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Small Orchestra Organizations: Issues and Challenges



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Small Orchestra Organizations: Issues and Challenges

In the orchestra world, we tend to dwell on celebrity, size, and hierarchy. Most orchestra staff members, and many board members and orchestra musicians, know which orchestras are included in the “Big Five.” Many have favorite candidates for replacement in this group or for clear membership in the “Second Tier.” Many industry participants are familiar with “The Ten” and “Meeting Group 1.” The “52-week” orchestras are especially admired. On an international basis, there is a certain worship of Berlin and Vienna, the Concertgebouw, the London Symphony Orchestra, and other international “brand name” orchestras. Music critics generally reinforce our titillation with the big and the famous.

But does the orchestral world start and end with such a few highly recognized orchestras and the organizational systems of which they are a part? Obviously not. In fact, there is a broad spectrum of orchestral institutions of all sizes and shapes, not only in North America, but in many nations. And many of these orchestras, and their support systems, are perhaps more vital to the maintenance and advancement of musical culture in their communities than are the big orchestras which are generally centered in and serving major metropolitan areas.

The Institute’s effort to bring about positive change in the ways in which North American symphony organizations function has received growing support from orchestral organizations of all sizes. In the last few years, smaller orchestra organizations, which we would broadly define as those with annual expense budgets of between \$500,000 and \$2 million, have been increasingly supportive. Some 90 of the more than 160 organizations which currently voluntarily support and are clearly interested in the work of the Institute are in this budget range. This interest and support has caused us to think more comprehensively about the organizational issues these smaller institutions face.

But, just how small are these organizations, both in relative and absolute terms?

- ◆ The orchestra itself tends to be smaller, often built around a core group of 25 to 40 players, but sometimes more. Even so, these orchestras often list their membership in the 60- to 85-player range, and at times

100 musicians or more might be on stage for certain repertoire. So, the orchestra component of a smaller orchestra organization might have an average membership equivalency of 75 players, as compared with 90 to 110 for orchestras we identify as large.

- ◆ With few exceptions, all orchestras have music directors who are the principal conductors. In a smaller organization, this person would likely be the only member of the conducting staff. The engagement of guest conductors is limited.
- ◆ Administrative staffs for smaller orchestra organizations run from one or two to perhaps ten people, quite often measured on an equivalent full-time basis, since the use of part-time employees is relatively common. Smaller orchestras often depend on volunteers to do staff work.
- ◆ Boards, on the other hand, are not that much smaller in size than those of larger organizations and can often involve 30 to 50 persons working through an executive committee and a set of functional committees.
- ◆ A smaller orchestra may have a relatively large volunteer support group.

And so just how small is the “smaller orchestra organization”? Not very! Such an organization can easily include 125 to 150 active participants, compared with 250 to 300 participants in a major organization. A small orchestra organization is not a “mom and pop” business. It is a much larger, more complicated, and sophisticated entity than many small businesses. As a service-providing organization, it has many of the same organizational challenges which face institutions with more prominence, operating budgets significantly larger, and usually ample endowment capital.

As with the larger institutions, all constituencies need to work in a unified way to address many of the same difficult environmental challenges and organization complexities. In the smaller organization, there is still a basic need for vision and strategy, musical artistry, community outreach, administration, revenue development, and financial integrity, along with such intangibles as commitment, coordination, leadership, participation, and communication.

What follows is an effort by the Institute to highlight what it believes are some primary organizational attributes and characteristics of smaller orchestra organizations. It is our belief that some of the differences between the very large and the quite small organizations are reasonably distinct. Other differences are more subtle and, in some cases, imperceptible.

To bring real-life dimensions to these observations, we interviewed a select group of participants from two smaller Midwest organizations, the South Bend (Indiana) Symphony and the Jackson (Michigan) Symphony. Our interviewees included board members, the executive directors, and orchestra musicians. In reporting their comments, we should note that:

South Bend Symphony Orchestra

The South Bend Symphony Orchestra (SBSO) was founded in 1933 by Ella Morris in the county seat of St. Joseph County, Indiana, which has a population of about 265,000, some 40 percent of whom live in South Bend.

