

**FROM CLICKING “YES I AM ATTENDING”, TO ACTUALLY
ATTENDING: AUDIENCE DEVELOPMENT FOR INDEPENDENT
THEATRE ORGANISATIONS IN JOHANNESBURG
- THE PLACE OF FACEBOOK.**

A research report submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the
Witwatersrand, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in
the field of Cultural Policy and Management

by

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DECLARATION

I declare that this research report is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the Degree of Master of Arts (Cultural Policy and Management) in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

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_____ day of _____ 2016.

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#THENXBATHONG

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TABLE OF CONTENTS:

1. INTRODUCTION	6
1.1 Aim	6
1.2 Rationale	6
2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	9
2.1 Research Style	9
2.2 Research Paradigm	10
2.3 Research Design	10
2.4 Data Processing and Analysis	14
3. INDEPENDENT THEATRE AND THE ISSUE OF DECLINING AUDIENCES	17
3.1 Origins of Theatre	17
3.2 Defining Theatre	17
3.3 Brief Historical Journey of Theatre in South Africa	18
3.4 Current context	21
4. WHAT ARE THE NEEDS, MOTIVES AND BARRIERS OF THE AUDIENCES?	28
4.1 Defining Audience.....	28
4.2 Audience Segmentation.....	29
4.3 Audience Trends that could influence theatre attendance	35
4.4 Audience Barriers	38
5. DIVERSIFYING, BROADENING AND DEEPENING THEATRE ATTENDANCE	42
5.1 Defining Audience Development.....	42
5.2 Audience Development in a South African context	43
5.3 How can organisations effectively implement this process of audience development?	49
6 THE POTENTIAL PLACE OF FACEBOOK IN AUDIENCE DEVELOPMENT	54
6.1 Defining Facebook.....	54
6.2 Findings about Facebook as a potential platform for building audiences.....	55

6.3	Is Facebook effective in helping organisations to implement audience development as per Kawashima (2000)?.....	59
6.4	Rethinking attendance and participation.....	63
7.	IS THERE A PLACE FOR FACEBOOK IN AUDIENCE DEVELOPMENT?.....	65
8.	REFERENCES	67
9.	APPENDIX	73

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aim

The purpose of this research is to investigate the landscape of audience development for independent theatre organisations in the city of Johannesburg, and to explore whether Facebook¹ can serve as an effective tool to build audiences. It also explores audience motivations, trends and barriers and how they affect theatre attendance and aims to answer the following questions:

- What is the historical and current theatre context in South Africa and how has that influenced theatre attendance?
- What effective strategies are small independent theatre organisations employing to respond to the “critical times” which have led to a decline in theatre attendance?
- How has the technological evolution impacted theatre production, consumption and distribution?
- Who are the current/existing audiences and why do *they* attend?
- What are the audience motivations, trends and barriers for theatre attendance?
- What effective strategies can small independent theatre organisations employ to broaden, diversify and deepen theatre attendance (audience development)?
- What motivates a person to click “yes I am attending”, or any other option on Facebook?
- Can Facebook serve as an effective tool to implement audience development which includes cultural inclusion, arts education, taste cultivation and marketing?

1.2 Rationale

The *Salzburg Global Seminar Session Report: Performing Arts in Lean Times* (2010) states that it is time ‘to reflect on opportunities for reinventing the performing arts in this period of dramatic social, economic and technological change’ (Ellis & Taylor, 2010:3). In chapter two of the *IFACCA World Summit Discussion Paper*, Geisse (2014) echoes Ellis & Taylor (2010) and adds that ‘arts organisations need to find new and creative ways of sustaining themselves in these critical times; that experiences of these crises also allow for organisations to seek flexible, dynamic and adaptable alternatives’ (Geisse, 2014:18).

One of the critical challenges that have affected small independent theatre organisations is the decline in theatre attendance. According to Mendels et al. (2014) this could be because of waning arts

¹ ‘site that promotes connections among users through personal profiles with the ability to form online friendships and groups, and to communicate through public posts and private instant messages’ (Cole, 2014:43)

education, changing demographics, competition for leisure, and the technology boom (Mendels, 2014:8). Bernstein (2007) also reflects that:

'Since the turn of the twenty-first century, audience needs and preferences have changed significantly. There is much debate as to whether the art presented on our stages is the source of changing ticket purchasing behaviour or whether people are responding differently to how the art is packaged and communicated to its publics' (Bernstein, 2007:5).

The point raised by Bernstein (2007) is the main reason why I decided to conduct this study because I wanted to tap into the voice of the potential or existing audience member to get a deeper understanding of what motivates or discourages them to attend or not attend a theatre show. One platform that has created a space for organisations to engage with their audiences is Facebook which is an affordable, relatively accessible medium that has been instrumental in helping numerous small scale organisations with their marketing and audience engagement. I also wanted to investigate whether this online engagement could be converted into theatre attendance.

The gradual decline in audiences has forced many independent theatre organisations such as mine to do some introspection on the relevance of theatre in critical times; to reflect on whether and how the art form can evolve with its audience; and mostly importantly to look for strategies that small independent theatre organisations can employ to do just that. Audience development is a relatively new concept with limited literature, particularly in a South African context and you can see the effects especially with small independent theatre organisations. One key observation is that it is often understood as just the "marketing strategy" or "arts education". In some instances, audience development is treated as a once-off or one-way communication with the targeted market usually with minimal research conducted. For example, organisations will simply distribute posters to random people on the street, invite schools, do radio/tv interviews closer to the opening of the show, or post generic Facebook events invitations and think that is "developing" the audience. While this can be attributed to the fact that there are a few theatre makers with the relevant skills in this particular field and the issue of no, or limited budgets, it has become clear that there is an urgent need for effective and long-term processes/plans.

This research explores existing and potential strategies that can be useful for theatre organisations. Using the *Theory of Human Motivation* where Maslow (1943) argues that 'any motivated behaviour, either preparatory or consummatory, must be understood to be a channel through which many basic needs may be simultaneously expressed or satisfied... that typically an act has *more* than one motivation' (Maslow, 1943: 370), I discuss some of the key motivations of why people attend or don't attend theatre and some of the reasons why people click on the Facebook posts or events. Inspired by

research conducted by the Henley Centre (2000), Morris, Hargreaves and McIntyre (2001), and Walmsley (2011) which is linked to *Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs*, I also consider some key motivations, needs and drivers of different audience segments, and most importantly how theatre makers can use this to strengthen their relationships with their audiences. This has provided more insight about why the Facebook activity does not always correspond with the theatre attendance and has highlighted that 'it is necessary to consider human needs and motivations for behaviour in terms of the complete picture, replete with nuance and interrelationships between different needs, desires, and behaviours' (Maslow, 1943a). This has led to some key information of why an organisation can have over ten thousand likes on their page, but still struggle with audiences. It has become clear that some of the reasons why people click "yes I am attending", or even attend a theatre show may be more layered; and can provide many ideas of how an organisation can maximise or build a strong relationship with that audience (member).

My research is located in the field of Cultural Policy and Management and aims to make a contribution to the body of knowledge in the field of audience development especially for theatre as this is one of the least consumed art forms as reported in the Public Participation in the Arts Report (2010). It challenges the notion that audiences are mere "bums on seats" and proposes audience segmentation as a critical process of audience development as it considers the full context of who the audiences are, their background and socio-economic issues that may influence whether they attend theatre or not. It also breaks down the concept of audience development into four interconnected branches as per Kawashima (2000) namely; cultural inclusion, (critical) arts education, (cultural) marketing and taste cultivation which theatre organisations can employ to reach various goals like "broadening", "deepening" or "diversifying" their audiences. Considering the South African context where there are challenges around issues of access, lack of transformation and lack of critical arts education, the research explores the potential role of Facebook as a tool to bridge these gaps. The fact that it focuses on a social networking site adds a different dimension to existing research on audience development, considering how the evolution of technology has introduced interesting ways of theatre attendance, production and distribution. This part of the research reveals interesting findings about Facebook itself but most importantly, that audience development for theatre requires a more nuanced and action-oriented process with support from all the relevant stakeholders. The findings from this research will be shared with other independent theatre organisations and will hopefully have an impact on discussions about how audience development processes can be effectively implemented.

2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1 Research Style

Choosing an appropriate methodology for a research project is a very crucial part of the journey because it is the tool through which the research question is answered. It is imperative to use the objectives of the research as a guide to determine the *process* by which data should be collected and after setting the research objectives to then identify the *style* of research that will be most applicable (Hill, O'Sullivan & O'Sullivan, 2003).

For my research I initially decided that I would follow the qualitative style which 'is characterised by its aims, which relate to understanding some aspect of social life, and its methods which (in general) generate words, rather than numbers' (Patton & Cochran, 2002:1). This particular research style was ideal because 'in the arts, qualitative research is particularly useful as it is able to explore the subtleties of people's reactions to the aesthetic experience' (Hill, O'Sullivan & O'Sullivan, 2003: 76). However, during the data collection process, I realised that there were key themes that kept recurring that I needed to confirm. It was at this point that I decided to incorporate a quantitative instrument which I could administer to a larger sample, which converted the research into the mixed methods approach.

In his book titled *Investigating the Social World- The Process and Practice of Research*, Schutt (2015) confirms that 'emergent mixed methods designs generally occur when a second approach (quantitative or qualitative) is added after the study is underway because one method is found to be inadequate' (Morse & Niehaus (2009) as quoted by Schutt, 2015). Creswell et al. (2011) also state that for example:

A researcher can also obtain qualitative results that build to the subsequent collection of quantitative data. The mixing occurs in the way that the two strands are connected. This connection occurs by using the results of the first strand to shape the collection of data in the second strand by specifying research questions, selecting participants, and developing data collection protocols or instruments (Creswell et al., 2011:68).

For my research the qualitative research helped shape the online survey questions and was useful to increase the generalisation of the findings. The mixed methods approach was beneficial in terms of triangulation, so that my findings could be mutually corroborated (Bryman, 2006), and most importantly for triangulation between methods for an increase in validity.

2.2 Research Paradigm

One of the aims of using a mixed methods approach was so that I could draw from the strengths of the chosen paradigms (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). However, it is important to note that the 'growth of mixed methods research has been accompanied by a debate over the rationale for combining what has previously been regarded as incompatible methodologies' (Hall, 2012:1). Because of this, various authors like Teddlie & Tashakkori (2003), Morse (2003) & Patton (1990) have since proposed alternative approaches to accommodate mixed methods research by either taking a 'a-paradigmatic', 'single paradigmatic' or 'multiple paradigmatic' stance (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003).

This research follows the "pragmatic paradigm" which advocates for the use of mixed methods. It is 'not committed to any one system of philosophy or reality' (MacKenzie & Knipe, 2006)², but rather aims to find applicable methods to answer the research problem (Creswell, 2008). According to Morgan (2007), the strength of this pragmatic approach is 'its emphasis on the connection between epistemological concerns about the nature of the knowledge that we produce and technical concerns about the methods that we use to generate that knowledge' (Morgan, 2007:73). This is why pragmatism seems like the most appropriate paradigm for this research as it prioritises the need to find answers to the research question.

2.3 Research Design

The research design followed an exploratory design. The first phase began with a small, purposefully chosen sample which included qualitative instruments such as focus group discussions and interviews. The second phase included an online (Facebook) survey. To avoid bias, efforts were made to target people from diverse backgrounds such as artists, theatregoers, social media experts as well as people who do not go to the theatre. All potential participants for the focus group discussion and in-depth interviews were given an opportunity to read about the research beforehand and then decide whether they wished to participate or not. Because the interview participants are all experts in different fields, questions were customised according to the interviewee; however for the Facebook survey, participants were all given the same set of questions (see appendix section for questions).

2.3.1 *Research respondents*

The criteria I used to select my research respondents for the in-depth interviews was based on the participants' experience and positions in the three relevant fields that the research explores, namely audience development, independent theatre and social media. Below is a description of the

² www.iier.org.au/iier16/mackenzie.html

respondents' positions. I have not included any names as the majority of respondents chose the option to remain anonymous.

Table 1: Profiles of the in-depth interviewees

Profile	Position
Black Female	Arts Marketer at Performance Arts Centre
Black Male	Co-founder and Manager of Independent Theatre Organisation, Performer
Black Male	Founder and Manager of Independent Theatre Organisation
White Female	Social Media Organisation Manager
White Female	Founder and Manager of Performing Arts Venue
White Female	Well known Performer of Independent Work
White Female	Social Media Marketer and Co-ordinator
White Male	Head of Arts School, Audience Development Specialist
Indian Female	Audience Development Fellow, Arts Manager
Coloured Female	Founder of Independent Theatre Organisation, Stage Manager and Director

For the focus group discussions, I mainly targeted theatre attenders and non-attenders. I created a form and placed it in the POPArt Centre foyer for audiences to volunteer to participate in the focus group discussions. I also used Facebook and word of mouth to reach out to more people. The table below outlines the various profiles of the respondents who participated:

Table 2: Demographic Profiles - Focus Group Discussions

Focus Group 1	Focus Group 2
Black Male – Film Student	Black Male – Investment Banker
Black Male – Drama Practitioner	Coloured Female – Drama Student
White Female – Public Art MA Student	Coloured Female – Drama Student
Black Male – Entrepreneur	Black Female – Radio Content Producer
	Black Female – Actor

With regards to the Facebook survey, the sampling was more random. I posted the link on my personal profile which at the time had 2,490 Facebook “friends” who are made up of a diverse group of people including theatre attenders and non-attenders. In total, the final research sample included 100 Facebook respondents, 10 interviewees and 9 focus group participants.

These processes allowed me to achieve what Patton & Cochran (2002) call “maximum variation” which is about ‘selecting key demographic variables that are likely to have an impact on participants’ view of the topic’ (2002:9). This helped to make sure that all the relevant stakeholders were represented.

2.3.2 Research Instruments

2.3.2.1 Focus Group Discussions

Considering that my research focuses on people's behaviours and choices, I decided that using a focus group would be useful to get insight on audience's reasons for going to the theatre or not. Berg (2001) describes focus group discussions as 'either guided or unguided discussions addressing a particular topic of interest or relevance to the researcher' (Berg, 2001:111). This is echoed by Marshall (2006) who said that in a focus group discussion participants are given the space to openly voice their views on the particular research topic. As the facilitator of the discussion, my role was to ensure that I created 'an accepting environment that puts participants at ease allowing them to thoughtfully answer questions in their own words and add meaning to their answers' (Elliot & Associates, 2005:2).

I conducted the focus group discussions at the beginning of the data collection process as well as towards the end. Both focus group discussions lasted for one hour each. Participants seemed comfortable to express their motivations and barriers to theatre attendance, as well as their perceptions of Facebook as a potential platform for audience development. The focus group discussions also helped to gain more insight from theatre makers who were also willing to share experiences.

One of the biggest challenges, despite trying different methods such as emails, texts, and social media, was getting people to agree to take part in the focus group discussion. Upon reflection, and after receiving feedback from some of the people who had initially agreed to take part, it became apparent that some thought they were not "smart enough" for a "Master's topic" while others ended up not attending after receiving the "participation information sheet" which they said seemed too formal and academic. Another key issue that emerged from the people who did actually attend was that the timing and the place of the discussion influenced their decision a great deal. In retrospect, I could have used more neutral and accessible venues and maybe not have mentioned that it was for a "Master's" degree.

2.3.2.2 In-depth interviews

One of the other qualitative instruments I used was in-depth interviews. This type of instrument is mostly used 'to explore in detail the respondent's own perceptions and accounts' (Patton & Cochran, 2012:11). Hill, O'Sullivan & O'Sullivan (2003) add that in-depth interviews 'are usually prolonged one-to-one interviews, during which the interviewer will ask questions on a series of topics, but has the freedom to phrase the questions as seems most appropriate and to order them and probe them according to the responses' (Hill, O'Sullivan & O'Sullivan, 2003:88).

In total, ten in-depth interviews were conducted with participants ranging from social media experts to arts managers and theatre practitioners with extensive experience in the field. I customized the questions according to the respondent's expertise. On some occasions the conversation digressed, but this allowed for new interesting issues to be introduced and sometimes briefly explored. Most of the interviews lasted for about an hour depending on the respondent.

An email was sent to the participants, including three others who didn't respond to the invitation, with details of the research through a Participant Information Sheet. Each interviewee got an opportunity to read the information and to choose a time most convenient to them.

