to make her feel better. Continuing with Linda, who expressed that theatre makes her happy when she goes. Even describing a memorable theatre or opera experience carries a lot of emotions, e.g. Carl who explained how a Russian show “blew his mind” and how that show contributed to his interest in and passion for opera.

These feelings and motives are easily related to the description of desire; among others including passion, bringing magical meaning in life and a search for otherness (Belk et al., 2003). Margareta expresses clearly how the culture consumption brings her life magical meaning, and helped her through her illness. We would also like to mention Carl, who searches for people with similar tastes as him, since he clearly expresses his opinions about Folkteatern being too “folksy”. The opera could create a sense of belonging for him, to belong to a group that understands his passion and shares his values.

Compared to need, for desire the relation to the object is not open (Belk et al., 2003). For our interviewees, that means their desire would not be satisfied by just any leisure services or experiences satisfy, it is fixed to e.g. opera, theatre or classical music. This is especially evident for Carl, who would not be satisfied with any musical performance, it has to be opera.

Materialization of the experience

One aspect which came up unexpectedly during the interviews with Carl and Bengt and Ulla was the collection of memorabilia from the shows; Carl saved all his tickets and programs from the shows he has seen, and Bengt and Ulla saved the pretzel from *Mästersångaren från Nürnberg*. As mentioned in the Background section, Pine and Gilmore (1999) argue that an experience such as visiting the theatre or opera is focused around the consumption, and that the consumer pays money to spend time enjoying it. As theatre and opera visits do not last after the show has ended except for in the memory of the visitor, saving material objects can be a way of reliving the experience over and over again; a way of materializing the immateriality of theatre and opera.

Another way of reliving the theatre or opera show over again can be to read the reviews of the show afterwards, which both Carl and Bengt and Ulla like to do. Linda on the other hand, kept her theatre experiences in her mind, analyzing and thinking about them afterwards.

Musical interest

One topic that came up during several of the interviews was the interest in music. Not too surprising, all opera visitors; Margareta, Carl, Bengt and Ulla and Kristina, mention the importance of music and how it has been and still is a big part of their lives.

I have been listening to classical music since I was 19 years old. (Kristina)

I listened to classical music for 15 years before I started going to the opera. (Carl)

One exception is Nicklas who listens to classical music but does not actually go to the opera. He enjoys the culture and the music, but does not appreciate the events, which could be related to his views of the opera as being too snobby and he prefers to just listen to the music:

No I'm not a fan of the opera, although, I would like to see a Wagner piece, however I'm not interested in sitting at the opera for six hours.

When discussing this during the interview, we informed him that there was a Wagner concert at the opera (which was information gained during the interview with Carl), he became interested and would consider going, assuming that the atmosphere at a concert would be less formal and the show not as long as an opera performance.

One observed pattern among the opera visitors, based on our interviewees, is how the interest in opera seemed to have begun with an interest in classical music. All of the interviewees listened to classical music at home and their interest evolved into opera later on. In Bengt's case, music was always important to his family, his father having a musical nature and Arvika is an important musical stage; which is also an example of consumer socialization (Peter & Olson, 2005). Bengt explained how the musical interest was shared by everyone in the town of Arvika. It could be argued that this phenomenon is a culture, but also a practice of the town, influencing the interests and behavior of its residents.

Out of the opera visitors all but Carl are visiting other music related events as well; the concert hall and church concerts were mentioned by almost all of the opera visitors. This shows that their musical interest goes beyond the opera, and Bengt also expresses his musical interest by singing in a church choir. In many cases the interest in music goes beyond the interest in classical music, for example Ulla who listens to Andreas Johnson and Margareta who likes rock music.

4.3.2 Compiled consumption patterns

According to the findings of the interviews, the interviewees can be categorized according to their consumption patterns, see table 2. Our findings show that all but one of the interviewees has distinct consumption patterns associated with their theatre and opera consumption. These involved rituals for when to go, with whom and so on. As an example Margareta, has a specific group of friends with whom she always goes, she is the driving force among her friends when it comes to finding shows and to go to and booking the tickets. In the group with a consumption pattern associated with their theatre and opera consumption, Nicklas differs somewhat from the others, as he is the only one who visits the theatre alone. However, his tradition is to go when his wife is a way on an annual trip, which clearly indicates a pattern. For Linda, who is not a regular visitor, visiting the theatre randomly and with different groups of people from time to time, no consumption pattern has been identified. This is not particularly surprising and shows that regular visitors to the opera or the theatre, are more likely to have some kind of rituals or patterns for what to do, when to go, with whom etc. The opera and theatre consumption also often involves a social aspect as well.

