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Spaces of culture

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Spaces of Culture

A trialectic analysis of the recent developments
of cultural venues in Amsterdam

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1.   INTRODUCTION

1.1   How it all started

In January 2006, I started a new job as managing director of ZO! Cultuur Zuidoost, a brand-new arts and culture platform in Amsterdam Zuidoost. The organisation had big plans and an exciting remit to build a large, new theatre complex modelled on the arts centres in the United States. The new building should invite local people to participate and feel at home. The preparatory policy documents spoke of "a cultural epicentre setting an example stretching well beyond our national borders" as well as "a local centre of international prestige". The centre should be "more than just a theatre", it should facilitate "mutual synergy" by means of community outreach programmes and by creating "entry points". "Ownership" was to become the key to success (LAgroup 2003, 3 and 4). The central assumption in these documents was that culture acts as an engine for economic development. The way to take these plans forward was to enter into public-private partnerships. It was an inspiring ambition, especially at a time when the professional performing arts companies and venues in Amsterdam were struggling to open themselves up to new perspectives, different approaches or other cultures.

On closer inspection, the plan seemed to have been based on an ideal from the 1970's which the Dutch author Heijne (2007, 32 and on) wrote about in his essay Onredelijkheid (Unreasonable Reasoning), displaying a preference for the other's identity over one's own identity, while insisting the others to keep their own identity. It's a position which is infused by a sense of keeping a safe distance, so that "the strange, unassimilated 'Other' held at arm's length could be experienced as an exotic treat without touching the core of people's lifestyles" (Wood & Landry 2008, 11). Re-reading the policy documents, I started to have more and more doubts, not so much about the implementation, the process or the structure of the plan, but about the premise, the core concept of the project. I was starting to doubt whether the assumptions made were correct. Why were the targets for ZO! not (yet) met? Was it bad luck? The wrong people? Or was there something else? What assumptions did the project rely on to be successful? The raison d'être of the project consisted of a number of observations with a matching conclusion: an area with a certain size of population does need a cultural venue to express its identity.

I started to question whether a theatre was the right tool for these people in this area at the time to create a feeling of social cohesion and

underlying connectedness – this was the reason for the politicians and the local council to support the project. The more I started to explore the problem, the more questions cropped up in my head. I discovered that the place, the building where the art or culture is actually produced and put on stage, has more dimensions and plays a much larger part in the process than I ever realised, in relation to artistic development as well as with regard to economic value and social context. I grew aware of "the simultaneity and interwoven complexity of the spatial, historical and social" (Soja 1996, 3). In today's digital global society, the role of cultural venues seems to be growing rather than diminishing. This coincides with broader changes in society as a whole, where the information technology revolution led to the emergence of a network society with a new economy, new communities and a new culture (Castells 2010 volume I, 5). What is the importance of cultural venues in this changing society? Why were so many new cultural venues built?

Theatremakers, culture venue programmers as well as artists and performers keep stretching the boundaries, exploring new locations, not only to stage their performances but also to use as creative hubs and meeting-places. More and more "do-it-yourself" and co-creation initiatives are emerging, not instead of but on top of the existing, traditional venues and studios (Boekman 2011, 37). At the same time, the relevance of cities is measured by their supply of creative places, galleries, nightlife, street life and architecture (Sassen, 2012). Also, there is a growing interest for cultural venues as a marketing tool and real estate investment. This has resulted in a new order, an accumulation of old and new concepts and processes. While the (often extensive) mixing of different art forms and genres has already been going on for some time, in the last decade there has also been a move towards a mix of locations and an explosion of new cultural venues.

When I first started my research, the arts and culture sector seemed to be able to rely on broad support within society as well as the political establishment. Since, we have entered a new reality with a shift of views and beliefs with regard to the value of arts and culture in our society. The notion of a single, ideal superstructure, rooted in post-war structuralism, has been replaced by a postmodern way of thinking, or maybe even a post-postmodern approach, introducing new concepts such as 'glocalisation' and hybrid cultures, as well as more patriotism and focus on the regional cultural pride, celebrating the national identity. How do cultural venues as places for contemplation, imagination and fostering pride relate to these changes? How do they balance these economic, social and artistic demands?

That's why this thesis is not about the difficult process of diversity and change, but about the venues in which so many different roles became vested: a source of artistic inspiration, a meeting place for artists and the public, an asset for project developers, a tool for city marketing and a tourist attraction;

as well as a place which maintains the status quo and brings about exclusion. I read policy documents, vision statements and business plans representing the so-called facts and give insight, but they do not tell the whole story. There's one crucial element missing from these documents, an element that tells the story behind the facts: how these places are experienced in their daily use. According to De Certeau, "Stories carry out a labour that constantly transforms places into spaces and spaces into places. They also organise the play of changing relationships between places and spaces. However, to be able to discern in them the modes in which these distinct operations are combined we need criteria and analytical categories" (De Certeau, 1984, 118). I started to look for a method to combine the research of "facts and figures", the perceived reality, and business and policy plans, the conceived reality, with the practice of everyday life, the experienced reality. At this stage Soja came into view. In order to analyse "these meanings and significance of space and those related concepts" Soja proposes to "think differently" and expand "the scope and critical sensibility of your already established spatial and geographical imaginations" (Soja 1996, 1). This encouragement leads to questioning the meaning of cultural places, especially in relation to the growing hegemony of economic value over artistic and social values. After reading his 'Thirdspace' (Soja 1996) and consequently Trienkens' (2004) research on lived citizenship and the location of diversity in arts using his trialectics of spatiality, I decided to try to understand the formation of cultural places along the lines of this method. There are several arguments to support this choice.

Firstly, the basic underlying assumption is that the character of the built environment is connected to what humans do in that environment (Lofland 2007, 81). Space is considered a 'major structuring medium'. 'This structuring quality is most clearly felt in the built environment, where people can erect homes, react to architectural forms and create – or destroy - landmarks of individual and collective meaning. Space's structuring ability is also shown in geographical location, which determines proximity and convenience, land values, and typical cultural patterns.' (Zukin 1993, 268). Soja adds to this understanding of spatiality the causal flow in the other direction. By introducing Second- and Thirdspace epistemologies in an interrelated and dialectically linked triad, he tries to come to a more complete understanding of spatiality. Instead of boxing different aspects of place and trying to find patterns within these boxes, he combines Firstspace geographical aspects, which refer to territory and its local allegiances, the architectural quality, the infrastructural context and the aspect of economic activity, with Secondspace mental and symbolic aspects such as policy plans and mission statements, and Thirdspace aspects of cultural activity, practice and experience. Using this method, he's able to produce 'a composite picture that respects differences' (Zukin 1993, 22).

Secondly, the continuous production of cultural commodities can be looked at as an instrument to boost economic value and impact on society. The production of cultural commodities is regarded as one of the core drivers of the gentrification process. Yet, although the economic and social values of these 'circuits of cultural capital' (Zukin 1993, 262) are assessed in many reviews, the impact on cultural values is rarely mentioned. The reason could be that this impact is difficult to measure, as there is no general agreement on the core criteria for assessing the cultural value of places. By introducing the possibility to link the different aspects of place to a more inclusive understanding, the concept of Thirdspace helps to reveal patterns.

Thirdly, the method of trialectical thinking can be linked to the notion of place as "especially meaningful spaces, rich in associations and steeped in sentiment", connecting "person-to-place" (Lofland 2007, 65). Including the notion of experience as a relevant aspect of research, Thirdspace opens up for analysis the complexity of the 'sense of place' in relation to 'symbolic creativity' (Hesmondhalgh 2011, 4). Human creativity is a particular type of creativity. As such, it has a connotation of individual genius and a higher calling. This creativity 'can enrich people's lives, even though it often doesn't' (Hesmondhalgh 2011, 5). Looking at place as a medium for creativity as well as an outcome of this creativity, brings to the fore a variety of meanings for cultural places. These places appear to be not only an instrument to experience the creative, but also part of the creative process itself. This seems to be even more relevant if we consider that the creative is activated not only in physical places, but also in virtual communities. In this process, the significance of physical places seems to be increasing.

This is common knowledge in urban planning, but applied to the practice and production of arts and culture, it lays bare not easily visible but nonetheless relevant systems and patterns in the formation of cultural venues. And so the general question of my research had come into focus. I was going to explore the impact of the changes caused by the network society on the formation of cultural places. At the start of my research I was strongly influenced by ideas on the processes of change within the cultural sector in relation to diversity issues. Later on, the changing political and social attitude towards culture in general with its austerity policy and the search for new revenue models broadened my scope. I assumed that the shift towards precedence of the economic value was a leading concept in the practice of cultural venues: a shift from the theatre as a place for the cultivated middle classes to the theatre as a public amenity and the deployment of the theatre as an effective weapon in the rivalry between the Netherlands' major cities, against the backdrop of the postmodern desanctification of art. Using trialectical thinking to explore these processes, I thought it was possible to escape the many dichotomies which are dominating the discourse – subsidised versus commercial, economic versus artistic quality, artistic quality versus

social community art etc. Instead, some significant aspects came to the fore, which showed that many of the currently experienced contradictions seem to be less relevant while other aspects are overlooked. These include the disconnection between governmental cultural policy and urban development policy and a specific set of leadership characteristics. These aspects turned out to be basic elements in the formation of cultural places.