2.3.2.3 Facebook (Online) Surveys

Hill, O'Sullivan & O'Sullivan (2003) define a survey as 'a method of data collection which involves identical questions being asked of a large number of individuals and a systematic record being made of their responses' (Hill, O'Sullivan & O'Sullivan, 2003:89). As mentioned, the Facebook survey was added to the research design after the completion of the focus groups and in-depth interviews. This decision was inspired by some of the themes that emerged through the qualitative instruments, including critical issues such as motivations and barriers of attendance as well as reasons for responses on the Facebook invitations. The Facebook survey not only gave access to a larger sample, but also an opportunity to get the voice of the same online community that would be receiving these Facebook invitations to (theatre) events.

A link was posted on my "timeline"³ which my Facebook "friends" could access and share with their Facebook "friends". A total of 100 anonymous responses were received and analysed using the SurveyMonkey.com software. This was the maximum number of respondents I could access as I would have had to pay to increase the sample size. Also, each respondent could only respond once as no repeat responses were allowed.

In their journal article titled *The Value of Online Surveys*, Evans & Mathur (2005) outline a number of major strengths of online surveys. The three advantages that were relevant to this research report include the fact that with online surveys a 'large sample is easy to obtain', there is a 'low administration cost' and 'ease of data entry and analysis' (Evans & Mathur, 2006:197). They also highlight a number of weaknesses and the one that is most applicable to the Facebook surveys relates to 'questions about sample selection (representativeness) and implementation' (Evans & Mathur, 2006:201). Ellison & Boyd (2013) point out that 'Facebook has taken a more algorithmic approach attempting to assess the

³ Facebook Timeline - is a section of a **Facebook** user's account that replaces the Profile and Wall pages, and merges them together.

importance of a user's friends in order to prioritize updates' (Ellison & Boyd, 2013:6). This has resulted in the fact that people are able to only see an average of 300 posts based on 'how often you like their posts, write on their Timeline, click through their photos or talk with them on Messenger, Facebook's chat service'⁴, proved to be an issue. This obviously raises issues of inherent bias considering that the survey was administered through my personal Facebook account, meaning that the link to the survey could have only reached those people I mostly interact with. While there were efforts made to avoid any bias in that the survey allowed participants to remain anonymous, I acknowledge that it is impossible if respondents were aware of my position.

2.4 Data Processing and Analysis

The data that was collected was recorded both on my cell phone as well as my iPad. I also used a journal to record written field notes during the interviews. I started transcribing the data after the first focus group interview and continued throughout the data collection and analysis process. Once the transcriptions were completed, I carefully followed O'Connor & Gibson's (2003) *A Step-by-Step Guide to Qualitative Data Analysis* which includes:

- organizing the data - labelling, condensing it
- finding and organizing ideas and concepts through coding and categorizing ideas and concepts
- building overarching themes in the data – for example: different audience segments have different motivations and barriers; new media present disruptions and opportunities for theatre making, attendance and distribution
- ensuring reliability and validity in the data analysis and in the findings
- finding possible and plausible explanations for findings – for example: Facebook alone is not effective in building audiences for theatre attendance because it requires a low level commitment, and it limits the scope of audiences; without addressing issues of access and attendance barriers, audience development may be futile.

Patton & Cochran (2002) say that 'the analysis of qualitative data is often seen as the most difficult part of the exercise, yet it is very enjoyable to see patterns emerge and be able to draw out of all the discussions some meaningful conclusions' (Patton & Cochran, 2002:23). This builds on what Richie & Lewis (2003) describe as the nature of analysis in qualitative research in their book *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Students and Researchers*:

⁴ <http://time.com/3950525/facebook-news-feed-algorithm/>

It is based on methods of analysis and explanation building which reflect the complexity, detail and context of the data, then the identifying of emergent categories and theories from the data rather than imposing prior categories, respecting the uniqueness of each case as well as conducting cross-case analysis and then developing explanations at the level of meaning rather than cause (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003:17).

The online surveys were analysed separately and differently using the SurveyMonkey.com software which resulted in graphical and statistical representation of the data collected (see appendix section). The findings will be discussed in chapter six.

2.5. Limitations

The main limitation of the research was that it attracted existing theatre goers more than it did non-attendees. Even with the online Facebook survey, there was no evidence of how many respondents didn't go to the theatre. I do think, though, that the data collected from those who may be existing theatre goers will be beneficial in charting a way forward because they were willing to discuss some of the reasons why they don't attend certain theatre events.

Another limitation was that in some instances it excluded theatre goers who do not spend much time on Facebook. Furthermore, the survey also potentially posed significant limitations in that it may not have reached a wide set of respondents because of the Facebook algorithmic changes.

2.6 Ethical Considerations

Using the ethics rules and regulations as a guide, I drafted a 'Participant Information Sheet' as well as a 'Consent Form' in which I gave potential respondents an opportunity to read about the nature of the research and to make a choice as to whether they wanted to take part in the study or not. These were emailed beforehand and in some cases with the invitation for the interview or focus group discussion. Hard copies of these documents were given to participants to sign before all the interviews took place.

Although I did not interview "vulnerable" participants, it was important to give participants an opportunity to remain anonymous where necessary. This was outlined in the Consent Form. Interestingly a large majority of the focus group discussion participants opted for the "anonymous" status so I will refer to all focus group discussion respondents as "focus group respondent". With regards to in-depth interviewees, I will refer to all except Pyper and Shaer as interview respondents. The names of some independent theatre organisations have also been changed. The Facebook survey was designed in such a way that offered all the respondents anonymity.

As mentioned, the interviews and focus group discussions were recorded on technological devices as well as field notes in a journal. The devices and signed forms were kept in a secure place both for protection from theft but also for the protection of the information and people's identities. My research proposal received ethics clearance from the Faculty of Humanities before I proceeded with the field work.

In the next section of the research report, I look at the current context wherein the small independent theatre organisations exist. I explore the origins, historical and current context of the theatre scene and how the various eras have impacted on theatre production and consumption.

3. INDEPENDENT THEATRE AND THE ISSUE OF DECLINING AUDIENCES

3.1 Origins of Theatre

Theatre is an art form which originates from myth, ceremony and ritual. According to historian Oscar Brockett (1999), the earliest examples of ceremony and rituals come from ancient Egypt dating back to 2800 BC. However, the birth of “theatre” is considered to have originated in Greece from around the 6th century BC where the followers of the god of wine and fertility, Dionysus, used to perform the Greek mythologies. During the Medieval period, a new theatre emerged as Christian churches started to dramatise the Bible and between the 16th and 18th centuries, a new and “professional theatre” known as “*commedia dell'arte* (comedy of the trade)” was launched and performed all over Europe. Elizabethan Theatre also emerged during this time, where key playwrights like Will Kempe, Richard Burbage, Edward Alleyn and William Shakespeare were introduced (Jordan, 2002). As London began to build theatres around the city it gradually became common tradition for many people to dress up and go to the theatre. Furthermore, it continued to evolve with the times moving from the Renaissance era to the Restoration era and Neoclassical era. In the 19th century melodrama and romanticism became popular and this continued into the 20th century (Brockett (1999).

African theatre on the other hand is based on tradition, folklore and mythology. It originates from the ritual of storytelling practised by various communities to preserve culture through the integration of puppetry, poetry dance, mime and music (Brockett, 1999). Harper (2015) describes African theatre ‘as an art concerned almost exclusively with the live performances in which the action is precisely planned to coherent and significant sense of drama as presented in the sub-Saharan Africa’⁵. Because of colonisation, African theatre is also influenced by Western and European theatre. This is evident in the use of English in many written works including Ama Ata Aidoo’s *Anowa* (1970), and Wole Soyinka’s *The Lion and the Jewel* (1963). The infrastructural design of many of theatres also highlights the strong Eurocentric and Western influence which has impacted theatre production and consumption in many African countries.

3.2 Defining Theatre

The word “theatre” comes from the ancient Greek word “theatron” which refers to where the audience sat⁶ or to ‘the people in the theatre; a show a spectacle-the place for viewing’⁷. It is defined as ‘a powerful tool for communication, development, transformation and entertainment’ (Walmsley, 2011:11).

⁵ [www.britannica.com>art?African-theatre](http://www.britannica.com/art/African-theatre)

⁶ Ancienthistory.about.com>drama

⁷ www.etmonline.com>term=theater

Theatre is also a dramatic art of communication through which information can be exchanged or imparted from actor to character; actor to actor; actor to audience; audience to actor; and lastly from audience to audience (Karmakar, 2013:1). Its genres include: comedy, drama, musical theatre and physical theatre and can be practised as: 'theatre for its own sake; theatre for a socially good end, and/or theatre for economic profit' (Van Graan, 2014:4). It is often categorised under the "live arts" or "performing arts" sector because 'the core activities include the production and presentation of performances in theatres' (Joffe & Newton, 2008:54).

3.2.1 Independent theatre organisations

In South Africa the "formal arts" are often described as "commercial arts" because the goal is often to make a profit and also because they are 'intellectually, emotionally, technically and stylistically driven by European and North American artistic experience' (National Arts Council, 2010:5). This refers to theatre that is mostly performed in urban spaces and includes theatres like the *Teatro* (Montecasino) as well as *The Joburg Theatre Complex*. On the other hand, "informal performing arts" is described as 'more community-based and amateur, in that the focus is on entertaining, educating and informing the community' (Lebethe, 2003:23). The type of theatre this research will focus on refers to that which draws from both the "formal" and "informal" arts. It also refers to those organisations that are run by young and emerging professionals⁸ as described in the African Arts Institute Discussion Document titled *Towards A Vision And Strategies For The Development Of The South African Dance And Theatre* 'theatre companies that exist in name, with the members of such companies employed in other contexts, and who organise projects, employ practitioners or come together for regular seasons on an ad hoc basis as funding becomes available' (Van Graan: 2014:35). It also refers to those organisation founders who generally have little or no business awareness because of lack of market knowledge and the complexity or multi-layered nature of the market itself; are passionate about theatre; struggle with the tension between creativity and commerciality; on the one hand, value their position within fringe theatre as 'cutting edge' distancing themselves from mainstream theatre whilst seeking recognition in the form of wider audiences and a more established positioning in the market (Dickson al, 2010).

3.3 Brief Historical Journey of Theatre in South Africa

Theatre in South Africa originates from the rich and ancient oral tradition of indigenous South Africans - the folk tales around the fires, with their drama, and an audience ranging from the very young to the

⁸ 'A "theatre professional" is someone who seeks to make her/his primary living within theatre, whether through commercial forms of theatre, or subsidized forms of theatre or anything in between. A professional theatre-maker can thus be a community theatre activist, an actor in musicals, someone who does voice-overs and corporate theatre and the odd theatre production' (PANSA, 2005).

very old⁹. This type of theatre did not need “fancy” buildings; it could take place anywhere. This was changed in 1652 during the European colonization which ‘brought many new performance forms and introduced the notion of theatre (as a formal and distinctly separate social system) to the sub-continent’¹⁰. Hauptfleisch (1997) adds that from there on, ‘two performance systems developed: the indigenous forms and the European style theatre which later became “naturalised” and adapted itself in regional circumstances’¹¹. However, from the 1920s to the 1940s black playwrights like *Methethwe Lucky Stars*, Herbet Dlomo and the *Bantu Dramatic Society* began to challenge the system. They started creating plays that reflected the rural life and customs experienced by black people instead of Western ideologies.

By the 1950s, theatre in the townships was growing with more playwrights and artists emerging. However, while indigenous theatre was exploding, venues for its performance were not. The government formed a Group Areas Act, restricting theatres in white areas to white people only - both as audience members and as actors. Some theatre spaces like the Market Theatre (Johannesburg) and The Space (Cape Town) defied this Act by allowing people from all races to participate’¹². This did not stop black playwrights, and some white playwrights who continued to write plays. In light of the growing influence of the West on South African theatre, other playwrights like Welcome Msomi made efforts to adapt Western texts into indigenous South African languages; *Umabatha*, an adaption of Shakespeare’s *Macbeth* is a key example.

Heerden (2011) recalls that from the early 1960s until the 1990s professional theatre activity in South Africa took place mostly in four main areas; two that were state funded and two that were not. A number of strong independent anti-apartheid (later multiracial) companies focused mainly on anti-apartheid so called “protest” or “struggle” theatre while a number of other independent theatre managers staged purely commercial, popular entertainment (Igweonu, 2011:85). The *Afrika Cultural Centre* for example, a centre which was formed in the 1980s, aimed: ‘to promote and produce, to research and develop cultural and artistic activities by establishing training and performing arts centres, theatres, galleries and studios and enhancing community interests in various cultural and artistic activities’ (Peterson (2014) in Diala 2014:12). Through the collaborative effort between various artists and students including:

⁹ <http://www.medioclubsouthafrica.com/culture/35-culture/culture-bg/108-theatre#origins>

¹⁰ Esat.sun.ac.za/index.php

¹¹ Esat.sun.ac.za/index.php

¹² Medioclubsouthafrica.com

Benjy Francis, Mopholosi Morokong, Jake Chika, Styles Mvula, Vincent Phillips, Bhekizizwe Peterson and others, it served as a 'the Centre for Research and Training in African Theatre; the Dhlomo Theatre (1983–84); Adopt-A-Group; Theatre for Development; Artists-in-the-Schools; the Media Unit; the Centre for Early Childhood Development; the Children's Museum and Science Centre; the Young People's Creative Workshop; and Timbuktu: A Journal of Students at the Centre for Research and Training in African Theatre (Peterson (2014) in Diala 2014:4).

During this time, theatre practitioners across the country were also starting their own initiatives through which they could use theatre as a tool for social change. Collaborations between practitioners like John Kani and Winston Ntshona and *The Junction Avenue Theatre Company* became early participants of a form of theatre that sought to challenge the apartheid system and question racial attitudes of the time¹³. This was part of the *Black Conscious Movement* which gave birth to "Black Theatre"¹⁴ and was instrumental in exposing black people in townships to theatrical events.

The years after 1990 saw an increase in informal "street theatre", and Theatre for Development (TFD), both of which were aimed at creating 'critical awareness through active participation' (Van Heerden, 2011). Theatre played an important role in various communities because it served as a significant platform for dialogue. Between 1990 and 1994 changes were already being made by the African National Congress (ANC). For example; initiatives like the *National Arts Coalition* were started, and an Arts and Culture Desk was set up to help to chart a way forward for artists in a democratic context. In 1996, the first South African cultural policy was published through the Department of Arts Science and Technology under the leadership of Minister Ben Ngubeni. This move was welcomed by the arts and culture community because at the heart of it, was the aim to democratise culture, as well as to re-define the relationship between the state and the arts. The principal policy ideas included that:

- performing arts companies to become independent over three years and diversify funding bases, can also apply to NAC
- infrastructure freed up and to become "receiving houses" available for rent
- national government to reduce expenditure as provincial and local government pick up the major costs
- funding cut to PACS over three years and channelled to other art forms via NAC

¹³ www.southafrica.net

¹⁴ Black theatre- 'a proletarian theatre which dedicates itself to the depiction of life lived as a black man and in South Africa that has to do with politics' (Steadman, 1999:2).

- as opposed to four provinces, funding, infrastructure and resources now to be spread between nine provinces in accordance with redress and equity
- process of transformation to be completed by 2000 (Performing Arts Network of South Africa, 2005:12).

Based on this, the policy was critiqued in that while it sought to address issues inherited from the Apartheid system, the new changes also created major challenges. Van Heerden (2011) notes that:

By the end of the decade under discussion, as a result of the strong state control of the major theatres around the country, the limited guaranteed funding, and the responsibility of these theatres to perform according to sound business principles, concerns were being raised in the arts community that productions in these theatres might become “box office safe” or even more ominously, “politically safe” (Van Heerden, 2011:25).

Seventeen years later efforts by the Department of Arts and Culture were made to revise the policy. In 2013, a Revised White Paper was drafted, but not adopted into law because of various concerns from the arts community.

