



Live Music Consumption of the Adolescents of Generation Z

Generation Z is the age cohort born from the mid-1990s to the early 21st century, and it succeeds Millennials. They grew up with the internet and are constantly online (Golden 2019): playing games, searching and creating information, as well as expressing their opinions and – sharing their lives (Dolot 2018). Furthermore, “Millennials may have been digitally native, but Gen Z is mobile and app-native” (Loveland 2017: 36). They have been reported to have tendencies towards escapism, demonstrated by excessive use of video games and social networks (Wood 2013).

Most Generation Z adolescents spend much of their free time online (Salasuo et al. 2021; Rideout & Robb 2019) and that time is valuable for streaming platforms like Spotify or YouTube. According to the Study of Children’s and Young People’s Leisure Activities in 2020, almost 90% of Finnish 15–19-year-olds listen to music via streaming services daily (Salasuo et al. 2021: 94). On digital streaming platforms, young people are the biggest user group (Iqbal 2022), yet they have the least money. In the attention economy, the value is not being generated only by money but mainly with the amount of attention. For instance, in the pro rata model that Spotify uses, the artist that has a bigger streaming number gains more than one with a lower streaming number. This means that people who pay the monthly fee (premium model) or listen to advertisements to get a free access (freemium model) are not directing their economic flow directly to the artists they listen to, but to the artists that *most* people listen to. The economic role of adolescents is significant when it is measured in the amount and value of online attention, especially in listening to music or watching videos. How about live music? What is the position of the adolescents of Generation Z in live music?

Overall, the contemporary live music venue network has been heavily influenced by active youth and their spontaneous live music culture. Yet, we see young people’s

interest declining in the live music culture that venues offer today (Hallamaa & Vedenpää 2019; Ripatti 2014). The decline is such that some venues have ceased staging concerts for the underaged (Homi et al. 2020; Salminen 2009). Additionally, there seems to be a trend where adolescents' attention is shifting from grassroots to top10.

The struggle of the contemporary Finnish music club scene is stemming from the professionalisation of the industry and a business model that relies heavily on the sale of alcohol (Cloonan 2022), since up to 39% of venue income originates from food and drink (LiveFIN 2020a). Over the years, venue organisations have developed into professional businesses, which has led to significantly higher operating costs. Not only have gentrification-related rents increased but also personnel costs are leading to the commercialisation of the culture offered. The role of the venue visitor is becoming more of a spectator than a participant (Hixson 2014) as visitors are less involved in live music culture than before. The change of position is also reflected in the valuation of the subject (music) over the scene and its sense of belonging.

The position of young people in this setup is weak. Most adolescents are not earning enough money to spend on recreational activities, and therefore, from the perspective of venues, they have limited consumption power. The minor cash flow generated from the ticket sales of this group is not economically viable for grassroots venues. The decreasing alcohol consumption of the new generation – even though the trend is now levelling off (Kinnunen et al. 2019) – and diminishing interest in spending extra time and money on the venue's offerings are not supporting interaction either. Moreover, youth does not share the musical taste with more profitable adult customers: regarding popular music¹, the differences in tastes between 30+ and under 20-year-olds are remarkable. When 30+ year-old festival and gig goers prefer rock and metal, youth under 20 years want to hear pop and rap/hip-hop (LiveFIN 2020b, 2020c).

Why are adolescents of interest in terms of attendance in live music events, since the money is coming from older visitors? Audiences of popular music gigs and festivals have been ageing for quite some time. The enduring nature of favouring the music of one's youth (Harrington & Bielby 2010) has caused goth (Hodkinson 2011) and punk (Bennett 2006) fans to grow grey, for instance. If there are no new, younger groups entering a specific musical subculture, live venues will face challenges. These

1 Here, popular music refers to music that is listened to by many (hence, popular); includes various musical styles (like pop, rock, rap); might include an affective relationship (fandom); is widely available and consumed in various ways (through live performances, records, streaming services and so on); is consumed in various spaces (at home, in car, at specific venues, festivals and so on) (Koskela 2022: 2; Aho & Kärjä 2007: 9–15; Connell & Gibson 2003: 5).

venues must fulfil the needs of the older groups by providing better services and conveniences, or they must find ways to attract younger people.

Popular music is the most listened to type of music in adolescents' daily lives (Ferjan 2022). In this article, popular music refers to music that is widely consumed and includes various musical styles like pop, rock, rap, electronic dance music and so on. Identities present in popular music have an impact especially on young listeners, who are still in the process of identity creation. We studied Finnish adolescents of Generation Z and their live music consumption habits with the help of segmentation. Generally, segmentation helps define a suitable marketing mix for each segment and optimise the use of resources (Dolnicar et al. 2012). Additionally, a deeper knowledge of different participant segments facilitates negotiations with sponsors who want to attract specific target groups. However, and most importantly in our perspective, segmentation of adolescents offers the required information for reaching young consumers to involve them in the live music scene. Getting more adolescents among the active participants of live music would increase the vitality and sustainability of venues and the culture itself. To identify these youth segments, we concentrated on the motivations for participating in live music events. The research questions were: Why and with whom do adolescents attend live music events? What kind of live music events do adolescents go to? and, What kind of knowledge do these typologies provide about adolescents' needs from a broader perspective?

