

VOL VII

Ciências Humanas:

Estudos Para Uma Visão
Holística Da Sociedade



Silvia Inés Del Valle Navarro
Gustavo Adolfo Juarez
(Organizadores)

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PRÓLOGO

En este **séptimo volumen** de la obra titulada ***Ciências Humanas: Estudos para uma Visão Holística da Sociedade***, tenemos la oportunidad de acompañar a los autores, participantes de esta publicación de la Editora Artemis.

En ella se evidencia el interés por la divulgación de las investigaciones realizadas, siendo muy variadas en cuanto a temáticas, no así en lo disciplinar. En efecto, la investigación en educación incluye desde lo histórico, lo socio-cultural realizada mediante el análisis de figuras, gráficas y modelos matemáticos, técnicas comunitarias para escuchar música clásica, la educación superior portuguesa, la pedagogía eficaz desde la aplicación de una encíclica papal y el mantenimiento cultural-religioso.

También observamos temáticas sociales desde la psicología con problemáticas indígenas, los efectos de tareas que producen agotamiento, la problemática del divorcio en su influencia con los hijos, la cultura de la alimentación que produce obesidad infantil, y las relaciones en épocas de gobiernos de hechos donde se observó violencia sexual. Las actividades más liberales como la arquitectura, produce en personajes, una identidad creativa que se transforma en influyente como así también la actividad de la construcción que produce una organización institucional para determinar tareas de gerenciamiento.

Esperando que estos trabajos sean de gran aporte a los lectores, les deseamos una buena lectura.

SILVIA INÉS DEL VALLE NAVARRO

GUSTAVO ADOLFO JUAREZ

PRÓLOGO

Neste **sétimo volume** da obra intitulada ***Ciências Humanas: Estudos para uma Visão Holística da Sociedade***, temos a oportunidade de acompanhar os autores, participantes desta publicação da Editora Artemis.

Demonstra interesse na divulgação das pesquisas realizadas, sendo muito variadas em termos de temas, mas nem tanto em termos de disciplina. Com efeito, a investigação em educação inclui desde o histórico, o sociocultural realizado através da análise de figuras, gráficos e modelos matemáticos, técnicas comunitárias de audição de música clássica, ensino superior português, pedagogia eficaz a partir da aplicação de uma encíclica papal e cultural -manutenção religiosa.

Observamos também temas sociais da psicologia com os problemas indígenas, os efeitos das tarefas que produzem esgotamento, o problema do divórcio em sua influência sobre os filhos, a cultura da alimentação que produz a obesidade infantil e os relacionamentos em tempos de governos de fato onde a violência sexual era observado. As atividades mais liberais, como a arquitetura, produzem nos personagens uma identidade criativa que se torna influente, assim como a atividade de construção que produz uma organização institucional para determinar tarefas de gestão.

Esperando que estas obras sejam de grande contribuição para os leitores, desejamos uma boa leitura.

SILVIA INÉS DEL VALLE NAVARRO

GUSTAVO ADOLFO JUAREZ

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(UN)GATHERED TOGETHER: COMMUNAL TECHNIQUES OF LISTENING TO CLASSICAL MUSIC IN LISBON

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ABSTRACT: The article covers a part of research, dedicated to classical music and the ways people listen to it in Lisbon. It draws on ethnographic material from observations and interviews with audience members over concert seasons in 2021/2022 and 2022/2023. The article consists of two main sections: theoretical and analytical. The theoretical section explores methodologies for studying concert audiences, positing a hypothesis that participants in classical music concerts employ unique listening techniques to engage with musical performances and cultivate communal music perception, adapting to the concert hall environment and audience protocols. As for the analytical part, the article presents a case study of audiences at the *Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian* and *Centro Cultural de Belém*, describing characteristics of communal listening and showing how diverse audience members with varied backgrounds, preferences, and motivations come together

in the concert hall, sharing an intimate listening experience that fosters collective meaning and community building.

KEYWORDS: Audience. Community. Listening. Classical music. Performance.