Moving on to related consumption when going to the theatre and / or the opera, all interviewees but two has a consumption pattern for this. The social aspect, which was also evident in relation to theatre and opera consumption, is even more important for having a consumption pattern for related consumption. For Kristina, who states that the whole idea of going to the theatre is to socialize, a visit almost always involves a glass of wine or something to eat before the show. Or Carl, who has different consumption patterns of related consumption depending on with whom he goes; dinner before the show with his cousin, going out after the show with his brother. For Linda and Nicklas, both theatre visitors, the social aspect is not explicitly expressed; instead the show itself is the main attraction. Nicklas, who normally goes to the theatre by himself, expresses that if his wife comes with him, it often involves some kind of planned consumption; e.g. having dinner before the show, which highlights the social dimension of related consumption. Finally, the amount of consumption associated with a visit to the opera was greater than that associated with a visit to the theatre.

	Consumption pattern	No consumption pattern
Theatre and opera consumption	Margareta, Carl, Bengt and Ulla, Kristina, Nicklas	Linda
Related consumption	Margareta, Carl, Bengt and Ulla, Kristina	Linda, Nicklas

Table 2. Categorization of interviewees according to consumption patterns

4.4 Sustainability

To contribute to the LCA, the sustainability perspective will be discussed from a consumer perspective. As EIPRO Projects suggest, food and drink along with transports are two main categories that stands for a large part of the environmental impact. These two were both observed as well as mentioned constantly during the interviews and are connected to opera and theatre visits, as we discussed related consumption in the previous sections. If cultural consumption, in this case opera and theatre, is to be promoted as sustainable, it is necessary to consider more than just the ticket, i.e. looking at related consumption. Our study shows that most of the interviewees had some form of related consumption connected to the visits. Since all of the interviewees are living in Gothenburg and public transportation is easily accessible, excluding the car from practical (e.g. want to drink a glass of wine before or after the show) or economical reasons, as well it being possible for three of them to walk or bicycle, transportation was not an issue from an environmental perspective.

Food and drink on the other hand played a larger part of the visits, as only Linda and Nicklas usually did not consume anything before or after the show, both of them being theatre visitors. As concluded from the observations, most of the in house consumption appeared during the break, which could be explained by people to have been somewhere else before the show, however that was not possible to observe, nor after the show. The only stated fact is based on the other four interviewees' comments about them often going somewhere else before and/or after the show.

From our interviewees, the related consumption appeared to be larger for opera visitors. Not only did they consume more food and drinks, but other consumption such as clothing could be related to Margareta and Carl. As Kilbourne, McDonagh, and Prothero (1997) state, individuals are acting within a system and the options that the system is offering them, which was clear during the observations considering the offerings at each location, the theatre with its limited selection and the opera with its more exclusive and wider offering. This could be connected to the practice of opera being different from the practice of theatre, the opera being more formal and have more consumption related to it.

Note, that having an organic assortment of food and drinks served at the opera and theatre would show consideration for sustainable aspects. The Gothenburg Opera offers some organic sandwiches, showing their interest for the issue.

Also, the programs could be considered from a sustainable perspective. Each subscriber to the opera receives a program by post, and additionally programs are sold at the opera. At

Folkteatern, programs are handed out to the visitors. This demands resources and should be included in sustainable calculations.

Bauman (2001) criticizes the new consumer culture and how consumers were driven by desire, which connects to the emotions of the interviewees and their expressions of how e.g. the opera makes them feel. A newer view is the consumers being driven by wish and how we consume to fulfill a self-image. If one identifies him/herself with the opera, that person is likely to be devoted to that practice and the related consumption. One example would be Carl that bought a tuxedo because it is accustomed to wear one to premiers as well as always having something to drink during the break.

A final note, as stated by Schaefer and Crane (2005), by understanding consumption as a social and cultural activity, some hope may hold out for making consumption more environmentally responsible; social and cultural needs can be satisfied in other ways than consuming goods. This is in line with Røpke (2001) research stating that consumption of material goods will not shift by itself to services. She also argue that incentives from governments are needed and Schaefer and Crane (2005) agree that public policy could help limiting the promotion and steer consumption towards more sustainable way of to fulfill social and cultural needs.