Music in Adolescence

Music has been a traditional building block of identity, even more importantly for those on the verge of adulthood (Saarikallio 2011; Nuttall 2009). Hence, music is an essential part of adolescents' daily life (Papinczak et al. 2015) and used for diverse purposes.

For adolescents, music is a way to demonstrate values, judge others and find like-minded friends (North & Hargreaves 1999). Recognised researchers of psychology of music, Mark Tarrant, Adrian C. North, and David J. Hargreaves (2001), demonstrated that male adolescents preferred and assigned positive characteristics to those who liked the same kind of music (in-group), whereas people having a different musical taste (out-group) were judged with more negative characteristics. Similarly, musicologist Kimmo Salminen (1990) pointed out how musical taste both connects and disconnects. On the individual level, musical taste reflected personal history while the structure, expectations and search for approval of the community (or peers) influenced the communal level.

One of the ways to manifest taste and identity is music fandom, which might be an important part of adolescence (Poikolainen 2015). Musical taste is used to demonstrate values as well as “personality dimensions and developmental issues” (Schwartz & Fouts 2003: 212). Adolescents use their favourite music and context-specific music to regulate their moods and emotions (Papinczak et al. 2015; Saarikallio 2011; Saarikallio & Erkkilä 2007).

Adolescents’ reasons for listening to music have been divided into enjoyment, creating an external impression and fulfilling emotional needs (North et al. 2000). Males were more concerned with creating an external impression, and females in using music for their emotional needs.

Adolescents as Live Music Event Attendees

The results of the study of Finnish children’s and young people’s leisure activities in 2020 demonstrated that Finnish young people are active live music consumers (Homi et al. 2021: 164). Up to 81% of 15–29-year-olds had attended a music festival during the previous 12 months, 71% a gig in a club or restaurant, and 55% a bigger concert (stadium, arena, concert hall, outdoor). Particularly the popularity of big concerts has increased from 16% to 54% among 15–19-year-olds in the last 20 years (Homi et al. 2021: 166).

In 2011 in the UK, the expenditure on live music comprised 29% of the total consumption of music of the 14–17-year-olds, and it increased to 71% for 18–24-year-olds (Collopy & Bahanovich 2012: 18). Finnish adolescents’ expenditure on live (or recorded) music has not been studied, but it is obvious that the limited supply of live music for the underaged takes its toll, since many live music venues are open for adults only (that is, people who are at least 18 years old). The music venue business model of relying on alcohol sales is not a Finnish peculiarity, but is present elsewhere as well (van der Hoeven & Hitters 2020).

An early study on Finnish adolescents’ participation in live music events demonstrated that attending rock concerts was important and helped in coping with school and work (Nuorisosaian neuvottelukunta & Nuorisotutkimusseura 1999). Additionally, gigs, concerts and festivals offer possibilities to see one’s idols live. Social historian focused on youth research Janne Poikolainen (2015: 94) described how “[live] performances offered strong emotional experiences and feelings of community: these events often became a culmination of individual fan history or, alternatively, triggered a new fandom”.

When the well-being effects of young adults' participation in music festivals was studied (Packer & Ballantyne 2011), the conclusion was that the experience facilitated social connections and nurtured joint celebration. By disconnecting from their everyday lives, attendees could “become open to exploring new relationships, new ways of understanding themselves and new ways of perceiving the world” (Packer & Ballantyne 2011: 178).

Spending time with friends and making new ones strengthen adolescents' self-esteem (Tarrant et al. 2006), and a sense of belonging – being a member of a larger like-minded group – helps in coping with everyday life and building adolescents' social identity (Hines & McFerran 2014). Tourism researchers Martinette Kruger and Melville Saayman (2015) concluded that adolescents (both pre-teens and teenagers) travelled with the largest groups to big concerts, and their participation decision was steered more by friends and family than others. Overall, social aspects of adolescents' live music consumption seem to be important and worth further research.

Generation Z is a particularly interesting target group for the study of live music culture in the 2020s. Even though young listeners make their music discoveries partly through social media and friends (Riske 2022), the curatorial role of streaming platforms is present as well (Freeman 2022). The new music product and its paradigms have had a stronger impact on this generation's consumption than any previous generation. Studying the motives of live music consumption of this group creates knowledge of how streaming services might affect music event attendance and the culture forming around live music.

Segmenting Adolescent Consumers of Music

Segmentations of adolescent music consumers have concentrated on preferred musical genres and adaptation of new musical trends (table 1). Moreover, many of these studies are written by the same authors – sometimes even with the same data. Consumer researcher Pete Nuttall has made various segmentations based on British adolescents' consumption of music (Nuttall et al. 2011; Nuttall 2009; 2008a), and cultural psychologist Tom ter Bogt has been involved in the studies of Dutch adolescents' musical preferences (Delsing et al. 2008) and their influence on problem behaviour (Mulder et al. 2007).