JUNTOS (DES)UNIDOS: AS TÉCNICAS COMUNITÁRIAS DE AUDIÇÃO DE MÚSICA CLÁSSICA EM LISBOA

RESUMO: O artigo abrange uma parte da pesquisa dedicada à música clássica e às formas como as pessoas a ouvem em Lisboa. Baseia-se em material etnográfico de observações e entrevistas com membros da audiência ao longo das temporadas de concertos em 2021/2022 e 2022/2023. O artigo é composto por duas seções principais: teórica e analítica. A seção teórica explora metodologias para estudar audiências de concertos, postulando uma hipótese de que os participantes em concertos de música clássica empregam técnicas de escuta únicas para se envolverem em performances musicais e cultivar uma percepção musical comunitária, adaptando-se ao ambiente da sala de concertos e aos protocolos da audiência. Quanto à parte analítica, o artigo apresenta um estudo de caso das audiências da *Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian* e do *Centro Cultural de Belém*, descrevendo as características da escuta comunitária e mostrando como membros da audiência diversos, com origens, preferências e motivações variadas, se reúnem

na sala de concertos, compartilhando uma experiência de escuta íntima que promove significado coletivo e construção de comunidade.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Público. Comunidade. Audição. Música clássica. Performance.

1 INTRODUCTION

The enjoyment of music listening is a multifaceted phenomenon with diverse modes of engagement. The various types of listening utilized by music enthusiasts can be comprehensively analyzed, considering factors such as the content and significance of a person's listening experience (Kramer, 2007), as well as the social dimension of sharing this experience with others by taking into consideration all the parties that participate in it like social networks, convention settings, resources and resource mobilization, and places (Crossley, 2015). The presented approaches reveal two distinct listening dimensions: individual and collective, as the experience of listening to music in a public setting markedly differs from private listening, which occurs within its specific acoustic and environmental context (Pitts, 2005).

In this sense, a classical concert offers its audience a distinctive mode of collective appreciation for musical compositions (O'Sullivan, 2009; Gross, 2013). As these concerts are inherently designed for a group of people, constituting highly ritualized phenomena (Small, 1987), concertgoers must stand by specific rules and regulations within the concert space, while being exposed to predetermined sonic arrangements emanating from both performers and attendees. Analyzing a classical concert as a specific framework for music listening reveals its role in shaping the aesthetic encounter with the featured music in unique ways. Two primary characteristics of concert performances significantly impact the perception of musical pieces: its work-centered aesthetics and the sense of liveness experienced during the performance (Wald-Fuhrmann et al., 2021).

The communal experience of listening to classical music in public reveals a network of relationships among all participants engaged in the performance, regardless of their respective roles. This phenomenon aligns with the theory of “musicking” by Christopher Small (1998). According to him, a musical performance serves as a meeting point for human interaction, mediated through the organization of sounds in specific patterns. The participants shape and envision this interconnection, including relationships between individuals, society, and potentially even the metaphysical realm, notes Small.

Understanding the actions and behaviors of individuals during their engagement in a musical performance holds the key to unraveling the essence and functions of such performances in human life. Irrespective of the specific functions it embodies, “to take part in a music act is of central importance to our very humanness, as important as taking

part in the act of speech, which it so resembles” (Small, 1998, p. 8), and the gift of music is inherent in every human being and is as inherent as the gift of speech. The refinement of this inherent gift of listening can be seen as a lifelong journey in honing specialized body techniques, which, in this context, pertain to listening techniques.

2 METHODOLOGY: LISTENING TECHNIQUES

The act of public listening, akin to any other social practice, is carried out through the application of specific acquired techniques, suggesting both cultural and corporeal dimensions. Marcel Mauss, the French sociologist and anthropologist, referred to these as “body techniques” and determined them as special actions assuming the fact that

“we are everywhere faced with physio-psycho-sociological assemblages of a series of actions. These actions are more or less habitual and more or less ancient in the life of the individual and the history of the society” (Mauss, 1979, p. 120).

The exploration of body techniques demonstrates an extensive array of practices, including those pertaining to birth, infancy, adolescence, and adult life, such as sleeping, waking, walking, running, dancing, and various forms of physical care. Interestingly, while Mauss addressed a myriad of techniques, he omitted sensory activities like looking, listening, tasting, smelling, and touching, which, nonetheless, remain implicit and occasionally mentioned in the context of other practices.