The SBSO is governed by a 47-member board of directors that is currently ably chaired by Ernestine Raclin, daughter of the symphony's founder. Board membership includes two players elected by the orchestra. The board is supported and operations are carried out by a staff of 10 full- or part-time employees (about 7 equivalent full-time) under the excellent leadership of Mack Richardson, executive vice president and managing director. The orchestra's artistic leadership and principal conducting is provided by Tsung Yeh, music director. The volunteer group of the SBSO consists of 150 members with June Edwards as president.

The orchestra comprises 80 contracted professional musicians and operates under a collective bargaining agreement between the SBSO and the South Bend AFM Local #278. Approximately 15 percent of the orchestra's members live in the Chicago metropolitan area, which is located 90 miles to the west. The orchestra committee normally has a membership of six players. For the 2000-2001 season, the orchestra committee chairperson was Nicholas Orbovich, the orchestra's principal second violin.

The symphony season consists of 15 programs: 6 masterworks, 3 pops concerts, 3 chamber concerts, 2 family concerts, and a holiday concert. The primary orchestral performances are presented in the city-owned Morris Performing Arts Center, a large movie theater built in the 1920s and converted for musical presentations in 1959. A two-year renovation was completed in February 2000, with acoustical, functional, and cosmetic improvements. The venue has a seating capacity of 2,200 of which symphony performances usually fill 50 to 75 percent.

Chamber and family concerts are held in various other venues in the county. Education programs include orchestra player ensembles performing in schools, young people's concerts, the family concerts, a young artists' competition, a Side-by-Side concert, and a week-long summer honors academy for chamber music.

The SBSO's annual operating budget is currently about \$1.5 million. The recent level of endowment was about \$5 million, with a program underway to increase this amount to \$7.5 million. At this increased level, about one-third, or \$2.5 million, would be set aside in a distinct fund for the purpose of orchestra compensation enhancement. Procedures are still being developed for the management of this novel program, but the basic concept is to have the SBSO become more geographically competitive in attracting player talent and to provide incentives to players who give priority to SBSO service.

- ◆ We have attributed only organizational roles to the interviewees in order to emphasize the more general versus personal character of the observations.
- ◆ We heard many insights that could apply to symphony organizations of all sizes; many of those we report, however, contain nuances especially applicable to smaller organizations.
- ◆ As in all organizational commentary, differences in opinion exist.
- ◆ Our opinion sample is very small, but we think it is still instructive.

As will be noted at the end of this report, the Institute especially welcomes the insights and critique of participants in smaller organizations about the analysis and comments which follow.

Boards of Directors

Boards of directors, as a group and individually, have a relatively high and very significant role—in both absolute and relative terms—in the total work, functioning, effectiveness, and sustained existence of smaller symphony organizations.

- ◆ Generally operating in relatively smaller communities, boards of small symphony organizations often include a major portion, if not all, of the civic, commercial, industrial, social, and minority-group leaders in the community—not just a small sample or representative group of such persons.
- ◆ Because they have relatively less competition from the multitude of other musical arts institutions of all sizes so prevalent in large metropolitan areas, many smaller symphony organizations are the “classical music hearts” in their communities; to serve on the board of such an institution is considered an honor.
- ◆ Board members must take highly significant and intensive roles in fundraising and personal giving.
- ◆ Some board member (or a small group) is quite often quite directly involved—or has close oversight of—the organization’s financial operations: disbursements, receipts, cash balances, investments, and financial condition; there is an active interest in “the bottom line.”
- ◆ As in larger institutions, boards of smaller symphony organizations utilize executive committees to work especially closely and operationally with their executive directors.
- ◆ Board development—composition, recruitment, orientation, solicitation, training and motivation, succession, etc.—is perhaps even more important to the vitality and continued existence of the smaller symphony organization than it is to the larger institution.

- ◆ Although this is not a traditional pattern, board members of smaller orchestra organizations appear to be moving toward more concern with artistic programming and its effects on audience attendance, and with community education and outreach efforts, especially in light of perceived shorter-term financial implications of decisions in these areas.

Comments

Below are a range of comments made by participants we interviewed from the South Bend and Jackson organizations that offer real-life insights into the above generalizations.

The board is selected by itself and is self-perpetuating. It is a directorship organization as opposed to a membership organization. (A board member.)

Fundraising is our basic purpose. [We try to recruit the] talent that we need to run the enterprise. Other than the fundraising and giving, the board is advisory regarding the operation of the business. (A board member.)

We meet with [new board members] and give them the committee structure, the financials, etc. [Then] we let them know that part of their duty is to give money to the symphony and to raise money. (A board member.)

