Title of paper: Audience development: towards a strategic mindset

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The scope and complexity of audience development

A healthy, sustainable audience pool is a vital requirement for any arts organisation and according to Hill and O'Sullivan et al. (1999, p.25) achieving this ought to be the concern of artists and administrators alike. "Whilst there are philosophical arguments which support the view that art can exist in a vacuum, for most artists the audience is an integral part of an artistic experience. Only when the public experiences what the artist wishes to communicate is the creative process complete." John Pick (1996) describes the management of the relationship between artist and audience as the development and maintenance of the 'aesthetic contract' and suggests that it ought to be a key preoccupation of arts mangers.

Audience development is an amorphous concept that describes a wide range of activities with varied outcomes that are achieved utilising one or a blend of skill sets. Essentially it is concerned with changing the structure and composition of audiences to achieve democratic participation in the arts and to engender greater levels of trust and commitment (loyalty) among existing and fledgling audience groups. Decisions concerning audience development priorities and approaches are inevitably complex, requiring practitioners to balance their personal philosophies against a myriad of other factors including government cultural policy, the organisational context and objectives and existing patterns of participation.

Kawashima (2000) has examined the contrasting theoretical perspectives underpinning audience development and this highlights a major question concerning its efficacy – quite simply does it work? At the heart of the Liberal Humanist view is the ideal of 'culture for all', and this has shaped policy in Europe for many centuries.

According to this view culture has universal value transcending the social, political and cultural divisions of the nation. On this basis then it ought to be possible using audience development techniques to make culture accessible to all people through the removal of practical and perceptual barriers, in addition to providing a means for combating social exclusion. This view, however, has been disputed by sociologists including Bourdieu (1984) and DiMaggio & Useem (1978). They argue that culture has often been used as a device for marking divisions between groups of people and consequently may have unconsciously institutionalised social inequality. If this were the case it would seem unlikely that audience development would achieve it goals. It is thought that acquisition of cultural competence is a long-term activity, therefore, it is unlikely to be achievable within audience development projects that are so often time constrained.

Tensions exist in terms of the relative importance of quantitative versus qualitative outcomes. Is the aim to expand the volume of the audience pool and adjust the socio-demographic profile by attracting new audiences or to deepen and enrich the experience for existing audiences? Hayes & Slater (2002) describe these as 'missionary' and 'mainstream' approaches.

Practitioners will also have to contend with mediating between societal and organisational benefits. Our current political masters emphasise the importance of culture as a tool for achieving social inclusion and anticipate an array of benefits ranging from reductions in crime levels, to healing the divisions within our communities, so they are funding missionary style projects. Pay back for the cultural provider from this type of activity is largely limited to the feel good factor since these

disadvantaged groups are notoriously difficult and expensive to attract and retain. Arguably resources would be better invested in 'mainstream' initiatives that are designed to strengthen the franchise with existing audience groups, so as to maximise their life-time values and provide a sustainable audience base that allows the organisation to take greater aesthetic risks.

Audience development an historical perspective

Whilst audience development is a relatively new term in the lexicon of the arts manager, its roots can be traced to the Victorian era where the notion of arts and culture as a tool for 'raising the masses' and curing the brutalising effects of industrial society was well established (Pick & Anderton 1999). A plethora of public and private initiatives were introduced by philanthropic Victorians with the goals of providing workers with 'useful', 'wholesome' and 'improving' activities to fill their expanding leisure time, a result of the recently introduced factory shift system. The new commodity of leisure became a battleground between exploiters and improvers. Politicians were keen to lure the working classes away from the cheap press and public houses so began to develop initiatives to stimulate the masses to attend the newly constructed museums and galleries. These included free admission and evening opening hours; however, there was no indication that these approaches were effective in changing the profile of visitors from an elite to mass audience. Bennett (1995) for example argues that that the reverse has occurred since museums and especially art galleries have often been appropriated by social elites, rather than functioning as institutions of homogenisation.