It is possible to extend the concept of body techniques to the act of listening to music, thereby presenting a comprehensive model of listening techniques. Such a model holds the potential to shed light on the intricate relationship between the audience and musical events, as these techniques reflect practical orientations towards listening. Listening techniques share a profound correlation with the concept of *habitus*, as highlighted by Pierre Bourdieu. Habitual ways of listening are influenced by social conditioning, comprising a compilation of informal knowledge that shapes individuals’ subjective experiences within their social milieu, as

“[...] the objects of knowledge are constructed, not passively recorded, and, contrary to the intellectualist idealism, the principle of this construction is the system of structured, structuring dispositions, the *habitus*, which is constituted in practice and is always oriented towards practical functions” (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 52).

The *habitus* encompasses the ingrained dispositions, attitudes, and behaviors acquired through cultural and societal influences, which subsequently mold the way individuals perceive and engage with music. These acquired listening habits, in turn,

contribute to the formation of a distinctive and socially conditioned mode of musical appreciation, aligning with Bourdieu's emphasis on the interplay between social structures and individual subjectivity in shaping various aspects of human experience.

The habitus of listening entails not an absolute necessity or rigid rule, but rather an inherent inclination or predisposition to engage with music in a specific manner. It involves having a particular focus while listening, anticipating certain emotional experiences, and expressing responses through stylized gestures, as well as interpreting “the meaning of the sounds and one's emotional responses to the musical event in somewhat (never totally) predictable ways” (Becker, 2004, p. 130). Significantly, individuals often listen in a certain way without conscious awareness of it, as these styles of listening are acquired “through unconscious imitation of those who surround us and with whom we continually interact” (Ibid.).

The focus on imitative practices allows us to consider the existence of distinct listening techniques employed when engaging with music privately versus in a public setting. In a public context, an individual employs their own listening technique while simultaneously encountering and experiencing the listening techniques of others within the predefined space and its unique environment. This communal aspect of listening becomes a defining characteristic of the concert experience.

By extending the ecological theory to the cultural environment, the act of listening to music in public can be examined because of adaptation, perceptual learning, and the interplay between perception and action (Clarke, 2005). This approach provides a comprehensive framework that allows for the understanding of various attributes of music, such as physical sources, musical structures, and cultural meanings, in a cohesive manner. This principle, which recognizes the distinctions among different musical phenomena and how they can be defined, while also emphasizing the interdependence between the listeners' abilities and the opportunities presented by the musical environment, is used in this research.

3 ETNOGRAPHIC FIELDWORK SETTINGS

For this study, fieldwork was conducted at two concert venues in Lisbon: Grand Auditorium of the *Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian* (FCG) and Grand Auditorium of the *Centro Cultural de Belém* (CCB). These venues are primarily dedicated to hosting classical music performances, encompassing a repertoire that spans from symphonic to chamber and recital programs. The Gulbenkian Auditorium, an integral part of the FCG building, serves as the home of Portugal's largest collective, the *Coro e Orchestra*

Gulbenkian (COG). On the other hand, the resident ensemble for the Grand Auditorium of the CCB is the *Orquestra de Câmara Portuguesa* (OCP) and *Jovem Orquestra Portuguesa* (JOP), while the *Orquestra Metropolitana de Lisboa* (OML) also uses this concert hall as a prominent venue for its concerts.

Regarding the sample's section, a series of events featuring extensive programs, thoughtfully combining exclusively symphonic pieces with the participation of the orchestras, was established for the ethnographic fieldwork during the 2021/2022 and 2022/2023 concert seasons.

The initial phase of the ethnographic research involved participant observations and empirical data collection, with the objective of gaining insights into how concert settings influence listeners' behavior in concert settings during live performances. The research work also involved conducting a series of interviews with public members, including structured and semi-structured formats.

Semi-structured random public surveys (RPS) were conducted with concert attendees before, after, and during intermissions of concerts, to explore their motivations, preferences, listening experiences, and habits. Structured in-depth interviews (IDI) were scheduled with Lisbon-based listeners of varying ages, who demonstrated established and long-term listening habits, to investigate their connections with the music world and analyze how the concert environment influenced their experiences. Additionally, life-story interviews (LSI) were conducted with two key informants from the group of concertgoers, based on their extensive concert attendance experience and willingness to share their concert schedules with the researcher.