3.4 Current context

The lack of a revised cultural policy has not halted arts activities; the theatre scene today is still vibrant and many artists continue to create work in various disciplines. However, there are still some issues that impact on the development of the Arts and Culture sector that need to be addressed. In their article titled *The Performing Arts In A New Era*, McCarthy et al. (2001) propose that policy in the arts should ‘put the public benefits of the arts at the centre of the discussion, and should be designed to increase individual exposure, knowledge, and access to the arts’ (McCarthy et al, 2001:1). In South Africa, you also have to include critical issues like transformation and inequality. In the discussion below, I look at how some of these issues have affected theatre attendance, with a specific focus on small scale independent theatre organisations as defined above:

3.4.1 Lack of Transformation

Lack of transformation in the theatre sector has a huge impact on theatre makers and audiences because it further perpetuates the notion that theatre is “exclusive” and “elitist”. In the book *Trends in the Twenty-First Century: African Theatre and Performance*, Heerden (2011) notes that ‘the reality in the new South Africa, is that, while apartheid is officially dead, its legacy is still strongly present’ (Heerden, 2011:109). This is echoed in the now withdrawn *Revised White Paper for Arts Culture and Heritage* that ‘twenty one years into democracy, majority of the institutions operating within the Arts,

Culture and Heritage value chain continue to be, white dominated at ownership, management and operational levels' (Revised White Paper, 2013:10). AMERU & Joffe (2008) in *The Gauteng Creative Mapping Project: Mapping the Creative Industries in Gauteng* state that 'in general, across all sectors, organisations and enterprises report that their majority owners are white South Africans' (AMERU & CAJ, 2008:112).

Transformation is a matter that should be addressed through policy to ensure that the necessary systems are put in place to allow for equal opportunities for all those who participate in the sector. The *2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions* touches on this. It recognises the need for social inclusion and participation from diverse backgrounds, and emphasises that 'cultural diversity creates a rich and varied world, which increases the range of choices and nurtures human capacities and values, and therefore is a mainspring for sustainable development for communities, peoples and nations' (UNESCO, 2013:3). This will not only benefit the sector but it will also assist in social cohesion and nation building.

On the other hand, the issue of the lack of transformation highlights the significance of "cultural entrepreneurship"¹⁵ and entrepreneurial training to help artists to create jobs and opportunities for themselves and others¹⁶. This training may be offered in formal or informal institutions and should deal with issues of business and management in the arts; that way, previously excluded groups can be empowered to create their own entities instead of waiting for opportunities. The independent theatre organisations explored in this research are good examples of this: four out of the five are managed and run by black artists and four out of the five are run by women; and although there are challenges in terms of skills and access to financial support, they are contributing towards starting a new narrative for the sector.

3.4.2 Access to theatre

The issue of access is a concern across all sectors in South Africa. With regards to theatre, it is a fact that because most "formal" theatre venues are situated in urban areas that many South Africans who live in the townships and rural areas don't have access to theatrical events. The National Arts Council's *Public Participation in the Arts Survey* (2010) reveals that there is a formal organised sector which is 'well organised and supported by the market, but geographically confined for the most part to Cape Town, Durban and, most especially, Johannesburg' (National Arts Council, 2010:3). It is one of the

¹⁵ Cultural Entrepreneurs are cultural change agents and resourceful visionaries who organize cultural, financial, social and human capital, to generate revenue from a cultural activity –

<https://culturalentrepreneurs.wordpress.com/2014/10/10/a-working-definition-of-cultural-entrepreneur-3/> (2016 -02-24)

¹⁶ <http://www.tcgcircle.org/2011/05/what-if-artists-were-trained-as-entrepreneurs/> (2016-02-09)

biggest concerns in theatre because it is rooted in the apartheid infrastructure which aimed to exclude black people, most of whom live in these excluded areas.

In a book titled *Theatre and the Change in South Africa*, highly praised African playwright Zakes Mda reflects on the above mentioned point that:

In the heyday of township theatre (late 1980s) people in the townships had access to the theatre, for it was performed in their midst in township venues. It was not unusual for a labourer who had been digging trenches the whole day to go and see a Kente play at Diepkloof Hall in the evening. Theatre was not an elitist activity as it has become in the Western world (Mda, 1996:203).

He continues to recall what he deems ironic that 'the more theatre became radical in South Africa, the more it became revolutionary in content, but the more it moved away from the people; by 1990, almost all relevant theatre was performed in city venues only' (Davis & Fuchs, 1996:203). Though there are some communities in various areas outside of the urban areas that do have community halls within which theatre can exist, most of them are not funded and are in need of proper administration and skilled staff to create and administer dynamic cultural programmes. This is confirmed by *Public Participation in the Arts Survey* (2010) that 'there is an enormous popular cultural sector, relatively organised and, variously designated as "traditional", "African" or "indigenous" that, while embracing the entire country and its diverse peoples, is largely under-funded, under-commercialised and threatened by its more formal counterpart' (National Arts Council, 2010:3).

The issue of access should not be viewed only from a physical perspective, but it should also include access to information about theatre and the arts in general, as well as proper arts education. It is reported that 93.5% of the respondents who took part in the *Public Participation in the Arts* said that they weren't aware of any information regarding theatre events (National Arts Council, 2010:11). This raises concerns about the efforts made to build awareness about theatre in communities, both by the Department of Arts and Culture as well as by theatre makers themselves. One respondent stressed that people like theatre but that they not hearing enough about it. This was echoed by another respondent who said that:

Even if you like tryna be involved or tryna hear you don't hear that much about it. So like I follow PopArt on Facebook but again I get their newsletter but like, Market Theatre I never hear anything unless you go and check the website to see what's happening you don't hear anything about them... (Focus Group respondent, 2015).

It is the responsibility of organisations and artists to ensure that they are reaching people like music does; through newsletters, television, radio and live interactions. Legoabe (2015) makes a great suggestion regarding an online forum titled *Artists for Cultural Policy in South Africa* for the Minister to introduce an “arts news slot” on television. She argues that ‘in this way arts would also receive a mainstream platform to share what is happening in our industry’¹⁷. It is efforts like these that will ensure that information about theatre reaches more people the same way information about popular art forms like music does.

3.4.3 Lack of Arts Critical Education

Exposure to the arts can begin with young people accessing arts education from a primary level. This is, however, not the case in most schools in South Africa and has affected how people perceive the arts. Bernstein (2007) points out that ‘the lack of arts education in schools in recent decades has created at least one generation of young adults who feel that the arts are not for them, that the arts are elitist and something not easily accessed or appreciated’ (Bernstein, 2007:13). This is obviously a very worrying concern. It is reported in the *Public Participation in The Arts Survey* that ‘in some schools, and notably former white schools, learners are privileged to have dedicated arts facilities and qualified teachers able to familiarise learners with a wide range of art forms and disciplines. In others, exposure was at best rudimentary, typically to local craft forms’ (National Arts Council, 2010:7). In relation to such issues, Boyd (2004) in her article titled *Myths, Misconceptions, Problems and Issues in Arts Education*, stresses that it is imperative that arts education is implemented correctly:

As a child grows older and enrolls in school, the arts, which are the very heart of our culture are undervalued. They become less important and less understood in educational contexts. The spontaneity of 'home-taught arts' which is meaningful and imaginative is lost. The rich tapestry of the arts as ways of knowing and feeling, and sources of delight and enjoyment are sacrificed for arts activities that are soul destroying and meaningless. Children are not taught the basic knowledge and skills in the arts and therefore their education lacks depth and dimension (Boyd, 2004:1).

She points out in some contexts where the value of arts is not appreciated; where the arts are considered as a “frill”, arts education can be used to discourage learners to also appreciate it.

McCarthy et al (2001) also argues that ‘education is by far the most powerful predictor of participation in the performing arts’ (McCarthy et al, 2001:23). While the aim is not to convert all learners into artists,

¹⁷ <https://www.facebook.com/Artists-for-Cultural-Policy-in-South-Africa-1678476399098414/> (2016-02-19)

education is a great way to expose learners to various forms of art which gives them a chance to choose whether they want to participate in the arts and in which capacity, i.e. supporter or audience.

Arts education is not a new phenomenon, and can be implemented through the curriculum as well as through the performance of prescribed set works. An effective strategy is where learners are given a chance to watch the set work performed live at a theatre or in the school by organisations that specialise in this *including Assitej South Africa*¹⁸, *Think Theatre*¹⁹ and *Nobulali Productions CC* (also known as *ShakeXperience*)²⁰. Through initiatives and programmes provided by these organisations, learners from all provinces and varying backgrounds are given an opportunity to experience theatre.

It is important to note that for those independent organisations whose mission does not include the production and/or performance of schools' set works, it's not easy to get buy-in from some schools. However, there are schools that do take learners to independent theatre spaces if the topic is relevant to a particular aspect of the curriculum; i.e history, drama, or life orientation.

The other crucial problem to arts education, especially at a tertiary level, is the curriculum; 'graduates often know how to create works of art, but not necessarily how to make a living from their art. This standard causes widespread unemployment for an extreme majority, leading to the starving artist stereotype'²¹. Van Graan (2014) posits that institutions of higher learning for example, 'are excellent in providing training in all the technical aspects to do with theatre-making, but generally do not provide graduates with sufficient training in areas such as administration, marketing, touring, fundraising, etc. all areas that have become fundamental to the success of making and distributing theatre' (Van Graan, 2014:14). This is why most young artists fear starting their own organisations because they feel as if they don't have the necessary skills, and some of them end up taking jobs in other sectors to sustain themselves. In most institutions in South Africa, courses in administration and management are not embedded in all arts degrees; at Wits for example, students are only able to apply for the "Performing Arts Management" (PAM) course from a third year level, or the Cultural Policy and Leadership postgraduate course. These are specialised courses under the Arts, Culture and Heritage department in the school of arts.

3.4.4 The Effects of the Technological Evolution on Theatre

One can no longer doubt that the 'global internet is revolutionizing how cultural forms are distributed and consumed' (Venturelli, 2002:15); businesses and consumers can 'access, consume and manage

¹⁸ <http://www.assitej.org.za/>

¹⁹ <http://www.thinktheatre.co.za/about>

²⁰ <http://www.shakexperience.com/> (2016-02-19)

²¹ <http://www.tcgcircle.org/2011/05/what-if-artists-were-trained-as-entrepreneurs/> (2016-02-19)

far more information than previously possible' (Shih, 2011:15). Twenty years since the internet went online, individuals are able to access the social web where global networks are formed, and where information sharing has become very easy. This has impacted various sectors including the arts.

In his journal titled *Audience Evolution and the Future of Audience Research*, Napoli (2012) explores two key phenomena that he suggests are a result of the technological changes: media (audience fragmentation and audience autonomy which he outlines as follows: *Media (audience) fragmentation* refers to 'the ever growing fragmentation of the media environment allows for an increased array of content options to be provided across an increased array of distribution platforms while, within many of these distribution platforms, the capacity for providing more choices continues to dramatically expand' (Napoli, 2012:81) and *audience autonomy* refers to 'how contemporary characteristics of the media environment are changing – ranging from interactivity, to mobility, to on demand functionality, to the increased capacity for user-generated content – all serve to enhance the extent to which audiences have control over their interactions with media' (Napoli, 2012:84).

When it comes to theatre, the points made by Napoli (2012) highlight the fact that audiences now have access to diverse platforms through which they can access content, which increases the competition against a sector which is already suffering. An example of this would be the introduction of platforms like *Netflix* and *DSTV Catch Up*, where audiences have access to a range of local and international content that they are able to watch anytime and anywhere. These platforms also offer a customised experience because audiences are able to record, pause and rewind which is not the same as in a theatre. Theatre offers a different experience which requires a heightened attention to what is happening on stage for the full duration of the show.

McCarthy et al. (2001) make an important point that 'although new technologies are making it easier for some performing artists to promote and distribute as well as create and perform their own material, they are also reviving old questions about who should own the legal rights to creative intellectual property' (McCarthy et al., 2001:76). This is a critical issue when considering that even 'ordinary people can generate, copy, modify and share works with a global public without having to deal with commercial content intermediaries such as publishers, record labels or studios' (Walmsley, 2011:1). Fortunately, theatre is not easily copied or reproduced; however, it becomes a challenge when audience members illegally record the full theatre show on their cell phones and thereafter share the recordings online, which could motivate online audiences if they have already accessed the show beforehand.

It is important to also look at the opportunities that these digital technologies have created for theatre production and consumption. Ellis & Taylor (2010:3) propose that 'the rapid evolution of participatory

technologies like social networking, mobile communications, and other digital media is disruptive, but also transformative in many areas'. Social networking sites like Facebook for example, provide a platform through which theatre makers have direct access to their audiences, as well as other organisations from around the country and the world. They open a room for collaboration and cultural exchange which can contribute to the sharing of ideas and reaching diverse audiences.

Theatre in its original form was an open practise that all people had access to. In Africa for example, it was a tool through which culture and tradition could be celebrated and preserved. Theatre is also a powerful tool for social change because it serves as a mirror to society. It was also one of the most instrumental tools that South African artists were able to use to promote the fight against the Apartheid system. However, because of the introduction of formal buildings, which is an influence from European culture, theatre has become a formal tradition which requires people to pay money for tickets and to physically go to the venues to experience it. In a country where lack of transformation and inequality still prevail, it poses challenges which cause many people to not go to the theatre, especially because the venues are mostly situated in urban areas. In the areas where there are community arts centres, many do not have dynamic theatre programmes.

The chapter acknowledges that the lack of critical arts education has contributed to a lack of appreciation of the role of the arts in society. It also recognises the role of policy to address these key issues, however, it also acknowledges that the sector has continued to grow even without a revised policy. Moreover, it proposes that theatre organisations should make efforts to find strategic ways to respond to challenges. For example, with regards to the inevitable evolution of technologies, it suggests that organisations should seek opportunities rather than threats in order to adapt. In the following chapter, I look at how this context has shaped or influenced *who* attends or doesn't attend theatre and discuss the notion of audience and explore relevant strategies to respond to the various needs, motives and barriers. Using *Maslow's Theory of Human Motivation*, I also explore some of the key drivers, needs and desires that may or may not motivate an existing or potential audience member to attend a theatre show as well as existing barriers that prevent audiences from attending.

4. WHAT ARE THE NEEDS, MOTIVES AND BARRIERS OF THE AUDIENCES?

4.1 Defining Audience

The *Business and Arts Sponsorship Toolkit* (2013) describes an audience as ‘a body of listeners or spectators’ (2013:4). This definition is similar to Wilson (2007) who defines the audience as ‘a group of individuals gathered together at a certain time and place for no purpose other than to see the performance/show’ (Wilson, 2007:4). Hill, O’Sullivan & O’Sullivan (2003) on the other hand point out that an audience can also be a stakeholder who may want to ‘support the arts in any way, or who have an interest in their development’ (Hill, O’Sullivan & O’Sullivan, 2003:38). This supports Rogers (1998) who puts forward that ‘if audience is defined only in terms of people who attend the performance... its focus becomes too narrow and the organization is ignoring the ones unable to attend’ (Rogers, 1998:3). This is an important point because it considers potential audiences who may be interested in attending theatre events but are not able to. In the context of this research paper, it could also refer to those audiences who might only engage with theatre makers and organisations on Facebook but who are unable to physically go to the theatre venues.

The audience is a crucial aspect of theatre. Pyper (2015) argues that: ‘live art form cannot exist without the audience’. His view is echoed by Hill, O’Sullivan & O’Sullivan (2003) who confirm that ‘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’ (Hill, O’Sullivan & O’Sullivan, 2003:36). Bennett (1990) also shares a similar view that theatre needs an audience to confirm its cultural status. In her book titled *Theatre and Audiences: Theory of Production and Reception*, Bennett (1990) says that the audience does not only refer to those experiencing the art; but that ‘the observer, the onlooker, be it a co-actor who watches you whilst you are delivering a line or even a passer-by can eventually play the role of audience’ (Bennett, 1990:13).

4.1.1 Audience are not “bums on seats”

In the theatre community, the audience is often referred to as “bums on seats”. Although the term is commonly used by many, it is considered a “derogatory term” because it ‘merely indicates a view of the audience for an event as merely numbers to be counted in order to assess the money they have paid for the tickets’²². University of Johannesburg Arts Centre marketer Precious Maputla (2015) agrees that: ‘*the term doesn’t seem too appreciative of the effort the audience makes to engage with your work*’. She further argues that by reducing the audience to “bums on seats” is problematic because it

²² www.phrases.org.uk/meanings

suggests that audience members are a homogenous and passive group that merely sit in the auditorium and pay for tickets. In light of this view, Bennett (1990) asserts that the audience is a group of 'productive and emancipated spectators who can think and act' (Bennett, 1990:13) and that each one has a history and social status which influences their expectations and reception of the whole theatrical event. Not only does this highlight the important role an audience plays; it further reiterates the fact that audiences are diverse and more nuanced than the term suggests.