Considering that there is a vast number of segmentation studies based on motivational factors of adults' event participation (see reviews by Mulder & Hitters 2021; Li & Petrick 2005), it is peculiar that there are no motivational segmentation studies

Author	Context	Subject and method for segmentation	Resulting segments
Delsing et al. (2008)	Dutch 12–19 year olds	Music preferences Exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis	Rock Elite Urban Pop/Dance
Mulder et al. (2007)	Dutch 12–16 year olds	Music preferences Factor analysis and hierarchical cluster analysis	Middle-of-the-road Urban Exclusive rock Rock-pop Elitist Omnivores Low involved [in music]
Schwartz and Fouts (2003)	Canadian 12–19 year olds	Music preferences Factor analysis	Light Heavy Eclectic
Factfile: New products need to plant seeds (2004)	British 15–24 year olds	Spread of trends (including music) Method not stated	Opinion-formers WannaBs Mainstreams
Nuttall (2008a)	British adolescents	Music consumption Framework analysis (thematic)	Experiential Chameleon Defender
Nuttall (2009)	British 13–18 year olds	Music consumption Framework analysis (thematic)	Insiders Regulars Tourists
Nuttall et al. (2011)	British 17–19 year olds	Views towards consumption of music Thematic analysis	The loyalists The experience seekers The preachers The revolutionists The techys The conventionalists

Table 1: Review of segmentation studies on young people's music consumption.

on adolescent event participants. One of the reasons might be that traditionally, youth has been considered as a single, homogenous consumer segment (Nuttall 2008a). Particularly, some people might have seen teenagers' music consumption as part of the uniform youth culture.

So far, there are no segmentation studies of Finnish adolescents' live music consumption. Salminen's (1990) early study on the musical taste of young people was not a segmentation study, but it scrutinised groups of young people who differed in their musical taste. It was a rare study in creating typologies of Finnish young people based on their musical consumption. Our aim was to segment Finnish adolescent participants of live music events. The typologies were formed using motivational factors that young people defined as reasons for their participation. Using this method, we tried to fill some of the gaps in the current research on adolescents' live music consumption.

Research Data

The network and interest group of Finnish music events, LiveFIN, got 1,570 valid responses to its web survey for 15–18-year-olds, inquiring about their live music consumption (LiveFIN 2019). The survey was distributed by 23 youth-related organisations (several music festivals and live music venues; divisions of youth work of various cities; LiveFIN; Music Against Drugs; Oulun Kärpät ice hockey team; Jyväskylä Rock Academy; Finnish Parkour Association; Tiketti online ticketing service; The Youth's Music Association in Svenskfinland; Stadin AO, Helsinki Vocational College and Adult Institute; Seinäjoki Live Music Association) in November – December 2019. As an incentive, the respondents could take part in a prize draw of ten gift vouchers worth 50 € each².

Some of the respondents the respondents did not go at all to live music events. Since we were studying the motivations for live music consumption, these responses were omitted, leaving us 1,180 participants who visit live music events. The demographics of these respondents are summarised in table 2. Most of them (84%) were students. 74% were female, 24% male and 2% were other or did not want to specify their gender. Their average and median ages were 16.8 and 17 years respectively. It is emphasised that since the legal age of adulthood in Finland is 18, most of the respondents were underaged.

² The data collection was managed by LiveFIN and funded by the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture.

Variable	Classification	N	%
Gender	Male	279	23.6%
	Female	876	74.2%
	Other	11	0.9%
	Do not want to answer	14	1.2%
Age (mean 16.8 years; median 17 years)	15 years	191	16.2%
	16 years	274	23.2%
	17 years	346	29.3%
	18 years	369	31.3%
Residence	Big city (over 100,000 inhabitants)	412	34.9%
	Middle-sized city (50,000 – 100,000 inhabitants)	339	28.7%
	Small town (less than 50,000 inhabitants)	244	20.7%
	Rural countryside	185	15.7%
Situation of life	I am studying	992	84.1%
	I am working and studying	148	12.5%
	I am working	20	1.7%
	I am unemployed	8	0.7%
	Other	12	1.0%
Education completed	I am still attending comprehensive school	209	17.7%
	Comprehensive school	483	40.9%
	Upper secondary school	291	24.7%
	Vocational school	162	13.7%
	Dual qualification (high school + vocational school)	26	2.2%
	Other	9	0.8%

Table 2: Demographics of respondents (N = 1,180).

86% of respondents listened to music or watched music videos almost daily. Among live music events, 98% of respondents had participated in music festivals, 95% in big concerts (open-air, stadiums, arenas) and 76% in club or restaurant gigs. These descriptive statistics demonstrated that survey respondents consumed a lot of music and were suitable for segmentation for live music attendance.

The survey data was collected using convenience sampling, meaning that respondents received the survey link either by mail, or they saw the invitation to participate in social media and decided whether to complete the survey or not. Nevertheless, the frequency of listening to music complied with the official statistics of Finland that were based on random sampling (OSF 2018). Furthermore, our sample consisted of adolescents who were more interested in live music than the general population of the same age (Homi et al. 2021). Since the aim of the study was to investigate the characteristics of live music event attendance (not youth in general), this bias is justifiable. The number of female respondents was quite high, which is very typical for web surveys. Women tend to answer more easily self-selecting research surveys (Smith 2008). Due to the small number of male respondents, it was not possible to reliably assess the impact of gender on the segments.