People don't get mad at you when you ask them for money. I've been doing it for years. . . . It's just a matter of training. (A board member.)

You need people on the board who have a commitment. . . . You need to find people who have talent, who are willing to spend time, and who are connected in the community so that when it comes time to raise money, you can use them in that role. (A board member.)

We have extensive orientation [for new board members]. Every staff member in charge of a certain area works with the chairman of that committee and presents a report [after which] we add people who would like to be on that committee. . . . It is very important to involve these members as quickly as possible. (A board member.)

Our orchestra has a role in the community above and beyond playing nice music on Saturday nights three or four times a year. (A board member.)

It is important for the board to be involved to some degree on the artistic side. We have not traditionally been very involved there but we are going to become more involved because we see a definite relationship between programming and attendance. . . . We need programs that will sell. (A board member.)

Our marketing committee will now be the program and marketing committee because we need to listen to what the people want. (A board member.)

The board has a very important fiduciary responsibility, but it also represents the community. It has to let the orchestra—the players and the music director—know not only what the community wants but what the organization can afford. At the same time, the board must be receptive to developing a certain trust in the community to explore new things and to come up with the funds. The board needs to say to the community, “This is worthwhile. There are reasons why you should support this.” Ultimately the board is responsible for the hiring of the music director and the executive director, making policy, and being sure the staff and all other resources are coordinated in a proper way. If there is a problem, the board members are the ones who are going to solve it. (An executive director.)

A symphony is very complicated. The elements are so different from other organizations. . . . It is much more complicated than most, but much more interesting. It is much more of a challenge. People do love a challenge and there is so much to learn. (A board member.)

Administrative Staffs

Administrative staffs are very small; a small number of employees and volunteers must focus rather intensively on fundraising and a multitude of shorter-term operational tasks; there is an opportunity, and usually a need, for all-around creativity, drive, and entrepreneurial leadership in the role of the executive director.

As earlier described, small symphony organizations are often at least half the size of highly prominent organizations in terms of the overall number of active participants. They face environments and organizational complexities almost as challenging as those of their larger counterparts. From a financial point of view, however, their operating budgets are as little as 1/50th to 1/10th the size of larger organizations. This disproportion is reflected organizationally in two ways: much lower staff budgets with many fewer staff positions and, as is addressed later, significantly lower orchestral budgets. These conditions lead to certain organizational patterns and challenges.

- ◆ Of necessity, the executive director of the smaller organization must be a generalist—very capable of multitasking, hands-on, and operational—with heavy emphasis on directly supporting board members in their fundraising, overseeing a few paid staff, especially in development, and motivating and directing volunteers as well as part-time staff.
- ◆ The role of executive director has many characteristics similar to those of the medium-sized-business owner or manager, or the lead person in a small professional services partnership, who operates with a few

Jackson Symphony Orchestra

Since 1950, the Jackson Symphony Orchestra (JSO) has provided classical music performances and other musical services to citizens living in and around Jackson, Michigan. Jackson County has a population of 150,000 and is located 75 miles west of the Detroit metropolitan area.

The orchestra has 75 members, including 25 professional contracted musicians and 25 students, with the balance made up of enthusiastic and talented amateurs. Additional players are retained when needed for larger-scale works. The JSO is governed by a 30-member board of directors supported by the combination of one full-time staff person, various part-time employees, and volunteers composing an equivalent full-time staff of 4 to 5 people. The JSO's volunteer guild has 200 members. The JSO's operating budget is more than \$500,000, and the orchestra has an endowment of about \$1 million.

In a somewhat exceptional arrangement, Steve Osmond, the entrepreneurial executive director of the JSO since 1978, has for those years also served as the orchestra's music director and principal conductor. The current board chair is Frederick Davies. Tom Spring, second trumpet, is the recently elected chair of a four-person orchestra committee, each of whom is also a member of the JSO board of directors. Ms. Pat Beffel, Jr., is head of the JSO Guild.

The orchestra presents five subscription concerts, a summer pops concert, a holiday concert in December, and a family concert in February. The orchestra regularly performs in the auditorium of the Jackson Community College located five miles from the center of Jackson. The auditorium seats 1,500, has quite excellent acoustics, and ample parking. In recent years, 95 percent of the JSO's concerts have been sold out via subscription or advanced sale.