Yet over 150 years later, despite the lack of evidence to substantiate the efficacy of audience development initiatives, 'increasing access' has become a cornerstone of cultural policy. Many parallels can be drawn between the Victorian era and the present day: since both were predicated on the belief that arts and cultural activities have palliative qualities that help achieve social cohesion and bring harmony to divided communities.

In the interim, successive governments have developed a range of policies with the intention of expanding audiences for serious and worthy cultural activities. This shift in emphasis from supply-led to demand-led reflects a trend in cultural policy which has been echoed in most post-industrialised economies including USA, Australia and north west Europe (Radbourne 1999; McCarthy & Jinnett, 2000). Table 1 charts the motives, policy and methods underpinning the development of new audiences in the UK.

Insert table 1

The first era is characterised by the increase in supply of artistic experiences undertaken in a mood of post-war reconstruction (Bennett 1997). The Arts Council supported a narrow range of elite art forms creating demarcation between the artist as 'producer' and the audience as 'consumer'. It funded professional artists and focused on the development of infrastructure with the goal of achieving 'equity' across the regions. Funds were invested in major building programmes, the development of new public organisations and touring to boost the value of productions and events in the provinces.

In the second era the idea of social equity drove policy and the principle of universal access (bringing high art to the masses) was fully embraced. In addition, the values of cultural democracy were gaining support, which emphasised the idea that the culture of the masses exists in its own right with its own criteria for excellence. This gave rise to the rapid development of the community arts movement in the 1960s and 70s that focused on promoting art forms and communities not represented by the dominant culture. These dual but contradictory forces placed audiences at the heart of cultural policy

The third era was heralded by the election of a Tory government in 1979. Arts organisations were expected to 'stand on their own two feet' with subsistence funding justified on the basis of economic instrumentalism. Income generation became a priority, sponsorship was actively sought and arts organisations rapidly developed a marketing orientation in order to achieve their capacity targets.

The origins of audience development as distinctive discipline has can be directly attributed to the work of influential arts marketers: Morison and Dalgleish (1987) in the US and Diggle (1988) in the UK. These practitioners distinguished between potential audience groups based on their propensity to attend and concentrated their efforts on the 'soft' targets (those who were attitudinally well disposed to the arts and had some history of participation or attendance). Marketing is clearly the philosophical basis of their work and this has influenced both their style and approach. Diggle asserts that audience development is a subset of arts marketing, utilising buyer behaviour, segmentation and targeting theory to underpin his ideas.

Similarly the SELL (strategy to encourage lifelong learning) devised by Morison and Dalgleish highlights the importance of marketing communications activities (advertising, publicity, communication and education) in achieving their goal of creating a love affair between the audience and the artist. These ideas steadily captured the attention of arts marketers who were concerned with capacity building and maximising box office revenues in the difficult economic climate of the 80s. Their commitment to audience development was reinforced by a plethora of best practice and implementation manuals that emphasised a broader approach to audience development using educational tools and programming devices.

The current era of began with the election of a Labour government in May 1997. This brought a marked change in social policy that emphasised the importance of culture as a tool for achieving social inclusion. Increases in funding were conditional on arts organisations addressing issues of access and social inclusion. Consequently there has been a proliferation of audience development and outreach activities targeted at the most marginalized groups (including youth; the unemployed; ethnic minorities; and those with disabilities). Over the past ten years there has been a shift in audience development practice away from softer targets towards the more challenging and difficult to engage groups who are often attitudinally hostile - these groups are now pursued with a missionary zeal (Hayes and Slater, 2002). This is in marked contrast to mainland Europe where subtle, longer-term approaches towards democratisation of the arts are employed (Hargreaves & Cochrane, 2003). In the UK it appears as though social objectives often take precedence over aesthetic considerations, consequently increasing the tension between the dual demands of access and excellence.

Defining audience development

Definitions and models of audience development abound. Maitland (1997) simply describes these activities as 'a planned process, which involves building a relationship between an individual and the arts'. Rogers (1998) built on this and made explicit the need to nurture existing as well as new audiences. He also suggested that audience development is a holistic and integrative activity requiring the interdisciplinary skills of marketing, education and programming. Whilst these are undoubtedly the key professional competencies required, they do not indicate the scope and complexity of audience development. In reality all departments have a role to play including development, box office, front of house, catering and retail since they contribute to building the relationship and augmenting the visitor experience.