1.2   Research question and scope

The research question of this thesis is: What is the impact of the dynamics of the network society on the formation of cultural venues? The research is initially based on the hypothesis that the increased dominance of economic values in our network society is changing the significance of cultural places. This hypothesis is explored by researching the interaction between economic, artistic and social values on the formation processes of cultural venues. During the research new hypotheses were formulated, zooming in on specific interactions between place, artists and audience and exploring the relations between urban development, cultural policy, social connectivity, artistic value and spatial locality. The city of Amsterdam was chosen for the field research, because it has seen significant urban development emerging in recent decades, including a considerable amount of new cultural venues. I have researched the formation of nearly all new cultural venues built within the last fifteen years in Amsterdam. For each venue, I analysed relevant policy documents, work plans, websites, reports and reviews, and combined these with oral material collected in interviews and my own daily practice. Using the grounded theory method as a first start in my research, carefully analysing my source material, I tried to detect patterns by combining narratives and by probing beneath the perceived reality and the conceived story connected with the experienced practices. This method helped me to generate sensitising concepts, reformulated into specific hypotheses at the end of chapters 2, 3 and 4, which form the basis of my research.

1.3   Research question in practice

For artists and performers, the notion of place generally refers to the source of inspiration, the place of creation or the place of performance, where they connect with the audience. In recent decades, we have seen that artists have increasingly opted to choose their place of creation and performance outside of the regular venues. It's been a move from the classic proscenium

theatre via flat floor theatre to outdoor locations, from concert halls to pop festivals, from ballet floor to installation and from physical locations to virtual environments (Boekman 2013, 8). At the same time, since the 1970's cultural venues have been judged to be valuable in a social and community context. In this context, the cultural venue is seen as a meeting place, promoting social cohesion; as well as a place that reinforces the identity of specific groups, thus contributing to a multicultural, open society. In recent decades, the significance of cultural venues has been extended to include previously underexposed economic and political values. For real estate developers and city councils, the financial and symbolic image enhancing added value that is attributed to a strong presence of culture, has become more and more important as arguments to invest in the development of cultural venues and cultural districts (WRR 2015,84). This contributed to a significant influx of funding in recent decades for new cultural buildings, ranging from small-scale hubs to huge and impressive cultural palaces. However, within the world of the arts and culture institutions, there's a growing debate on the importance of these venues for the sector's vitality and an increasingly louder call to stop investing in cultural buildings, since it enlarges the costs needed for 'bricks and mortar' at the expense of funding for artistic programs. The interaction between social, economic and artistic values has become more complex and opaque, and the different stakeholders seem to be unaware of the underlying processes and to be guided by ad hoc decisionmaking, personal alliances and coincidental circumstances.

1.4   The importance of the thesis

Cultural organisations in new venues are confronted with so many different roles and expectations that the question is how they can cope with this pressure without loosing their artistic, social or financial footing. Recent quantitative research by the Boekman foundation (2013, 8-14) shows increased capacity, reduced participation, a near enough constant flow of funding and growing competitiveness. This will lead to a growing rivalry for audiences and public support, and tension between profitability on the one hand and value creation and commitment on the other. As well as growing pressure from the public and politics to support the added value of the artistic "product', arts organisations are also competing in a fight for attention. Amidst the abundance of content available on a myriad of media channels, they need to (re) connect with society and digital developments, and they are facing calls for economic profitability and efficient management. The need to keep up with the constantly developing multicultural urban environment seems to have been lost from sight though. In the meantime, the society is rapidly evolving and creating new physical and virtual realities. With more

and more parallel processes taking place, the cultural sector risks losing its connectivity and impact. In this way, cultural venues have become the focal point of the changing dynamics between the economic, social and artistic forces at play. But there seems to be little awareness of the different rationales behind these changes. The findings of this research might help policy makers as well as cultural organisations to develop a more determined ánd open perspective on urban cultural governance and practice.

1.5   Structure of the research

Researching the formation of cultural venues requires an understanding of changes in the legitimations of arts, urban development and place making. The transitions in the legitimation of the arts and the tension between autonomous expression, public support and economic profitability are outlined in chapter two. In chapter three, these transitions are then related to the wider context of the changing relations between place ('spaces of places') and flow ('spaces of flows'), based on Castells' work (Castells 2010, 407 and on), discussing the ensuing global urban development and the emergence of creative clusters. This development is then linked with the effects it has on the semi-public space and community building through a combination of virtual network connections and domain creation in physical places. Following on from this, the transition in the identity of cultural venues is described, introducing a model that applies the various shifts within the value prism for the legitimation of arts and culture. Subsequently, in chapter four the significance of cultural venues will be approached from the corresponding changes in philosophical and sociological views on the notion of place and the significance of cultural venues as semi-public spaces. Together, these three chapters form the backdrop for my research.

In chapter five the research method for this study is explained. Central to this chapter are methodological reflections on how the value prism of arts, the process of globalisation and Soja's trialectics of spatiality are applied in this study. As such, this chapter bridges the contextual explorations in the preceding chapters and the empirical study in the chapters following it. Chapter six presents an overall impression and contextual data on the increase of activities and audiences during the period of my research in the Amsterdam region, followed by a discussion of the development of cultural venues in relation to city developments. In chapter 7, the cultural venues are described in the context of the city development and municipal cultural policies, after exploring the way these two policies are mutually connected and to what degree. This will be followed by an exploration of the venues in terms of function and mission statements, the way cultural partners, architects and

principals express them in their plans, on websites and in their programmes. Finally, specific aspects of the different explorations will be connected to highlight patterns. In chapter 8 the different processes and practices leading to the formation and the subsequent operation of each venue are described. These mappings include artistic, social and economic practises and more specifically examine the connection between programme, audience and community, as well as location and architecture. Analysis of these relations reveals several patterns that will be described in paragraph 8.2 and onwards. The more elaborate descriptions for each space dimension are enclosed in alphabetical order on venue in the appendices linked to the specific chapters. In the concluding chapter 9 these findings are explored against the hypotheses as formulated in chapters 2,3 and 4.

2.

TRANSITIONS IN THE LEGITIMATION OF ARTS AND CULTURE

2.   TRANSITIONS IN THE LEGITIMATION OF ARTS AND CULTURE

The central question in this thesis is geared towards exploring the tensions between the different roles cultural venues play in the practice of contemporary arts and culture. This chapter outlines the transitions in the legitimation of arts and culture in order to establish an understanding of the formation of cultural venues in today's network society. Since World War II the formation of theatres and cultural venues is a task for municipalities in line with the principals of dissemination and edifications of the working class (Sonnen 1995, 9 and 46). In the 1980's and 1990's the need for new venues was growing. "Large scale urban developments, personal ambitions of governors, economic arguments, cultural policy demands and artistic wishes are becoming involved in a strange sort of cooperation" (Sonnen 1994, 59). The cultural venue is given many different roles in policy documents as well as artistic programmes, ranging from being a source of artistic inspiration (De Warme Winkel 2015a), a place of interaction between actors and spectators, where "all interact one with the other" (Mackintosh 2002, 2) , an asset for project developers (Schram et al 2012, 69), a tool for city marketing and a tourist attraction (Gemeente Amsterdam DMO 2005, 13) as well as a place which maintains the status quo and brings about exclusion (Trienkens 2004, 199). The modern-day theatre management is interested in gentrification (LPBL en Atlas voor Gemeenten 201, 21), urban development (Westergasfabriek 2015a) and in interactive, virtual community building (Pakhuis de Zwijger 2015a) as well as in community involvement and public support (Niehe Productions 2015a). All these different perspectives play a role in the public debate, which revolves around concepts such as branding, city marketing and 'iconic' buildings, as well as notions of cultural hotbeds and community schemes to strengthen social cohesion. Questions which frequently recur are: Do arts and culture organisations need to organise themselves around supply or demand? Which is paramount, the public's liking or the quality of the art? Is there a surplus of supply? Is it important that all supply must be home-grown? These debates are generally characterised by polarised viewpoints, but in some measure also display a search for standards to weigh the various values and interests. How should one measure, let alone assess, artistic value? How should this be compared to public support and economic value, which seems easier to determine. How does one compare a vital and economically viable arts and culture industry with a vital arts and culture industry which produces artistic quality and inspires wonder, awe and reflection? How important are community involvement and public support?

Clearly, these questions have been asked before, but developments which have taken place in recent decades have had an impact on the significance of these questions and their answers. The way in which Adorno has distinguished between art and mass art and popular music is still of substantial influence on arts and culture policy (Adorno 2001, 64). Although the concepts of 'high art' and 'low art' are no longer explicitly used in policy documents, and although Adorno's rejection of popular music (1992, 17) is being disputed, his works are still widely read and cited, precisely because of his approach to artistic added value. This autonomism argument, better known as 'art for art's sake', rejects the instrumentality of arts and culture by the paradoxical reasoning 'that the arts have a function to fulfil in society (though ideas on what precisely such function ought to be, vary greatly).' (Belfiore and Bennett 2010, 176). The research is initially based on the hypothesis that the increasing dominance of economic values in our network society is changing notions about the value of art. In this chapter I will delve deeper into the complexity caused by these economic processes, as well as to social issues demanding solutions from arts and culture. One can ask how these processes influence the already existing tension between intrinsic and instrumental values. Before entering into this, I will give a short interpretation of the notion of arts and culture, followed by a brief description of the different dimensions of legitimation.