In sum, opera and theatre visits involves more than just the visit and from an environmental perspective needs to be looked at from a broader perspective rather than just the ticket itself; one needs to understand the whole practice of it.

5 Conclusion

Through the ethnographic study and the interviews, we have concluded some interesting findings and consumption patterns for the Gothenburg Opera and Folkteatern's visitors. A little reminder of the purpose:

The purpose of this report is to study how consumption of theatre and opera gives rise to other material and immaterial consumption and to illustrate these consumption patterns.

First off, the observations indicated that more women than men visit the theatre, while it was not as evident at the opera since there was an even gender distribution at the show *Mästersångarna i Nürnberg*. Consistent for all shows and both locations was the majority of the visitors being within the age span of 50-60 years old and up, which is in line with the data from Statens kulturråd (2008) as well as being confirmed by experienced staff at both locations.

Further, the consumption of leisure services is driven rather by emotional than functional motives, which was stated by our interviewees; especially the opera visitors who described the experience as "mind blowing" or "necessary to feel good". These feelings and motives relate to the description of desire, bringing magical meaning in life and a search for otherness. Theatre and opera consumption is a social phenomenon, both observed at the two locations as well as something five out of six of our interviewees choose to share with people around them. However, it is not solely the group going to the event that influences the experience, but also the other visitors, environment, atmosphere and related activities. The whole experience is influenced by the practice of theatre and opera, influencing people to act, behave and consume in a certain way. To illustrate, the Gothenburg Opera offers a selection of food and drinks that are more "high end" than the offering at Folkteatern. The two differ since the practices of the two locations are different. Another interesting observation was that almost everyone who had wine at the theatre had red wine. It was confirmed by the staff that red wine was the most common choice at other shows too. Could it be a coincidence that everyone who attends theatre events prefers red wine? Instead we would like to argue that the consumption is created by the social context, making the consumption a practice as well. As discussed earlier, Folkteatern recently implemented the preordering system, which not many visitors were aware of nor used. At the opera, it was accustom to preorder, but not at the theatre. It is difficult to change or influence people's behavior and the practice of large social contexts through information.

We found that all interviewees except one had distinct consumption patterns for their theatre and / or opera consumption. Based on the interviews, we have seen indications that the higher degree of cultural consumption connects to a higher degree of related consumption. The interviewees with the highest degree of cultural consumption, based on the number of visits per year to either the opera or theatre, also had consumption patterns related to the visits. One example would be the interviewees with consumption patterns stated that if they were going with a group of friends, they would go for a glass of wine before the show or have a glass of wine during the break. This leads us to the conclusion that consumption is less rational when influenced by others as well as being influenced by the practice of the two locations. Nicklas who often went alone, consumed on functional motives, while for e.g. Carl going out for dinner with a friend was part of the whole experience and a habit or tradition, i.e. a consumption pattern.

Continuing with the research question "if there are any differences regarding consumption connected to theatre respective to opera", our study indicates that consumption related to opera is larger than for theatre. The interviewees visiting the opera consumed more than the theatre visitors and had more related consumption in terms of dining and drinks, and to some extent clothing purchases. The larger consumption at the opera was also noted

during the observations. One way of explaining this could be by considering the practice of opera and theatre. The atmosphere, dress code, consumption and offering were completely different at the two locations, the opera with its formal feeling and the theatre with its casual environment; which reflects on the attitudes of Carl, appreciating the “class” at the opera, contra Nicklas who disliked the “snobby atmosphere”.

It is important to keep in mind that the level of consumption also is influenced by access and accessibility. All of the interviewees live in the central parts of Gothenburg, which provides them with great access and accessibility to the wide offerings of the city, in terms of culture, dining possibilities, shopping and transportation. As mentioned by Margareta, when she was living in Floda she did not consume as much culture since the offering was limited, increasing the effort to find a wider selection e.g. having to go into central Gothenburg. If we would have studied people coming outside of the central parts of Gothenburg, the transportation would have been more important from an environmental perspective.