Bearing this in mind, the next section looks at the various audience segments and key characteristics of each.

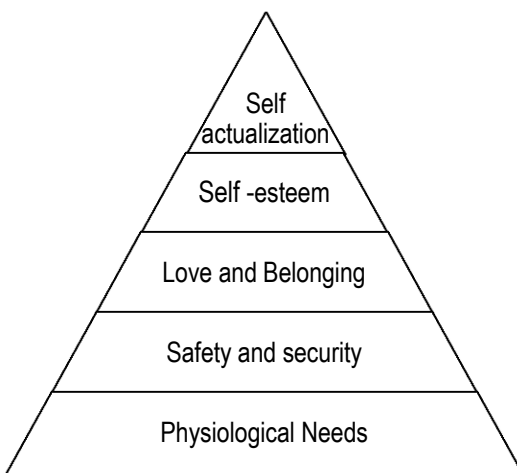
4.2 Audience Segmentation

Audience segmentation is an essential part of audience research because it allows organisations to get a deeper understanding of which groups of people make up the existing and potential audience and the potential strategies to employ for each. It recognises that 'the audience is not an homogenous mass, but rather a collection of distinct and discrete segments, each with different needs, attitudes and expectations' (Morris, Hargreaves & McIntyre, 2007:59). It also helps with 'identifying and grouping those in the overall population who will be most likely to appreciate and value the particular art in question so you can promote the art directly to them' (Vitale, 2011:32).

For most theatre organisations the audience can be segmented into 'individuals, community groups, educational institutions, arts networks, companies or businesses, sponsors and funders, as well as stakeholders and those involved in arts on a local, regional, national and international level' (Versfeld, 2012:24). These individuals and groups can be further segmented into four main categories based on characteristics such as: demographics (age, gender, language, income and ethnic background); psychographics (activities, interests and opinions); geography (audience's locations: city, region and province); and behaviours (consumer's knowledge of theatre, attitude towards the arts, and audiences' beliefs) (Versfeld, 2012). A thorough analysis of the existing audience based on these segments can help organisations and the sector in general, to figure out where the gaps are and what is needed to address them. For example, in South Africa it is evident that the Apartheid legacy continues to have an impact on the composition of theatre audiences. The fact that the majority of theatres are still only situated in big cities means that people who cannot afford to live there or those who cannot access these cities continue to be excluded. In addition, the fact that black people were not allowed in these theatres has affected their attitudes and perceptions of theatre and the "tradition" of theatre attendance.

4.2.1 Audience segmentation according to attendance and non-attendance

In their research report, Morris, Hargreaves & McIntyre (2007) segment the audience intentions and barriers that may affect their intention to attend arts events. Although their study focuses on museums and galleries, their findings have proven to be applicable for theatre as well, as shown by Walmsley (2011). In the report, they provide an audience pyramid which is rooted in Maslow's *Hierarchy of Needs* as portrayed in the pyramid (see figure 1) with the largest and lowest levels of needs at the bottom, and the need for self-actualization at the top. The hierarchy level of need moves upward as soon as the previous level of need is satisfied.²³

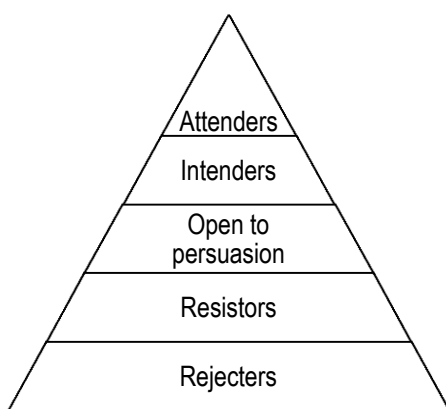


At the bottom of the pyramid are the physiological needs like food and water, then comes the safety and security needs which include physical safety and financial security; next up is love and belonging and these refer to the need for intimacy and friendship for example; then self-esteem which deals with the need for self-respect, recognition and personal strength and right at the apex of the pyramid is self-actualization. Self-actualization is about a person's vitality, their

potential to be creative.

Figure 1. Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs

Based on this Morris, Hargreaves & McIntyre (2007) then designed an audience pyramid which describes the various segments of visitors according to their motivations or intentions. It resembles Hayes & Slater's (2002) audience pyramid which also outlines the 'hierarchy of intention or motivation to engage with any cultural activity' (Hayes & Slater, 2007:33):



Attenders: audiences that are already attending

Intenders: people who want to attend, but still have to overcome some barriers

Open to persuasion: people who are not yet convinced that their needs will be met

Resistors: these people are still sceptical perhaps because of a previous bad experience

²³ <http://redwoods.edu/departments/distance/>

Rejecters: those who are convinced their needs will not be met.

Figure 2: Audience Pyramid

What the figures above illustrate is that some of the biggest barriers for theatre attendance could be because of a lack of physiological needs being met. This means that the biggest rejecters of theatre could be those who put their basic needs before that of buying a theatre ticket or those who do not see the value of theatre in relation to their life. They also reveal that physical needs like safety and security are equally as important as the actual production because depending on the audience's overall experience this can see a potential audience member moving from being a resistor to the next level or not remaining at the bottom. Considering that most organisations tend to focus on those who are not attending, as opposed to giving attention to all the different segments, the audience pyramid can encourage them to understand each segment in order to tailor distinct strategies to engage each audience segment (Hayes, 2003).

4.2.2 Audience segmentation according to key drivers and motivations

In his theory of human motivation, Maslow argues that the motivation behind a person's behaviour is not always the same and that the degree of motivation varies. He also adds that some behaviour is highly motivated, some weakly motivated, and some not motivated at all; and that behaviour is not often singularly motivated and that acts are usually motivated by multiple factors (Maslow: 1943). The table below is an adaptation of Morris, Hargreaves & McIntyre's (2007) matrix by Walmsley (2011) which represents the various key drivers that they believe motivate people to visit museums and/or galleries namely; social, intellectual, emotional and spiritual. Here, Walmsley (2011) outlines some of the common motivations and drivers from a theatre attendance point of view. In the first column, we see examples of a range of needs and motivations that motivate audiences to attend theatre events, and the second column outlines the types of drivers they fall under. Here, the hierarchy moves from the bottom column upwards.

Table 3: Audience Needs, Motives and Drivers for theatre attendance (Walmsley, 2011:11)

Audiences' Needs and Motivations	Driver and Type of engagement
Feeling part of a special community of interest Ritual Escapism and immersion Being ethnically challenged Reflection Access to creative people and process Aesthetic pleasure and development Passing on a legacy to children/ grandchildren Quality me-time	Spiritual
Tingle down the spine moments	Sensual

Having a visceral response Feeling the chemistry and buzz	
Empathy Getting an emotional hit Being moved Being drawn in and engaged Mimesis and personal relevance Exploring human relationships Nostalgia Exploring or celebrating cultural identity Storytelling	Emotional
Developing world view Being intellectually challenged Self-improvement Learning about history or current issues Stimulating others	Intellectual
Enhanced socialization Quality time with friends and family Partaking in a live experience Entertainment: a “good night out” Dinner with a show Comfortable seating and good sight lines Good customer service and facilities	Social

The *National Endowment of the Arts* (2015) also conducted research on audience motivation to theatre attendance in the United States and found that as with Walmsley (2011) whose research is based in the UK, the social driver emerged as the key motivation, as outlined above. Based on a survey conducted in 2012, it was revealed that 72.9% of the research participant selected “socializing with friends and family” as a key motivator. It also said that audiences attend theatre events because of “a desire to learn new things”, to “experience high quality art”, “support community events” “see a particular actor” and “celebrate heritage” (Iyengar, 2015:9). Interestingly, research conducted in South Africa revealed similar findings. In her report, Jeynes (2009) found that the top motivators for audiences at the National Arts Festival include: “entertainment”, “art” and “escapism” (Antrobus, 2009:33). This resonates with Phokungwa’s findings (2014) that key motives of theatre attendance in the inner-city of Johannesburg are: “socialization”, “escapism”, “entertainment”, “getting knowledge” “love of art”, and “enjoyment” (Phokungwa, 2014:54). This echoes views shared by respondents in my research who said the following:

‘I like “feel good” shows; theatre for me is escapism’ (Interview respondent, 2015).

‘It was so amazing just watching the performance happen. It was lovely man and I just thought watch more of theatre because at that time I was not watching at... so I thought to myself to be

good at something you must watch more of what you wanna do so I started watching theatre from them on' (Focus Group respondent, 2015).

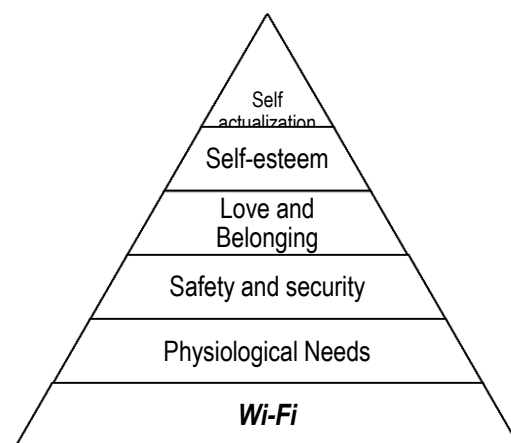
'You feel like you are part of it' (Focus Group respondent, 2015).

'...Maybe after dinner there is live performance... that excites people' (Focus Group respondent, 2015).

When you compare all the findings above, it is clear that in terms of the actual experience, audiences are more inclined to watch a show if it promises to be entertaining, can offer a sense of escape, and if the audience member thinks they might learn something. In terms of the main drivers, it is quite interesting that although motivations for theatre attendance differ from person to person, the idea of socialising with other audience members as well as being with friends and family is a crucial part of the theatrical event. This is probably why social networks have become so popular.

Shih (2011) notes that the 'social web is drastically changing how we communicate and this fact is having a tremendous impact on our society - including our expectations, behaviour and relationships, both with one another and with organisations and brands' (Shih, 2011). To this, Brownstein (2013) adds that one expectation that is growing is the idea of audiences having access to Wi-Fi and that 'Wi-Fi is no longer considered a luxury. In fact most consumers today assume it will be available, and are frustrated when it's not'²⁴. Brownstein (2013) accepts that 'mobile devices are too important to users today and that by providing Wi-Fi to them, you send a powerful and empowering message that you know they need to stay connected' (Brownstein, 2013)²⁵. For example, hotels.com conducted a survey that revealed that 'both leisure and business travellers consider free Wi-Fi a deciding factor when it comes to their choice of hotel' (McCarthy (2015)²⁶. It is no wonder that the pyramid below, which is an adaptation of Maslow's Hierarchy of needs, has been making the rounds on social media with audiences expressing the importance of having access to (free) Wi-Fi as a key motivation to visit any venue.

Although "Wi-Fi" as a motive can fall under various categories in *Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs*; it is 'put' separately, and at the bottom of the pyramid to emphasise its significance, especially for social media audiences. Those in support of this say that this



²⁴ m.newsok.com>article

²⁵ Adage.com>article>small-agency-diary

²⁶ www.forbes.com/sites

version *'is relevant to OUR time', 'this is Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs in the 21st Century'*.

It is important to note that for theatre, access to Wi-Fi for audiences might prove to be a "disruption" more than an opportunity if it means that audience members will be on their cell phones during the performance. Mendel et al. (2014) express that the constant access to internet and social media is 'shortening people's attention span for live performance' (Mendel et al., 2014:7). This is also echoed by Doyle (2010) that 'in recent years, the sale of audience attention has become somewhat dis-located from investment in professionally crafted original content production because of the advent of a new layer of online intermediaries (search engines, aggregators, social networking sites, etc.)' (Doyle, 2010: 247). Various respondents also agree that for theatre, access to Wi-Fi, especially via cell phones might be more of a distraction. Pyper (2015) argues that *'theatre is a technology that enables a certain type of attention. It focuses to stage, blurs out everything else. It's a space created to heighten attention; the cell phone heightens disruptions'*. A Focus Group respondent said that *'if people want to be on their phones... why are they there?'* and an Interview Respondent on the other hand cautions that *'people will check their messages and personal lives, banking etc... So it's a tricky thing to have it in the show'*.

Other respondents recognised that it might be challenging to prevent the use of cell phones in any space, especially in the coming years and suggested that *'there needs to be a way of incorporating that and I think that that will definitely sell'* (Focus Group respondent, 2015). Another commented that *'on the one hand it will be good for Twitter (social media) ... so that all the stuff can start trending... on the other hand it will be disruptive for the performance'*. A significant point that was raised related to the issue of format. A respondent said the following:

I don't think like a realist piece I would want someone to tweet, you know like... but an interactive piece, you tweet and take a picture and take a selfie... an interactive show like uhm... you know those where they have the spectator relationship that can be much easier to work around because the actor already knows that they can be part of the performance and the performers can handle working with that (Focus Group respondent, 2015).

Pyper (2015) agrees and acknowledges that *'there are artists who are able to make it work with the digital technologies'*. For example, one way that the *Joburg Theatre Complex* incorporates this is by allocating certain seats for social media fanatics and bloggers so that they can constantly post updates about the show. Another advantage is that the shows are often interactive, which is not always the case for all independent theatre productions.

It is therefore important for organisations to critically consider these issues because they can help shape playwrights, (artistic) directors and arts marketers' decision-making to ensure that the programmes and productions are relevant to the target audiences. Organisations can strategically use these audience motivations and key drivers without compromising their artistic integrity and could perhaps give their audiences access to Wi-Fi in places such as the foyer and not inside the actual theatre. This leads to the next section which explores the emerging audience trends.

4.3 Audience Trends that could influence theatre attendance

In this section, I will discuss audience trends that serve as motivation for theatre attendance. I will make reference to Morris, Hargreaves & McIntyre's (2007) findings where there are parallels.

4.3.1 Theatre as an experience

The notion of theatre has always been an experience: the fact that you get to watch a live performance right in front of your eyes, is an experience in itself. However, it seems that audiences today want more than that. Respondents emphasised that: *'it should be more than a performance... an experience'*, *'it needs to be event which is a combination of things'*; and that the experience didn't only begin when the lights went off in the auditorium, but included the marketing and promotional material, the booking process, as well as access to the venue. With regards to this, Sherwood (2009) agrees that audiences today 'don't want the arts; they want the arts experience' (Sherwood, 2009:6). It echoes Pine & Gilmore (2002) who, in their article titled *Beyond Experience: Culture, Consumer & Brand*, say that at the dawn of the Experience Economy, in which consumers increasingly seek venues and events that engage them in an inherently personal and memorable way, authenticity has become the primary concern in their purchasing decisions' (Pine & Gilmore, 2002:7). They highlight that not only should organisations make an effort to give audiences an experience, but they must be "authentic" and "original" experiences (Morris, Hargreaves & McIntyre, 2007:15). Cultural precincts like Maboneng are great ways to enhance the theatre experience because audiences are exposed to other spaces and art forms. Through joint ventures between theatres, organisations, restaurants, galleries and/or clubs, audiences are able to have multidisciplinary and multisensory experiences.

4.3.2 "Interaction with celebrities and theatre icons

Social media and reality television shows have allowed ordinary people to "peep" into local and international celebrities' lifestyles and is one of the biggest influencers of consumer behaviour amongst the youth. There is a 'growing desire among consumers especially the youth, of seeking heightened

aspirations, due to the exposure to celebrity lifestyles' (Morris, Hargreaves, McIntyre, 2007:16). To this, one respondent said that:

'People are not gonna follow me watching a theatre show? But if I'm at the Sands (club in Sandton) and Bonang²⁷ is there...you know, people will like me... so if she comes here and I take a picture with her... then people will be like oh she watches theatre...' (Focus Group respondent, 2015).

Bennett (1990) argues that 'audiences are prepared to pay for a special kind of theatrical event when icons of the profession are involved' (Bennett, 1990:109). This is similar to an interview respondent who points out that in his experience he has realised that *'sometimes audiences follow names; that is the names that pull them to the show'*. For years, artistic directors and directors have been casting "celebrities" i.e. popular TV or theatre actors to play lead roles as a strategy to attract audiences.

