# 7.3. Deciphering the "alternative": some preliminary contributions from the analysis of the audiences of a performing arts venue

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#### Abstract

This paper draws on empirical results of an audience study of a specific performing arts venue, Maria Matos Municipal theatre (MMTM), in Lisbon. The survey data collected from MMTM allowed us to compare audiences of the most "experimental" events with those of the most "mainstream" ones. Previously conceived by the programming team of MMTM, both events classifications include all performing arts artistic expressions. This approach allows us to analyse if there are any significant differences within the audiences of these different kinds of events, concerning the diverse topics under scrutiny. These include: (i) socio-demographic characteristics; (ii) reasons and motivations for visiting; (iii) visit and cultural habits; (iv) visit experience and quality. Considering the confrontation between the audiences of the more "experimental" and more "mainstream" programmes, conclusions are drawn regarding the relevance of each of those aspects in the differentiation of these audiences' profiles, providing us with some insights to contribute to decipher the "alternative" conceptual black box.

**Keywords:** cultural audiences, alternative, performing arts, underground.

#### Introduction

This paper aims to analyse the audience of a particular performing arts venue in Lisbon, Portugal (Maria Matos Teatro Municipal), basing on the data of a recent survey, comparing the audiences of the most "experimental" events with those of the most "mainstream" events. The idea is to assess the importance of several potentially discriminant aspects in the differentiation of these audiences' profiles, providing us with some elements to challenge and contribute for the discussion on the "alternative" concept.

This work draws on empirical results of a broader research project conducted by DINAMIA'CET-IUL, which aimed to study audiences of Lisbon's City Council Cultural Corporation (EGEAC). Within the scope of this project, an extensive one-year survey was applied to nearly 6000 visitors of 9 cultural venues and 4 main festivals/events under EGEAC's management, which provided extensive data and therefore, a better overview and understanding of these audiences.

In this paper, we pursue a more detailed and focused approach, considering just one theatre, and just some topics: specifically we are analyzing the relation between alternative / mainstream audiences, seizing the opportunity provided by this venue's own categorization of their activities as more or less "alternative".

Thus, the analysis is made on a particular venue, the Maria Matos Municipal Theatre (MMTM), which is itself regarded as the venue with a more "avant-garde" and "alternative" programming strategy within the studied universe on that broader study (Costa et al, 2014). MMTM hosts a diversity of events in the field of performing arts, which include music, dance and theatre performances.

The survey data collected from MMTM allowed us to compare the audiences of the most "experimental" events with those of the most "mainstream" ones. Both events classifications, previously conceived by the programming team of MMTM, include all performing arts artistic expressions.

This approach allows us to analyse if any significant differences within the audiences of these different kinds of events can be identified, concerning the diverse topics under scrutiny. These include: (i) socio-demographic characteristics; (ii) reasons and motivations for visiting; (iii) visit and cultural habits; (iv) visit experience and quality.

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Considering this confrontation between the audiences of the more "experimental" and more "mainstream" programmes, some conclusions can be drawn regarding the relevance of each of those aspects in the differentiation of these audiences' profiles, thus providing us with some insights to decipher the "alternative" conceptual black

After this introductory section, we will briefly present the research problem and shed some light on our conceptual framing, in the next section. A third section of his text deals with the presentation of the methodological issues. Afterwards, in the fourth section the main results of the analysis are presented, structured around the study of four distinct analytical dimensions: (i) the socio-demographic characteristics of the audiences; (ii) the reasons and motivations for visiting; (iii) the relation with visit and cultural habits; and (iv) the assessment of the visit experience and its quality. Finally, a brief concluding note allows us to systematize some ideas which can be a useful contribute for deciphering the "alternative" conceptual nebulous.

# Research problem and conceptual framing

This is essentially an empirical paper, and it is assumed as such by us, so it not our intention to be describing here the conceptual framework which is underneath the analysis conducted, but just to state what is our research problem and how it is positioned face to the ongoing academic debates in this field.