2.1   Defining 'arts and culture'

In Dutch as well as in English the terms 'arts' and 'culture' are used in a large variety of different meanings. "They are hardly crystallized and fixed concepts, but rather, they have been constantly evolving and changing over the centuries" (Belfiore and Bennett 2010, 16). These days, the distinction between high and low art is less often used. Nevertheless, often the urge is still felt to discern different qualifications for work being assessed as art "through the application of the agreed-on aesthetic principles" (Becker 2008, 134). Art produced with the aim of realising social cohesion is defined as community art while art produced as a consumption good is defined as 'culture industry' (Adorno 2001, 40) or simply 'mass culture'. Whereas creativity in the arts only creates creativity, in business, politics and education it must deliver different results (Gielen 2013, 183 and on). In this research I follow the interpretation of arts and culture as being gradual and assessed by notions of spatial, historic and social contexts (Becker 2008, 143) as well as by significance of values of originality and quality (Mommaas 2012, 6) "The more importance positions of originality and quality occupy in production and assessment practices, subordinate to elements of popularity, profitability, functionality, emotionalism, respectability, traditional craftsmanship or social

cohesion, the more we move in the direction of specialised 'art culture' (Mommaas 2012, 6). In this research, 'arts and culture' will be used to include all works and expressions of fine arts, community art and popular arts. However, it will not refer to any anthropological, ethnological, sociological meaning of arts and culture, but strictly creative expressions, images, concepts, sounds and texts with a reflective or symbolic meaning.

2.2   Dimensions of legitimation: prism of artistic, social and economic values

The various arguments to legitimise art can be reduced to three main dimensions: the artistic, social   and   economic   value.   In   the   recently published WRR (Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy) report, the arguments were schematically represented as follows:

Perspective	Core principle	Policy goals
Artistic	Express	- Preserve cultural heritage - Ensure high quality and diverse supply of culture - Enforce connection between culture and society via focus on specific additional criteria
Social	Disseminate	- Edification of the working classes - Promote the spreading of culture and - Culture participation - Link with other policy areas to contribute to the solution of social issues
Economic	Earn	- Culture as public asset - Reinforce cultural enterprise - Plan cultural amenities to reinforce (urban) - Economic developments - Stimulate the creative industry and the creative workforce

Figure 1. Perspectives on culture, core principles and traditional policy goals
(WRR 2015, Figure 1.1)

Together, these three dimensions form a value prism, with its focus shifting according to changes in historical perspective, social practices and place, and - not coincidentally - matching the trialectics of being as described by Soja (1996, 71).

Although "policy discourse often advocates an economic rationale for cultural strategies, a community development project depends largely on the power relations between the various actors involved and their operating/national frameworks" (Hristova 2015, 2). "Art may be studied as a social institution, a force of power, and a marker of identity" (Paul 2005, 10). From an economic point of view creativity is regarded more and more as one of the crucial aspects in economic competition. However, at the same time there is an inequality between the 'symbol creators' - the people that create the art (Hesmondhalgh 2011, 5) - and the people publishing, promoting or selling the art. This reflects the precedence of the dissemination of creativity over creativity itself. From the artistic point of view this 'instrumentalisation' of creativity is disputed. The core principle can be described as 'imagination', and the autonomy of the artist is a crucial condition (WRR, 22). Yet "the opposition between autonomy and social added value is false, since both condition each other […] society cannot exist without autonomy of arts and culture, similarly the autonomy in these fields cannot exist without support of society" (Gielen 2014, 108 and 109). However, to gain social support for the arts and art policy the added value of other (social and economic) fields is given more and more weight (WRR 2015,41 and on).

2.2.1   Source of inspiration, innovation and imagination

"Only through culture can people give meaning to their lives and their place in society. This is the single most important value of culture" (Elkhuizen 2014, 12). According to Scruton (2008, 28) the meaning of arts and culture and the effect it has on the beholder delves beneath the surface and "we usually call it imagination". "Art comments or provides reflection on reality, it stirs our imagination, inspires us to think for ourselves, confronts us, provokes us, charms or moves us. It doesn't have to be fun, beautiful, pleasurable or familiar. Art is for everyone, but it's not demand-driven. It lashes out against culture, probes the boundaries, stretches them and innovates. It re-invigorates culture and its participants. Without art, culture is at risk of becoming purely demand-driven - folklore and commercial entertainment will be all we are left with. It's of the utmost importance that cultural producers can develop and present their creativity as they seem fit themselves. Art can only flourish in freedom, without artists having to accomplish a social mission. To us, the intrinsic value of art is a given"

(Gemeente Amsterdam, 2003). This statement is not unique. There are many similar statements to be found. It expresses an almost universal agreement on the idea that arts and culture is important. There are various sources, motives and interests one can distinguish, but at heart this seems to be a common belief and as such not part of the discussion. Yet, the discussion begins with how important it is vis-à-vis other qualities, institutional conditions, social relations and inequalities. Arts and culture are continuously the subject of battles and discussions, while at the same time steering these battles (Boomkens 2006, 189).

In the Dutch institutionalised cultural sector the humanist view of art prevails, as articulated by Scruton (2008, 30) amongst others. This view perceives art as a higher abstraction, able to create new perspectives, develop new ways of thinking and explore the foundations of society. Core notions are inspiration, reflection and aesthetic value (WRR 2015, 24). Art is free from the constraints imposed on science, which demand that its research must be verifiable in a conventional way. Yet, it is assessed by criteria of quality and more and more by quantitative result and effect criteria due to evidence based policy making (WRR 2015, 21).

As art is not required to look for compromise, it can choose to venture away from the trodden path. Approaching the world in its unconventional manner, art can create dissensus and bring about a shift in perspective. Creating this new perspective makes art meaningful, independent from the commercial value or the value as formulated in the established arts discourse. In this view, art can be seen as a vantage point providing new, hitherto unknown windows on the world, 'thinking the unthinkable" (Mommaas 2012, 27). It offers the opportunity to regularly change position, make new connections and stretch the boundaries of the established view – the uniform interpretation of the world around us.

It is common to base the framework for assessment on the concept of quality. This concept consists of an assessment of excellence and intrinsic value, judged by a peer group of professionals. This is an approach, which has become an integral part of the Dutch Cultural Policy system since Thorbecke[1]. In itself, quality is regarded as a fixed asset, however the perception has changed over the course of time. Criteria related to tradition, acknowledgement and craftsmanship are complemented with notions of originality, authenticity and innovation (WRR 2015, 24). These notions to assess quality are further challenged in the light of a large amount of 20th century philosophical and sociological writings about the importance of perspective, the social and political debate about Western imperialism, male

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[1] Dutch statesman who introduced in the 19the century the principle of a government cultural policy without quality assessment.

dominance etc (eg Bhabha, 2004). According to Adorno, if the exchange value and use value of cultural goods are combined, the exchange value "deceptively takes over the function of use value. [...] The more inexorably the principle of exchange value destroys use values for human beings, the more deeply does exchange value disguise itself as the object of enjoyment" (Adorno 2001, 31). "It is strange to express the value of arts and culture in terms of economics. If you ask parents how their children are, they also won't start a discourse on the advantages of family allowance" according to Doorman (BKKC symposium November 2012). Just like Boomkens, he emphasises the reflective and expressive value of art from a cultural-philosophical background. In his view, critical reflection is essential for the survival of art[2]. However, as the boundaries between genres, between art and applied art, and between so-called high and low art are blurring, the result is 'large-scale loss of identity [...] In this richly layered pluralist constellation, criticism struggles to get heard' (Doorman 2004, 154). Also, the boundaries between creativity and commerce have changed (Hesmondhalgh 2011, 70) challenging the current quality standards. According to Boomkens (2006, 300), the reflection should not be confined to professional criticism from within the arts practice. He argues that we should add another source of assessment, which recognises the importance of everyday experience and which he has dubbed 'everyday metaphysics'. As quality assessments have been the responsibility of an autonomous group of professionals, they have been kept explicitly outside of the political and social arenas (according to the 'at arm's length principle' (WRR 2015, 23) and until recently were not part of the public debate. The Dutch government has systematically kept statistical records about audience reach, distribution and participation. According to Bunnik (2011, 9) the arts institutes and the public bodies funding the arts consider the performance targets they agree upon of limited use, "because of their accounting nature" (Bunnik 2011, 9).

A number of proposals have been made to arrive at a more objective evaluation system. Throsby (2003, 28) suggests aesthetic, spiritual, social, historical, symbolic and authenticity values. In another endeavour to do justice to the value of creativity it is referred to as a 'cultural economy'. This approach puts the cultural value in society central, rather than the economic value (EENC 2012, 11). Hawkes (2001, 25) introduces culture (in a much broader sense than arts & culture as defined in paragraph 2.1) as the fourth pillar of sustainability, using the notion of cultural vitality in the society as a key requirement for creativity, diversity, welfare and innovation. The advantage this requirement has over the quality requirement that the cultural

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[2]   To both sides many names can be added; the economic argument seems to get more support in the national liberal politics whereas the romantic notion is more supported by philosophers and also in the international (political)context.

sector traditionally relies on, is that it does not depend on the common, shared opinion of the professional peer group, nor on the formation or the background of this group. What's more, it's a versatile approach which offers scope for new forms of art. Despite trying to find wordings which include all the different perspectives – or maybe because of this -, the WCCD did not manage to give a satisfactory identification of core values in its 1995 report. Neither does the WRR in its 2015 report: "Since the heyday of the impact studies, three analyses of the value of arts and culture have been identified. Firstly, the notion of cultural value was introduced, based on the public value approach set out by the public administration. Secondly, in conjunction with this, attempts were made to gain better insight into the experience of arts and culture. Finally, various concepts were developed to understand the economic value (rather than the economic impact) of cultural investments. [...] Each of these three analyses highlights another aspect of the value of arts and culture, using different approaches and methodologies, and employing their own definitions of value and arts and culture. None of these three analyses has conclusively answered all the questions concerning the value of arts and culture" (WRR 2015, 125). Nevertheless, the importance of arts and culture is explicitly maintained, also in international reports (WCCD 1995, 11).