4 INVESTIGATING THE AUDIENCE

Concerts, particularly orchestral music concerts, offer a unique research domain to explore the listening techniques employed by attendees in such events. Drawing from the ecological approach to studying listening, as described earlier, it is possible to discern several key techniques developed by concertgoers within the concert frame, which aim to facilitate their adaptation to the concert environment and develop potential interactions with fellow listeners. These techniques can be categorized into three groups based on their objectives in the public space. Firstly, it explores the process of adaptation to the concert space, including the entire building and its public areas. Secondly, it investigates the interaction among members of the audience, aiming to identify the formation of social ties with varying degrees of strength. Lastly, the study examines several techniques that contribute to the creation of a distinct collective

listening experience, which is frequently a significant motivation for attending music concerts, as demonstrated later in the analysis.

4.1 FITTING THE CONCERT AUDIENCE

To “fit” the concert audience means following the expectations and requirements that characterize the collective behavior within the concert setting. Public spaces impose certain norms and conditions on their attendees to ensure the historical functioning of their activities. In the context of a concert, it is essential for the audience to uphold a specific *ethos* that enables an optimal listening experience, such as refraining from disruptive behaviors like coughing or talking during performances. Interestingly, not all listeners are equally vigilant in identifying violations of concert etiquette. Both the audiences at the CGF and CCB try to stay sympathetic, attributing such occasional breaches of etiquette to a normal physiological need that any person may experience to a certain extent, as shows the comment below:

“However, one challenge that sometimes mars the experience of live concerts is the unavoidable coughing that can be heard in concert halls. While I understand that it is a natural human tendency, it can be quite irksome, interrupting the sublime atmosphere of the music. Nevertheless, it serves as a reminder of our shared humanity and the imperfections that come with it” (RPS, CGF, February 2023).

Although, the observance of etiquette during classical music concerts remains a significant concern in both esteemed institutions like the FCG and more inclusive venues such as the CCB. The strict rules that demand unwavering adherence are primarily rooted in the established tradition of listening etiquette, as any violation of these norms can disrupt the music-worshipping experience. The development and current manifestation of this etiquette warrant further investigation, but in the context of this study, our focus lies on understanding how individuals adapt to these rules and the social significance associated with such adaptation. By exploring the process of adaptation to concert etiquette, we can gain insights into its broader societal implications.

The consensus among concertgoers is that the CGF provides a relatively safe space for maintaining silence during performances, while this may be lacking in other concert halls, as observed during the study. A 30-year-old regular concert attendee expressed the view that

“...at the Gulbenkian Foundation, the concert etiquette is well understood by the attendees. I believe this is because the audience consists mostly of elites who are already familiar with the expectations. In other contexts, I believe it would be beneficial to have someone provide guidance on concert etiquette, as not everyone may be aware of the appropriate behavior. Nevertheless, overall, the atmosphere and conduct at the Gulbenkian are agreeable” (IDI, December 2021).

A crucial aspect to consider is the comment regarding the elitist nature of the concert audience, which serves as a representative sample of listening behavior. Interestingly, here the elitism is not determined by the privilege access to tickets or the ability to attend the CGF frequently with season passes. Instead, it pertains to a distinct form of sociality centered around the endorsement and promotion of strict concert rules, where the financial aspect becomes secondary in comparison. The emphasis lies on keeping the established norms and behaviors associated with high-quality music appreciation rather than financial means or social status:

“Classical music concerts are not exorbitantly expensive, but they still seem to have a perception of elitism attached to them. The barriers preventing young people from accessing classical music are not primarily financial but rather more subtle, such as stereotypes and preconceived notions about what classical music represents. If the audience consists mostly of aristocrats and older individuals, with few incentives for younger people to attend, it becomes difficult for the younger generation to identify with the audience or the preconceived notion of classical music” (IDJ, April 2023).

For certain listeners, conforming to these conditions of subtle elitism through following the concert rules may seem objectionable and may even hinder their ability to fully enjoy the essence of the music itself. The question arises: what purpose does this adaptation to concert etiquette serve if, in the end, it does not significantly impact who can engage in music listening and how? Nonetheless, it is precisely because listening occurs in public settings that such adjustments to overarching requirements, albeit at times excessive, hold significance. For instance, individuals may find themselves caught in situations where even minor transgressions, such as walking out of the hall during the performance, could be perceived as an insult. This highlights the complexity and delicacy of public listening practices and the need to navigate the established norms and etiquette within concert spaces.