In effect, the (virtually endless) discussion on the notion of "alternative" is far from pacific and conclusive (Guerra, 2010, 2013). Regardless of the diversity of conceptual focuses, disciplinary approaches or theoretical affiliations, a diversity of terms and concepts have been used to state a reality which we can classify as the "the alternative / mainstream" black box in the analysis of the cultural fields (cf. Figure 1), which have been recurrently marked by the opposition between notions such as "alternative", "independent", "indie", "experimental", "underground" activities (but also vanguards, avant-garde, or other variants which are not exactly the same and have more important specificities) and other notions such as "mainstream", "generalist", "mass-related" activities (or activities driven by "majors" agents, or other parallel but not exactly coincident concepts) – see on this traditional debates on economics and sociology of culture (e.g., Becker, 1982; DiMaggio, 1987; Crane, 1992; Bourdieu, 1994; Caves, 2002; Benhamou, 2011; Throsby, 2001; Towse, 2003; Guerra, 2010; 2013; Gomes, 2013; Costa, 2007, 2015; Borges e Costa, 2012).

We do not intend to discuss the specificities and merits of each of these categorizations here, or to enter in those debates. We just want to assume this divide, which seems to be important and outstanding (as demonstrated by the profusion of discussion and conceptual apparatus around it) to debate the differences between the audiences of these two broad "types" of cultural activities, inquiring if effectively we can notice or not any difference among them, seizing the opportunity given by our empirical work to contribute to that discussion grounding on empirical data.

In effect, we understand that we are facing heterogeneous and also quite flexible (in some cases) categorizations, when we start disentangling that "black box". Most of these classifications are essentially relative and confront-based, that is based on the establishment of an opposition or contrast between almost conceptual ideal-types. Regardless of the accuracy of each of those specific concepts, for us, the important is exactly the contrasting character of the nature of these oppositions, and the way they are perceived by cultural audiences and cultural providers and programmers. More than discussing which are the essential characteristics that can be found around the more "alternative" or the more "mainstream" activities or audiences (or even the debate whether if are the activities themselves, or the audiences that personify this divide), for us, the important is to test if the perception programmers have of this distinction between alternative and mainstream are confirmed in practice by distinct types, particularities or specificities in the behaviors of their audiences.

In that sense, and assuming thus completely the fluidity of these categories, our analysis in this paper wants to confront these two archetypical categories of audiences (simplistically assumed as more "alternative" and "mainstream") using the categorization operationalized by TMMM programmers to self"-classify their own events as more "experimental" or more "generalist". That is based on this classification that our analysis of the results is made, assuming the "pragmatic" (but often fluid) developed by the venue's team of cultural programmers.

# Methodological issues

The Maria Matos Municipal Theatre is the venue with a more "avant-garde" and "alternative" programming strategy within the studied universe of venues and art festivals which were analyzed in this study. That is not just coincident with the conclusions of the comparative audiences development study conducted, which identify the most expected characteristics of the audiences of this kind of cultural activities in this venue's audiences (e.g – higher degree of academic qualifications, greater user loyalty, larger crossed cultural consumptions with other venues - Costa et al, 2014), but it is also consistent with the intentions openly assumed by their directors, at artistic and executive levels. However, within its own programming, several activities can be identified as pre-defined to reach broader and mostly generalist audiences and other activities are more oriented to more specific alternative and independent niche-markets.

MMTM hosts a diversity of events in the field of performing arts, which include music, dance and theatre performances, and this divide can be observed in all of these activities. Having all this in mind, the survey data collected from MMTM allowed us to compare the audiences of the most "experimental" events with those of the most "mainstream" events, drawing upon categories which were previously conceived by the programming team of MMTM: they indicate us which of their shows and events were included in each category, and this for all the kinds of performing arts artistic expressions.

In methodological terms, survey implementation was held in the scope of the broader study referred above (see Costa et al, 2014, 2014a for details), taking place between July 2012 and June 2013, through the application of a face to face questionnaire. The survey was applied by a team of interviewers and was held in several languages (Portuguese, English, Spanish, French; depending on the language spoken by the respondent) and in a diversity of situations (when entering the event, during, or when leaving it), covering a variety of days and times of the week, selected from the allocation of pre-programming indicated by the venue's technical team.

The sample for this specific venue was the one presented on Figure 2 (N = 623), defined by a proportional quota sampling, not probabilistic, based on the events' categories defined by the MMTM by th (for details on this and on the definition of subcategories, cf. Costa et al 2014a). Six categories of programs were defined:

- a) Theatre/dance shows considered more "experimental";
- b) Theatre/dance shows considered more "mainstream";
- c) Music events considered more "experimental";
- d) Music events considered more "mainstream";
- e) Special events and presentations (e.g., debates, book presentations, etc.);
- f) Children and youth-oriented programs.