Kawashima (2000) differentiates between four different types of audience development and analyses these in terms the target, form and purpose. He defines these as cultural inclusion, extended marketing; taste cultivation and audience education. The shortcomings of this framework are that it is relatively prescriptive and does not adequately reflect the holistic nature of these activities. McCarthy & Jinnett (2001) present a model that examines audience development tasks, challenges and tactics tailored to the key segments (disinclined; inclined and participating). It strengths are that it is based upon consumer behaviour theory, identifies attitudinal predisposition of each segment and suggests a tailored approach without a prescriptive methodology.

Cashman (2001) developed an analytical framework to categorise and classify audience development activity. It is a linear model that begins with the identification

of the purposes that audience development might serve, then progresses to a process phase concerned with defining the priorities and strategic intent using an adaptation of Ansoff's matrix. The final stage illustrates a limited range of outcomes. Its strength is that it explains the considerations involved in planning audience development strategically and recognises that it can accomplish a range of jobs in a variety of settings hence his analogy with a 'Swiss army knife'. However, limited attention is given to relating strategies to specific audience groups, tactical advice is not provided and as with other models it suggests that the organisation is working isolation.

Recently other researchers have approached audience development from a relationship marketing perspective (Werner, 2000; Hayes & Slater, 2002; Radbourne & Renschler et al, 2002). They emphasise that audience development has traditionally been transaction based and argue that a paradigm shift is required to incorporate a framework of relationships, networks and interactions. These ideas have emerged from the relationship marketing literature, which highlights mutual dependency and interactive relationships between producer/seller and customer leading to long-term profitability (Gummesson 1994). Fundamental to this paradigm is the acquisition and retention of customers and the recognition that during the lifetime of the relationship, the needs and wants of individuals will change. The challenge is for organisations to anticipate and respond to these, so as to maximise audience lifetime values. The ultimate goal is to strengthen the relationship between the two parties so there is mutual trust and commitment; that can manifest in increased levels of behavioural and attitudinal loyalty (Morgan and Hunt, 1994; Payne, 1995; Gummesson, 1997; Gummesson, 1999). This approach mirrors the spectrum of audience development tasks and the diagram below illustrates the

potential for movement among key groups (Hayes and Slater, 2002). The groups are defined as: existing audiences with varying patterns of loyalty; attenders elsewhere who demonstrate varying degrees of loyalty to direct or indirect competitors; switchers - those groups who attend arts events but have no discernable patterns of loyalty; intenders who are attitudinally loyal but structural barriers limit attendance; the indifferent who have no interest in the arts and may experience certain perceptual barriers; the hostile who do not participate and have a negative predisposition towards the arts.

Insert Diagram 1 – Map of audience development potential

The purpose of the mapping is two-fold: firstly to encourage practitioners to develop a balanced portfolio of acquisition and retention activities since this minimises risk and encourages the development of tailored strategies and outcomes for each selected group. Secondly, it more accurately reflects the movement potential as it suggests a non-sequential dynamic, which is in contrast to vertical progression suggested in Payne's loyalty ladder.

The current status of audience development practice

The goal of the primary research was to investigate the degree to which audience development has become a strategic priority. The fieldwork was conducted in Spring 2000 and a phenomenological approach was adopted. Depth interviews were conducted with senior practitioners in a range of arts organisations across London and

southeast England. The purpose was threefold: to examine current practice; its relationship with the existing literature; and to assess the impact of policy initiatives on strategic decision-making.

The research indicated three typologies of cultural provider in relation to audience development practice: activists; opportunists; the ambivalent. Each typological group has different motivations and strategic priorities for undertaking audience development to and this will impact on their approach and style of practice.