Simplified etiquette regimes catering to a more inclusive audience can be found in almost every concert hall in Lisbon. Despite this, some may raise the question of whether institutions like the CGF truly contribute to the democratization of their audience. In their promotional materials, the CGF may advertise Sunday concerts that are open to everyone, offering an opportunity to experience the pleasure of a Mozart symphony alongside children's exuberance and enthusiasm. While such initiatives may be seen as attempts to attract a broader public and create a more accessible musical experience, they also exemplify the challenges of balancing diverse audience needs and expectations within the same concert space.

In contemporary concert culture, the audience is compelled to navigate and conform to the unspoken expectations set by their fellow concertgoers. Present-day audiences

are expected to discern and respect the distinctions between afternoon and evening concerts, serious and popular programs, world stars and lesser-known performers. While societal pressure may play a role, the primary motivation lies in the importance attached to the concert experience itself. The desire to appear dignified before the performer, even if the performer never directly sees an individual audience member, provides a compelling reason to opt for more formal attire. This practice reflects a collective aspiration to demonstrate reverence and appreciation for the musical performance, contributing to the overall ambiance of respect within the concert setting:

“The atmosphere during daytime or matinee events is generally more relaxed, but for evening concerts, there is a greater sense of formality. While I don’t adhere to concert etiquette strictly, I do appreciate the historical significance behind certain traditions and strive not to stand out. On specific occasions, especially when aware of the performer’s status, I try to dress in a special way” (IDI, February 2022).

The concert hall serves as a compelling example, urging us to reevaluate not only the concept of audience elitism but also the significance of established behavioral barriers in shaping a distinctive form of sociality. These barriers aim to construct a unified and cohesive audience, functioning as an integrated organism wherein the conditions for meaningful listening experiences can be cultivated. While some manifestations of elitism may seem trivial, it is precisely the adherence to these culturally intricate norms that underscores the public and communal nature of listening practices.

4.2 NETWORKING AND SOCIAL INTERACTION OF THE PUBLIC

The process of adapting to the concert space involves not only internalizing the essential requirements and rules of behavior that are instrumental to the successful realization of the collective audience experience but also familiarizing oneself with the public environment. Through this adaptation, each individual listener becomes formally integrated into the social dynamics existing within the concert audience. Standing by shared norms and expectations, audience members participate in a collective challenge to harmonize their listening behavior, cultivating a sense of cohesion and unity among the attendees. This formal embedding within the concert setting reinforces the social relations within the audience, contributing to the creation of a shared and cohesive listening experience for all participants.

The attending of a concert involves a range of social rituals that extend from the initial decision to participate in a specific event to considerations of companionship. These rituals play a vital role in shaping social interactions among concertgoers, turning the act

of attending a concert into a form of socializing, when the very significance of the musical event itself may be overshadowed. This is critically discussed by one of the interviewees:

“I still believe that some people attend classical concerts as a social activity or to have a reason to go out. It sometimes feels like the facade of culture rather than a genuine appreciation for the music itself” (IDI, April 2023).

The selection of a particular concert not only reflects individual interests and preferences but also connects individuals with like-minded peers who share a similar appreciation for the music or performer, creating a sense of shared identity and belonging within the audience. Additionally, the process of coordinating attendance with friends or acquaintances and the shared experience of the performance act as bonding activities, strengthening social ties among participants. Moreover, following dress codes and concert etiquette further enhances the collective identity of the audience, reinforcing the sense of community. Consequently, the concert setting provides a pre-determined opportunity, where individuals converge not only to enjoy music but also to engage in meaningful social interactions:

“Music is a passionate pursuit for me. I relish every aspect of attending a concert, including dining out before or after the performance. Considering what to wear and whom to invite or meet at the concert adds to my enjoyment. The social element of these experiences is something I cherish. Fortunately, I have many friends who share my enthusiasm for concerts” (IDI, January 2022).

The reluctance to attend such concerts alone can be attributed to the perceived barrier of adapting to the concert conditions, which becomes more manageable when individuals are part of their own group.

The intermission during a concert plays a significant role as a crucial social phenomenon. During the intermission, communication primarily occurs within pre-existing micro-groups characterized by long-established relationships and shared interests or projects. This communication is not merely limited to friendly ties but extends to interactions within established communities, like the Wagner Circle, which was described by one of its members:

“When I attend concerts at the Gulbenkian hall, I cherish the opportunity to meet people with whom I can share opinions and insights, mostly from the Wagner Circle, a group of enthusiasts that organizes special events and provides reserved tickets for its members worldwide” (IDI, 26.04. 2022).