For the purposes of this paper we will be essentially comparing the 1st with the 3rd category, and the 2nd one with the 4th, as expressed in the analysis below.

#### Main results

Having in mind the previous aspects, the analysis was developed using the following criteria. Three sets of hypothetic relevant discriminant features were considered:

- i) the socio-demographic characteristics of the audience (e.g, age, gender, education level, place of residence, artistic practices)
- ii) the reasons and motivations for visiting (main motivations expressed);
- iii) the visiting and cultural habits (social nature of visits, visits to other cultural venues and events);

In this section we make reference to the main aspects we can take out from each of these analytical dimensions. A first set of statistical crossings was made with a number of socio-demographic characteristics, which are usually taken in account when studying cultural audiences: (i) Gender; (ii) Age; (iii) Education level; (iv) Occupation; (v) Previous Artistic Practices; and (vi) Local of Permanent Residency. The main results are presented on Figures 3 to 9.

Generally, the results are not quite different from what is generally expected in most audience studies, but they are not too clear in evidencing particular differences between the "mainstream" events audiences and the "alternative "events" ones. In terms of gender (Figure 3), the divide seems to be more between the kind of

performing art (theatre and dance vs music) than between the mainstream/alternative dichotomy. In what concerns to age distribution (cf. Figure 3 and 4), while in experimental events the differences between the arts do not seem to be evident, in the case of more mainstream events they tend to differentiate, although in opposite directions: with an enlargement and ageing of the audiences in case of theatre/dance and with a deeper concentration around younger segments in the case of music. Regarding educational level (used as possible proxy of cultural capital), the "mainstream" events' audiences reveal an unlike configuration when comparing to the global pattern registered on the venue, but that occurs particularly in the case of music. A similar situation, with a special comportment of the "mainstream" music segment of events occurs for the case of the variable existence of previous artistic practices. In what concerns to the variable occupation (or professional status) of the audience, the difference are more marked between the music events and the other ones, but again with a more contrasted pattern between the "alternative" music and the "mainstream" one. Finally, regarding the local of residency, the pattern is essentially just diverse in the case of the "alternative" segment, although again with a contrasting situation between theatre/dance (geographically more concentrated) and music (more disperse).

Overall, we cannot identify from this first set of variables a clear tendency, as the differences are not so conclusive at all at the end. The differences which we could expect in the socio-demographic composition between the "alternative" and "mainstream" segments of MMTM audiences seem not to overcome in general other distinctions caused by type of performative art/genre (e.g., specificity of music activities face to the rest), or at least the bigger apparent contrast between, on one hand, more mainstream music, and on the hand, more alternative music events and all the dance and theatre activities.

The Alternative/ Mains	stream "Black Box"
Alternative	Generalist
Independent/ indie	Mainstream
Experimental	Mass

Figure 1 - The Alternative / Mainstream "Black Box"

Source: own elaboration

	ortional quota sampling methoded on the events' categories	Visitors - population	Weight of each stratum (%)	Sample Design	Validated	Fill Quotes (%)
	Theatre/ Dance (+ experimental)	6 732	30	192	195	101,7
es	Theatre/ Dance (+ mainstream)	4 296	19	122	140	114,4
ategories	Music (+ experimental)	2 771	12	79	81	102,6
ate	Music (+ mainstream)	3 379	15	96	24	24,9
Ü	Events and Presentations	3 916	17	112	136	121,9
	Children and Youth	1 589	7	45	47	103,8
	Total	22 683	100	646	623	96,4

Figure 2 - Sample of the survey in MMTM

Source: own elaboration, based on Costa et al., 2014, 2014a.

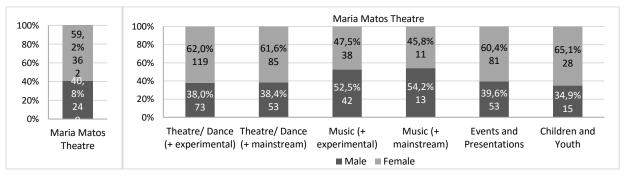


Figure 3 - Gender distribution

Source: own elaboration, based on Costa et al., 2014, 2014a.