2.2.2   Economic profitability

During the years following the introduction of the constitution in 1848, the foundations were laid for the liberal Dutch society as we now know it, in which the government has important, wide-ranging responsibilities, but which remains based on the principle of a free, liberal market. This is the principle which informed Thorbecke's famous quotation[3] (Oosterbaan Martinius 2005, 48). Patronage has never been strong in the Netherlands (Oosterbaan Martinius 2005, 43) and private investors forming cultural societies such as 'De Vereniging Rembrandt' were mainly focused on their own interests (Oosterbaan Martinius 2005, 45). In the same period, societies were founded to advance the edification of the working class, promoting education and virtues such as the propensity to save money. Art was included merely for its benefit to craftsmen (Oosterbaan Martinius 2005, 45). During the Second World War, an important shift took place in the attitudes towards the responsibilities of the government in matters of arts and culture, as described by van Berkel (2013, 193). Just before the war, Boekman had already campaigned for a more active government role in influencing arts and culture

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[3]   "Kunst is geen regeeringszaak" id est Art is not a matter of government policy.

policies. This included not only the preservation of cultural heritage and the stimulation of (contemporary) art and artists, but also facilitating the accessibility of art to all people (OC & W /Boekmanstudies 2007, 28). After World War II, edification and (social and regional) distribution played an important role in government policy. This was partly a legacy of the 19th century ideal of civilisation, which was originally aimed at the formation of the nation-state and the edification of the working class (Oosterbaan Martinius 2005,46). The idea of a political ideal incorporating a measure of solidarity and a fair distribution slowly disappeared in the 1980's to be replaced by a society favouring the individual and financial gain. This change also affected the arts and culture, as economic ideas such as cultural management, marketing strategies and swot analyses were introduced. Although commercial art was not yet recognised as true art, it was increasingly held up as an alternative to emulate. As, in the eyes of the lay public, arts and culture cost money without generating any financial returns, the sentiment was that it needed to start standing on its own two feet. There seemed to be less consideration for the task of arts and culture as an agent in the social context. As the focus increasingly shifted from the artist's supply towards the public's demand, the artistic process came to be interpreted as part of a product process with a revenue model and the consumer calling the shots (Hesmondhalgh 2011, 36). Although Hagoort (2005, 33) still put the artistic process first, he put a much higher value on the strategic process which is connected with or follows on from the artistic process. Hagoort (2013, 1034) predicted a divide within the cultural sector's top management. "On the one hand, directors who simply don't feel like transforming themselves into cultural entrepreneurs, who think it's all nonsense and don't want to have their careers sullied by rancid commercialism. On the other hand, directors who see opportunities to leverage their entrepreneurial freedom to position their organisation at the heart of society and contribute to artistic and social innovations". Van der Ploeg remarked in this respect: "Cultural enterprise is an attitude, which is geared towards reaping maximum artistic, arts-cultural, business and social return from cultural facilities. While operating from his own artistic ambitions, the cultural entrepreneur will at the same time consider the marketability, accessibility and demands from the public" (Min OCW 2001, 36). An interesting report on this topic is by the Commissie Cultuurprofijt (2008, 14), which recommends a change of mentality within the sector to pursue innovation and enterprise. According to the report (2008, 17), "cultural organisations who provide high quality programmes, must not only start working more efficiently and adopt a more business-like approach, they must also look for alternative sources of income". In line with this report in 2011 Dutch culture minister H. Zijlstra promoted entrepreneurship as a key factor for cultural organisations (OC & W 2011). At the same time, Haagoort (2013, 1035) recognised the struggles smaller arts and culture organisations

were engaged in, including those who were open to embrace this new wave of cultural enterprise.

Creators are often judged on the basis of assumptions about whether or not they had commercial intentions (Hesmondhalgh 2011, 70). Because commercial art is not rooted in the idea that 'culture is art', but has a different objective, it is considered to be suspect from the start and will only be recognised as 'high art' in exceptional cases. In order to maintain the belief in the autonomous value of art, it was necessary to deny its economic significance (Oosterbaan Martinius 2005, 72 and 73). What the discussion is about is whether to favour economic principles such as option values and entrepreneurship above philosophical values such as reflection and expression. While Throsby explicitly proposes to express the value of arts and culture in a separate category, in practice the value of arts and culture is expressed as the sum of economic values such as ticket receipts, audience numbers, sponsoring revenue and publicity (Throsby 2003, 28). Hawkes' argues: "This emphasis on the economic dimension of culture has caused the focus of policy to be on transactions in the market-place (e.g. attendances at arts events, sales of arts objects) rather than on wider issues of social meaning, values and aspirations. This approach has turned in on itself to the point that culture (that is, 'Culture', that is arts and heritage) has come to be seen as merely an instrument in the toolkit of economic development and social policy" (Hawkes 2001, 8). Despite all the convincing arguments and statistics demonstrating the added economic value of arts and culture for a city, the economic argument will always sound defensive. For the artist and the audience these arguments do not explain in essence why art exists. Money is the result of, or-maybe an essential condition of art; but it's not the motive, the inspiration or the objective. Even for a distinctively commercial performing arts centre such as the De La Mar theatre in Amsterdam, the objective is to offer "high quality theatre for a broad audience" (DeLaMar 2014a).

2.2.3   Participatory art

In regard to the social value of art, a new development can be discerned. According to the dominant discourse thus far social assignments should not interfere with art. Social art, the process of bringing about social cohesion through art, is labelled 'community art', which borders on amateur

art and, in the Netherlands at least, is synonymous with lower quality[4]. In her research paper Urban Paradoxes, Trienekens (2004) concludes that Dutch arts and culture is organised according to the 'inwards out' principle, which prioritises the development and innovation of the arts and is not open to the wider community. "Contrary to the English case, in which the sociological approach captures a line of reasoning from the effects inwards (outwards in), the Dutch case reasons mainly *inwards out*: the main goal remains the development of and innovation in the arts" (2004, 229). Taner (2011, 24) calls this the double standard. All this presupposes that there is a clear relation between the artist's motivation or inspiration and the quality of the end result. It's the social context which is the determining factor here, not quality per se (Becker 2008, 143). Recently, art policy and cultural institutions have tried to connect autonomous art to societal developments. Concepts such as the commons are introduced (Gielen 2014, 92) and embraced[5], art quality is redefined in terms of public value (Moore, 2013; Fonds Podiumkunsten 2015a), questioning the dominant structures of peer group reflection and networks. Roethof (director AKR) observes a re-discovery of the social impact of art[6].

The view that art has added social value goes back to the 19th century. Initially, this concerned the preservation of cultural heritage as a tribute to national identity; soon it also included the idea that art can contribute to the education of the masses, which was later also presented as the principle of edification (Oosterbaan Martinius 2005, 44). World War II showed us the dangers of a massive and rigid group identity which irrevocably leads to exclusion of the other. After the war, roles at all levels of society shifted. In the post-war ideal of global brotherhood superseding cultural identity, art is the safe haven, a shock absorber which allows us to connect through shared arts and culture (Heijne 2007, 45). As the demographics changed arts and culture were expected to contribute to the multicultural society. In the 1970s the arts were seen as an instrument for societal reform and self-expression (Trienekens 2007, 228). They were relied upon to connect people from different (cultural) backgrounds and educational levels. In terms of government policy, arts and culture were geared towards greater social welfare (OC & W /Boekmanstudies 2007, 35 and Oosterbaan Martinius 2005, 83). The elitist classical theatre receded into the background. Vondel's classic play Gijsbrecht van Aemstel, which had traditionally been staged every year

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[4] In this context it's interesting that Nicholas Bourriaud, a prominent French journalist and writer on culture, in fact observes that the aim of art is not the presentation of artistic expression, but to bring about new social relations one way or another. N. Bourriaud, Relational aestetics, Paris; le presses du reel 2002 (zie ook M. de Waal 2012).

[5] ECF adopted a new policy line on the topic of 'commons and culture', Theaterschool AHK is starting a Local School etc).

[6] Interview MM nieuws 2015.

on New Year's Day from 1841, disappeared from the repertoire in 1968[7] (stadsschouwburgamsterdam.nl/voorstellingen/9977-gijsbrecht-van-amstel April 2017). There was a growing pressure from within the sector to challenge the established arts and culture institutes. The view was that arts and culture needed to play its part in the changing times, actively contribute to the idea of a new, socially engineered society. In this period, the traditional form of proscenium theatre with 'old-fashioned' actors in stale old stage plays was challenged by a growing movement of young artists and musicians, which aimed to renew the arts by denouncing and reducing the distance between the actors on stage and the audience in their seats. The audience was explicitly put centre-stage.

Corijn speaks about a radical change in mentality, which was started in the 1980's and which has led to tension between artistic freedom and social responsibility. He calls it a "true-ideological shift, which has people accepting a competitive market, and starting to accept that there is no longer a place for everyone, that it's normal that there are winners and losers. This means arts and culture acquire a utilitarian character and are strongly instrumentalised, its intrinsic value demoted from primary argument to supporting argument" (Kerremans 2009, 45). At the turn of the century, the focus of arts and culture policy shifted towards the issue of integration. The institutionalised cultural sector proved to be as much of a closed bastion as any other sector in society. In spite of attempts to change this by means of new policies, in practice this emancipatory process proved very difficult, involving the practices of dominant and non-dominant groups, as well as the different strands of cultural policy and their mutual interaction. While in the 1970's and the 1980's arts and culture were still considered to be unimportant in relation to integration, in the 1990's a growing awareness emerged that arts and culture should reflect the changes in society's demographics, both in their programming and in the composition of their audience (reflected in the principles of the cultural governmental policy plans from 1997 onwards). After the turn of the century, it even seemed to have become the primary concern of the arts and culture sector to promote integration – much to the displeasure of some in the field, who feared this would compromise quality (Taner 2011, 14). In the years following, the multicultural ideal was coming under increasing pressure, due to changing economic circumstances, new media, a changing population, and a different world order[8]. The 'individualised society' was emerging. Meta-narratives were replaced by fragmented, heterogeneous and pluralist views (Harvey 2008). Whereas arts and culture policy in the previous century was still characterised by post-war

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[7]   As of January 2012, onwards this tradition is being is reinstated.
[8]   In 2012 the multicutural society 'officially 'was declared a failure by several European statesmen.

ideas of a world with no borders and equal opportunity for all – a legacy of the ideals of the French Revolution – in recent years the focus has been shifted towards the issue of national identity.