Theatre opening nights are a great opportunity for this interaction between "celebrities" and ordinary people to happen. This is where influential people such as industry leaders, media, celebrities and sometimes politicians are invited to see a particular show and have drinks afterwards. What some venues do is to allow a certain amount of tickets to be sold to ordinary people to give them an opportunity to mingle with their favourite celebrities.

Another approach is to allocate a time for "meet and greets" between the actors and the audiences, either on opening night or on all nights. To this, one focus group respondent expressed that:

'... live performance or theatre is all about that relationship between the performer and the audience. And right now it's... it's just like TV. You just come there you watch and you leave. You know that's missing, if we could just bring that back maybe... just that connection' (Focus Group respondent, 2015).

The social media experts interviewed, including Shaer (2015), both agree that this strategy is effective and that when audiences post these photographs on social media it further increases the hype of the show.

4.3.3 Personalisation

This trend refers to the fact that audiences say they enjoy getting customised services as well as personalised communication. In a time where audiences are constantly bombarded with adverts and information, especially on social media, interview respondents said that it makes a huge difference

²⁷ Bonang Matheba is a famous South African entertainment personality.

when programmes and communication are customised for each individual or audience segment. They also proposed that marketers should refrain from generic messages that begin with “Hi all!”; and that instead they should constantly seek ways to make customers feel appreciated, by using “personalised messages”. This resonates with what another respondent expressed:

I mean what personally got me here (focus group discussion) today is that you went on Whatsapp (online chat platform) and you said my name’ (Focus Group respondent, 2015).

This showed in the successful Coca-Cola campaign where they placed people’s names on cans and bottles. Many of their customers bought Coca-Cola products, not only because it was an “adventure” for them to find cans and bottles with their or their friends’ names, but it also made many people feel special to see their own names.

The main thing with “personalisation” is that audiences want organisations and artists to “affirm their humanness” in their communications and marketing approaches. Respondents stressed that they don’t want to be “robotically” invited to shows; and that a “personal invitation” is always more effective because “it makes people feel like you personally know them”. Kahn (2015) discusses how even though flyers may not be as effective as before, sometimes when artists make an effort to hand out the flyers themselves it creates an opportunity for potential audiences to ‘*engage with you as you personally hand out the flyer*’. It is this (human) interaction that can influence a potential audience member to attend.

4.3.4 Connecting and interacting with others

This trend refers to the discussion in the previous section about the importance of socialisation as a motivator for theatre attendance. Respondents pointed out that connecting with others, especially through social networks/social media, is a growing trend. An interview respondent said that ‘*we (arts managers) keep criticizing social media but that’s because they are looking for spaces where they belong; it is the conversations that make people feel connected*’. Through social networks, audiences are able to connect with artists, organisations and other audiences. This trend highlights the increase in demand for interactive experiences (Morris, Hargreaves, McIntyre, 2007). One respondent commented:

‘I love getting retweeted²⁸ by big brands; I get annoyed when artists don’t respond to important questions regarding the show – I lose interest’ (Focus Group respondent, 2015).

²⁸ A retweet is a form of interaction on Twitter

This is a critical point because social networks are all about instant communication which suggests that arts organisations are also under 'pressure to become responsive, customer-focused organisations and to engage customers in dialogue and collaboration' (Morris, Hargreaves, McIntyre, 2007:17) and to do things "with" and not "for" people, (Ellis & Taylor, 2010:3).

Thibedi (2015) makes another interesting point regarding small independent theatre organisations: *'big organisations have the money but they don't have the close relationships, not as intimate as ours (independents). We have bigger access to the people – we meet on the ground' (Thibedi)*. He emphasises that *'people who respond and reply to people have the bigger following. You are not winning if you just market. The network must live- it needs activity'* which is initiated and facilitated by you the artist or organisation.

Audience trends are a great guide for organisations to know what to maximise on in terms of their offerings to audiences. The ones discussed highlight the need for a human connection; that audiences are looking for opportunities to socialise and connect with others. Again, it is vital to discern which trends are relevant to which segment; but most importantly to be open and responsive to what audiences are communicating.

4.4 Audience Barriers

It is one thing inviting people to the theatre, but if there are barriers that prevent them from coming, chances of them attending are very low. This section discusses some of the barriers that exist, especially in the context of independent theatre. Audience barriers can be divided into four categories:

- institutional, which refers to the actual institutions (theatres) and their staffs' attitudes;
- personal and social, which refers to barriers like low income or limited skills in reading or writing;
- perceptions and awareness, as barriers capture people's negative attitude towards theatre for example;
- environmental refers to possible challenges that audiences could experience to reach the physical places where they can experience the theatre (Morris, Hargreaves & McIntyre, 2007:100).

In my research, respondents said that their biggest barriers were: "timing of the show", "content", "access to the theatre", "competition" and ticket price".

4.4.1 Timing

The issue of timing when it comes to theatre is truly relative and affects various audience segments differently. For people who live in townships or areas outside of the urban centres, attending theatre in the evenings can be problematic for those who do not have their own transport. If a show starts at 8.00pm and ends at 9:30pm or 10:00pm, it becomes challenging or expensive for people who use public transport, because minibus taxis are not readily available and private taxis can be expensive. For other people who live in urban areas, their challenges could include vehicle safety and traffic. In relation to this, one respondent said that: *'in the evenings after work you are tired, and another issue is the timing of the theatre, so for example I live in Sandton and most of the stuff is in town, for example the Market Theatre or Pop Art; and if it starts at 8pm or 7:30pm all you can't think about getting to Sandton to town before 7 because the traffic is so bad'* (Focus Group respondent, 2015). A similar view was shared by another respondent who said that *'it's difficult to leave the house. The timing of the show after a full day and an early morning...'* (Interview respondent, 2015). Interestingly, 19.35% of the respondents who took part in the Facebook survey said that this could prevent them or discourage them from attending an event. This shows that even though most theatres have made efforts to include matinee shows, the fact that the majority of the shows are still in the evenings is challenging for some people.

4.4.2 Content

Content is one of the most influential factors of theatre attendance, especially in South Africa where black and white theatre makers and audiences were segregated for many years. Although there have been multiple collaborations even before democracy between diverse artists, it seems culture still plays a major role. To this, Shaer (2015) suggests that *'a lot of us are trying to forget others and others are trying to remember. As a Jew for example, I am so I am constantly having to remember so I'm not good at watching political stuff people try be too serious'*. Another respondent shared a similar sentiment, that *'we just need to find different stories I mean we are no longer dealing with apartheid...There's a different struggle now'* (Focus Group respondent, 2015). So although some audiences feel that it is important to tell these stories so that people don't forget, others feel that it is also important to find new stories to tell. In relation to this, a respondent said; *'I sometimes I don't know go to the theatre because I am tired of seeing the same plays over and over again, there aren't new plays that are being commissioned you know'* (Focus Group respondent, 2015).

4.4.3 Access

The issue of access to theatre is explored in the previous chapter which deals with the context of independent theatre in South Africa.

4.4.4 Competition

Of the respondents who took part in the Facebook survey, 48.39% said that what could prevent them or discourage them from attending an event would be if 'something else came up'. Mendel et al. (2014) agrees that 'all arts activities are experiencing increased competition for the public's attention and arts organisations might be competing more among themselves' (Mendel et al., 2014:7). Hill, O'Sullivan & O'Sullivan (2003) also agree that:

potential audiences start off with the choice as to whether to attend an arts event at all (maybe they could choose a sports event, a shopping expedition or an evening in front of the TV instead), and those who decide in favour of the arts will be faced with the dilemma of choosing between a wide range of both similar and different artistic experiences (Hill, O'Sullivan & O'Sullivan, 2003:51).

This is one of the reasons why the ideas like "competitive collaboration" and "choose live" as suggested by the interview respondents are so important because they will help focus the efforts to building audiences for theatre. They aim to bring artists together to collectively promote live arts, to build awareness and to cultivate a tradition of attendance.

4.4.5 Ticket Price

Bernstein (2007) points out that 'many arts attendees are not price sensitive; they want the best seats and are willing to pay for them' (Bernstein, 2007:124). Versfeld (2012) agrees that 'while price may play an important role in the customers' decision-making, it is not necessarily the reason they will purchase the art or ticket, but if too high it may be the reason they don't' (Versfeld, 2012:36). In comparison to other barriers like timing and competition, only 13.98% of the Facebook respondents stated ticket price as a possible barrier that could prevent/discourage them from attending a show. This also highlights the fact that for other audience members who have a low income, a certain amount for a ticket could be a barrier even if they really want to experience your offering.

Phokungwa (2014) and Van Graan (2014) also found other key barriers that continue to affect theatre attendance such as "culture", "transport", and "price" (Phokungwa 2014:23), "poor spatial distribution of infrastructure", "weak information dissemination" and "lack of community involvement" (Van Graan, 2014:11). Culture is a big one for South Africa because it largely stems from the historical fact that for black audiences in particular, the idea of 'sitting in uniform rows in the dark is culturally peculiar'

(Meersman, 2012)²⁹. Indigenous forms of theatre didn't exist in formal spaces, and even when it took place in community halls, it still maintained an interactive nature.

Mendel et al. (2014) advocate that 'arts organizations should lower "practical barriers" such as inconvenient scheduling, while for the disinclined, arts groups should dismantle "perceptual barriers" such as the sense that arts are elitist' (Mendel et al., 2014:6). McCarthy & Jinnett (2011) on the other hand posit that even though practical barriers like lack of time, money and transportation, are key factors that influence whether or not an audience will attend, it is 'reasonable to suppose that such barriers come into play only *after* an individual overcomes perceptual barriers (Iyengar, 2015:14). If potential audiences aren't aware of theatre events, it is unlikely that they will attend. Also if they do end up overcoming the practical barriers, and find that they do not feel welcomed or don't have a sense of belonging when they do attend, it is even more unlikely that they will return, or tell others like themselves to attend.

Without audiences, theatre cannot exist, and without a thorough understanding of audiences, the process of audience development is futile. It is therefore important for theatre organisations to critically consider the role of the audience and to make efforts towards a nuanced understanding of audience composition as well as key motivations, drivers and barriers. Organisations should therefore engage in continuous audience research to help ensure that they keep in touch with audiences as they continue to grow and change.

The next chapter looks at audience development, what it is and the various ways it can be implemented effectively. With the understanding that the audience is made up of unique segments with specific needs, motives and barriers, I will discuss key audience development processes that small independent theatre organisations can use to respond.

²⁹ Mg.co.za>article>2012-07-03-state-of-the-arts-where-is-the-audience

5. DIVERSIFYING, BROADENING AND DEEPENING THEATRE ATTENDANCE

5.1 Defining Audience Development

The term 'audience development' is a fluid term that I think is better defined through implementation. Maitland (1997) describes it as 'a planned process which involves building a relationship between an individual and the arts' (Maitland, 1997:5). She further explains that audience development 'involves breaking down the physical, psychological and social barriers which stop people from participating or attending the arts' (Maitland, 1997:9). Hayes (2003) on the other hand posits that 'audience development 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 fledging audience groups' (Hayes, 2003:1); while Rogers (1998) sees audience development as a holistic and integrative activity that requires skills of marketing, education and programming. He points out that 'audience development aims at achieving a series of short-, medium- and long-term objectives, which increase, broaden and enrich the targeted groups' (Rogers, 1998:14). His definition echoes Kawashima (2000) that audience development is related to cultural marketing and involves the following elements: arts education, taste cultivation, (extended) marketing and cultural inclusion. The Arts Council England (2011) agrees with Maitland, (1997), Rogers, (1998), and Kawashima, (2000) that 'the term audience development describes an activity which is undertaken specifically to meet the needs of existing and potential audiences, and to help arts organisations to develop on-going relationships with audiences; it can include aspects of marketing, commissioning, programming, education, customer care and distribution' (Arts Council England, 2011:2).

In an interview with Pyper (2015) he described audience development as a process that is concerned with: '*developing the audiences of the future, who are not yet in the audiences*' (Pyper, 2015). He also added that particularly from a South African context, it considers the issue of "transformation" and "diversification" and highlights that: '*audience development is a balance of quantitative and qualitative issues where, people might already have an audience but feel that it is not representative enough and are wanting to broaden it, or alternatively wanting to increasing it numerically*' (Pyper, 2015). It is as Parker (2012) puts it that audience development is also about three different goals: "broadening" audiences - attracting more audience members like those currently attending; "deepening" them - enriching the experience of participants; or "diversifying" them - bringing new groups into the fold' (Parker, 2012:4). Zakaras & Lowell (2008) offer a table which echoes this:

Table 4: *A New Framework: Target Audiences and the Barriers to Dismantle* (Zakaras & Lowell, 2008)

Target Audience	Audience building goal	Barrier
Disinclined	Diversifying	Perceptions
Inclined	Broadening	Practical matters
Current Audience	Deepening	Experience

This table shows that each target audience will require a different goal considering that the barrier might be of a different nature. For example, disinclined audiences might need organisations to change the approach of addressing any negative perceptions they might have; for the inclined audiences, the goal may be to find more ways of reaching them if they have practical issues like transport to get to the theatre; and deepening the experience of the current audience could refer to the enhancement of the experience through customisation or giving them incentives, like opening night tickets.

Based on the fact that there is limited literature on audience development in South Africa, this research will draw on lessons learnt in practice, as well as from literature from the key contributors such as Maitland, (1997), Kawashima, 2000, and Hayes, (2002).

5.2 Audience Development in a South African context

This section aims to unpack the concept of audience development as defined by Kawashima, (2000), Roger, (1998) and the Arts Council, (2011). These definitions emphasise the need for a nuanced understanding of the various audience segments and their unique characteristics. Although they aren't mutually exclusive, these different aspects of audience development help to address specific elements that make the process more effective.

5.2.1 Cultural Inclusion

Cultural inclusion is a type of audience development that aims to find strategies that cater for audience segments that are often excluded because of social inequalities. It is the recognition that 'for social reasons, some audiences are less likely to attend the arts and refers to the under-representation of some communities in arts audiences; be they ethnic minorities or low-income groups' (Kawashima, 2000:9) and one of the ways to achieve it is through transformation. Van Graan (2014) puts forward that transformation would really go a long way to deal with the matter because it would mean artists and audiences would have access to:

skills, training, mentorships and opportunities to enable them to effectively participate at all levels of the value chain that they choose; capital and resources to create and distribute the

arts; infrastructure close to where they live (studios, rehearsal space etc.) so that they can produce their work and bring it to the audience; markets that would sustain their work as creative producers and as audiences; and the arts (music, theatre, dance etc.) within the city and within their own localities for pure enjoyment (Van Graan, 2014:25).

However, while it is imperative to ensure that all South Africans have equal rights and access to theatre (culture) it is important to interrogate whose “culture” we are talking about, and who are we creating this theatre for. This is given the historical narrative of this country which has seen ‘traditional cultural and creative expressions being suppressed in favour of foreign art forms’ (Arterial Network, 2015:2). In his article titled *Limitations of Audience Development*, Bjornsen (2009) argues that ‘audience development is not based on an understanding that the population does not have access to culture in general, but to a specific culture: professional art, he further states that the goal of audience development is usually to reach and get more people engaged in *that* part of culture’ (Bjornsen, 2009:3). In South Africa, the “culture” of attending theatre in a formal setting comes from an elitist and European tradition. Mantarasso & Landry (1999) also explore this issue in their article titled *Balancing Act: Twenty-One Strategic Dilemmas in Cultural Policy*, that in terms of policy:

Many argue (d) that giving people access to a pre-determined set of cultural values, expressions and products was an inadequate response by democratic states. It was seen to reflect a “top -down” dispensation of elitist cultural values developed in the context of time and class, and which neglected or dismissed many forms of cultural expression and identity (Mantarasso & Landry, 1999:13).

An interview respondent recognises that this issue is still very prevalent. He cautions that independent theatre makers should not ‘*pretend (that) our industry (theatre) is not elitist in its format*’. Moreover, he gives an example that as a theatre maker: ‘*you can’t for example assume that people who think R30 is too much must sacrifice that money for your ticket*’, considering that theatre in its original form was part of daily life and not something you had to pay for. In this point, he highlights the fact that theatre makers must also interrogate their cultural position before trying to “include” or target audiences; and also be open to the fact that some audiences may reject that type of theatre if it doesn’t resonate with them.