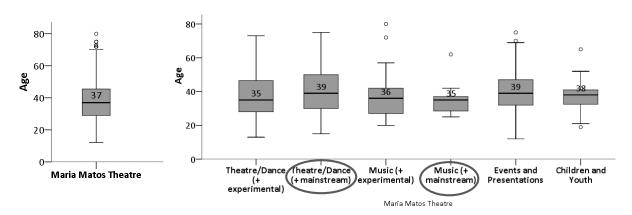


Figure 4 – Age distribution

Source: own elaboration, based on Costa et al., 2014, 2014a.

		Age											
	N.°	Mean	Median	Mode	Minimun	Maximum	Std-Dev	P25	P75	AIQ			
Theatre/ Dance (+ experimental)	192	38,7	35	28	13	73	14,0	28	47	19			
Theatre/ Dance (+ mainstream)	137	40,0	39	35	15	75	13,2	30	50	20			
Music (+ experimental)	80	35,9	36	39	20	80	11,4	27	42	15			
Music (+ mainstream)	24	34,0	35	35	25	62	7,8	28	37	9			
Events and Presentations	135	40,1	39	40	12	75	12,8	32	47	15			
Children and Youth	43	37,1	38	38	19	65	8,3	32	41	9			
Total	611	38.6	37	35	12	80	12.8	29	45	17			

Figure 5 – Age distribution (main statistics)

Source: own elaboration, based on Costa et al., 2014, 2014a.

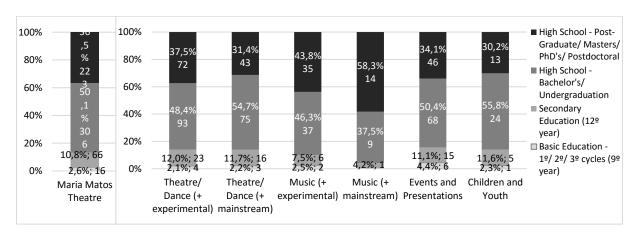


Figure 6 - Education levels

Source: own elaboration, based on Costa et al., 2014, 2014a.

A second potential discriminant feature which was considered in the analysis was the reasons and motivations expressed by the audience for visiting the venue in the specific event in which they were surveyed. The results achieved on the variable "main motivations expressed for the visit" are expressed on the table presented on Figure 10

Again in this case we can notice that the main divide (apart some particularities in the case of more generalist theatre/dance events) is essentially between music and theatre/dance shows, rather than between "alternative" and "mainstream" segments.

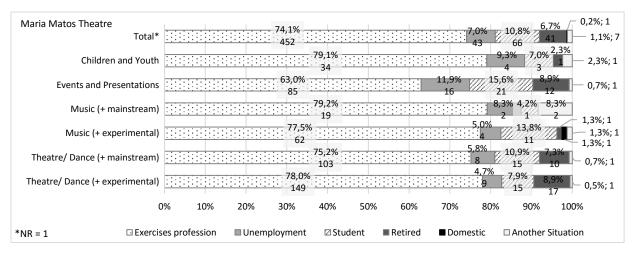


Figure 7 – Occupation / professional status

Source: own elaboration, based on Costa et al., 2014, 2014a.

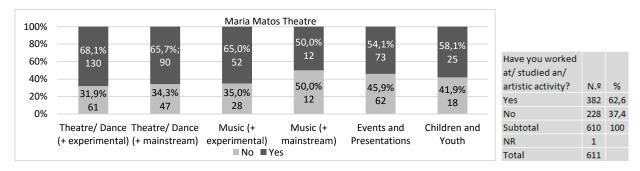


Figure 8 – Previous link to artistic activity / artistic practice Source: own elaboration, based on Costa et al., 2014, 2014a.

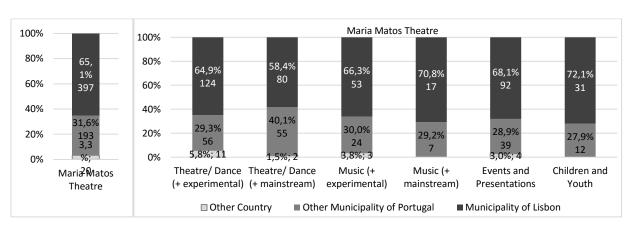


Figure 9 – Place of residence

Source: own elaboration, based on Costa et al., 2014, 2014a.