On the one hand, there is the idea of an open society, a tolerant country, which in view of its trade interests always maintains open relations with the rest of the world. On the other hand, those same trade interests seem to increasingly call for partially closing the borders, and replacing multicultural diversity with national identity. Lechner (2008, 282) concludes that the Netherlands has changed from a society of communities into a nation of individuals. It's an explanation which fits in with the heterogeneous and diverse character of postmodernism. At the same time, it could be argued that this is only a marginal shift. Individual freedom is generally considered to be less powerful than the social structure (Madanipour 2003, 116).

In 2006, in order to strengthen the national identity, a Dutch national canon was established, consisting of fifty windows, selected by a special commission, which give an overview of "what everyone should at least know about the history and culture of the Netherlands". During this time, it was also decided to set up an independent national museum, which would provide an overview of Dutch history. The reasoning was that the Netherlands was in a state of confusion and had lost contact with its roots (Lechner 2008, 90). A national museum would promote historical knowledge and understanding, and strengthen the bond between the Dutch people and the connection with their values. In 2011, this decision was reversed and the canon was dropped. The idea for the museum was inspired by a post-war modernist ideal and initiated by the then leader of the Socialist Party Marijnissen. Instead, the organisers opted for 'worlds' such as 'war and peace' and 'land and water'. Marijnissen was livid and spoke of a 'postmodern hotchpotch'[9]. The management took the liberty to design the museum so as to reflect the experienced reality, which explicitly also included virtual reality. The politicians, however, were less than enthusiastic. The management's course of action was in line with the notion of autonomy. However, this notion is at odds with modern day sensibilities. Since public money is involved, concerns such as audience reach, public service and profitability are regarded just as relevant, if not decisive. In the public context, it's not just the impact which counts, but also accessibility and the interests of various parties (Madanipour 2003, 111).

There is another development underway, in which arts and culture are described as the 'fourth pillar' of 'sustainability'. Culture and in particular the arts assume an active role to improve society. Rather than an ideal of edification, the moral and intellectual instruction of the people through elitist

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9   Ao Volkskrant June 2011.

art, this is about art as an active agent in helping to change and improve society as a whole, in all respects and at all levels, including issues as production processes. "Before art became an industry manufacturing commodities or an economic development strategy, before it was being used as band aid to disguise social inequity, before it became a badge of superiority, before it became a decorative embellishment, it was (and remains) the paramount symbolic language through which shifting meanings are presented […] society makes (or discovers) meaning through its arts" (Hawkes 2001, 23). In particular within the visual arts in the Netherlands, various initiatives have been started which in some way try to relate to this concept.

2.3   Conclusion

This chapter explored the changing notions on the value of arts and culture during the last decades, showing a shift in relations between arts and culture and the economy as well as between arts and culture and society. The chapter started by outlining that within the prism of values aesthetic experiences, insights and reflections are still of essential importance. Notions of reproducibility and an increase in audience reach have led to a debate about quality as well as about the desired emancipatory or elitist character of arts and culture. This debate still continues today; it's not yet been possible to agree on a shared primary value for arts and culture. In addition, arts and culture have been assigned an increasing number of social and economic responsibilities, and recently the latter has been given more and more importance in policy and practice. The first hypothesis - that the increased dominance of economic values in our network society is changing the value prism of art - is based on this exploration. In the field research, from chapter 6 onwards, this hypothesis will be further explored by comparing the determinant set of values in the formation process of the cultural venues studied.

When I first started my research, the arts and culture sector seemed to be able to rely on broad support within society as well as with the political establishment. "The intrinsic value of art in general is seldom under discussion" (Gemeente Amsterdam DMO 1992, 8). In the meantime, we have entered a new reality in which the need for arts and culture has been thoroughly challenged, as well as been defended as the medium of national identity. It's a shift of views and beliefs which reflects the changing place of arts and culture in our society. One could argue that these perspectives on the need for arts and culture directly reflect the state of the society we live in. The notion of a single, ideal superstructure, rooted in post-war structuralism, has been replaced by a postmodern way of thinking, or maybe even a post-

postmodern approach, introducing new concepts such as 'glocalisation' and hybrid cultures. This shift coincides with broader changes in society as a whole. From the information technology revolution, a network society has emerged which has produced a new type of economy, society and arts and culture (Castells 2010 volume I, 5), which will be the focal point of the next chapter.

3.

GLOBALISATION, CREATIVE CLUSTERS AND CULTURAL PROCESSES

3. GLOBALISATION, CREATIVE CLUSTERS AND CULTURAL PROCESSES

In this research, the above-mentioned changes in the valuation of the arts and arts and culture are explored as part of the rise of what the sociologist Castells (2010) has dubbed 'the informational technology revolution', a revolution which, amongst others, has led to the emergence of what he labelled the 'network society'. What do these concepts tell us about the kind of society we live in? And how can we link this development to the changing valuation of arts and arts and culture, also in relation to the type of venues where they are shown and celebrated? These questions will be explored in this chapter, starting with a brief outline of the processes described by Castells in paragraph 3.1. Paragraph 3.2 will explore the impact of the corresponding transformations on the significance of cultural values. Is there a relation between the changing processes of artistic production and audience consumption and the (change in) meaning of places? Following on from this, the growing interest in cultural venues as a marketing tool and as real estate investment will be researched in paragraph 3.3. The chapter will conclude with an exploration into the effects these newly emerging relations and processes have on the cultural practice with regard to the meaning of places and the processes of production, consumption and participation (paragraph 3.4).

3.1 Network developments

Starting from the information technology revolution, Castells (2010 I, 5) analysed the complexity of the new economy, society and arts and culture, calling it a network society. Parallel to the existing physical space, the 'space of places', he identifies the 'space of flow', the immaterial flow of information, communication, services and capital (Castells 2010 I, 442 and on). The 'space of flow' is made possible by information technical devices. In this new spatial logic (2010 I, 408) "no place exists by itself, since the positions are defined by the exchanges in the network". "Places do not disappear, but their logic and their meaning become absorbed in the network" (2010, I 442-443). These new networks connect people in ways which are different from traditional modes. New concepts emerge, of virtual networks, or virtual space, taking up an important position in the physical space. At the same time, traditional symbols, forms and modes will keep playing an important role in physical encounters. The physical place makes the encounter possible and confirms identity. At an individual level, local places and communities are essential.

These are where relationships are formed, decisions are taken and innovation happens. The physical place is still essential to these activities, and proximity is still important, and actually becoming increasingly important, more so than was predicted in the emerging years of the new information technologies (Castells 2010, I 442-443 xxxii). While contact is made, ideas are shared and decisions are taken on a local level, they are simultaneously distributed and executed on a global level, creating a coinciding effect. Globally interactive clusters of networks are formed, alongside local face to face interactions. Being part of many large worldwide networks increases the appeal and the significance of these clusters, while for a strong cluster to emerge, participation in many networks is essential. Along these lines, a world order has evolved which makes use of virtual networks in which physical distance is no longer relevant and coordination is based on functional relations. The extent of connections with and participation in international networks determines the various power relations. While physical distance no longer impedes functionality, physical proximity has added cultural and social significance. This has led to new processes that are structuring the relations of for example property, control, involvement, recognition of skills, trust, mutual cohesion etc (Castells 2010, volume I 445-448 and a.o. Putnam 2000, 176). Encounters in the public space are regarded to be important because of the social cohesion they engender. The question is what the impact will be of the new, emerging social media networks. Some say that the current virtual world will make strangers of people; that even if people are together, they don't make any real contact. According to Putnam (2000, 287) as church communities and local groups and societies are disappearing, "the social capital has eroded steadily and sometimes dramatically over the past two decades". Putnam (2000, 179) observes that computer mediated communication will turn out to complement not replace face-to-face communities. Others think that the virtual world actually encourages people to meet up and create new social connections, replacing the traditional clubs, associations and religious societies. According to Castells "the Net is particularly suited to the development of multiple weak ties" (2010, I 385-390). Putnam and Castells both refer to the historical novelty of the medium and in the years after the impact of the technological possibilities on our daily lives was multiplied. Only six years later Shirvanee (2006, 1) regarded the 'viscosity of space' as a bond that may exist not only between people with established relationships who can find each other 'on the street' in a mobile context, but also between strangers, thereby inspiring a new community and, possibly, creating the potential for a more democratized public space. According to De Waal (2012, 111) new forms of community are emerging through a combination of virtual network connections and physical domain creation. These new 'Imagined communities' make people feel connected through the symbolic value of the place, without actually knowing the other community members. Sharing and exchanging processes takes place in a

"mosaic of locations spread across the city and interconnected by technology".