A rather practical way of trying to achieve “cultural inclusion” is through diverse artistic programming i.e the repertoire selection, talent selection, venues, and touring and festival performances (Kaiser, 2009). Based on the mission and vision of the organisation, arts managers and artistic directors can draft programmes that allow for shows to be diverse in terms of language, topics, and genres so that they may attract and reach diverse audiences. It’s worth mentioning that even though the space may not be

entirely accessible to some audiences, the POPArt Centre in the Maboneng Precinct has done very well in this area. The award winning venue has been instrumental in offering various independent performers space to not only showcase their work, but also to access diverse audiences including international tourists. *Thenx*³⁰ is an interesting example because the four ladies have been able to attract diverse audiences by showcasing their work in various languages and on different platforms such as *TEDx Johannesburg* and *The Vernacular Spectacular*. Both these platforms target different audiences - *TEDx* is an international platform which reaches numerous countries worldwide, while *The Vernacular Spectacular* specifically targets local audiences who speak diverse vernacular languages.

5.2.2 Arts Education

Arts education is one of the most important ways to cultivate an appreciation for the arts. According to Kawashima (2000), arts education is about 'enhancing the understanding and enjoyment of the arts, which existing attenders currently consume' (Kawashima, 2000:8). She further states that there is a difference between arts education and audience education and outlines that:

arts education may be for the virtue of education, or personal development, to which the arts contribute; whereas audience education in contrast has a clearer focus on audience; whether existing or potential, and that education is an implicit means for making the arts accessible to audiences (Kawashima, 2000:8).

The lack of education in South Africa is one of major factors that have contributed to the issue of declining audiences. It's an issue of curriculum as well as access to quality arts education. Pyper (2015) says that by the time he was in matric he had already been exposed to theatre and that some of the ways that he accessed arts education was through school visits and constant excursions. He recognises that because of the Apartheid system, this was often a privilege for white schools only and advocates that even though school visits are not radical, not having them (in all schools) is also problematic. This is also reported in the *Public Participation in the Arts* that those who attended historically white schools (78.7%) were significantly more likely to be exposed to arts and culture subjects at school (National Arts Council, 2010:14). It's important to point out that even though some black (township/rural) schools sometimes get to experience theatre visits; the quality of theatre is often not the same. However, the key point here is the issue of excursions which offer learners an opportunity to watch theatre in these formal spaces because as Pyper (2015) further adds, these activities made him feel like those spaces were for him too.

³⁰ Sketch comedy group

Arts education is not limited to learners or artists. Zakaras & Lowell (2008) highlight that arts education is a key aspect of developing audiences that are not limited to primary, secondary and tertiary school but that can take place through after school/work programmes as well. Sherwood (2009) adds that 'people taking music lessons or classes, acting lessons, performing dances as part of a group, or visual arts or crafts classes at least once a week were much more likely to attend performances of these art forms than people who had less or no personal involvement in the practice of music, theatre, dance and visual arts' (Sherwood, 2009:5).

With regards to audience education, Van Graan (2015) proposes that more academics should write blogs and reviews about the arts in magazines and other social media platforms because this will help reach audiences who would previously not get information about theatre events. His suggestion is supported by an interview respondent (2015) who said that theatre writers could write a column in a magazine or even use social media as a platform to educate audiences. She says that this could be a good strategy to '*nurture the love of theatre and experiences*', which is important.

5.2.3 Taste Cultivation

Taste cultivation refers to efforts made by organisations to cultivate the tastes of existing audiences for new works or for introducing new audiences to their work. In their book *Cultivating Demand for the Arts Learning, Arts Engagement, and State Arts Policy*, Zakaras & Lowell (2008) say that "cultivating demand," is not primarily about creating better marketing campaigns and public outreach; but, rather, about providing individuals with the tools they need to have rich experiences with art experiences so engaging that they will desire more of them' (Zakaras & Lowell, 2008: 11).

There were two ways that respondents in both the focus groups and interviews made reference to with regards to cultivating a taste. An interview respondent (2015) shares that what has been working in his organisation is that he focuses on existing audiences for new shows. He states that '*as independents, we think that each show has its own audience - the organisation has the audience, not the shows*'. He says that in order to create opportunities before a new show, he reminds the existing audience base of all the shows that they have already supported. This is similar to the idea that was suggested in one of the focus groups which borrows from the model commonly used in stand-up comedy and music of having "an opening act". Respondents supported the idea of having two organisations making an effort to showcase each other's audiences and that this can be done between established organisations and independent organisations, or between two independent organisations. For example; *Thenx* serving as an opening act for a John Kani play at the Market Theatre, and or *Thenx* partnering with a similar organisation.

Jemma Kahn of *Epicene Butcher* and *We Didn't Come To Hell for Croissants* fame also shares the idea of doing short runs of the same play at various venues. She advises theatre makers to 'let a new show breathe' (Kahn, 2015) by performing it in different venues or at festivals and to new audiences. She explains that this cultivates a taste for new audiences and also introduces a new play to existing audiences. This is a strategy she says that has contributed to building her name in the industry whilst also helping her grow her work, most of which have seen numerous sold-out shows.

5.2.3.1 Free shows to cultivate the audience's taste

The concept of offering free content is slowly growing in light of the internet and how audiences are able to access music, movies etc. so easily. This is also a strategy used by many musicians and one that was mentioned in most of the interviews where respondents suggested that independent theatre organisations can benefit from this. The respondent asked:

... are performers willing to say "we're gonna perform at a street corner?" ... So if you go to a supermarket go to target people for theatre then it becomes interesting even if you say to that person I'll give you a comp and then they come but then they have that experience and then later on they'll probably come and buy the tickets it's about taking risks (Focus Group respondent, 2015).

This idea of offering complimentary tickets is another way of giving people a taste of your work, with the hope that they will see the value in it and would be willing to pay for it again. In another focus group, the strategy of 'taking the theatre where the buzz is' was also emphasised; and that independent theatre organisations could perform free shows at places like *Neighbourgoods Market* where young people in Braamfontein, Johannesburg hang out on weekends.

5.2.4 Marketing

Marketing for audience development draws on the notion that marketing in the arts is about building mutually beneficial relationships between the audience and the organisation. In her journal titled *When Arts Met Marketing: Arts Marketing Theory Embedded in Romanticism*, Lee (2005) reflects on the notion of "arts marketing" and how various authors and arts practitioners have challenged it. Her main concern was that 'the core of the marketing concept is "market orientation", a management attitude which says that production should not merely be conscious of market needs, but it should also start from them (the audience) (Baker, 1994; Dalgic, 2000; Kotler, 1976; Kotler et al., 1996). That is, 'an organisation should produce what its customers really need rather than struggling to sell what it can

produce' (Lee, 2005:4). She continues to capture Diggle's (1976) view stated in his book *Marketing the Arts* that:

The starting point of arts marketing was to acknowledge the authority and autonomy of artists, that the end product is what the artist decides it will be....The essential freedom of the artist...is what makes the product worth marketing in the first place....The marketers of the arts do not allow themselves to be satisfied with giving people what they like; they also want to persuade those people to like more and to increase generally the body of people to whom the arts have meaning and value (Lee, 2005: 6).

In light of this, Artistic Consultant and former Director of Artistic Development, Polly Carl, warns that 'we have to take ownership of what is ours and what is the audiences. We have to trust ourselves as artistic leaders and then create conditions under which we can talk to our audiences about the art we create' (Carl, 2011, in Harlow et al, 2011:15). Here, he emphasises the need for organisations to still maintain their artistic integrity, whilst making an effort to listen to audiences as well. One respondent agrees with Carl's (2011) view:

With me, personally I strongly think that if you are a storyteller, if you've got a story to tell, as an audience member I can't really dictate what you want to say you know, so I think it should be independent in that sense that people are allowed to do all sorts of work ...I mean I may not know what you want to talk about it could be a point where I get enlightened about a certain subject matter, you know what I mean? So artists should be allowed to be artists (Focus Group respondent, 2015).

Kotler et al. (1997) also agree that arts marketing, 'is not about abandoning an artistic vision' as some artists have suggested. He adds that it is a sound, effective technology for creating exchanges and influencing behaviour that, when properly applied, must be beneficial to both parties involved in the exchange' (Kotler et al., 1997:30). Lee (2005) describes this exchange as a process where 'the customers get aesthetic, social and psychological benefits from their visit to the organisation at the expense of their time, money and energy; meanwhile, the organisation obtains income, recognition and emotional support from the visitors at the cost of its artistic and managerial efforts and expenditure' (Lee, 2005:10).

Some of the marketing tactics that respondents suggested include flash mobs, posters, competitions, emails and word of mouth. However, and quite interestingly, all the arts managers said that they used social networks for marketing purposes because they are affordable and accessible ways to build and

maintain relationships with audiences. Moreover, some respondents highlighted that Facebook is able to incorporate all the other tactics in a digital way. This is one of the key points that my research focuses on the opportunities that new technologies like Facebook create for theatre production and consumption, and in this case marketing.

Another interesting approach that arts managers say is still effective is the notion of marketing people instead of the shows or organisations. An interview respondent (2015) pointed out that Jemma Kahn, who is one of the only artists whose shows are always sold out at POPArt, is able to get full houses because people are not only interested in her work, but because she has been able to build a brand around herself. On the other hand, an approach that works very well for another organisation is to create fascinating characters that audiences will like and using them to market various shows. With regard to *Thenx*, I have noticed that audiences mostly respond to marketing material or campaigns with the four ladies on a poster or video or when they hear them on the radio, rather than if they see a poster without the faces. Audiences look for that human and personal experience.

5.3 How can organisations effectively implement this process of audience development?

5.3.1 *Understanding your audience*

In an interview with a respondent (2015) she emphasised that: '*audience development is about easing someone in, but we (theatre makers and arts marketers) are not audience developing, we are hammering*'. Parker (2012) also touches on this critical point that 'audience development is about understanding audiences and figuring out strategies to meet them where they are' (Parker, 2012:4). The previous chapter looks at the different audience segments in an attempt to understand what their respective needs, motives and barriers are, and how to appropriately address them. It recognises that audiences are very diverse and nuanced; and that theatre organisations need to put the relevant systems in place to maintain active and continuous relationships with the audience.

5.3.2 *Involving the whole organisation (sector) in audience development*

One of the first points that the *Arts Derby Audience Development Toolkit* puts forward as a critical issue for audience development is that it should be a process that has an 'organisation-wide commitment, and that it involves all staff and colleagues and requires board support' (Cogman, 2001:3). Parker (2012) also stands by this point that 'you can't change the quality of the relationship between the audience and the organization unless you change the quality of the relationship within the organization, that effective audience-building requires all hands on deck' (Parker, 2012:8). This highlights the fact that audience development is not a process limited only to marketers, but to various departments in the

organisation including part time staff members at venues; everyone needs to understand the mission of the organisation and be able to implement their job with this mind.

Audience development should also involve the entire sector from the Department of Arts and Culture all the way to the people on the ground. The fact that only 6.2% of the respondents in the *Public Participation in the Arts Survey* responded positively when asked about theatre events (National Arts Council, 2010:12), proves that as a sector, not enough effort is being made to get the information to the people, especially those in rural areas or locations outside of the urban areas.

Hill, O'Sullivan & O'Sullivan (2003) also raise another crucial point that 'artists also take part in audience development activity by creating work that can be accessed by target audience segments' (Hill, O'Sullivan & O'Sullivan, 2003:9). Artists are often left to focus on the productions but Cogman (2001) agrees and further proposes that 'you need to ensure that artists and workshop leaders are aware of and involved in your audience development aims; they may need to tailor activities to the needs of a particular group' (Cogman, 2001:10). For example, one respondent commented as follows:

it was just a one-woman show, which isn't a bad thing I've been to lots of one person shows that have been amazing but I didn't think the person performing was very good and yah the content of the story was weird. It was trying to be too like existentialist and like I don't even know...it felt like he was trying too hard (Focus Group respondent, 2015).

Noting that "good" or "bad" theatre is highly subjective and relative, this feedback would be useful for the organisation to reflect on, not only from an artistic point of view but from an audience development perspective because this could see "attenders" move down on the audience pyramid (Figure 2) or "rejecters" staying at the bottom level. With regards to this, Hill, O'Sullivan & O'Sullivan (2003) suggest that:

The models of service provision we have applied to the experience of the arts emphasize how successful service delivery depends on the interaction of the customer with everyone with whom he or she comes into contact in the organization. Furthermore, the idea of 'invisible' systems, which enable these first-line personnel to perform their roles more effectively, reveals that even those working behind the scenes have a direct impact on the nature of the experience for the customer; the delivery of a quality experience – is therefore an issue for everyone in the organization (Hill, O'Sullivan & O'Sullivan, 2003:145).

As arts managers recognise; all stakeholders should be working towards building audiences for theatre in general, not for one show, artist or organisation; and that this can be done if artists support artists

first, and by producing theatre that is relevant to target audiences. Additionally, it highlights the need for a collaborative effort towards building theatre attendance.

5.3.3 Partnerships and Collaboration

The power of partnerships and collaboration lies in the fact that parties are able to leverage off each other's skills and expertise. A key suggestion raised in *The Arts Derby Audience Development Toolkit* is the notion of collaboration to build audiences; Cogman (2001) advocates that:

Partnerships are usually key to achieving success. Use them to bring specific expertise to the work or open up routes to your target audience group, and to plan larger-scale projects which bring the target group into contact with a range of services, organisations and opportunities they have not experienced before (Cogman, 2001:8).

Mendels et al. (2014) adds that 'this is the time for joint ventures; when arts organizations may not be able to underwrite really interesting work by themselves; they can do it in partnership' (Mendels et al., 2014:17). An interview respondent (2014) endorses this idea that: *'if we work together we also have leverage when we are pitching to corporates as it will serve a large collective: both in terms of organisations and audiences, we have a bigger clout'*. Another interview respondent said that these partnerships can be between other businesses like restaurants and the tourism department so that theatre shows are listed in tourist packages, for example developed cities like London where the tourism packages include a lot of theatre information. She reflects that *'when I(he) arrived, there was a stand with just theatre information. At the hotel, there were discount cards, specials to theatre purchases'*.

One strategy that was suggested by respondents was the idea of "joint tickets" between organisations where audiences can get one ticket for two or more plays; or between theatre organisations and restaurants to include dinner or drinks with the theatre ticket; as well as between theatre and other businesses, including transport companies like Uber³¹ that can offer discounts for theatre attendees.

Another key point that respondents highlighted in relation to audience building, is that *'We need to build that community and artist ourselves, and thereafter to use as a basis to make others go "hey check out those people who are making it look cool"'* (Focus Group respondent, 2015).

³¹ Uber is an American multinational online transportation network.

The *Theatre Buddy Movement*³², a new initiative that was started by several theatre practitioners in Johannesburg has already started doing this. Led by award winning actor Khutjo Green, the movement aims to promote a culture of theatre attendance and promotion amongst artists. It has two tiers, namely; 'promoting diverse viewing of varied arts projects as a form of social recreation' and 'framing the idea of being exposed to the works of other creatives as a crucial component for informing growth of the working artist'³³. In just a few months, the movement has galvanised interest from various artists, which will hopefully attract audiences as well.

5.3.4 Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E)

Monitoring and evaluation is very crucial to audience development because organisations need to assess whether their strategies are effective to help achieve the set goals. According to M&E specialist Shapiro (2001):

Monitoring is the systematic collection and analysis of information as a project progresses. It is aimed at improving the efficiency and effectiveness of a project or organisation. Evaluation is the comparison of actual project impacts against the agreed strategic plans. It looks at what you set out to do, at what you have accomplished, and how you accomplished it (Shapiro, 2001:3).

The definition above is similar to what McKaiser (2001) describes as the "tracking process" which is a review of 'industry and peer company behaviour, progress towards fulfilling the implementation plan, and financial and other performance measures versus objectives' (McKaiser, 2001:140). The tracking or review process measures success in relation to the industry which is crucial in a rapidly changing sector like the one at hand. This is why an effective M&E plan should include data from all stakeholders to determine key patterns and insights. In relation to audience development, an interview respondent stresses that '*there must be a follow through plan of how we can keep them (audiences) coming*'; part of it has to do with drafting clear plans of how this can be done. Some organisations use feedback forms after shows for audiences (and staff) to express their views, and others conduct interviews and focus groups.