'Activists' embrace access policy and have been well placed to take advantage of these new streams of funding. Typically such organisations have always had a strong social mission which either stems from serving a particular community or because their mission has developed to deliver a social message. There is a strong fit between their existing strategic focus, programme and the aspirations of government access policy, consequently they are able to extend the range of their activities without experiencing any internal conflict. Over time the staff have developed appropriate skill sets to work with specific communities and have a clear focus on their requirements. Initiatives will be highly selective and targeted as these organisations wish to concentrate on building strong enduring relationships with a few, related groups and are unlikely to extend beyond the community or issue that underpins their raison d etre.

'Opportunists' are characterised by their enthusiasm to take advantage of the new funding streams and have developed expertise in delivering successful bids. They do not have a distinctive social mission and concentrate on providing a wide range of

'missionary' programmes tailored to specific groups. Whilst they are able to be responsive and innovative, they tend to adopt a scattergun approach, which involves targeting a wide variety of minority groups through short-term projects, with limited evaluation or follow up. Consequently the investment does not always pay off in terms of strengthening the audience franchise since the resources may not be available to sustain these activities. Mainstream programming is unlikely to be adapted to cater for new audience groups and outreach work will usually be additional, however, if a group were to demonstrate significant potential subtle adjustments to the programme may be considered.

'Ambivalent' providers focus almost exclusively on their aesthetic mission and are reluctant to deviate from this priority, therefore, do not undertake many missionary style projects or contemplate any significant changes to their programming. They may have an education department but activity will be confined to mainstream work that compliments the programme rather than involving diverse groups in generic participatory activities. The underlying motivations are to enrich exiting audience groups through taste cultivation and education. In addition, practical barriers to participation are the focus of these providers with limited gestures to address the perceptual barriers. Typically this position is justified using one of the following arguments:- the work is inherently difficult to access; involvement in these activities is extraneous and would risk diluting scarce resources, staff lack the experience or do not have the appropriate skill set; the programme attracts capacity audiences; the organisation has a strong franchise with the existing audience base. These organisations are prepared to forgo the promise of additional funding but will institute cosmetic changes to maintain the support of their existing funders. This degree of

complacency could be regarded as shortsighted given that audience preferences can be fickle and their support could ebb away in the future leaving them exposed and unable to command a viable body of support.

Attitudes to access policy

For the most part respondents were well disposed to the notion of access and recognised the moral duty of subsidised organisations to engage with a wide range of groups that are under represented amongst traditional audience profiles. The social benefits are rarely paramount in their decision to undertake these projects, more often activity is driven by aesthetic principles, as a condition of funding or simply as a means of survival. It was agreed that through a range of audience development activities the franchise can be extended, although most recognised that is would be unrealistic to expect that they could achieve significant inroads with hostile groups. Cultural providers are not comfortable with critiquing the social inclusion agenda - possibly fearful of accusations of elitism or political incorrectness.

Discussions concerning the effectiveness of audience development elicited mixed responses. Most participants could cite examples of projects that had achieved their short-term goals but few were convinced that these patterns of participation were sustainable. Similarly they did not consider that their activities had significantly altered their audience or visitor profile. Activists expressed the only exception to this view citing examples of sustainable 'audience building', but this was thought to be due to their strategic approach, which focuses on developing ongoing relationships with selective niche groups over the long-term.

Audience development – roles and responsibilities

The emerging nature of audience development is epitomised by its position and status, reflected by a lack of clarity in roles and responsibilities of staff. Very often this is a shared remit across a number of departments as Rogers (1998) suggested. Typically, those with an interest include marketers, educators, outreach officers and to a lesser extent those involved in programming. In practice this can result in duplication between departments as often activity it is not adequately co-ordinated at an organisational level. Amongst the sample, few organisations could identify a champion for audience development within the management team. Each department appears to draw on their existing tools and makes decisions based on their philosophical stance, objectives and expertise. Consequently education is more likely to focus on schools and young people where they have established relationships and the confidence to deliver effectively, while marketers will use promotional tools and pricing incentives to boost box office receipts for specific events.

The scope of audience development activities

The majority of the organisations sampled had a transactional view of audience development typified by the projects that are often time constrained and communicated in an urgent manner focusing on the features and benefits of the initiative. A relationship perspective was only evident in two organisations and in both instances the respondents were marketers who are inevitably more familiar with this approach. New audiences appear to be the primary focus of audience development activity and the availability of funds is determining the selection of targets.