Analysis

The segmentation was based on answers to the motivational question: “What is important in gigs?”. The options were developed from previous motivation studies aimed at adults (Vinnicombe & Sou 2017; Li & Petrick 2005; see also recent Mulder & Hitters 2021), adding questions that might be important for adolescents (like familiarity and accessibility of the venue; fear of missing out). There are several options describing different social aspects of events (family togetherness; known-group and external group socialisation; communality) because they have proven to be important participation motives in earlier studies on adults (Vinnicombe & Sou 2017; Rihova et al. 2015; Li & Petrick 2005). The segmentation was done using the following 16 options, evaluated with a Likert scale from 1 (not important at all) to 5 (extremely important):

- Music and bands are interesting.
- I want to see a certain artist.
- The theme or other non-musical content of the event is interesting.
- I want to see and learn something new.
- My friends or social media influencers have recommended the event.
- I have participated in the same event or been at the same venue earlier (familiar place/event).
- Participation of my friends.
- Spending time with the family (siblings/(grand)parents).
- There are lots of like-minded people at the gig; I feel a sense of belonging to the group.
- Getting to know new people.

- The hype around the event arouses curiosity.
- All the people I know participate and I do not want to miss out.
- The event is arranged nearby.
- It is easy to get to the event.
- The event is well-organised.
- A certain musical style or subculture.

Four options (Getting away from it all, I can relax and have fun; Reputation and style of the event; The gig was arranged by me or by my friends; I or my friends performed at the event), were omitted since they were not eligible as a segmentation basis because the answers were so unanimous.

In principle, the selected statements could have been factor analysed to reduce the number of cluster variables, but the sequence of conducting first factor analysis and then cluster analysis is not recommended. Social scientist Sara Dolnicar and mathematician Bettina Grün (2008) concluded that the best segmentation result was received with the raw data, meaning that the preceding factor analysis should be skipped. Furthermore, the number of observations ($N=1,180$) used in cluster analysis was enough for 16 segmentation variables, since Dolnicar et al. (2013) suggest that N should be at least 70 times the number of variables ($70 * 16 = 1,120$).

To eliminate response styles, the segmentation variables were standardised. Standardisation was made by transforming individual scores to unit standard deviations with zero mean for that person across all variables (Fischer & Milfont 2010). Response style or tendency means that some people tend to choose only the extremes of the scale while others might stay in the middle. If these tendencies are not considered, the resulting segments quite often include a “want-it-all” segment and a “passive” segment; the first one includes respondents using the higher end of the scale and the latter one includes those who use the lower end of the scale (Pesonen & Honkanen 2014). These tendencies were found in various music festival segmentation studies reviewed in Kinnunen et al. (2019). Some scholars emphasise the importance of variable standardisation when conducting cross-cultural studies where cultural differences might influence the response style (Fischer 2004); however, Kinnunen et al.’s review demonstrated that the problem exists also within the same cultural region.

Segmentation was done in SPSS using K-means clustering. “The basic idea of cluster analysis is to divide a number of cases (usually respondents) into subgroups according to a pre-specified criterion (for example, minimal variance within each resulting cluster) which is assumed to reflect the similarity of individuals within the subgroups and the dissimilarity between them” (Dolnicar 2002: 4). Cluster solutions from two to five were tested to find the best solution (Hair et al. 2010).

	Scene-driven (N=301)	Socially-driven (N=184)	Friendship-driven (N=371)	Content-driven (N=324)	F-Value
The event is arranged nearby.	-1.17	-0.28	0.01	0.25	275.55*
Spending time with family (siblings/(grand)parents).	-0.39	0.49	-1.29	-0.46	244.7*
All the people I know participate and I do not want to miss out.	-0.87	-0.29	0.32	-1.03	232.33*
It is easy to get to the event.	-0.50	0.35	0.42	0.60	198.38*
A certain musical style or subculture.	0.44	-0.38	0.08	0.61	102.55*
Getting to know new people.	0.04	0.23	-0.05	-0.74	94.8*
I want to see and learn something new.	0.30	0.26	-0.50	-0.11	79.46*
Participation of my friends.	0.38	0.54	0.84	0.08	71.05*
I want to see a certain artist.	0.80	0.30	0.49	0.90	53.24*
The hype around the event arouses curiosity.	-0.07	0.03	0.26	-0.31	47.39*
The music and bands are interesting.	1.03	0.75	0.74	1.17	44.23*
The theme or other non-musical content of the event is interesting.	0.27	-0.35	-0.17	0.11	33.33*
There are lots of like-minded people at the gig; I feel a sense of belonging.	0.51	0.32	0.14	0.10	21.43*
My friends or social media influencers have recommended the event.	-0.63	-0.67	-0.41	-0.71	11.82*
I have participated in the same event or have been at the same venue earlier (familiar place/event).	-0.34	-0.49	-0.17	-0.40	9.15*
The event is well-organized.	0.80	0.75	0.85	0.97	8.12*

*p<.001

Table 3: Final cluster centres and F-values (N = 1,180).