An important aspect to note is that the interviewee is specifically referring to individuals they are already acquainted with, rather than seeking to meet new people. For many attendees, the intermission serves as a space for self-presentation as listeners, rather than for forging new social connections.

The Gulbenkian concert setting presents a distinctive characteristic in terms of listener interaction: communication within groups is seamless, but communication with individuals outside one's own group is nearly impossible. An interview participant, who has been attending concerts at the CGF and CCB for a significant period, expressed understandable frustration about this situation. The limited scope for interaction beyond one's established group might hinder opportunities for broader social connections and engagement with fellow concertgoers.

"Today, the Gulbenkian Foundation has become a real hub for music lovers, and it's heartening to see a diverse audience, including many young people. For me, music serves as a personal connection rather than a unifying force among people. Over the past 40 years, I have encountered many familiar faces at concerts, but there is a noticeable barrier that prevents people from engaging with one another" (IDI, April 2022).

The situation is different at the CCB, especially at JOP and OML concerts. Its diverse programs cater to a general audience, with concerts frequently showcasing alumni from the *Academia Nacional Superior de Orquestra* curated by the OML. Many attendees have personal connections to the performers, often being friends or family members. This close social bond contributes to stronger and more intimate ties among the audience members. Observations indicate that after these concerts, people tend to stay behind to express their congratulations and appreciation to the musicians, particularly when they have personal relationships with the performers. The combination of familial connections and shared experiences during the performance invests in strengthening a sense of community and creates a welcoming atmosphere.

"I developed an interest in classical music when my daughter began studying the violin at the age of six. Since then, I have been listening to it much more frequently. However, it's not just her playing that I listen to. That's why I decided to attend this concert today" (RPS, CCB, April 2023).

It is essential to explore what unfolds within the audience during the actual musical event and whether the concert audience truly assumes the characteristics of a community exclusively in that moment of music. Understanding the dynamics and social interactions among the listeners during the performance may shed light on the extent to which a sense of communal identity emerges and the role music plays in community building among the audience members.

4.3 A COMMUNAL TYPE OF LISTENING EXPERIENCE

As previously discussed, it is challenging to view concert hall audiences as a cohesive form of sociality. However, the critical aspect here lies in the phenomenon of

collective listening, wherein social communication takes a backseat to communication through the medium of music. The shared engagement with the musical experience emerges as a significant motivation for individuals to attend concerts and derive enjoyment from the performances, surpassing barriers and prejudices that might otherwise inhibit social interaction. The focus on the musical action fosters a unique sense of unity and shared experience among the audience members:

“In general, my home is not a place where we actively make music together. There is a lack of opportunities to engage in musical collaboration. However, the atmosphere in a concert hall is entirely different” (IDI, June 2022).

The atmosphere inside the concert hall during a performance offers a truly unique and unparalleled experience. It is essential to distinguish between the effect of collective presence, which is universally experienced by every concertgoer, and the concept of socialization within the concert space. While one respondent discussed his concert habits and the role of socialization in their concert experiences, this person also emphasized the clear boundary between socialization and the pleasure derived from listening to music. While these factors may be significant and interrelated for this individual, they perceive a fundamental distinction between the actual experience outside the concert hall and the immersive experience during the performance of music:

“One of the things I enjoy is attending the lectures before the concerts, where I get the opportunity to delve deeper into the pieces and musicians. It’s also a great chance to meet up with my friends and enjoy the overall ambiance. We often go to the bar before the concert and then have dinner afterwards. I have a small group of friends who also love going to the Gulbenkian hall, and this season I bought ten tickets. While I can easily go to the concerts alone, I prefer going with my friends because it’s a mix of socializing and enjoying the program” (RPS, CGF, April 2023).