Existing audiences are often ignored for a variety of reasons. First and foremost many respondents did not regard the management of ongoing relationships as a valid audience development task and considered that this was the responsibility of the marketing department. This suggests that practitioners primarily associate audience development with new audience constituencies. It also assumed that the patterns of existing audience attendance will continue and that they have no need of or interest in developmental activities. A useful analogy is that of special needs within an educational context. For many years the priority was those with learning difficulties but more recently it has become widely recognised that gifted children also have specific needs which also require attention if they are to realise their full potential. Similarly, if arts providers wish to develop intimate and enduring relationships with audiences who will serve as advocates, then perhaps a shift in emphasis is required.

From the research it was evident that practitioners had not questioned the merits of 'missionary' strategies. Current practice may prove to be a 'double whammy' for arts providers. Why should they assume that they would be successful in changing the social behaviour of disenfranchised groups when the organisations that they represent are often distrusted? Others may argue that the social remit is justified. However, there is a risk that it may distract and dilute an organisation from its core activities.

The research also indicates that there are clear disadvantages to the 'missionary' approach: - these projects are often expensive and absorb inordinate amounts of staff time if they are to be well executed. In addition, the author found that there is no recognition of the size and dynamics of these minority groups. For example, youth groups are often a priority where as demographic trends show that the proportion of

young people in the British population is declining whilst those in the Third Age increasing. Perhaps arts providers should undertake rigorous cost benefit analysis to establish the viability of these projects and their fit with long-term strategic direction.

Audience development funding and strategy

Tactical planning dominates audience development practice, save for the activists whose mission and objectives will often explicitly contain a commitment to key audience constituencies. This may be because of a perceived need to deliver 'quick wins' so as to satisfy political masters and the funding agencies. The availability of funding largely determines the audiences being served, for example the New Opportunities Fund encourages the provision of after school clubs and as a consequence some cultural providers have engaged in this new activity. Some respondents particularly those that can be characterised as opportunists scan the environment for new sources of funding and devise specific projects to meet the demands of the agencies involved. Audience development funding is usually project based, time constrained or in response to organisations making a bid for a specific initiative. As a consequence practitioners may engage in short-termism, a commitment to a specific constituency only for the duration of the project and this can lead to accusations of a 'hit and run' strategy. Respondents expressed concern that the current funding regime focuses too heavily on social outcomes and some considered that they are in a 'catch 22' situation. If they choose to ignore their social responsibilities they are at risk of loosing revenue funding, however, the costs attached to delivering access initiatives are high and dilute the resources available for core activities.

Practitioners consider that government, has imposed access policies across the sector without consultation and on a blanket basis, regardless of an organisations suitability to undertake this work. In addition, cultural providers are expected to fill the gaps in provision previously undertaken by specialist youth and community workers and teachers in schools due to the reduction in formal arts education. Respondents highlighted the rhetoric of government in relation to joined-up policy making but see limited evidence of this in practice. In order for these initiatives to be effective they argued that all of those who directly engage with disenfranchised groups should be working in concert. For example, if museums expand educational services and devise programming to fit with national curriculum outcomes, it is critical that schools have the funds to support the visits. Similarly funding cultural projects in certain rural areas is pointless unless public transport is available to facilitate participation.

Practitioners were cynical about the long-term success of access policies if cultural providers continue to work in isolation. The current situation demands that providers compete for funding to undertake specific projects and that there is virtually no co-ordination to ensure that the needs of all priority groups are being addressed or that on a regional basis there is no duplication of activity.

Concern was expressed that current policy emphasises the importance of attracting new audiences but provides limited funding or advice for sustaining these groups. Similarly it does not extend to encouraging emergent audiences groups in accessing new types of work or taking risks in their participatory habits.

Evaluation of projects is undertaken albeit on a piecemeal basis. This usually involves the collection of quantitative data reflecting the demographic breakdown of participants for each project. Qualitative feedback is sought to identify the strengths and weakness so as to inform future planning. Tracking of participants is rarely undertaken due to resource limitations, yet it was acknowledged that this is essential to understanding the long-term impact of audience development.