In terms of patterns, from the observations and interviews we discovered seven themes, both anticipated and unexpected once. Age, class and gender are discussed in previous studies and, from what has been seen, this study confirms most of that research according to the analyzed variables. Same conclusion goes for profession and amount of spare time. The difference is that previous studies focus much on education in relation to culture consumption while we rather found a connection between professions and culture consumption. Further, we also saw a general music interest, on different levels, for our interviewees. Another interesting theme was social relations, the mixes of groups, the activities among the groups of friends as well as the influence social relations have on consumption. The interviewees were also open about their emotions regarding theatre and opera, how strongly many of them felt about it and how it improved their lives in some ways. The final and most surprising theme was the materialization of the experience. Two of the interviewees collected programs, tickets or other materials from the opera, not only persevering memories from the shows but also materializing the experience.

Finally, we cannot explicitly state whether “cultural consumption should be promoted more from a sustainable perspective”, but can conclude that there are more aspects to consider than just the ticket itself. As transports and food and drink play a major role in the environmental impact caused by the households, it is necessary to regard these factors as well when promoting it as a sustainable consumption, as our study shows, most visitors had some form of related consumption to the visits; mainly food and drink consumption both at the theatre and opera and nearby. Consumption can be viewed as a social and cultural activity, and by understanding how the activity works, Schaefer and Crane (2005) have faith in the possibility of making consumption more sustainable, but without neglecting consumer satisfaction and need. However, if consumption is change to a sustainable direction, incentives from governments are necessary to help the process.

This study complements the LCA, which based its calculations and assumptions mainly from an organizational perspective; therefore, this information contributes and with a consumer perspective; concluding that there are more aspects to the LCA to take into account when looking at the environmental aspects of theatre and opera consumption.

5.1 Critique and contribution

Choice of method for this study was ethnography. We considered different approaches before choosing this particular one. Other options could have been to conduct a survey instead and having a quantitative method. However, since we are investigating patterns, a qualitative method is the better option to answer that kind of questions. It could also been

possible to exclude the observations and focus on in-depth interviews with a larger sample. Although, we argue the research benefited from seeing the visitors at the actual set since it helped us to understand the mix of people going together. It also provided a broader perspective of the consumption as well as to help to get a feeling of the whole practice of going to the opera and theatre that could have been difficult to obtain from solely interviews. Also, people are not always aware of their behavior. To illustrate, Linda said that she never consumed anything at the theatre, however, when we met her, she was eating a cake from the theatre café.

It is also of interest to look at the theoretical framework, namely practice theory. We argue that practice is a useful tool to understand an environment or situation, and it contributed to the data collection.

The best case scenario would probably have been if this thesis would have been written before Chalmers conducted the LCA, for them to be able to benefit from the results from this study to get a broader perspective and to make assumptions. Running parallel, this thesis still complements the LCA, but could have worked well as a basis from the beginning.

After discussing and considering the chosen method and theory, it is appropriate to discuss the contribution this study has brought to the theoretical field. This qualitative research has contributed to a deeper understanding of opera and theatre consumption, especially through people and their statements and views. The observations and interviews also provided us with answers, enabling us to identify consumption patterns for the visitors.

As mentioned, this study is part of a larger project and contributes and complements the LCA performed at Chalmers. It could also function as a base quantitative research that could investigate how these patterns apply for the rest of the population, and possibly come up with generalizations.

Warde's (2004) research suggests that consumption is also a practice. In a way, we can see tendencies to that in our study too, since the consumption was less rational when the visitors went with friends and influenced by the environment. For instance, is it a coincidence that the vast majority of theatre visitors prefer red wine? Or does that reflect on not only the practice of theatre but also the consumption itself being a practice?

5.2 Further research

By having this thesis as a base, with knowledge what patterns to look for, we suggest that the findings could be backed up by a quantitative study in order to make generalizations on consumption patterns and to confirm whether our small sample is representative for the whole population. Further, the results can be used to refine the assumptions in the LCA, also including external consumption related to theatre and opera visits; especially food and drinks being consumed outside of the Gotheburg Opera and Folkteatern.