Even considering the great importance of "other" motivations (expressed transversally to all categories of events), that provided no particular distinctions between more generalist and experimental segments. Amongst this "others", and notwithstanding the great dispersion of these (non pre-tipifyed) answers, the most cited aspects were curiosity (>50), and expressions such as "liking theatre", "liking music", "concerts", etc., crossing both those categories.

A third potential discriminant set of variables explored related with the visit and cultural habits expressed by the audiences of this venue. In terms of this analytical dimension, considering the results of the survey, a set of 4 different sub-dimensions was used in this analysis: (i) the recurrence of the visit to the venue; (ii) the social nature

of the visit (that is, if it is made accompanied or not, and with whom); (iii) the visits to other cultural venues and events (using the proxy most referenced venues); and (iv) the image and representations expressed by the audience of MMTM.

Considering recurrence (measured through the data about first time visits), as shown by the main results expressed on Figure 11, it is again in the case of the music activities that the results differ most, and again in contrasting patterns, with the average results of Maria Matos Municipal Theatre: with more newcomers in the case of more mainstream music, and less first time visitors in the case of alternative music.

In what concerns to the social nature of the visit (doing it accompanied or not), as I can be seen on Figure 12, the results are not particularly conclusive as the pattern is very similar among all categories. However, if we look to whom are these accompanying persons (Figure 13) we can clearly identify a different pattern in the case of mainstream music (with greater importance of the partner to the detriment of friends) comparing to alternative music and all theater/dance activities.

Regarding the aspect visits to other cultural venues and events (which was perceived by the proxy variable corresponding to the most cited equipment as the most important cultural offer in Lisbon, presented at Figure 14), some interesting evidence of specificity of the "alternative" audiences can be noticed, in both kind of activities, and particularly in the case of music, with higher scores of venues and institutions with less conventional programs.

Which reasons encouraged you to come to Maria Matos Theatre today?	Theatre/ Dance (+ experimental)		Theatre/ Dance (+ mainstream)			ic (+ nental)	Music (+ mainstream)	
come to iviaria iviatos meatre today:	N.°	%	N.°	%	N.°	%	N.°	%
Place reputation	9	4,7	5	3,6				
Event reputation	13	6,7	22	15,8	7	8,6		
Performers reputation	54	28,0	37	26,6	32	39,5	8	33,3
Work reputation	10	5,2	16	11,5	6	7,4	3	12,5
Programme quality	6	3,1	11	7,9	4	4,9	2	8,3
Subject/ topic	35	18,1	30	21,6	6	7,4	2	8,3
Word of mouth recommendation	9	4,7	10	7,2	4	4,9		
Read a review	6	3,1	6	4,3				
Be with friends/ family	11	5,7	5	3,6	4	4,9		
Networking	8	4,1	1	0,7				
Being friends/ family	1	0,5	6	4,3				
Performers friends/ family	38	19,7	10	7,2	10	12,3	4	16,7
Free/ cheap	1	0,5	5	3,6	2	2,5		•
Already here/ passing by	6	3,1	1	0,7	1	1,2		•
Other	69	35,8	46	33,1	27	33,3	8	33,3

Figure 10 – Reasons and motivations for visiting Source: own elaboration, based on Costa et al., 2014, 2014a.

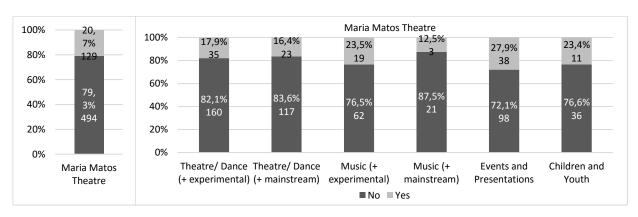


Figure 11 – Recurrence of the visit (first time visit?) Source: own elaboration, based on Costa et al., 2014, 2014a.

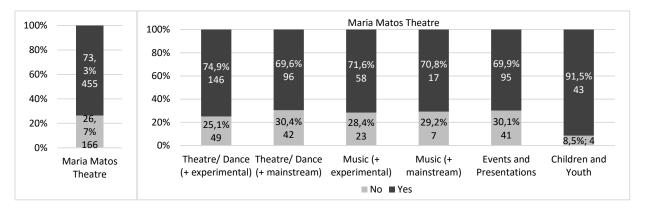


Figure 12 – Social nature of the visit (accompanied or not)

Source: own elaboration, based on Costa et al., 2014, 2014a.