Towards a model of audience development planning

Audience development is the life-blood of arts organisations since it is concerned with maximising existing relationships with existing audiences whilst at the same time engaging and building the loyal audiences of tomorrow. Based on a review of the literature and the research findings a model is proposed. This provides practitioners with a framework for selecting audience development priorities and developing coherent strategies based on: external and internal drivers; mediating factors; a structured process for managing relationships with new and existing audience groups.

Insert Diagram 2 – A strategic approach to audience development planning

The external drivers consist of the policy imperatives that influence the decisions of the funding bodies. The example of UK illustrates how a government with a strong social agenda can in a relatively short time redirect audience development activities to focus on excluded constituencies. Missionary style projects are proliferating, as most subsidised arts providers feel compelled to deliver these. Possibly now is time for the policy makers to reconsider their approach to access – it could be that they distinguish

between primary and secondary provision. This would involve arts organisations in examining their mission and assessing their core capabilities to determine their style of contribution. The role of the primary contributor would focus on relationship management and audience engagement, where as the secondary contributor could be involved in devising projects, providing materials and training education or outreach workers.

The internal drivers are defined as the mission and strategic direction of the organisation and as the typologies indicate these determine the significance accorded to audience development and the philosophical stance shaping practice. The board and senior management are responsible for setting the organisational goals and audience relationships ought to be integral to this process. The author advocates that the executive team should include an audience champion with responsibility for the management of the 'aesthetic contract'. This role would encompass planning and co-ordinating audience development holistically to deliver a sustainable and long-term commitment to audiences and to achieve the outcomes required by the organisation.

Establishing audience development strategy will involve a fundamental decision concerning the relative balance between acquisition of new audiences and the retention and nurturing of existing groups. Using diagram 1 as a starting point the audience typologies can be plotted for a specific organisation and both qualitative and quantitative dimensions pertaining to each group can be incorporated to provide a more complete picture of the dynamics underpinning their behaviour and attitudes. For example analysis of box office data, evaluations of other projects and the social dynamics of the regional context will enable the team to identify key targets and build

a picture of their current behavioural and attitudinal predispositions and estimate the size of groups.

Priorities need to be agreed between departments to ensure that practitioners are working together to develop interdisciplinary strategies in order achieve the objectives set. The strategic focus and the skill set matrix should be considered in tandem since these provides an effective means of analysing tactical options for achieving goals. For example devising plans for the 'indifferent' would begin by breaking this large group down in to segments that reflect the social composition of the local environment. A group such as families with children from a non-participating neighbourhood could be targeted. The strategic focus for this group is 'conversion' to build positive attitudes encourage attendance. The task is then to identify functional responses that can contribute to this, marketing for example may be able to stimulate trial by promoting the event with a mail drop in the area and remove risks by discounting family ticket prices. The education department may precede the event with outreach programmes at community centres, schools and youth clubs to build trust and stimulate interest in the event. The programme will either have been selected for this target group or will have themes that are thought to be of interest and in order to give the event a context an illustrated leaflet describing key elements of the plot or performance will be given to those purchasing tickets. Front of house staff should be welcoming to families and provide booster seats for younger children and crèche facilities for toddlers. The timing of the event may be changed to encourage family participation and the menu in bar or café should reflect the preferences of families. Evaluation techniques ought to be designed when the initiatives are planned since this enables staff to identify meaningful criteria and methodologies for assessing

outcomes. Tracking participation over the long-term may be deemed desirable – a family discount or loyalty card could be considered as a mechanism for achieving this.

Mediating factors will influence the relationship development plan these include: internal aspects such as resource considerations; organisational attitudes to risk; availability of information about audience attitudes and behaviour. Competitive initiatives will also have bearing on decision making since it is pointless for providers to compete for the same hostile groups, as this is likely to further dissipate audiences. Collective activities may provide a more effective mechanism for delivering some projects as working in partnership increases the resource base and may enable more ambitious strategies to be employed.