Audience development is an intricate and continuous process which is a strategic balance between responding to audiences' needs, motivation and trends and maintaining artistic integrity. It is a fluid, holistic and integrative concept that most organisations define through trial and error as audiences and

³² The Theatre Buddy Movement is a formal 'performance watching' organization, comprising of trained, professional and practising thespians, whose aim is to engage in and promote the practise of, consuming as much theatre" (as audiences) as possible. www.facebook.com/theatrebuddymovement

³³ www.facebook.com/theatrebuddymovement

theatre evolves. What is important about audience development is that it is not a one organisation or department matter, but a concern for the entire sector because it involves policy issues like transformation, access and education. Through partnership and collaboration between key stakeholders, audience development can become more successful; especially with clear monitoring and evaluation tools that allows artists and organisations to continuously track their progress.

Having looked at the current theatre context; its challenges and opportunities, the audience and the various segments within it, and defined audience development and effective ways that it can be implemented, I will now look at whether Facebook as a social networking site can serve as a social networking platform to achieve this. I will also discuss the challenges and opportunities that digital platforms pose to theatre production and consumption.

6 The Potential Place of Facebook in Audience Development

6.1 Defining Facebook

Facebook is one of the most popular examples of a social networking site (SNS) which Cole (2014) defines as a 'site that promotes connections among users through personal profiles with the ability to form online friendships and groups, and to communicate through public posts and private instant messages' (Cole, 2014:43). His definition is echoed by Shih (2011) who states that 'it tends to be oriented toward personal friendships and relationships, which presents both unique opportunities and challenges to businesses' (Shih, 2011:18). Boyd & Ellison (2007), however choose to use the term "social network sites" instead, which they describe as web-based services which allow individuals to create their own public or semi-public profiles which they can share or connect with others on the same system; as well as to be able to view their own list and those of others.

The terms "social networking sites" or "social network sites" are often used interchangeably with "social media". Kaplan & Heinlein (2010) in Paquette define social media as 'a group of internet based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0; and that allow the creation and exchange of user generated content' (Paquette, 2013:3), which is similar to Boyd & Ellison (2007). In her view, Paquette (2015) posits that 'social media is the environment in which social networking takes place' (Paquette, 2013:6) which echoes Burke (2013) who states that platforms like Facebook³⁴ for example, are considered as both social media (the tools or the platforms), and social networking (the way users engage on these sites)³⁵. Furthermore, social media is also categorised under "new media", or "digital media" because they characterise 'those digital media that are interactive, incorporate two-way communication, and involve some form of computing' (Logan, 2010:4).

Based on the above definitions, this chapter will refer to Facebook as a social networking site (SNS) under the umbrella of "social media" well as "new media". It will explore whether Facebook (as it is now), can be effective in serving as a platform through which independent organisations can implement audience development. It is important to mention that because of limited research on this specific topic, I will draw on insights gained in previous research including, Cheong & Morrison (2008), Harris & Dennis (2011) and Pradiptarini (2011).

³⁴ Visual bookmarking tool that helps you discover and save creative ideas.

³⁵ http://www.huffingtonpost.com/fauzia-burke/social-media-vs-social-ne_b_4017305.html

6.2 Findings about Facebook as a potential platform for building audiences

One of the key questions of this research was why audiences click “yes I am attending”, yet don’t attend. In this section, I will discuss the findings surrounding this question.

6.2.1 *Facebook requires a low level of commitment*

One of the major findings of this research is that as it is now, Facebook requires a low level of commitment, which means that when Facebook users click or “like” on a post for example, it doesn’t mean that they are fully invested in what they are doing. An interview respondent explains that in her view ‘social media is a place for people to play and it’s a place where people don’t have to commit’. She is echoed by Pyper (2015) who states that ‘we have to admit that a Facebook “liking” is a low level commitment; a passing, fleeting thing on your phone’ (Pyper, 2015). This leads to research conducted by *ExactTarget* (2011), which finds that when Facebook users “like” a post by a company for example, ‘they don’t want their “like” to be taken too seriously, and that a “like” is a form of permission, but it’s a permission that’s extremely passive and limited in scope’³⁶.

An important suggestion that emerged from this is that for a click to be effective in the context of theatre attendance, it would have to lead to some form of action, for example, a click option that leads directly to a ticket booking. A respondent said:

By clicking that button doesn’t really mean that you are committed. I don’t know if there is a tech guy who is thinking about this right now but it would help if someone clicks on Facebook page it sort of buys a ticket (Focus Group respondent, 2015).

It is worth mentioning that there is an application that has been in existence since 2011, named *Quicket*³⁷ which allows audiences to buy tickets through online pages, including Facebook and Twitter. However, based on the respondents’ views, it is clear that there are some organisations that don’t know about it, cannot afford it, or are finding it ineffective.

The next section looks at some of the reasons why people click on Facebook events pages. It particularly looks at why they click “yes I am attending” and don’t attend.

³⁶ ExactTarget | www.ExactTarget.com/sff

³⁷ *Quicket* is a fast and effective online ticketing service for small to medium sized events. *Quicket* provides users with seamless Facebook and Twitter integration making it an incredibly powerful viral self-marketing tool - https://www.facebook.com/Quicket.co.za/info/?tab=page_info

6.2.2 People click “yes I am attending” for various reasons

When Facebook users click “yes I am attending” on an events page, not everyone who has clicked actually wants to attend the event you are inviting them to. This was the finding of this research. As one interview respondent noted, when people click:

They just wanna know what’s happening at this event. I know people who do that specifically so that they can follow that conversation not so that they’re going to go. Just to keep a track of things so if you like an event it will come up on your feed that you know that this is happening but it’s not necessarily that you want to go (Interview respondent, 2015).

Her point was confirmed in the Facebook survey which revealed that people do in fact click “yes I am attending” for other reasons. When asked about their motivations to click, 46.88% of the Facebook survey participants who responded to events said that ‘they were interested in attending the event at the point of responding; however, other respondents said that there were other reasons why they would click “going”: 23.96% of the respondents clicked “going” because ‘the event looked interesting’, 15.63% because ‘I want to get information about and leading up to the event’, and 9.38% because a ‘Facebook “friend” sent the invitation’. This confirmed another point made by a Focus Group respondent who added that:

Most of the time when I click yes on Facebook and I don’t really show up it’s because sometimes I look at what’s in it for me, am I really interested in this? And I also don’t want to disappoint the person who invited me because usually we’re close friends or something like that so I click yes because nobody really checks at the door when you walk in (Focus Group respondent, 2015).

The respondent highlights a key issue that while some organisations are happy to send invites to potential audiences, there is no follow-up plan to see whether those who said they would attend actually attended. But also, as Poynter (2008) as cited in Harris & Dennis (2011) points out, ‘liking’ a page on Facebook essentially serves as an opt-in mechanism for on-going communications with the owner of that page (Poynter, 2011:339). This leads to another recent development that happened between the start of the research and now - the response options people had on the Facebook invitations was to either click “yes, I am attending” “maybe” and “no I am not attending”. Now Facebook “invitees” first get an option to click “interested” and are then given the option to click “going” or “not going”. To this Chowdry (2015) states that this change was based on the fact that:

By selecting the “interested” option, you are indicating to the event organiser that you are interested but cannot decide yet. And if you click “interested,” you will receive notifications and updates from the events. Selecting “maybe” seemed ambiguous about whether you would actually show up to the event.³⁸

Based on this, it is safe to say that the Facebook events page cannot be used to estimate or measure possible attendance. As one respondent advised, ‘if you see 300 people on a FB event, you know like 10 people will come’, highlighting that only a few people who said they would be attending will actually attend.

6.2.3 Facebook (social media) alone is not enough

By limiting audience development plans to Facebook (or social media), organisations limit the scope of audiences that can be reached. Furthermore, considering that there is no evidence on its effectiveness to convert online activity into theatre attendance, organisations should seek existing platforms that can work hand in hand with these new platforms to build audiences. One interview respondent stressed that ‘Facebook alone is not enough – it is unreliable’. His view was echoed by another respondent’s that recommends that arts managers should: ‘Link traditional media with new media’ (2015). Their points resonate with Woessner (2011) as cited in Pradiptarini (2011) who recommends that ‘organisations should not only be involved with the online community, but also with the offline community to extend their relationship and customer’s loyalty’ (Pradiptarini, 2011:5). This is important because as one respondent said: ‘I love going to theatre but I go to one out of ten times... but none from a Facebook invitation’ (Focus Group respondent, 2015). He highlights that while Facebook gives organisations access to a large audience base, there are some potential audiences who are not Facebook users.

According to Pradiptarini (2011), ‘literature reviews show that social media marketing’s effectiveness is influenced by these aspects: content quality; involvement; building trust and long-term relationships and integration with the other media platforms’ (Pradiptarini, 2011:5). He says that even with a low budget or no budget at all, small organisations must make an effort to build relationships with organisations that run other media platforms like radio and television. This is because there is an audience pool who might be interested in attending theatre shows but who may not have access to or are interested in participating in online activities. Reflecting on the *Thenx* audience attendance from the April and August 2015 shows, it can be said that the majority of the new audiences who attended the shows, came because of a radio or television interview. Kahn (2015) also agrees that there are some audience members who access information about her shows via print media.

³⁸ <http://www.forbes.com/sites/amitchowdhry/2015/11/03/facebook-replaces-maybe-with-interested-on-events/#7c10920759b1>

Based on this it is safe to say that organisations must also monitor and evaluate whether Facebook is in fact a relevant way to help to build audiences because for some organisations, Facebook is an added ingredient to existing plans.

6.2.4 Monitoring and Evaluation

One of the features that makes Facebook stand out is that it offers organisations access to page insights which can be useful for them to 'monitor what's working and not working on your page, understand that the people who like your page and engage with your posts and make decisions about the best ways to connect with your audience'³⁹. Here, arts managers and marketers can view insights about likes, people, reach, page views, posts and videos; this is where you get information about the fans, their sex, location, language and the frequency with which they engage on the page. An interview respondent also advocates that organisations should refer to the Facebook insights page because it contains crucial information about posts, page visits, reach and engagement, all of which can be used to inform new strategic plans. To measure the effectiveness of social media marketing in particular, Blanchard (2011) in Pradiptarini, 2011:7 offers an eight step approach which is outlined below:

- 1) Establish a base line: establishing the data that is to be measured.
- 2) Create active timelines: plotting 'all the activities from all departments and media platforms that might have an effect on the non-financial outcomes should plot all of the activities from all departments and media platforms that might have an effect on the non-financial outcomes' (Blanchard, 2011:228).
- 3) Monitor the volume of mentions: measuring the number of mentions as well as the sentiments in those mentioned across the web.
- 4) Measure transactional precursors: 'measurement of changes in consumers' behaviours resulted from their SM activities such as number of fans, followers, shares, recommendations, RSS subscriptions, content downloads' (Blanchard, 2011:230).
- 5) Look at transactional data: measuring the financial data by combining both the changes in net transacting customers and the number of net transactions (Blanchard, 2011:231).
- 6) Overlay all data (steps 1-5) onto a single timeline.
- 7) Look for patterns: here you would be looking for possible impacts of the social media campaign at various points.
- 8) Prove and disapprove relationship: based on the impact or not, manager will make a decision on the way forward regarding the social media campaign (Blanchard, 2011).

³⁹ <https://www.facebook.com/thenx.ladies/insights/?section=navPeople>

This process allows organisations to systematically analyse the effectiveness of Facebook in relation to their audiences. It gives them an opportunity to reflect on what is working and exposes any gaps; which can be useful in influencing new strategies going forward.

6.3 Is Facebook effective in helping organisations to implement audience development as per Kawashima (2000)?

This section aims to explore the potential use of Facebook to develop theatre audience according to the definition which states that audience development is a holistic and integrative process which includes: cultural inclusion, arts education, taste cultivation and marketing, as a way to cater for various audience segments.

6.3.1 Cultural inclusion through Facebook

Facebook has the potential to serve as a platform to aid organisations to reach diverse audiences. As Shih (2011) proposes, one of its most significant advantages is that it 'has democratized privileged access to people as fewer barriers exist, registration is open to anyone, and every member primarily starts on level footing' (Shih, 2011:58). Not only does Facebook break the geographical barriers, it also breaks "language" barriers as the modes of communication are mostly images, pokes, likes etc. When you take the *Thenx* Facebook page⁴⁰ for example, through the share option, the page has organically attracted over fourteen thousand followers from different provinces in South Africa as well as people in countries as far as the USA and France.

A critical concern however is that since its launch in 2004, Facebook has made continuous changes to its algorithms in an attempt to respond to new trends and audience feedback. One of the most recent changes is with regards to the news feed which has been adjusted in such a way that users can only see specific and not all posts (Boyd & Ellison, 2013). In relation to this, an interview respondent said that initially Facebook participants were connected based on their common interests and associations; yet today *'if you like something once, or checked in somewhere, you are now linked to those and get that on your feeds*. This change was confirmed by Zhang & Chen (2016) of Facebook, who said that it was because of the fact that the users they interviewed reported that they had 'a better experience when the stories they see at the top are stories they are both likely to rate highly if asked, and likely to engage with'⁴¹. This proves to be problematic because it means that some of the posts from the theatre organisations may only reach the theatre community or existing theatre goers, which further excludes those who have never been exposed to theatre-related posts.

⁴⁰ <https://www.facebook.com/thenx.ladies>

⁴¹ [Newsroom.fb.com](https://www.facebook.com/newsroom)

6.3.2 Audience education on Facebook

Audience education on Facebook refers to the continuous engagement between organisations and potential and existing audiences about issues relating to the arts, or in the case of this report, theatre. Respondents said that Facebook can play a major role in familiarising audiences with information about theatre, artists and the sector in general, considering that they already access information about other topics as well. In her article titled *Educate, Engage and Excite Your Audience*, Maybin (2014) quotes John Rim who advises that ‘while we certainly want to inspire or excite people to take action, without information or education, that action is aimless’⁴². This is a common mistake that occurs especially because of limited budgets. Many (theatre) organisations focus their energies on marketing campaigns and not enough on audience (arts) education, which can play a critical role in breaking barriers. Bernstein (2007) points out that potential theatre goers often ask themselves if they will enjoy or understand the show and whether they will feel comfortable or fit in at the venue. His point is echoed by a respondent who said that she ‘gets annoyed when artists don’t respond to important questions’ (Focus Group respondent, 2015). This highlights the significance of an accessible channel through which organisations can respond to these appeals, which is where Facebook can potentially come in. Because of its open and interactive features, it is useful for information sharing especially because social networking sites thrive on providing a two-way communication allowing audiences to also facilitate their own learning, i.e. commenting on each other’s posts.

Carrera et al. (2008) posit that on SNS,

The most common forms of message dissemination include posting links to external news items about the organisation or its causes; posting photographs, video, or audio files from the organisation and its supporters; and using the message board or discussion wall to post announcements and answer questions (Waters, 2009:103).

One approach that an interview respondent uses is that of sharing parts of the script of the upcoming performance and facilitating discussions about it, for example by unpacking issues of character, themes, language and the overall plot. She advocates that this ‘familiarizes the online audiences with the script before they watch so that they have an idea of what is going on’, especially if it’s a new script. She also recommends however that it is important to strategically decide what to post on the main page and that:

⁴² <http://www.forbes.com/sites/womensmedia/2014/08/21/educate-engage-and-excite-your-audience/#20abd3de41fa>

You cannot bombard your timeline with one thing that might not be relevant to others. We create the events pages to target a specific audience because we don't want to clutter the main page. We use the timeline to direct the traffic to the pages so that we can speak to the audience directly (Interview respondent, 2015).

This echoes a point made earlier that it is essential to have tailored strategies for different segments. Facebook is able to offer this through separate groups pages and individual profiles, and audiences are able to choose to engage with it or not. It would be the responsibility of the organisations to direct audiences to the relevant pages.

6.3.3 Taste Cultivation of theatre attendance on Facebook

Cultivating a taste for theatre attendance on Facebook is not effective because theatre is a live art form that requires people to physically go to the particular venue. Respondents proposed various ways in which this can take place on Facebook, for example posting video trailers or footage of the whole process from rehearsals to performance. They also advocated that this would help in '*spark(ing) curiosity*' or '*building a new excitement*' (Focus Group respondents, 2015) because audiences would get to see the behind the scenes "magic". However, it should be mentioned that while the video trailers or teasers can be useful in terms of increasing online reach and building hype and brand awareness, there is no evidence that this will be effective in cultivating a taste for theatre attendance. When you take *Thenx* for example, the Facebook videos have allowed the group to reach a large number of people, but have failed to convert that into theatre attendance because the experience of watching a video online is different to going to the theatre.