A four-cluster mode was chosen as the best solution based on both statistical criteria and explanatory power. The result is presented in table 3, including F-values that demonstrate the importance of each variable in the clustering process. Three highest F-values were for the variables “The event is arranged nearby”, “Spending time with family (siblings/(grand)parents)” and “All the people I know participate and I do not want to miss out”. The identified clusters were scene-driven ($N=301$; 26%), socially-driven ($N=184$; 16%), friendship-driven ($N=371$; 31%) and content-driven ($N=324$; 27%) adolescents. The discriminatory power of the four-cluster solution was tested using discriminant analysis. Three discriminant functions were produced: the first one explained 48.2% (eigenvalue: 1.7), the second 31.3% (eigenvalue: 1.1) and the third 20.5% (eigenvalue: 0.7) of the variance. The classification analysis revealed that 96.4% of the cases were correctly classified.

When analysing the segments, answers regarding types of gigs attended (“In what kinds of gigs/concerts do you go to and how often?”) and company in gigs (“With whom do you go to gigs/concerts?”) were also used. Additionally, the questionnaire included an open-ended question “What makes a good gig?” that was used in the Discussion section to illustrate young people’s opinions even though the thorough content analysis was not included.

Findings

In all the segments, there were more women than men and the mean age was 17 years. There were no statistically significant differences regarding these demographics. Place of residence varied slightly between the segments ($\chi^2=20.21$, $p=.017$). The strength between individual answer pairing was checked at adjusted standardised residuals. In reported cases, the adjusted standardised residual was greater than 2, or less than -2. Interestingly, socially-driven adolescents were less likely to live in a big city with over 100,000 inhabitants (28.8%; total 34.9%) than others, but more often in a small town with fewer than 50,000 inhabitants (27.2%; total 20.7%). A friendship-driven adolescent was most probably (32.6%; total 28.7%) encountered in a middle-sized city of 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants.

Content-driven adolescents might have been fans of a certain musical genre or an artist but most important was the music in general. They participated in gigs because of the music and were not so interested in friends’ participation, socialising or the communality of the event. However, the accessibility of the venue was important: it had to be near and easily reachable. Additionally, members of the content-driven segment required that the gig be well-organised.

Gig type	Segment	Mean	Mean rank
Festivals $\chi^2=16.91$ $p=.001$	Content-driven	1.59	479.1
	Friendship-driven	1.78	556.3
	Socially-driven	1.74	532.4
	Scene-driven	1.81	559.1
Big concerts $\chi^2=28.20$ $p=.000$	Content-driven	1.38	526.4
	Friendship-driven	1.27	450.0
	Socially-driven	1.45	537.9
	Scene-driven	1.60	597.4
Clubs and restaurants $\chi^2=6.60$ $p=.086$	Content-driven	1.26	
	Friendship-driven	1.21	
	Socially-driven	1.33	
	Scene-driven	1.44	
Youth clubs $\chi^2=30.31$ $p=.000$	Content-driven	0.41	503.22
	Friendship-driven	0.37	487.74
	Socially-driven	0.69	594.25
	Scene-driven	0.60	579.04
Music theatres $\chi^2=60.13$ $p=.000$	Content-driven	0.64	518.65
	Friendship-driven	0.50	457.81
	Socially-driven	0.99	653.80
	Scene-driven	0.77	569.38

Scale: 0=never, 1=once a year, 2=two to five times a year, 3=six to twelve times a year, 4=more than 12 times a year

Table 4: In what kinds of gigs/concerts do you go to and how often? Means, mean ranks and Kruskal-Wallis H tests ($N = 1,065$).

Scene-driven adolescents were driven by a certain musical genre or subculture. The importance of this factor was highest for content-driven youth, but in the scene-driven segment, various other characteristics indicated a more profound participation in a musical scene. These young people were ready and willing to travel to venues that were far away and not so easy to reach. They wanted to participate because of musical interest and subculture – being a member of like-minded people. The communality of the event was more important for them than for other groups. Furthermore, they wanted to see and learn something new at the gig, demonstrating interest towards increasing their knowledge of music and the subculture. Scene-driven

Company	Segment	N (company)	%	N (total answers to the question)
Close friends $\chi^2=31.03$ $p=.000$	Content-driven	250	89.0%	281
	Friendship-driven	325	98.2%	331
	Socially-driven	154	93.9%	164
	Scene-driven	281	97.2%	289
Schoolmates $\chi^2=21.16$ $p=.000$	Content-driven	120	42.7%	281
	Friendship-driven	185	55.9%	331
	Socially-driven	94	57.3%	164
	Scene-driven	121	41.9%	289
Parents $\chi^2=134.31$ $p=.000$	Content-driven	136	48.4%	281
	Friendship-driven	40	12.1%	331
	Socially-driven	91	55.5%	164
	Scene-driven	128	44.3%	289
Larger group $\chi^2=51.06$ $p=.000$	Content-driven	55	19.6%	281
	Friendship-driven	153	46.2%	331
	Socially-driven	69	42.1%	164
	Scene-driven	112	38.8%	289
Siblings $\chi^2=63.30$ $p=.000$	Content-driven	98	34.9%	281
	Friendship-driven	64	19.3%	331
	Socially-driven	89	54.3%	164
	Scene-driven	107	37.0%	289
Alone $\chi^2=49.62$ $p=.000$	Content-driven	80	28.5%	281
	Friendship-driven	24	7.3%	331
	Socially-driven	25	15.2%	164
	Scene-driven	60	20.8%	289

Table 5: With whom do you go to gigs/concerts? You can choose various options (N = 1,065).

adolescents were also more interested in the theme or other non-musical content of the event than other groups.