With whom did you come with?	Theatre/ Dance (+ experimental)		Theatre/ Dance (+ mainstream)		Music (+ experimental)		Music (+ mainstream)		Events and Presentations		Children and Youth	
	N.º	%	N.°	%	N.º	%	N.°	%	N.°	%	N.°	%
With partner	45	30,8	30	31,3	21	36,2	10	58,8	17	18,1	7	16,3
With family	31	21,2	20	20,8	4	6,9	2	11,8	39	41,5	33	76,7
With friends	91	62,3	53	55,2	37	63,8	7	41,2	43	45,7	7	16,3
Part of a group	2	1,4	1	1,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	2	2,1	0	0,0

Figure 13 – Social nature of the visit (who accompanied)

Source: own elaboration, based on Costa et al., 2014, 2014a.

Equipment cited	Theatre/ Dance (+ experimental)		Theatre/ Dance (+ mainstream)			ic (+ mental)	Music (+ mainstream)	
	N.°	%	N.°	%	N.°	%	N.º	%
Centro Cultural de Belém	84	46,9	54	40,6	23	29,9	11	45,8
Culturgest	58	32,4	33	24,9	27	35,1	6	25,0
Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian	57	31,8	32	24,1	28	36,4	7	29,2
Teatro Nacional D. Maria II	37	20,7	31	23,3	5	6,5	4	16,7
Teatro Maria Matos	28	15,6	24	18,0	13	16,9	7	29,2
São Luíz Teatro Municipal	20	11,2	14	10,5	4	5,2		
Teatro Nacional de S. Carlos	19	10,6	9	6,8	1	1,3		
Cinema S. Jorge	12	6,7	11	8,3	8	10,4	3	12,5
Galeria Zé dos Bois (ZDB)	12	6,7	6	4,5	16	20,8	5	20,8
Teatro do Bairro Alto (Cornucópia)	11	6,1	13	9,8	3	3,9	1	4,2
Teatro da Comuna	10	5,6	2	1,5			2	8,3
Cinema King	9	5,0	6	4,5	5	6,5	3	12,5
Cinemateca	7	3,9	5	3,8	8	10,4	3	12,5
Museu Nacional de Arte Contemporânea (Museu do Chiado)	7	3,9	3	2,3	2	2,6	1	4,2
Casa Conveniente	6	3,4	1	0,8	1	1,3		
Espaço Alkantara	6	3,4	1	0,8	1	1,3		
Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga	6	3,4	7	5,3	3	3,9	1	4,2
Museu Berardo	2	1,1	1	0,8	6	7,8		

Figure 14 – Most cited equipment as the most important cultural offer of Lisbon

Source: own elaboration, based on Costa et al., 2014, 2014a.

Lastly, among this third set of variables, in what concerns to image and representations, the data collected, presented on Figure 15 (Image - not induced, asking for 3 free words) and Figure 16 (based on 6 pre-typified comparative values), give us a more complex picture, where the differences between music and theatre/dance events seem to be important in many of the aspects cited, but where some other aspects seem to be also relevant, particularly distinguishing the "alternative" segment (where ideas such as contemporaneity, diversity ar alternative seem relatively more important), from the more "mainstream" one (where values such as quality or cosy gain importance, relatively). In the case of pre-typified values, the alternative segment of theatre/dance seems to have stronger particularities (e.g., increasing the value of sociability and decreasing the importance of public service, in the face of all other categories.