3.2   The production-distribution-consumer model changes into a participation model

Individuals shape their own identity by participating in specific groups or social media communities, deciding themselves what they show and to whom (De Waal, 2012, 22). As part of their constructed virtual identities (consisting of weblogs, updates, facebook profiles etc.) physical locations are claimed, which add to these identities. Seen from the individual, claiming a place as part of an 'imagined community' is important. The virtual presence connects the individual with the physical location. Through mobile phones, ipads etc., the public can be in multiple places at the same time; you are where you are while at the same time you can be present in a place of value to you, a place you relate to. Being in a place where you are physically present and at the same time being in another, virtual place where you and your friends meet, creates a double presence and connection. The production-distribution-consumer model changes into a participation model, in which participation is not place related but network related. This leads to tensions in several areas simultaneously and puts pressure on traditional systems. The result is a fundamentally new condition, in which the physical space is, as it were, doubled. Manovich has called this 'augmented space', a technology-enriched space which is virtual. Online databases can be linked up with physical locations, influencing the experience and meaning of the physical space. The experience of the urban space is disconnected from the space itself, changing the experience of the 'place world', which is formed through physical social interaction as well as through digital media (Gordon 2008). This hybrid space questions the notion of 'agency' (Kluitenberg 2006,14)

Place plays a crucial role in this scenario, precisely because it has multiple meanings, the significance of which is further reinforced in connections with and participation in networks. Rather than geographical location, the notion of place here refers to a clustering of economic activity and people, as well as to a cultural concept which includes social cohesion and conflict (Zukin 1993, 12). Encounter and connection have their 'own' place in this, in the local sense as well as in the sense of participation in global networks. What's more, in the network society the 'traditional' physical meeting place acquires new meanings. Much of what we experience as local, because it is locally sited, is not necessarily local in the traditional sense of the term (Sassen 2006, 48). Sassen is referring to economic networks here, explaining that a lack of participation in financial networks can compel a city

or region to distinguish itself as a tourist destination. It's a view in which the performing arts represent added value as a marketing tool, contributing to a region's tourist appeal. However, this will probably not be very successful in the long term, because in the end the appeal of cities is in people's experiences or as Robert Ezra Park already put it decades ago "The city is a state of mind." (LeGates 2009, 521).

3.3   Urban developments and creative clusters

Although the development of information technology might seem to have made physical presence irrelevant, actual urban development in the last twenty years has proved the exact opposite, with an increase in the size of urban areas and extreme growth of urban clustering in line with Castells's perspective on the spatial workings of the information society. It appears that economic growth is the main driver of this development. Even the provision of parks and cultural facilities are backed up by arguments such as property values and the appeal to business and tourism (Fainstein 2010, 1). More and more cities who are not part of Sassen's 'system of cities' have concentrated on distinguishing themselves as centres of arts and culture and entertainment, providing their visitors with 'experiences' (Sassen 2012, 257). The relevance of cities is measured by their supply of exclusive shops, galleries, nightlife and street life – architecture, old and/or new, plays an important role in their appeal. That's why the architecture of new buildings is for a large part determined by the image the city wants to project and why there is a preference for building large 'iconic' cultural venues. The architectural qualities of the new icon seem to be more important than the programme which disrupts the direct connection between spatial locality and programme (WRR 2015,87). In reference to this development, Madanipour states: "The public space has lost its integration of cultural economic and political significance, to be despatialized and become an instrumental tool to sell the city, although it is also expected to help to promote social cohesion and cultural richness" (Madanipour 2003, 237). The central argument in this development is the economic value of the cultural city, with incentives for 'creative cities' and hubs "In the context of digitalisation and globalisation, […] promoted to 'build local, go global' " (EENC 2012, 12).

This idea that creativity and arts and culture have an important role in stimulating the economic development of urban regions, putting old industrial areas back on the map in the process, is not a new one. The concept of the creative city was originally developed in England in the 1980's by amongst others Landry and Bianchini and their think tanks. The original idea was subsequently taken further by Florida, who put more emphasis on the

importance of the creative component by introducing the idea of the 'creative class' (Florida 2002). In recent years, notions of 'creative cities' and 'creative industries' have increasingly become umbrella concepts which play an important role in urban development. It's not clear-cut what these creative industries are actually understood to comprise. Arts and arts and culture are definitely a part of this category, although the artists themselves, as symbol creators (Hesmondhalgh 2011, 5), only make up a tiny part of this new economic sector. It is a field which is seen as providing a significant impulse to economic growth, as well as serving as an 'agent of social and cultural change' (Hesmondhalgh 2011, 6). This 'creative cultural' clustering (as distinguished from the more comprehensive and ambiguous 'creative industry' clustering) benefits from an intensive, international exchange of ideas and know-how, while at the same time it is strongly rooted in the regional context. The success of cultural-creative clusters seems to depend on their cultural vitality, the extent and nature of their relations, local as well as remote, and the political-economic character of their surroundings (Kong 2009, 58). Creative clustering is a popular concept and it is widely espoused because investment in cultural infrastructure adds economic value, as described for the Netherlands by a.o. Marlet (2009). Besides, creative industries are also considered to be important because of the role they play in the transition from production to consumption, and from consumption to participation, as well as the different relationships between place and market this shift engenders (Zukin 1993, 259).

3.4   Impact on cultural processes

"Art fills the public space of a city. Art creates openness, tolerance, empathy and creativity. We need the imaginative power of the arts to exercise our democratic civil rights and responsibilities. This is why art is part of the city and the city cannot function without art."[10]. Developments within globalisation and information flows show a divide opening up between world citizens with their global identities on the one hand, and, on the other hand, a territorial sense of community which confirms national and local identities. These developments are taking place simultaneously, each one of them influencing the artistic process and chain of production in their own way. While the traditional, logically ordered workflow which leads from artistic creation to a performance in front of an audience is maintained, new

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[10]   These were words spoken by New York scientist Benjamin Barber, delivering his opening keynote for the World Cities Culture Summit on 12 November 2015 at the Royal Palace in Amsterdam.

workflows are added, which change the mutual relationships between the programme/work of art, the artists and the audience. In his oration on transgovernance developments, in 't Veld (2014, 14) describes tensions between old and new forms of science, politics and media, all three of them going through changes from within their own fields as well as changes sparked by their mutual relations with each other. In general, the change shows a shift from closed to open, from representation to participation, from monodisciplinarity to transdisciplinarity, and from top down to bottom up. The same changes can be seen in cultural practices: from a traditional process with artists, theatre makers, actors and musicians to a process of co-creation, from traditional theatres, museums and concert halls to open air performances, virtual platforms and location theatre, and from a passive audience to an actively engaged and participating audience.
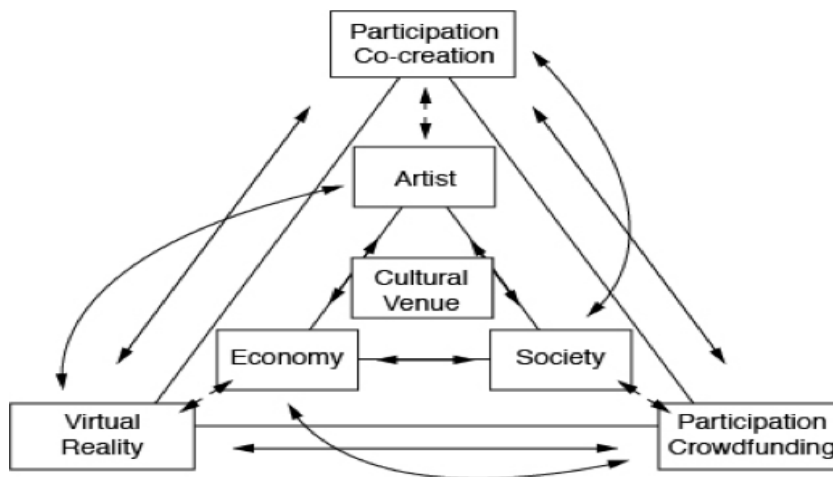
Figure 2. Scheme of shifts in cultural practices based on In t Veld' (2014, 14)

In the eighties and nineties, the rise of creative industries, entertainment business and other commercial developments changed the traditional venues' significance in terms of distribution. During that same period, the differences between 'high' and 'low' became ever more complex, with the related changes in views on artistic relevance and standards of quality (Belfiore & Bennett 2010, 34). The growing demand for festivals and new events (van Vliet 2012, 22), decreased the distinction between public and artists, allowing the public to become part of the performance and to express their own identity (van Vliet 2012, 23). More and more, this kind of performances or shows can be found outside of the traditional places; festivals in particular have become immensely popular (Kunsten 92 2013, 5). At first the summer festivals in particular 'were dismissed as glorified summer fairs, with colourful stilt-walkers playing their toy drums. There was huge disdain

all around, considering these festivals "without any artistic merit whatsoever" (Boekman Cahier 2010, 6). During the same period, there was a growing interest for 'community arts', which are typically held in non-traditional places, where the audience and the artists can be close to each other. However, while 'community arts' failed to move on from their remit of 'welfare' (Trienekens 2007, 229), the festivals and location theatre companies slowly gained recognition. In 2007, the Dutch Fonds voor Amateur en Podiumkunsten[11] introduced new opportunities for summer festivals to receive subsidies, quoting their significance as production houses and places for experiment as well as their extensive reach of new audiences as the reasons for this change in policy (FAPK 2007, 2). For programmers as well as for the public, the place of performance or presentation has become increasingly decisive. This could be to use the venue as a marketing tool, but also to add depth to the programme – an artistic added value - or to help shape one's own identity - a social added value. The location and the 'sender' determine the artists' as well as the public's choices.