For *friendship-driven adolescents*, friends were of utmost importance. They participated in live music events because of their friends. This, along with the fact that they were less interested in music than other groups, indicated that they did not choose the events – rather, they followed their friends. For the friendship-driven segment, it

was important to attend events where everyone else was going and which had received much publicity. Thus, they did not want to miss something where everyone else was present (fear of missing out). However, it was important for them that the venue was nearby and that they had been to the same place before. Friendship-driven young people did not go too often to gigs with the members of their families as can also be seen in the analysis that follows (see table 5).

Socially-driven adolescents differed from friendship-driven in that they did not restrict themselves to known-group socialisation. They also wanted to get to know new people. Furthermore, they participated in gigs with members of their family more often than other groups (see table 5). The communality of the event was the second-most important for them of all the segments.

Next, we scrutinised the segments against gig-related variables (attendance frequency in different types of gigs and company). People in different segments preferred different types of gigs. A Kruskal-Wallis H test showed that there were statistically significant differences ($p \leq .001$) between the segments in the attendance frequency in almost all types of gigs (table 4). The only exception was gigs arranged in clubs and restaurants ($p = .086$). Also, Dunn's pairwise tests with the Bonferroni correction for multiple tests were conducted to determine which segments differed in the attendance frequency by gig type. All the segments preferred festivals to other types of gigs. However, content-driven adolescents attended festivals less frequently than friendship-driven ($z = 3.58, p = .002$) and scene-driven ($z = 3.60, p = .002$). Scene-driven adolescents were also the biggest group among the attendees of big concerts. The difference was statistically significant compared to the friendship-driven ($z = 5.29, p = .000$) and content-driven ($z = 3.07, p = .013$) segments. Scene-driven adolescents attended music theatre more often than friendship-driven ($z = 4.93, p = .000$) but less often than socially-driven ($z = -3.07, p = .013$). Socially-driven adolescents attended music theatre more often than content-driven ($z = 5.07, p = .000$) and friendship-driven ($z = 7.30, p = .000$). They also attended youth club gigs more often than content-driven ($z = 3.51, p = .003$) and friendship-driven ($z = 4.23, p = .000$) adolescents

When studying with whom adolescents attended gigs (table 5), there were statistically significant differences in all the company types ($p < .001$). The friendship-driven segment was the most uniform. They attended concerts mainly with their close friends, schoolmates and in a larger group (of friends). That is, they were not interested in the company of their family (only 12% attended gigs with parents and 19% with siblings, while the figures in other segments were 44–56% and 35–54%, respectively), nor did they go to gigs alone (7% vs. 15–29%). Even though close friends' company was the most popular for all the groups, content-driven adolescents were the most diverse in the selection of their company. They attended gigs

with their close friends, parents, schoolmates, siblings and alone. They attended gigs more often alone, and less often with close friends or in a larger group than other segments. The socially-driven segment, on the other hand, was the one that most of all the groups attended with their schoolmates, parents and siblings. Scene-driven adolescents attended gigs second-highest of all the groups with their close friends, but least of all the groups with their schoolmates.

Discussion

The resulting segments demonstrate the diversity of live music consumption and different needs of adolescents. In their answers to the open-ended question “What makes a good gig?” participants referred to various well-being effects like:

It’s a gig after which you feel happy. A gig where both audience and artist enjoy themselves (18-year-old scene-driven female).

It’s a gig that makes you forget everyday stress and you can enjoy good music and company (15-year-old music-driven female).

In the content-driven segment, the musical content mattered most. Contrary to the other segments, sociality related to music was not the driver for live music consumption. This can also mean that live music was experienced by concentrating deeply on it, or making the decision to attend an event independently from the sphere of social belonging. Social independence may be the factor that sets the boundaries to the content-driven segment. It is also possible that the content-driven adolescents pioneered finding new music and recommended it in their networks, thus influencing the music consumption of more socially-driven peers (see also Nuttall et al. 2011: 155).

The feeling of safety was significant for content-driven adolescents. When gigs were visited without familiar social networks, the meaning of the venue grew. For the content-driven segment, it was more important that the arrangements worked well, and the setting was welcoming, than knowing the exact network revolving around the event. This suggests that the relationship to the event location might play a role in creating place identity.

For the friendship-driven segment, the relationship to the music was shaped by close friends. The music for this segment had to fit into the social setup of friendship. This group went to live music events with their circles of friends, the relationship with them well-established before the event and which acted in consensus. A live music

event was a place to have fun, relax, enjoy the atmosphere, and have new experiences within a known, safe, social context of friends. The relationship to music could develop from everyday life related to recreational factors, whereas for instance, in the content-driven segment, the relationship was being shaped directly from the music itself. In adolescence, friends usually become more important than family, and a certain position might be maintained by consuming the same kind of music as friends (Nuttall 2008b). The meaning of live music was therefore partly in hedonistic pleasures and partly in a sense of social belonging.