The collective experience of listening to music assumes a pivotal role in creating a sense of community among concertgoers. Within the darkened auditorium, with their focus directed towards the performers rather than each other, attendees become immersed in the music, detached from external distractions, and their subjectivity becomes intertwined with the collective body. At this juncture, the observance of concert etiquette transforms from being a mere representation of sociality to a mechanism of inclusion in the event. The level of involvement in the musical experience is heightened when all the conditions for an uninterrupted and cohesive encounter with the music are fulfilled. This engenders a profound sense of community encouraged by the power of the music itself. It is not only the protocol or the feeling of being in a group of like-minded people that is important, but all aspects are considered, including the design of the listening space:

"I'm able to focus on the nuances and details of the performance, while also feeling the presence of the other listeners around me. It creates a sense of community, being together in a space specially designed for the appreciation of music. For me, the Gulbenkian hall is the pinnacle of concert venues in Portugal. It holds a special place in my heart, akin to a cathedral dedicated to art. The design is elegantly simple, evoking a sense of reverence and making the music come alive. Although I also attend concerts at the CCB, the experience there doesn't evoke the same depth of emotions as I feel at the Gulbenkian" (RPS, CGF, April 2023).

The observation that the experience of listening at the CGF is perceived as deeper than at CCB raises intriguing considerations. One potential reason for this distinction could be attributed to differences in audience preparation and the concert hall's spatial attributes at the CCB. The level of audience readiness and engagement with the music, along with the ambiance and acoustic properties of the concert hall, may play a crucial role in shaping the depth of the listening experience. Additionally, factors such as the public behavior and the overall cultural atmosphere may also contribute to varying perceptions of the listening experience between the two venues, as was mentioned by a key-informant after attending a concert at the CCB:

"I didn't enjoy the atmosphere at the CCB because the lights were on, and the audience was disruptive. People were commenting during the music and coughing, which made it difficult for me to concentrate. I prefer when the audience is positive and enthusiastic, but they were interrupting the performance. Additionally, I didn't like the building itself as it felt empty and lacked atmosphere" (LSI, April 2023).

The CCB audiences, particularly those attending OML orchestra concerts, form a more tightly knit community of listeners who often have pre-existing connections and maintain informal relationships. However, their potential to actively contribute to a deeper and more centered collective listening experience appears limited since many attendees are relatively new to classical music and may not fully appreciate esthetic aspects of the performance rather than its social importance. Nevertheless, these listeners still choose to attend OML concerts because they perceive the social space as a safe environment, which they consider crucial for enjoying music in public.

5 CONCLUSIONS

The comparative analysis of the two main classical concert venues in Lisbon sheds light on the significant connection between concert etiquette and audience engagement with the music. The presence of strict behavioral rules in the concert space is perceived by young listeners as a barrier to their involvement with classical concerts, leading to the association of elitism with such venues. However, as demonstrated, this

social label does not directly account for behavior even within traditional spaces like the CGF. Instead, the key aspect is a specific form of sociality, wherein adherence to concert etiquette and established norms contributes to the development of listening techniques that encompass listener self-identification and the cohesion of behaviors. This includes cultural aspects, such as deepening musical knowledge through pre-concert lectures, as well as bodily aspects, such as conforming to dress codes and following patterns of listener reactions, like applause in established contexts.

The presence of socialization within the concert audience is a significant aspect to consider. At the CGF, there is a limited level of general communication among attendees, with most interactions confined to established micro-groups. In contrast, the situation at the CCB appears different, where communication within the audience takes on the characteristics of a community, largely due to the OML orchestra and its academic network. This community aspect extends to the orchestra's other concert venues, including museum spaces. Notably, audiences prioritize the orchestra over the specific concert venue, and the difference between the COG and the OML lies in the fact that the latter does not have its own fixed concert residency. As a result, the OML's audience migrates from one space to another, while the COG has cultivated its audience within the walls of the CGF for over half a century.

Modern listeners do not find the format and rules of classical music concerts to be a deterrent. Many respondents highlight that the collective listening experience remains a primary motive for attending such concerts, where the shared perception of music among participants enhances the overall experience. The enjoyment of collective presence and the pleasure of music-listening seem to merge in some ways, but the essence of each remains distinct in their perspectives. Key factors influencing this experience include behavioral regulations, venue design, and the audience's knowledge of the musical works being performed. The CGF offers a conducive environment for immersive listening experiences, where the individual subjectivity of concert-goers merges into a unified collective subject, reflecting a high level of performance-orientated listening proficiency. In contrast, the CCB and its audiences prioritize a safe behavioral space and may not place as much emphasis on identifying as a listening community. It would be inaccurate to view one audience as qualitatively superior or inferior to the other, as the presence of orchestras like the OML fulfills the diverse needs of listeners who employ different listening techniques, each deriving pleasure according to the level of their listening training.

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