The focus has shifted towards public involvement and use of places, reflected by 'a range of strategies of managing the flow of attention between self, place and audience as they interact around digital objects in their network' (Lindgren 2009, 6). It is a process which corresponds with the social trend towards public interaction and social commitment though arts and culture, in virtual as well as in physical space (Hristova 2015, 5 a.o.). "Moreover, from within the newer generation of creators there has been a marked shift in taking on broader entrepreneurial approaches to creating new work, where a strong entrepreneurial content an creative vision of practice applied to the entire production process has led to remarkably new multidisciplinary projects and performances in a range of locations, both site-specific and on location, digital as well as mobile, with increased public attendance and press attention" (Feuchtwang 2005)[12].

Parallel to this process, artists and theatre makers started to position themselves more at the centre of society, searching for new ways to connect with the audience by leaving the traditional stage or exhibition space altogether. Public and place, virtual or mobile, interact with creative producers, who operate according to artistic as well as entrepreneurial principles. There is an increasing number of performances and exhibitions which are not only created in a virtual context but owe their existence to a

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[11]   National Government Fund for Amateur and Performing Arts; nowadays this fund is split in a Fund for amateur Arts (Fonds voor Cultuur Participatie) and one for professional Performing Arts (FPK).

[12]   In this context, 'entrepreneurial' needs to be understood as meaning more than just exploiting market opportunities; it also refers to a set of values which include innovation, creative vision and risk, and which are applied by a mix of artistic, creative and business approaches.

virtual reality.[13] The audience becomes part of the performance or art work, they are taking along or invited to actively participate[14]. The stage or exhibit room is exchanged for a growing array of alternative locations. As new media technologies complement or replace traditional marketing[15], the old boundaries between artists and audience are disappearing and everyone takes part in online conversations in the virtual environment, a semi-public place such as the theatre or a museum must create its own identity in this virtual world, and ensure this identity matches the physical reality and economic power relations[16]. Experimental work in this field has created an increasing amount of new forms and possibilities, not only blurring the boundaries between the various forms of performing arts, visual arts and 'community arts', but also tearing down the walls between the artist and the public, the physical and virtual aspects. Increasingly, real and virtual worlds are merging. New connections and intersections have been established between different places with identical functions.

The characteristics and geographic position of the location become an essential part of the artistic production and audience consumption. Artistic processes are requiring more connectivity to the audience, and at the same time the audience requires more interaction, facilitated by internet communities as well as physical locations. The newly emerging virtual festivals, pop-up performances and exhibitions can be seen as a response to these developments, meeting a need for participation and co-creation. The new locations, whether it be festival locations or new venues are in line with the artistic need to find unique locations and to adapt to changes in society. The traditionally close connections between cultural venues, artists and audience have been loosened. The second hypothesis tries to establish this process, stating that the rise of the network society is changing the public significance of cultural venues and reshaping the connection between place, artist and audience.

3.5   To conclude

Connections and clusters which form through new networks lead to changes in the strategic positioning of local areas in the global context. Explicitly creative and cultural urban clustering has increasingly become a

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[13]   eg National Theatre of Scotland, founded in 2006 with over 200 productions per year on 150 different locations.
[14]   Magneetfestival, Strp, immersive theater living structures, dream space 2014/2016.
[15]   Best kept Secret-festival is a 'traditionally' top down programmed festival, with a bottum up marketing campaign via social media.
[16]   Ranging from eg Stefan Kaegi to Wunderbaum.

successful strategy for regions. This has led to increasing pressure on arts and culture to serve as an economic catalyst, to attract tourism, enhance a region's image and strengthen its competitive advantage. On the one hand, social cohesions enhanced in memberships of traditional communities seem to have eroded, while on the other hand there is a growing interest in sharing experiences in virtual as well as physical locations and through personal encounters. Cultural practices are changing along with these developments. As the original tasks and responsibilities in the production chain are shifting, it's not only the mutual relations between the agents in this chain which are changing, but also their position within the context of the society as a whole. The flows along which connections are formed, open up the formerly exclusive domain of the artist and actively involve the audience. The second hypothesis tries to establish this process, stating that the rise of the network society is changing the public significance of cultural venues and reshaping the connection between place, artist and audience. In this process, the function of the physical place is no longer limited to facilitating the chain within its own four walls. It also includes facilitating encounters and experiences, showing the creative process in non-traditional locations and connecting these with the relevant networks, which will be described in the next chapter.

4.
THE MEANING OF PLACE

4. THE MEANING OF PLACE

As described in the previous chapter, Castells argues how the meaning and relevance of places has changed due to the introduction of virtual communication (Castells, 2010). He describes the creation of the network society; how local places which are plugged into the worldwide virtual information flows get connected with each other and start interacting. Traditionally, places, in the wider meaning of spaces with a socially shared meaning, hold a position of their own in relation to the economy and society. Places reflect, affirm and change economic values; they facilitate, affirm and create social encounters and connections. Yet, 'no place exists by itself, since the positions are defined by the exchanges of flows in the network' (Castells I, 443). The interactions made possible by information technology articulate the spatial configuration. "Some places are exchangers, communication hubs playing a role of coordination for the smooth interaction, [...] Other places are the nodes of the network; that is the location of strategically important functions that build a series of locality-based activities and organisations around a key function in the network" (Castells 2010 I, 443). In this chapter I will explore in what ways these different dimensions of place changed the significance of cultural venues. First, I will briefly outline the different dimensions of place, focusing on Soja's scheme about the trialectics of spatiality (paragraph 4.1). Then I will describe places and processes of change (paragraph 4.2), introduce placemaking as a concept to indicate public space (paragraph 4.3) and explain the 'sense' of cultural places (in paragraph 4.4). To conclude I will discuss the interaction between cultural venues and economy, society and arts. exploring the impact of the developments described in the preceding chapters on cultural places per se. These explorations will complete thebackdrop for my field research.

4.1   Dimensions of Place

In his metaphysics, Aristotle described space – used in the sense of place as we perceive it - as one of the ten categories which are a quality of 'being' (Ross 1912,14). Descartes introduced a new concept of space, with the advent of the Cartesian logic. Kant revised space (and time) as an a priori notion which is formed by our ratio as well as our perception (Lefebvre 1991, 2). Just like time, it is a systematic frame that we use to structure our experience. In the early 20th century, it was Lefebvre who threw new light on the notion of space. He adopted Marx' view on the relation between land and property, which allocated more than just an economic value to land. In Marx'

theory, place and property are connected; the economic relationship determines the power relationship, with far-reaching consequences. Lefebvre's book entitled 'The Production of Space' has the following opening line: "Not so many years ago, the word 'space' had a strictly geometrical meaning: the idea it evoked was simply that of an empty area" (Lefebvre 1991, 1). Lefebvre distinguishes between the physical, the mental and the social dimension, identifying these as 'spatial practice', 'representations of space' and 'representational spaces' (Lefebvre 1991, 33). The physical dimension consists of the perceived, the conceived and the lived space – the space between everyday reality and urban reality. The mental dimension consists of the imaginary space, as represented by urban planners and scientists, as well as artists, who create relations and connections. The social dimension is the lived, the experienced space, occupied by the people who live there and the people using the space, including writers and artists. This dimension conceives of the space as experienced using mental connections of images and symbols.

In the 20th century there was a growing interest in the social dimension, which was approached from different perspectives. Bourdieu made the connection between place and specific social actions and events which give it meaning (Bourdieu 1977, 81). As such, place cannot be disconnected from what happens. In Foucault's work, place, along with time, plays a crucial role, without being an objectively determinable element. According to him, place as well as time are constructed by subjective perception and experience (Foucault eg in 1994, 9 and on). Harvey connected time and place in his writings about the shift from modernity to postmodernity. His concept of 'time-space compression' serves as a pivot mechanism explaining historical transitions (Harvey 1990, 240). Placing Lefebvre's dimensions in a grid, he identifies four aspects "drawn from more conventional understandings": accessibility and distanciation; appropriation; domination and control; production. Soja developed his own notion of space in his book Thirdspace (1996). Taking Lefebvre's perceived, conceived and lived dimensions as his starting point, he identifies a trialectics of being with spatiality, sociality and historicality as core notions. Consequently, he distinguishes the notions of Firstspace, the 'real', physical, material world, with its rules and structures; Secondspace, in which the 'real' world is interpreted by means of representations, relations and symbols; and Thirdspace, where the interaction between Firstspace and Secondspace takes place. Subsequently, he draws a direct link with history and the social context (Soja 1996, 23 and 71), creating two triangular relationships which are projected on top of each other. The triangular relation between time, space and social interaction, and the relationship between perceived, conceived and imagined space.

Figure 3. Trialectics of being and of spatiality (Soja 1996, 71 and 74)

Soja's construct adds a dimension which enables us to lay bare the undercurrents, processes that are otherwise not heard or seen. In her research paper Urban Paradoxes, Trienekens (2004) adopted Soja's trialectics to analyse the place of diversity in arts and culture in the UK and the Netherlands. She used the factual social, spatial and historical context to explain changes in the relationship between space, power and culture / identity. Demonstrating that within arts and culture there are various processes at play simultaneously, her research "revealed the dialectical nature between Firstspace and Secondspace and how this dialectical relation results in various mechanisms of exclusion" (Trienekens 2007, 243). Bos (2011, 147) observes that the failure of governmental interventions in the arts with regard to cultural diversity relates to the omnipresent dominance of the romantic 'art for art's sake' idea. Trienekens (2007) demonstrated that this failure was the result of underlying structures and convictions which reinforce each other, the dominant structure keeps reproducing itself. She puts forward compelling evidence that the system of quality labels, based on Western European criteria, supports the perpetuating perception that arts and culture from non-dominant groups are of inferior quality. Because they are seen to be of lesser quality, these productions are usually relegated to community centres somewhere in the city's outskirts. The fact that they are staged in this type of building and not in 'official' theatres reinforces the perception that these productions are to do with community work rather than 'serious' art, in turn justifying the decision to show them at these peripheral locations. What's more, programming non-dominant arts and culture in fringe theatres provides the established theatres with an excuse to carry on as usual. The incidental programming of 'exotic' performances will not change this, nor will the appointment of one or two employees from ethnic minorities. To really turn this around, the power relations and related recognition of identities, including those of non-dominant groups, will need to be changed.