For the socially-driven segment, the shared music experience built a wider social identity and created cohesion among networks (Kinnunen et al. 2020). The members of this segment were socially-oriented and widened their networks in live music events by making new friends. It was evident that this segment had a strong presence in large festivals and concerts but – and this is important – it was also the most active one in music theatres and youth clubs. The strong presence in youth clubs reflected the music culture available through the clubs’ offering that is socially-oriented. Contrary to the “music first” -oriented venues, social norms of acceptance and the status in external social networks dictate the music and its meaning in the youth club context. Then again, music venues have differing norms that are inherently tied to the content or sociality around them.

For scene-driven adolescents, a musical scene created a sense of belonging. For instance, when describing a good gig, a 15-year-old scene-driven female emphasised the importance of appropriate code of conduct: “In a good gig, everyone’s having a good time and others are taken into account. Nobody’s bullied or discriminated against; you’re all friends” (15-year-old scene-driven female). Scene-driven adolescents attended gigs less often with their schoolmates, which might imply that their friends were coming more from outside school. Thus, for the scene-driven segment, a live music event served the purpose of a meeting place, whereas for the friendship-driven segment, a live music event was more towards hedonistic pleasure and shared experiences. From the well-being viewpoint, the social networking activity and feeling the sense of belonging were empowering for those who might otherwise be socially excluded.

Different live music events produced different outcomes for the segments. Festivals were the most important mode of participation for all the segments. This reflects quite well the different benefits festivals can produce. For the content-driven segment, festivals offered several gigs in one place and opportunities to increase knowledge of the fan interest (Edlom & Karlsson 2021), and experience new kinds of music alongside familiar ones. Friendship-driven people attended festivals in a group of friends, aiming for hedonistic fun, whereas socially-driven adolescents found plenty of opportunities to socialise and make new friends. For scene-driven

adolescents, festivals of a specific musical genre offered a plethora of communality. Furthermore, larger festivals have the economic means to offer several superstars in the same event. Generation Z, which has grown up in the era of streaming services that gives most attention to superstars (Homi et al. 2021), yearns for experiencing big names in a live setting.

Most Finnish festivals are open for underaged participants, and they have many young attendees (Hallamaa & Vedenpää 2019). On the other hand, there is a growing number of festivals that are closing their gates to minors, since only adults are allowed to buy and consume alcohol. Organisers aim for bigger profits from alcohol sales, which are possible when the whole area is restricted to adults only. In this case, everyone is free to wander around with a beer can in hand; whereas, in a festival that has underaged participants, the licensing areas must be fenced, with security personnel at the entrance. Some of these festivals might not have had many non-adult participants. For instance, the popularity of metal music has decreased among Finnish adolescents (OSF 2018), and consequently, many metal festivals are nowadays for adults only.

The supply of big concerts is growing both in Finland and internationally (CBS 2019). This stems from the fact that the fandom of superstars has increased along with the use of digital platforms (IFPI 2022). Adolescents attend typically one big concert a year (table 4) even though they are expensive and often arranged quite far away. Organisers are supporting adolescents' participation and practically all the big concerts are open for the underaged. As clubs, restaurants and festivals have started to restrict their musical supply for adults only to gain more money from alcohol sales, big concerts seem to be the only way to produce music for adolescents in a profitable way.

Clubs and restaurants offer the least number of gigs for the underaged. The main problem is the ever-increasing artist expenses (Jones 2022) that must be compensated with alcohol sales, since the ticket price cannot be too high. The number of tickets cannot be increased either because the venues are typically quite small, with a capacity of hundreds, not thousands. Thus, these venues do not necessarily have the financial means to offer superstars for the underaged, but they could introduce new artists and musical styles for adolescents.

Music theatres and youth clubs were visited more rarely than other venues; they were mostly favoured by socially-driven adolescents. These forms of live music are open to all ages, but youth clubs lose their attraction as adulthood is reached. It is likely that the decreasing interest on the verge of adulthood is due to the culture and sociality that these clubs are based on. Principally, they are meeting places where

the main purpose is not the music but social interaction with other adolescents who have the same interests and who live nearby. Youth clubs offer amateur-based music often performed by other adolescents rather than popular artists whose fees are too high for this kind of venue.

When evaluating reasons why adolescents do not go to gigs and concerts even though they might want to, one of the main reasons is the supply of accessible and interesting live music events. As mentioned earlier, the musical styles offered do not necessarily comply with the taste of the youth. Another barrier is age. Many organisers limit their supply for adults only (that is, for 18+ years) because they have a permit to sell alcohol. Letting underaged into the premises means more security personnel, since the punishments for selling alcohol to minors are strict. Furthermore, the place of living has a significant impact – some localities just do not have any music events. This means that to enjoy live music, it is necessary to travel, which requires money and means of transport at a time when public transport is diminishing due to economic austerity.