The JSO also operates an outstanding community music school. Now in its 11th year, the school offers private instrumental and small-ensemble instruction to 350 students of elementary and high school age through 30 teachers who are primarily members of the orchestra. The school also offers unique early childhood musical training, adult individual and ensemble training, master classes, Suzuki string instruction, a summer string program, and an in-school program. Forty to forty-five percent of the JSO's operating budget is devoted to the operation of the music school, offset in part by user fees and designated contributions, with the balance financed out of the JSO's general fund.

In 1999, working with the auxiliary of Jackson's Foote Hospital, the JSO came out with "Babies In Tune." Drawing on selections from archived recordings, and with the assistance of an early-childhood expert, the JSO created a CD with segments for different child-development purposes, along with a booklet to help parents introduce music to their children. More than 6,000 Jackson County children have enjoyed this CD which is now in its third edition.

trusted key associates. The executive director, as the senior executive partner working with an inner board circle, is expected to “run the business.”

- ◆ The shorter-term viability of the smaller symphony organization tends to depend rather heavily on the executive director’s leadership, drive, and creativity, supported and enhanced by an active inner circle of the board.
- ◆ The need, toward multiple objectives, to become increasingly involved in community music education and outreach efforts is as much (if not more) a concern for many smaller symphony organizations as it is for those in larger metropolitan areas; this adds to the direct workload of managers and volunteers in these organizations.
- ◆ Smaller orchestra organizations, as in the case of the small business, often can develop, test, and pursue innovative and entrepreneurial ideas on a timely basis and can be somewhat more nimble than their larger counterparts.
- ◆ Though it is a given that musical performance must take place and meet certain artistic standards which might grow over time, maintaining the very existence and financial integrity of the organization on a shorter-term basis is of perhaps greatest importance in the minds and on the work agendas of central board members and the executive director of many smaller organizations.
- ◆ Smaller organizations provide an industry entry point for generally well-educated, but inexperienced, younger persons seeking careers in orchestral management, and management turnover can be a challenge for such organizations.

Comments

Pertaining to these generalizations, South Bend and Jackson participants offered these comments:

One of the keys to our success is having the right executive director. (A board member.)

Our executive director manages this organization. . . . He is a jack of all trades. (A board member.)

The executive director has to know what is going on everywhere. (An executive director.)

To me, one of the biggest issues for orchestras at this level is that one or two people have so much power. If you’re unhappy with the way one of those people is doing his job, how do you fix that? (An orchestra member.)

You can go just so far with volunteers [working as staff]; I think we are probably now banging our heads against the wall. (A board member.)

Our part-time staff is working well. Some are retired, some are moms who had careers, and some have families but also want to have sort of mini-careers going. We've been able to tap into this resource in a very positive way. . . . [These volunteers] bring an enormous amount of dedication to their work. It has had terrific results and hasn't cost us an arm and a leg. (An executive director.)

The steps we've taken have been realistic enough that people in the organization have been able to sort of test things out a bit before we have to make a huge commitment. Eliminate surprises, especially fiscal ones. (An executive director.)

The commitment schools have made to music other than a marching band—public schools in particular—has been pretty disastrous. This leaves us to pick up the rest. (A board member.)

We try to identify needs and opportunities. What does the community need? How can we help fill that need? What are some opportunities that are going to give the orchestra wider recognition in the community and, at the same time, improve the musical product? (An executive director.)

The challenge is to maintain fiscal responsibility in the face of all kinds of demands. (An executive director.)

Musicians

Even though all orchestra organizations exist in order to support and present an ensemble of musicians who are collectively “the orchestra,” this organizational group, and its individual members, has generally and relatively less stake and involvement in, commitment to and from, and dependency upon, its employer in many smaller symphony institutions as compared with larger counterparts.

This phenomenon is rather easy to understand when we consider the economics of smaller orchestra organizations, as we have defined them. For these institutions, the annual orchestra personnel budget might run between \$250,000 and \$900,000. This means that the annual income of many members in such an orchestra might run between \$3,000 and \$10,000. In addition, this income might be less predictable, more variable, and relatively less secure than that of members of larger orchestras. The work is essentially part-time, involves careful scheduling, and, in most instances, clearly takes on the character of a “gig.” Musicians with smaller orchestras are often members of several orchestras within commuting distance. They play commercially, have extensive teaching work, depend on working spouses, or have essentially full-time or extensive part-time employment in non-performing occupations, or some mix of these various methods of earning a living, while still playing great symphonic music.