Expression cited		Dance (+ mental)		Dance (+ tream)	Mus experir	•	Music (+ mainstream)	
Expression cited	N.° (n28)	%	N.° (n28)	%	N.° (n28)	%	N.° (n28)	%
Diversity/ diverse/ diversified	23	13,1	17	13,0	13	17,8	2	8,7
Available/ accessibility	23	13,1	14	10,7	7	9,6	3	13,0
Contemporary/ contemporaneous	21	12,0	3	2,3	8	11,0	1	4,3
Culture/ cultural/ intercultural/ multicultural/ multiculturalismo	17	9,7	13	9,9	10	13,7	4	17,4
Innovative/ innovation	16	9,1	15	11,5	7	9,6	2	8,7
Modern	15	8,6	11	8,4	11	15,1	1	4,3
Program	14	8,0	12	9,2	6	8,2	1	4,3
Pleasurable	12	6,9	8	6,1	4	5,5	4	17,4
Experimental/ experimentation	12	6,9	8	6,1	3	4,1	2	8,7
Comfortable/ comfort/ clean	11	6,3	5	3,8	5	6,8	1	4,3
Quality	9	5,1	17	13,0	9	12,3	5	21,7
Alternative	9	5,1	5	3,8	6	8,2	1	4,3
Vanguard/ avant-garde	9	5,1	5	3,8	5	6,8	1	4,3
Cozy	8	4,6	10	7,6	4	5,5	2	8,7
Interesting/ interest	8	4,6	5	3,8	6	8,2		
Creative/ creativity/ creation/ create	8	4,6	4	3,1			1	4,3

Figure 15 – Image (not induced)

Source: own elaboration, based on Costa et al., 2014, 2014a.

The 3 values reasons encouraged you to come to Maria Matos Theatre	Theatre/ Dance (+ experimental)			Dance (+ tream)		sic (+ mental)	Music (+ mainstream)		
today	N.°	%	N.°	%	N.°	%	N.°	%	
Public service	105	58,0	91	70,0	61	78,2	18	78,3	
Quality	136	75,1	94	72,3	60	76,9	18	78,3	
Trust	55	30,4	38	29,2	18	23,1	6	26,1	
Experimental	132	72,9	92	70,8	60	76,9	15	65,2	
History	40	22,1	36	27,7	14	17,9	7	30,4	
Sociability	54	29,8	25	19,2	14	17,9	3	13,0	

Figure 16 – Image (pre-typified values)

Source: own elaboration, based on Costa et al., 2014, 2014a.

### Concluding note: deciphering the "alternative"?

From the analysis of these outcomes, we can conclude that the differences found in the visitors answers between the "alternative" and the "mainstream" segments are quite less visible than we could expect, considering the literature. The differences between alternative and mainstream events are not as big or clear as expected, and specially, are not transversally consistent for the categories analysed, being just slightly more important, in some variables, for the music case, where the difference between the more "experimental" or "generalist" segments seem to be more relevant than in the theatre/dance case. Anyway, in many cases, the differences between artistic disciplines (dance/theatre vs music) seem to be quite more discriminant than the alternative/mainstream divide.

However, we can identify some aspects that can be relevant for our debate and for further analysis. The sociodemographic characteristics and the main reasons and motivations expressed for visiting the venue seem to be, on the whole, less important and less determinant than the visit and cultural habits (the social nature of visits, the declared visits to other cultural venues), or even than the visit experience and quality aspects, as determinant factors for distinguishing the answers of the audiences of the events classified by the programmers as more "mainstream" and the ones classified as "more" alternative. This may indicate that some issues more associated with the symbolic, and the creation of cultural legitimacy and reputation may be more relevant in this differentiation.

A set of other issues, related with the particularities of this study, may be relevant for a plain understanding of these results, and should be therefore made clear. Firstly Maria Matos Municipal Theatre is a special case, within the universe of the broader study in which this analysis was conducted, as all its activity can be, to a certain extent, consider as "alternative", being the "experimental" an assumed positioning of their board of directors for the whole of their activities. This may naturally affect the reading of the results, which should be contextualized to the "relative" level of "alternativeness" in which our discussion is framed. Secondly, and by the same token, we should not forget the importance of the "self-labeling" of each event as alternative or mainstream by the venue's programming team. The categorization is naturally a construction which is not less neutral or fallible just because it is created by the stakeholders instead of the researchers. Finally, some particular problems with the ascription of the sample and the filling of the quote of generalist music (due essentially to changes in the philosophy of venue's offer during this period) could eventually be thought as potentially explicative for some of the discrepancies between the results of this category and the others, in several variables, and further inquire may be developed to confirm this hypothesis.

Anyway, our aim with this text was just to test the importance of several potentially discriminant aspects in the differentiation of these audiences' profiles, providing us with some elements to challenge and to contribute to the discussion about the "alternative" concept. Further work must and will be developed on this, both in this venue and in other empirical contexts, enabling us to confirm and to put to prove some of the results achieved here and to contribute to a more robust and consistent conceptual reflection which can empower the scientific community to decipher this "alternative" black-box.

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