6.3.4 Marketing theatre on Facebook

One of the key findings of this research is that people are most likely to attend a theatre show when a friend or someone they know invites them; that is, through word of mouth. One respondent said; '*a lot of the stuff you will see it and like it looks cool but you don't know what it's really about, that's why you really go to stuff that is recommended because you know what it's about*' (Focus Group respondent, 2015). One of the reasons why marketing on Facebook is effective is that through personalised profiles, users are able to electronically spread the word to their friends. In their study on *Consumers' Reliance on Product Information and Recommendations Found in User Generated Content*, Cheong & Morrison' (2008) report that participants trust the voice of other consumers over the manufacturers themselves (Cheong & Morrison, 2008:48) which also highlights that people are more willing to trust other audiences if they invited them to theatre. Harris & Dennis, (2011) stressed, however, that there is a

hierarchy - 'participants trust 'real' friends first, particularly if they are experts in the relevant topic, then Facebook friends, then expert blogs and lastly independent reviews' (Harris & Dennis, 2011:344).

Shih (2011) writes that 'social networks are powerful marketing channels for companies to hyper-target campaigns using profile information to engage community members by tapping into transitive trust within friend groups, and to systematically cultivate word of mouth across their existing customer base' (Shih, 2011:110). A common way of implementing this is through "influencing", which Kadushin (2012) describes as follows:

Conceptually, there are three possibilities in the process of personal influence; firstly, the recipient solicits the influencer(s) for advice; secondly, the influencer actively attempts to persuade the recipient to take action or make the decision or simply informs the recipient; lastly, the influencer serves as a model – uses the product or has an opinion about it but is not directly connected to the recipient (Kadushin, 2012:141).

Based on this, theatre organisations can therefore identify opinion influencers/leaders to engage their followers about that particular brand. Shaer (2015) says that she *'looks for people who are passionate – they spread the word passionately. It's not about the following and also not only theatre goers'*. Influencers can also serve as facilitators of the electronic word of mouth, by posting interesting content and starting conversations. Although the hashtag is not as popular on Facebook as it is on Twitter, it is one way influencers get topics to trend, and through which organisations can instantly trace as audiences communicate their views and experiences.

Bearing all of this in mind, it is imperative to point out a number of concerns regarding social media marketing. Firstly, respondents stressed that Facebook is too busy and that they are constantly inundated with information and adverts. For example, according to the *2015 Social Media Marketing Industry Report*, 92% of the marketers interviewed reported that social media marketing was important for their businesses⁴³. One respondent points out that: *'... everyone has a Facebook page, so you get like twenty notifications and you're just like...ooh, can I clear all? ...sometimes you find that you just missed something important because it's just too much'* (Focus Group respondent, 2015). Furthermore, out of the respondents that took part in the Facebook survey, 49.9% said that they *often* receive Facebook invitations while 40.4% said they receive them *very often*. In addition, 52.8% of the respondents said that they ignore the invitation. This confirms that Facebook audiences receive numerous event invitations on a regular basis, but most importantly these marketing efforts may not even be effective if half of those people are ignoring them. This is echoed by Morris, Hargreaves,

⁴³ 2015 Social Media Marketing Industry Report. SocialExaminer.com

McIntyre (2007) who warn that audiences are becoming more 'cynical about marketing and less responsive to entreaties to buy' (Morris, Hargreaves, McIntyre, 2007:25).

Secondly, social media marketing can be risky because users also use Facebook to voice their disappointments, especially in extreme situations. Using the very same hash-tags, audiences can influence others to not attend if they mention a bad experience at the theatre, in the foyer or even with regards to the actual production.

6.4 Rethinking attendance and participation

As mentioned in chapter three, the technological evolution is changing the ways in which audiences want to engage with the arts. This has impacted on theatre in that audiences today have access to more platforms through which they are able to access content. As discussed in their book titled, *The Network Society: From Knowledge to Policy*, Castells & Cardoso (2005), these digital communication technologies 'overcome historical limits and transcend boundaries' (2005:4); they do this 'by creating a space of constant flows of goods, information, cultural products, etc., as well as of an a-temporal time in which simultaneity replaces succession, and where instantaneity allows an economy to function as a unit in real time' (Geisse, 2014:19).

Although considered disruptive for theatre as a live art form, they also introduce an opportunity for a new type of theatre, a digital or online theatre. In relation to this, Pyper (2015) proposes that; '*real time and geographical proximity of attendance and participation might be a very old way of thinking about patronage*' (Pyper, 2015) in the context of these new technologies. With a reference to the *Thenx* page he pointed out that: '*there can be an audience that is on the other side of the world that supports and possibly gives you an income; Catering for that audience who might never even see your performance in real time could aid your sustainability*' (Pyper, 2015). His point is supported by Ellis & Taylor (2010) that 'new technologies enable people to enjoy the arts without the consumption of long form works in a central location' (Ellis & Taylor, 2010:3), but also recognise that artists need to think carefully about the 'type of participation we seek to invite' (Ellis & Taylor, 2010:7). In addition, organisations should think about the future of theatre and the effects of these new technologies on the preservation of theatre, considering that its biggest selling point is perceived to be the live experience, or human interaction between the actors and the audience as well as between audience members. Digital Theatre⁴⁴ in London is an interesting example of how theatre has been reimagined to cater to online audiences. They film live theatre, acquire (from other theatre companies) and publish it in an effort to 'make arts

⁴⁴ <http://www.digitaltheatre.com/>

accessible regardless of geographical, social or economic boundaries. One thing that the idea of digitised theatre promotes is that it also serves to archive the theatre which is a good thing.

It is clear that Facebook can be useful in giving organisations access to a larger base of audiences but because of the ever-changing algorithms, it may be challenging to reach new and diverse segments. When it comes to audience education, Facebook is effective, however organisations should find strategic and interesting ways of implementing it because audiences are already bombarded with a lot of information. In relation to taste cultivation, one can conclude that Facebook would not be effective in cultivating a taste for theatre attendance because the videos and trailers offer a different experience to actually going to the theatre. Facebook can play a major role in marketing, however, because of the high traffic and relatively risky nature, it calls for alternative and innovative ways that can work hand in hand to reach diverse audiences.

It's also worth reiterating that while new media is seen to be disruptive towards an art form that thrives on the live experience, they are also opening up new opportunities for a re-definition of theatre consumption, production and distribution.

7. IS THERE A PLACE FOR FACEBOOK IN AUDIENCE DEVELOPMENT?

One of the reasons why Facebook was pursued as a potential platform for implementing audience development is that it offers a very important, interactive, two-way communication channel between organisations and their audiences. The research found that Facebook is effective in helping audiences to implement audience education and marketing through pages and/or profiles which allow them to be more personable and accessible. Like most digital technologies, it helps organisations to overcome geographical barriers meaning that organisations can connect with audiences from across the country and the world. One of the key selling points of Facebook is the Insights page which tracks all the activity that happens on the organisation's page in terms of audience engagement, reach and demographics. Through this, organisations are able to measure whether Facebook is effective in helping them reach the set goal. Through the "share" option, organisations are able to use influencers to accelerate electronic word of mouth which helps to build awareness about new shows, news on the arts, or any key issues that may be relevant to audiences.

However, the research also found that Facebook requires a low level of commitment from its users, which means that people are not always invested in the "actions" they make on the site. Moreover, the findings reveal that there are diverse reasons why Facebook users click on various pages. For example, with regards to the events page, users click to get information about the theatre event, to communicate a particular status or to show support for their friends and not necessarily because they want to attend the event. This highlights the ambiguous nature of the various options on the site which makes it hard to measure.

Based on this, the answer is that yes, Facebook can play a role, but organisations should not rely solely on it to build theatre attendance because there are other key issues that it cannot address, such as practical barriers and the many audiences it does not reach.

The research showed that while it is important for organisations to make efforts to make the productions a success, if the audiences cannot get to the theatre, then there is no point. In South Africa, this is the case for many people because the Apartheid legacy was designed to segregate black and white people. Twenty something years into democracy, issues like poverty and inequality affect the country and the sector. The fact that many South Africans don't have access to theatres in their communities as well as critical arts education has contributed to the decline in audiences, and it has further perpetuated the perception that theatre is an art form for the elite. This why the research gravitated towards Maitland (1997), Rogers (1998) and Kawashima's (2000) definition that audience development is a holistic and integrative process which aims to break down any barriers in order to

cultivate a taste for theatre as well as to include more audiences. Organisations need to critically reflect on the history of theatre in order to create mutually beneficial relationships between the audience and the organisations.

In light of this, the research concludes that audience development requires a collaborative effort between online and offline platforms; between artists and organisations; between organisations and the sector and most importantly the Department of Arts and Culture.

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9. APPENDIX

9.1 Facebook Survey Results



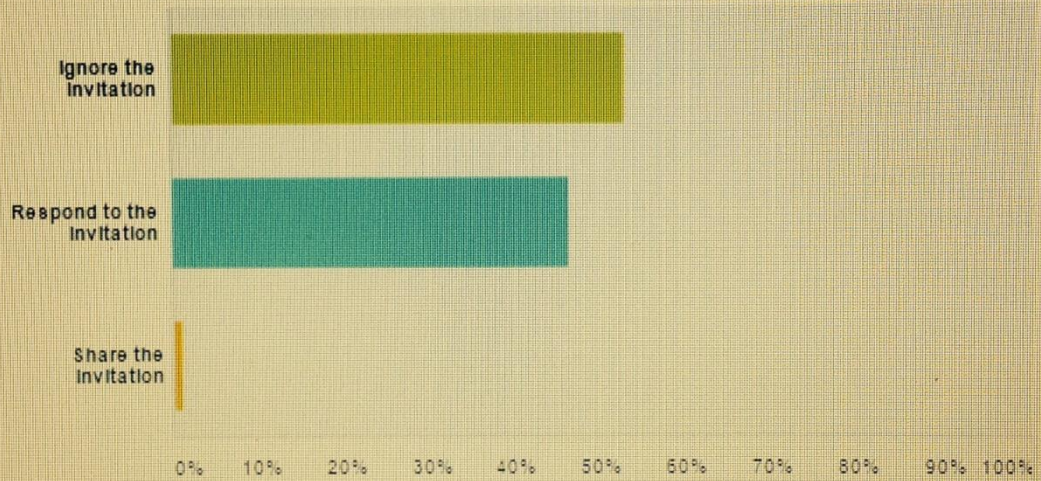
Q2

Customize

Export

What do you usually do when you receive a Facebook invitation?

Answered: 97 Skipped: 3



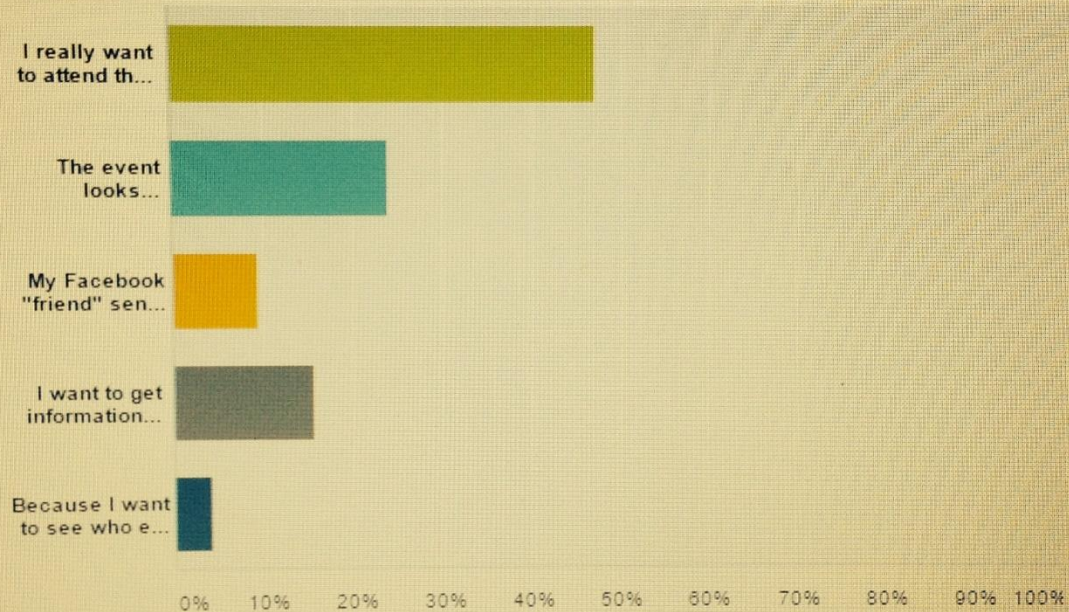
Answer Choices	Responses	
Ignore the invitation	52.58%	51
Respond to the invitation	46.39%	45
Share the invitation	1.03%	1
Total		97

Customize

Export ▾

What motivates you to click "going" in response to a Facebook invitation to an event?

Answered: 96 Skipped: 4



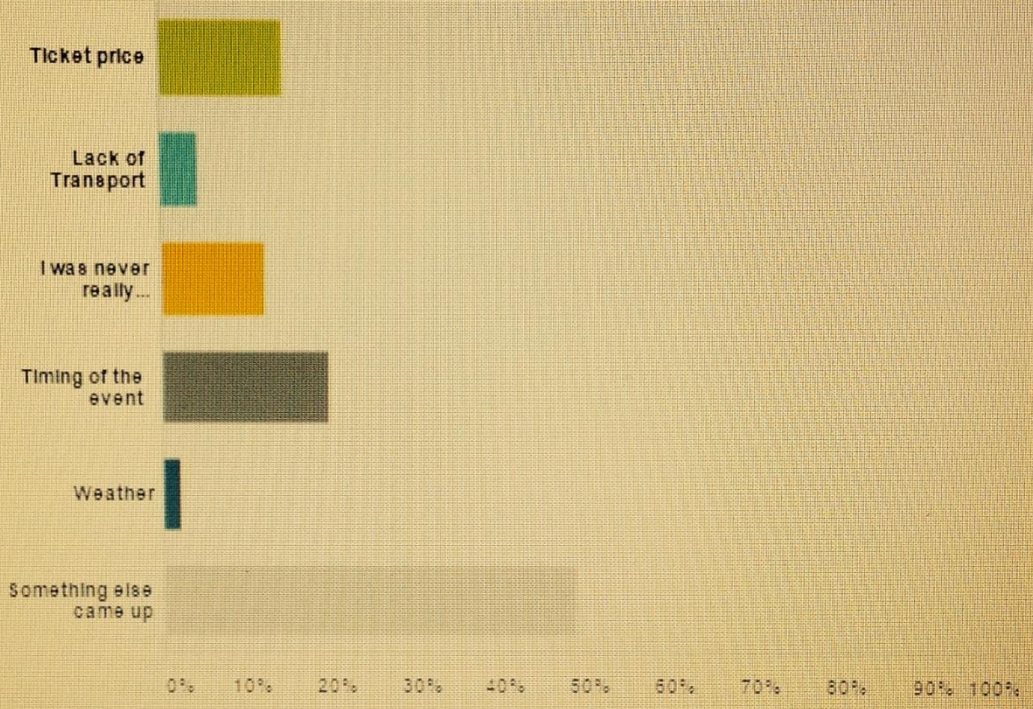
Answer Choices

Responses

<input type="radio"/> I really want to attend the event	46.88%	45
<input type="radio"/> The event looks interesting	23.96%	23
<input type="radio"/> My Facebook "friend" sent the Facebook invitation	9.38%	9
<input type="radio"/> I want to get information about and leading up to the event	15.63%	15
<input type="radio"/> Because I want to see who else is "going"	4.17%	4
Total		96

If you have clicked "going" , what could prevent/discourage you from actually going?

Answered: 93 Skipped: 7



Answer Choices	Responses	Count
Ticket price	13.98%	13
Lack of Transport	4.30%	4
I was never really attending	11.83%	11
Timing of the event	15.35%	14
Weather	2.15%	2
Something else came up	48.39%	45
Total		93