Some generalizations about the role of the orchestra, as a constituent group and with respect to its individual members, as participants in smaller symphony organizations, might be stated as follows:

- ◆ As a group, unless special arrangements, conditions, or mutual commitments exist, the involvement of the orchestra in the overall direction and functioning of smaller symphony organizations is much less than might be expected and in most cases exists in larger organizations which have year-round or extensive seasons, full-time or close to full-time work, and much higher compensation.
- ◆ Most players, as much as they might enjoy their musical participation with a particular organization, must develop a number of organizational relationships and activity commitments in order to make a living, and cannot normally afford—or be expected—to give one organization much singular commitment of time, energy, or loyalty.
- ◆ A sizeable portion of the orchestra members in a smaller organization might not even live in the orchestra's town or city, and thus would not normally and naturally share that organization's reaching out to that community.
- ◆ Despite the barriers to high orchestral involvement, many smaller organizations establish and encourage musician representation on their boards and involve musicians in other organizational activities. Some musicians do participate in these matters, despite economic and travel impediments.
- ◆ To retain players of special merit in their orchestras, in competition with the various choices and needs such talented people have for alternative musical or nonmusical work, smaller orchestra organizations can provide special financial and non-financial incentives.
- ◆ Musicians in smaller orchestras have many of the same aspirations as their colleagues in larger orchestras—to improve their personal musical competency and the artistry and capability of their orchestras as a whole—and they have the same feeling of pride when they sense real advancement toward these goals.

Comments

Here are some comments by South Bend and Jackson Symphony participants about the challenges of building and maintaining excellent orchestras and about orchestra members' involvement in an organization:

In orchestras of our size and budget, the pay is not very good, the work is harder than any other, and for some of the players, the commute is very difficult. There are various things the organization can do for musicians to compensate for this. Some smaller-sized orchestras do these things very well. The musicians get other rewards out of the

whole experience beyond their checks. We wouldn't be doing a long commute if we didn't like what we do, but we don't necessarily like it all the time. (An orchestra member.)

There are many players in our orchestra who make their careers and entire livings from playing in a number of orchestras and perhaps teaching or something else related to music. They are piecing together full-time jobs out of perhaps three or four parts. It is very difficult. It is a matter of constantly shifting schedules. We need to structure things that work best for the orchestra as a whole. (An executive director.)

There's a group of about four or five different symphonies which draw from the same pool of players. For the most part we try to work things out to avoid conflict, but there is always going to be some. Certain times are harder than others to find people who you want to fill a particular spot. (An orchestra member.)

This past year we put together a chamber music series [which] was possible only because we made a commitment to additional funding for some principal players who were involved. They are of course key in our educational program. It cements them as players into the symphony. (A board member.)

Two things we do are really appreciated by our musicians. They get paid immediately after a performance and we also feed them well. At break, we have treats, and when we have a rehearsal in the afternoon and a concert that night, we have dinner in between. Little things like that let them know that they are appreciated. (An executive director.)

We know the staff here and when we need something desperately and call, they are very helpful. You don't have to go through 25 people and tons of red tape if you have a problem. You know that you have people who care. (An orchestra member.)

There has been an effort to get our input as to pieces we might like to perform. (An orchestra member.)

My biggest problem with our programming is that it doesn't really take into account the strengths of the orchestra and program to them. I've voiced my opinions, but I don't know that they have been heard. (An orchestra member.)

There really isn't much that goes on between the orchestra and the board. We have representatives on it, but they feel out of place and are afraid to say what they think. It's as if they're guests even though they are voting members. (An orchestra member.)

There is some really fine music making but there are limitations as well. As long as you don't think it is has to be the New York Philharmonic, there is really terrific music making here. (An orchestra member.)

It would be nice at the end of a season to be told, “Thanks for a great year.” (An orchestra member.)

Volunteer Groups

Volunteer support groups of smaller symphony organizations—in many cases the Guild, Women’s Association, or Symphony Society—are energetic organizational entities which perhaps are more vital to the total functioning of the typical smaller versus larger symphony organization, given the relative size of paid staffs.