Audience development projects can achieve a wide range of behavioural and attitudinal outcomes, some of which are suggested in the model. Appropriate evaluation mechanisms are essential as the results of activity can be used to refine practice and will inform subsequent planning.

Conclusions

Audience development is an amorphous concept encompassing a wide range of distinctive skill sets including marketing, education and programming. It is concerned with achieving democratic participation in the arts and engendering loyalty among existing and fledgling audience groups. The Liberal Humanist view of 'culture for all' has underpinned the emergence of audience development, suggesting that the arts can be made accessible to all people through the removal of practical and perceptual

barriers. However, audience development practice is fraught with tensions arising from the scope, priorities and approach to this work.

In recent years cultural policy in the UK has shifted from a supply to a demand led perspective with financial support conditional on cultural providers delivering against the access agenda. This has led to a change in emphasis, away from enriching the experiences of existing audiences towards engaging with new constituencies who often represent some of the most marginalised groups within society. The task is a major challenge to cultural organisations and the research indicated three distinctive typologies differentiated by their approach and style of practice. Activists have a strong social mission and this is reflected in the development of highly targeted and selective initiatives. Opportunists have become expert at identifying new funding streams and tailoring projects to a variety of disadvantaged groups. This 'scattergun' approach can lead to the accusation that they are engaging in short term 'hit and run' strategies. The ambivalent take a more cautious line preferring to focus on their aesthetic mission, consequently audience development activities are more limited and concentrate on existing groups.

The author recommends that the traditional transactional perspective should be replaced by a relationship marketing paradigm, which recognises the value of interactions and social networks in achieving acquisition and retention goals. Building attitudinal and behavioural loyalty requires the long term commitment of organisations and is achieved by segmenting existing and potential audiences, defining the strategic focus for each group and developing interdisciplinary projects that enable them to realise their full potential. This approach reduces the risks

associated with missionary audience development since these are balanced against mainstream projects that can deliver a stable supporter base.

The model conceptualises the internal and external motivations driving audience development practice and provides a framework for strategic decision making to enable organisations to align decisions concerning audience development with other strategic imperatives and their own distinctive mission. It is suggested that these activities be co-ordinated by an audience champion who would be tasked with managing the aesthetic contract.

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Table 1- Four eras of audience development

Era	Motive	Policy	Methods
1945 – 64 **Supply -led**	Moral /geographical equity	Subvention Targeting resources to professional organisations with a reputation for excellence New provision	Building infrastructure Setting up new provincial organisations Emphasis on touring
1965 - 1980	Social equity / cultural democracy	Additional funding made available for community arts and more democratic art forms Socialist local authorities increased funding levels	Encouraging participation (creating and spectating) Funding attached to projects European models applied eg. Animateur role
1980 - 1997	Economic	Cuts to funding Market forces orientation Language of business used in policy documents Sponsorship encouraged through funding for ABSA Instrumental economic objectives to justify funding	Emphasis on the 'arts consumer' and income generation Arts organisations developed a marketing orientation and expertise Courses, books and training proliferated Economic performance indicators used