Considering intersectionality, which regards a whole mix of aspects such as age, gender, religion, culture, profession, class and sexuality (Gopaldas et al., 2009); we think it would be of interest to both Folkteatern and Gothenburg Opera to understand their customers better, as their general perception today is only women above 50 years old are visiting the opera and theatre, expressed by the staff working during the observations. DiMaggio, Useem, and Brown (1978) found that consumers who attend arts events on a regular basis are demographically similar, making the process of identification difficult for managers to see the differences among patrons. To understand patrons better, it is important to take segmentation variables other than demographics into account (Thyne 2001). One suggestion then would be to consider their attitudes and behavior (Swanson & Davis, 2006). However, demographics are easier to determine than attitudes. It is hard to measure

what attitudes are in line with the companies' image that will benefit the self-image of the consumer as well as creating patrons for the theatre or opera. A company cannot simply assume that e.g. all women will attend performing arts or that men will to a lesser extent. The company must identify their beliefs and then try to identify a group of similar consumers. However, we would like to stress that segmentation is easy in theory but might be more difficult to use in practice.

Another area for further research could be the servicescape for Folkteatern and Gothenburg Opera. Servicescape refers to the physical surrounding, in which a service is produced, delivered and consumed (Mossberg, 2003). As earlier mentioned, opera or theatre visits are focused around the consumption rather than on the output, which is true for functional services. Bitner (1992, p. 57) argues "Because the service generally is produced and consumed simultaneously, the consumer is "in the factory," often experiencing the total service within the firm's physical facility. The factory (or the place where the service is produced) cannot be hidden and may in fact have a strong impact on customers' perceptions of the service experience." From our interviews and observations we found that it is limited seating at the Gothenburg Opera, as well as getting crowded at times not spreading people out over the whole place. Since factors like crowding and waiting affect the perception of the whole experience and also the intentions of revisiting (Wakefield, & Blodgett, 1994), this might be an appropriate area to look more into.

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Appendix

Guides

Observation guide and coding: pre-phase

Intro:

- Day (weekend – weekday)
- Time

People:

- Age
- Gender
- Dress code
- Grouping vs. individuals
 - Group mix (gender, age etc.)
- Waiting for the show – behavior (irritation, excitement etc.)

Social relations

- Expand grouping: Anecdotes, “unwilling teenager”, people in wheel chairs, etc.

Environment:

- Interior
- Temperature
- Space vs. Crowding
- Background music

Atmosphere

- Happy, exciting, stressed....

Consumption:

- What do the visitors purchase?
- Consumption - at what extent?

Break

Social relations

- Expand grouping. Anecdotes.

Environment:

- Interior
- Temperature
- Space vs. Crowding
- Background music

Atmosphere

- Happy, exciting, stressed....

Consumption:

- What do the visitors purchase?
- Consumption - at what extent?

End

Social relations

- Expand grouping. Anecdotes.

Environment:

- Interior
- Temperature
- Space vs. Crowding
- Background music

Atmosphere

- Happy, exciting, stressed....

Consumption:

- What do the visitors purchase?
- Consumption - at what extent?

Going home:

- Discussion topics
- Transportation
- Other plans

Control questions and interviewees selection

Intro – who we are and purpose

1. Why visiting the opera / theatre?
2. Why visiting this show?
 - a. Expectations?
3. How many shows have you seen this year?
 - a. Opera vs. theatre
4. How many shows did you see last year?
5. Do you live in Gothenburg area?
 - a. Where?
6. Interested in interview?

Interview guide

Name:

Gender:

Age:

Occupation:

Education (level/ degree):

Residence:

1. Have you seen any good shows at the opera/theatre lately?
 - a. Tell me more about it (what show, what was good). Is the feeling always this positive?
 - b. How did you find out about the show? (always this way, always the Söndagsbilaga) (expectations)
 - c. How did it make you feel? (reason to visits/motivation) (Is it always the same feeling?)
 - d. With whom did you go? (always with the same people, alone, date, convinced someone)
 - e. How did you dress? (new clothes?)
 - f. How did you meet up? (meet at the opera, had dinner before, always go for drinks..) (Or do you always eat at the opera? Eat afterwards in the city?)
 - g. How did you get there? (and home)

2. Have you always had an interest in the opera / theatre?
 - a. How did your interest start? (influences, family)
 - b. Do you remember your first visit? Tell me more about it.
 - c. Do you feel like you attend the opera/theatre as often as you want to?
 - d. How often do you go? (this year, last year)

3. How has your degree of theatre and opera consumption changed over time?
 - a. Tell me more about it.
 - b. How come? (time, career, child rearing etc.)?

4. What would motivate you to visit the theatre / opera more frequently?

5. What do you do otherwise? (free time)