In many smaller symphony organizations,

- ◆ There is usually only one group of such volunteers.
- ◆ The volunteer entity very often has its own distinct historical roots and traditions and maintains a legal separatism from the orchestral entity which it has supported through the years.
- ◆ Volunteers quite often perform unpaid staff services and, as in the case of larger organizations, are heavily involved in community outreach and educational programs.
- ◆ Coordinating the energy and activities of the volunteer group with the work of the board and management is often a special organizational challenge.

Comments

Our interviews in Jackson and South Bend provided very good examples of these generalizations, as can be seen in the following commentary:

At one time our guild acted as its own entity. It was an exclusive group, by invitation only. Some of us thought, “Let’s throw this thing open to as many people as possible.” This would help do the organization’s job to be advocates in the community. It was a tough sell. But it is much more integrated now. (A board member.)

About every five years, you’ve got to revamp your strategic plan and the guild has done the same thing. They have developed their own strategic plan in keeping with the symphony’s. In fact, they adopted the symphony’s strategic plan and added in what they felt they could do in the community. So our guild has become a vitally important arm of the organization. (A board member.)

Our guild has also been very intentional and effective in recruiting representatives from minorities. . . . They’ve brought into the symphony prominent members of the minority community . . . who are donating support . . . which gives ownership. This is something that really escaped us in the past. (A staff member.)

Our guild president reports to the board, provides information about the different things the guild is doing, and gets feedback. The guild must check with the symphony board so that efforts don't overlap. Otherwise, too much fundraising would bombard people interested in the symphony. In their enthusiasm, the guild may not realize what the symphony board is trying to do at the same time. (A board member.)

Summary

The outstanding organizational differences between smaller and larger symphony organizations are in the nature, relationships, and relative significance of the primary constituencies, deriving in good part from the relatively modest financial resources of the smaller organizations.

Assembling and supporting a symphony orchestra is the central purpose of all symphonic institutions. However, the amount and scheduling of time for orchestral performance and preparation in smaller organizations results in orchestra members—as a group and individually—having a smaller stake in the organization's total life and affairs than do their counterparts in larger organizations. In parallel, there is less institutional commitment to the particular people who make up the orchestra. Board members and volunteers, given smaller orchestras' modest staffs, take on much greater working roles in many organizations' total operations. Likewise, the work of smaller-organization executive directors tends to be broadly and intensely operational, with the organization's financial viability quite dependent on his or her leadership and drive.

Music Directors

Readers will note that we have not yet described the role of the music director in the smaller organization, including the way it relates to other constituencies and the way it compares with the counterpart role in major symphony organizations. We have relatively limited knowledge and feel in this area, especially as to the role of the music director in orchestra personnel matters. Also, in our interviews, we did not gain as much insight into these areas as in others. However, here are some tentative generalizations and hypotheses:

- ◆ In an orchestra-by-orchestra review of music directors in smaller organizations, it would appear that there are wide differences in background, experience, age, and career status, and the music director's role within these organizations might tend to vary widely and be relatively highly personalized.
- ◆ However, it is generally thought that music directors of smaller organizations are more often resident in their orchestras' communities, not traveling extensively to conduct other orchestras, and are more available for assistance to board, management, and volunteers for fundraising and community activities.

- ◆ At the same time, because of the more intermittent performance schedules of the smaller orchestras, music directors must often have other connections to make a suitable living and to gain conducting experience and visibility. This is not conducive to providing time and energy to just one organization and community.
- ◆ A significant number of small orchestras' music directors appear to be in the early stages of their conducting careers and are not likely to have long-term commitments to their organizations.
- ◆ Finally, as has been mentioned earlier, it appears that the boards and executive directors of smaller organizations are becoming more involved in music programming, traditionally the province of the music director.

This is the Institute's first effort to foster a discussion of the organizational issues and challenges of smaller orchestra organizations toward a better understanding of how they function and might better function. We welcome comment and critique.

Endnote

This report was written by Paul Judy with helpful suggestions from Frederick Zenone. The Institute wishes to thank Diana Kodner for her assistance in planning and interpreting the field interviews which she so ably conducted. Special thanks also go to participants in the South Bend and Jackson Symphony Orchestra organizations for the time, thought, and enthusiasm they brought to these interviews. The Jackson participants were Frederick Davies, Arthur Henrie, Hannah Holman, Philip Mason, Stephen Osmond, and Mary Spring. The South Bend participants were Bruce Bancroft, Gerald Brann, Ricardo Castañeda, Ernestine Raclin, and Mack Richardson.