|			First references to 'audience development' Morison & Dalgleish (1987), Diggle (1988)
1997 – to date **Demand-led**	Palliative / Social	Access made explicit in policy documents Funding conditional on achieving access goals Project funding extended for new audience initiatives	Education and outreach activities expanded Social performance indicators used Emphasis on the 'missionary' approach Audience development manuals produced
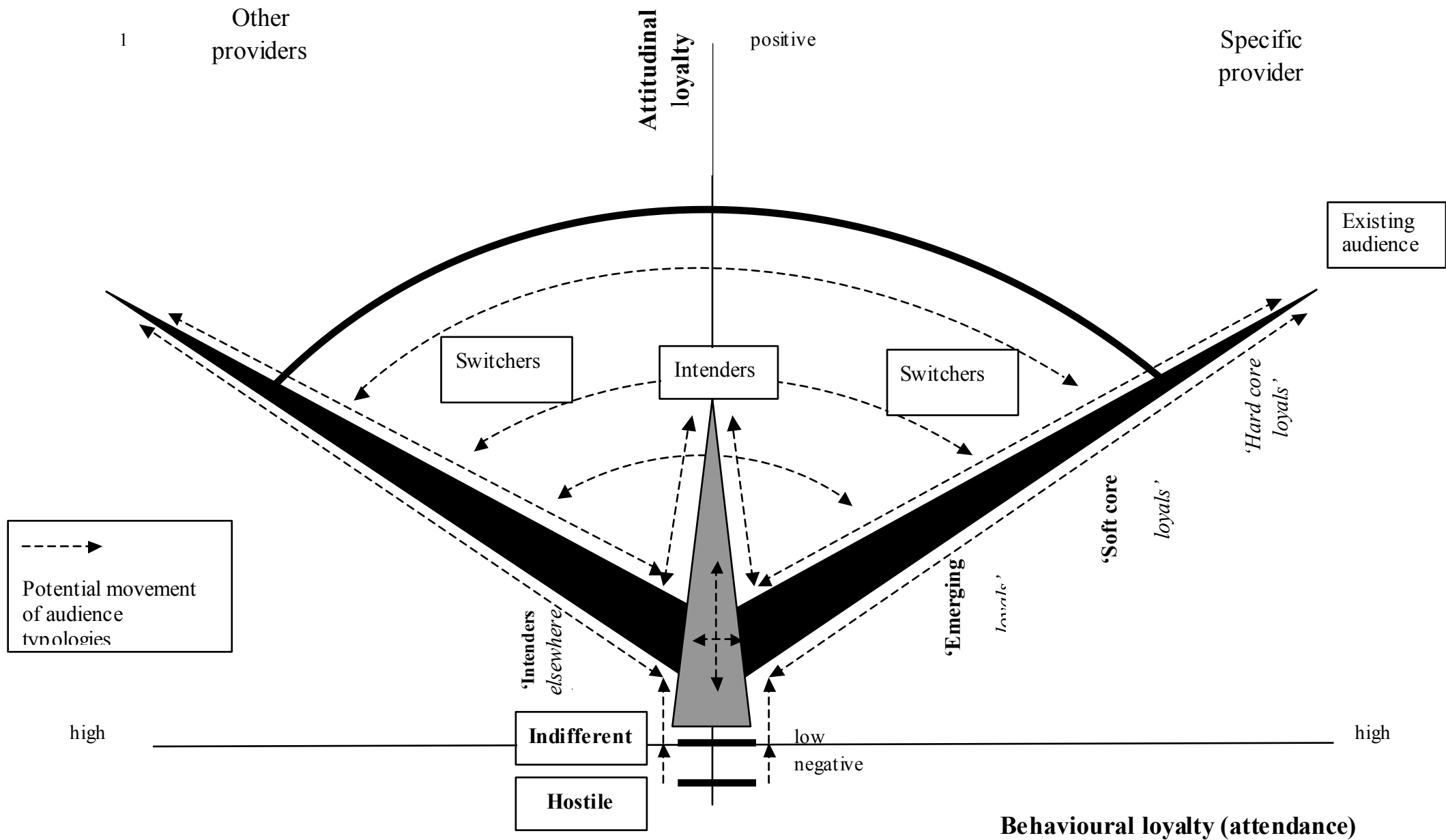
Diagram 1: Map of audience development potential, Hayes and Slater (2002)

Diagram 2 - A strategic approach to audience development planning

DRIVERS		MEDIATING FACTORS Resources; Expertise; Timescales; Degree of risk; Audience intelligence; National / regional / collective initiatives

			AUDIENCE GROUP	STRATEGIC FOCUS	SKILL SET MATRIX	OUTCOMES e.g. Advocay
Policy	Mission	Audience development 'champion' to establish objectives and co-ordinate planning				Volunteerism
			Existing	Enrichment	includes: Marketing	Capacity building
			Attenders Elsewhere	Poaching	Programming Education Outreach	
Funding	Strategy		Switchers	Enticement	Development Customer care	Programme diversification
			Intenders	Reactivation		
			Indifferent	Conversion		Broadening the audience base
			Hostile	Engagement		Loyalty /Trust