Conclusion

Four motivational types of music event attendees were identified: content-, scene-, friendship- and socially-driven adolescents. The most interesting finding was that the social dimensions of event attendance differed considerably between these groups. The content-oriented adolescents participated in gigs with anybody willing to accompany them, since the music was more important than the company. The other three groups varied in their social interests. The friendship-driven adolescents built their social identity with close friends and schoolmates. They attended gigs quite seldom with the family, which might demonstrate the need to become more independent in the process of growing up. Socially-driven young people, on the other hand, wanted to bond with friends and family but also broaden their social networks through live music participation (cf. Wilks 2011). The scene-driven adolescents valued the other members of the scene, fulfilling their social needs outside the scope of school. For them, being without the possibility to bond with like-minded scene members might cause social problems, since they were least interested in socialising with their schoolmates.

Social scientists Martijn Mulder and Erik Hitters argue that “people predominantly visit festivals for social and personal reasons and predominantly visit concerts for artistic reasons and the uniqueness of the live experience” (Mulder & Hitters 2021: 355). Our findings indicate that festivals fulfil the needs of *all* the adolescent

segments, including a wide range of socialisation opportunities as well as eclectic programmes with both international stars and newcomers. Festivals are also the most popular live music events for adolescents in general as demonstrated in the children's and young people's leisure activity study in 2020 (Homi et al. 2021). Big concerts can offer superstar performances that interest the "Spotify generation", but they do not provide as many social benefits as festivals. Small and medium-sized venues (clubs and restaurants), on the other hand, have problems in offering big names in a profitable way for the underaged and their supply for the younger generation is more limited.

Digital identities have played an essential role in the social communication of the 21st century and Generation Z does not make an exception in this regard. They are app-native users of various online services, and they maintain multiple digital identities by nature. Their ways of self-expression are not bound only to the local social groups (for example, formed around musical genres), but to the global internet and its novel ways of interaction. This is reflected by the declining interest in the culture offered by small and medium-sized local venues and increasing interest in superstars. The ways of organising around music are also changing. Being identified as a member of a local culture or subgroup may not be so relevant anymore, but as the segmentation demonstrates, adolescents still strive to fulfil a myriad of social needs through live music event attendance.

Regarding adolescents' cultural participation, there must be independent spontaneous activity also in live popular music so that emerging socialities and identities can have ways to manifest themselves. To foster emerging cultures and their consequent identities, it is important to understand the types of young people who attend live music events. Event-goers consist of multiple types of people, of which some are more ready to pioneer emergent cultural activities than others. Knowledge is essential for the government and NGOs directing assets to new (sub)cultures. These organisations should focus on supporting types of adolescents that are likely to produce culturally and socially sustainable activities around popular music.

There is a scarcity of segmentation studies of adolescent event-goers and the social function of music in adolescents' lives has not been studied much. But were we able to offer something new compared to the motivation segmentations of adult event visitors? Adult music-oriented event-goers have been labelled earlier as "the music matters" segment by tourism researchers Heather E. Bowen and Margaret J. Daniels (2005), but they did not study the forms of this segment's socialisation; the reason for this was that they did not find any differences in the party size of different event-goers. Social event-goers have been identified as segments of "just being social" (Bowen & Daniels 2005), "social pleasure seekers" (McMorland &

Mactaggart 2007), “socialization” (Kruger & Saayman 2015) or “social” (Mackellar 2009). However, these segments are more generic than our more precise segments of socially-driven, friendship-driven and scene-driven event-goers, preferring different types of social elements. It is also emphasised that we used several other than segmentation variables in the interpretation. This way we were able to build a more holistic picture of adolescents as attendees of live music events.

The study gives valuable information for artists, their managers and live music event organisers in terms of different types of adolescent participants. The importance of live music has grown for artists as income is no longer based on the sale of recorded music (Brennan 2010). In the past, live music events were arranged to sell records; nowadays the situation is reversed: records are made to sell the gigs (Cloonan 2022). Live music is even more fundamental for small and medium-sized artists, since they cannot earn much through pro-rata-based streaming services that favour big names. The present study offers information about what kinds of adolescent audiences attend different live music venues and what is important for them. This kind of knowledge helps artists, their managers and live venues to find suitable audiences for different purposes. Festivals are already directing their marketing messages for both friendship- and content-driven people. However, small and medium-sized clubs and restaurants could attract scene-driven adolescents with new artists, and offer opportunities to perform for those adolescents that have bands. This would encourage subcultural activities and nurture loyalty to the venue. Another important aspect is security, safety and accessibility: small and medium-sized venues should consider ways to introduce themselves to adolescents, since many of them appreciate that the venue is nearby, safe, familiar and easily reachable. Knowing the place and organisers makes it easier for young people to attend live events alone, since they know that there are familiar faces at the venue.

For future research, a larger sample with both adolescents’ and adults’ motives and live music consumption habits would be beneficial. With this kind of data, it would be possible to identify differences between age groups regarding social dimensions of live music events. Kruger and Saayman (2015) investigated different age groups in the context of live music performances, revealing differences in spending, sources of information and motives. However, they had “socialization” as the only motive dealing with social aspects. Dividing social dimensions of live music event attendance into more detailed elements, as in the present study, would be advantageous when comparing different age groups. In addition, differences between genders should be studied more carefully; male and non-binary genders were under-represented in the data.

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