Incidentally, Soja was not the first and certainly not the only one to use the notion of Thirdspace. Bhabha (2004, 50 and 53) used the concept to accommodate cultural differences, instead of starting from a preconceived

idea of cultural diversity. It's a dimension which needs an open mind, space for differences and reflection. No wonder that Bhabha used it to challenge deep-rooted colonial thinking.

4.2 Place and processes of change

Giddens (1979, 131) identifies the notions of 'meanings, norms and power' as underlying concepts defining structuring processes through their mutual interaction. Action and structure are inextricably linked: structure facilitates action and vice versa. Actions can have intended as well as non-intended consequences. Giddens' schematic approach of a structure's duality and its dimensions can help to shed light on the mutual interdependence and interactions between structural properties and social agents (Golsorkhi 2011, 112). Castells agrees with Giddens that "one of the distinctive features of modernity is an increasing interconnection between the two extremes of extensionality and intentionality: globalising influences on the one hand and personal dispositions on the other. The more tradition loses its hold, and the more the daily life is reconstituted in terms of the dialectical interplay of the local and the global, the more the individuals are forced to negotiate lifestyle choices among a diversity of options… Reflexively organized life-planning…becomes a central feature of the structuring of the self-identity" (Castells 2010 Volume II, 11).

Bourdieu also recognises the interplay between agents and structures, identifying power as central notion. Symbolic systems are based on power relations. Bourdieu identifies various classes, categorised according to different kinds of capital each with their own 'habitus' (Bourdieu 1977, 78). A universal norm, a doxa, will only change when there is an economic necessity to do so. Although there is room for debate, this will take place within a more or less demarcated area and is checked by a certain balance between prevailing, deviant and reinforcing views (heterodoxy and orthodoxy). Within this structure, the debate will not fundamentally change universal norms or beliefs. Every cultural policy intended to bring about edification or democratisation is doomed to fail according to this analysis, because social mobility is essentially limited (Bourdieu 1977, 168 and 169). Unless there is an economic necessity which is so urgent, that the doxa will need to make way. However, this will not change the class system.

Within his analysis of the network society Castells correlates the existence of physical and virtual networks with the creation and existence of identities which induce new forms of social change (Castells 2010 II, 11 and on) adding a new dimension to the theories on social change structuring processes. He applies a classification which is similar to Bourdieu's system of

doxa, heterodoxy and orthodoxy, using 'legitimising', 'resistance' and 'project identity' as the corresponding categories (Castells 2010 II, xxvi). Unlike Bourdieu, he does not identify economic necessity as the crucial catalyst for change, but "most of social action becomes organized in the opposition between unidentified flows and secluded identities". The new project identities are brought about by resistance identities, within the context of the situation (Castells 2010 II, 11). The shift towards project identities is caused by networks of information, imagery, power and wealth which do not rely on traditional local networks (spaces of places) but on global virtual networks (spaces of flow) (Castells 2010 volume I, 422 and 424). In this way, they thoroughly change in multiple ways the relation between place and society and between place and economy (see also Castells 2010 II, 71 and on).

4.3   Placemaking

Hristova (2015,5) observes a return of the importance of the public sphere "enhanced with the means of arts and cultural expression as a public good and a cultural right. [..] As the public and the private spheres become more closely interlinked, both public and private entities are increasingly expected to play roles in enabling, through partnerships and other arrangements, the openness of the public sphere". This applies to parochial cultural venues as well as public places. A further analysis of encounters in public space shows that the physical layout and the connection with the environment play an important role in determining the social, symbolic and economic value. Jacobs, Lofland and many others emphasise the role which the layout of the public space plays in the realisation of social interaction. Habermas and Ahrendt establish a link between the formation of a public and a protocol of physical locations. "It is not the place in itself which is the determining factor, it is the communicative ethos, the protocol which is adhered to in those places, as participants temporarily give up their private identities" (De Waal 2012, 166). This is how places of significance can emerge for specific groups. Meaningful places come into being through person-to-place connections (Lofland, 1998, 64). The idea behind placemaking was introduced by Jacobs (1992, 14 and on) putting people and the way people use public space at the core of city design. Placemaking refers to a collaborative process by which people shape the public realm and maximise shared value, thus strengthening the connection between people and the places they share. Gordon (2008) introduced the term 'place world' to denote a collection of places which have symbolic meaning to the members of a group. If a specific group starts to dominate these places, they perceive it as 'home territory', according to Lofland (2007, 70). She distinguishes between the private, the parochial and the public sphere. The parochial sphere is an

environment which is characterised by a form of communality between local community members who are involved in interpersonal networks localised within the community. The public realm is the world of strangers and the 'street' (Lofland 1998, 10). These realms are not geographically or physically rooted species of space. They are social territories (Lofland 1998, 11). Understanding the interaction between people and places is essential to reveal the sense of place.

4.4   The sense of cultural places

In arts centres, the public space links with the private space. It's open to everyone, yet at the same time only to those who have access. This makes the cultural venue into a semi-public place. Private, parochial and public domains merge into one another and create new forms of overlap which can function as a public domain. The cultural venue has a two-pronged role, as a physical meeting place, where social connections are formed, and as a source of inspiration and wonder, providing symbolic value. In this mechanism, the social embedding as well as the historical context play a role. There is a reciprocal relationship between the individual and society, in which the physical and social space are mutually influencing factors (Madanipour 2003, 181). Precisely because the cultural venue is a place in which the public merges with the private, it is not only the geographical and historical aspects which are of importance, but also the sociographical [17]. To reveal the sense of cultural places one has to understand the interaction of people and places, which structures this interaction in different modalities (Giddens 1984, 29). These notions of the artistic, economic and social value of art as described in chapter 2 are related to cultural places, which will be explored in the following paragraphs.

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[17]   There are many instances of this: the construction in the 1980's of a large new venue for opera and ballet in the old town centre of Amsterdam cannot be explained on the basis of its genesis alone. The sociographic context seems to have played a decisive role in this: opera and ballet 'naturally belong' in the city centre, along with the other cultural venues, whereas the city hall needed to have a representative appearance at the heart of the city, but at the same time also needed to reflect accessibility. This proved to be a difficult combination of requirements, illustrated by the fact that it took thirty years, to inscribe a name above the building's main entrance. The fact of the matter is that city hall wanted to distance itself from the elitist image of the opera house, but at the same time wanted to benefit from the image this imposing architectural statement sent out.

4.4.1   Interaction between economy and cultural places.

Ownership is an important factor in the balance of powers and simultaneously symbolises the recognition of a particular identity. This concept of ownership needs to be specified, since judicial, economic and social property generally don't coincide in the cultural sector. Sassen (2012, 36) points out that, as a result of globalization processes, new forms of regional centralisation are taking place, "under conditions of ongoing concentration of ownership and control". There is a major difference in the roles and interests of those who have an economic connection as 'stakeholders' and those who give purpose to the venue as 'participants'. Especially in the creative industry, financial rewards for creative work, by the 'symbol creators' (roughly translated as the artists and creatives) and the companies are uneven (Hesmondhalgh 2011, 72 and on). Cultural success is, unlike purely technological and economical products, not per se determined by functional performance, but by non-functional criteria, with a high risk, where socially and culturally defined components play major parts (Kong 2009, 54).

In the Netherlands, economical and judicial ownership of most cultural venues rests with the municipality or with real estate companies, who take advantage of it through branding, city marketing and the increase in value of surrounding land and buildings. "The single most dangerous aspect of cultural investments is that it simply does not sit comfortable in the context for which it is intended" (WRR 2015, 94). Simultaneously the people working in these building are those who 'give purpose' and determine its identity in the social context. Large scale cultural institutions have to realise a mix of interventions to connect their own identity, the quality aspect, the peer group and the audience to create a sustainable concept of ownership. With small-scale, local art processes the concept of 'shared ownership' gets significance through communal support at the risk of losing artistic acknowledgment (see paragraph 2.2.3).

4.4.2   Interaction between society and cultural places.

In western society, a cultural venue is one of the means through which the identity of a community gets shape and status. Every self-respecting province town has its own theatre and museum, and in the larger cities every genre has its own places. Acquiring space in the public sphere in itself delivers a major contribution to identity: "Public spaces and buildings represent

community identity and foster civic pride" (Le Gates 2009, 195). Having one's own building contributes to the acknowledgment and the validation of a community. Although a cultural venue is a semi-public place, it's not necessarily experienced as such. A company's artistic motivation to work in other venues or collaborate with other groups, seems to be largely determined by a sense of familiarity and mutual understanding within certain spheres. Yet at the same time this same artistic motivation also inspires to visit very different places and environments. There are legion examples of this kind of project, in which professional, established companies engage in one-off collaborations with artists and performers from the fringe[18]. In spite of the large appeal of these kinds of projects and the often positive reactions from the participants, these special collaborations are hardly ever continued. Possibly the gap between the parochial spheres of both parties is too big. Although theatre-goers do not know each other, they do recognise each other on the basis of communally shared codes (Rabozaal 2015c). A visit to the theatre requires a high measure of familiarity with these codes: where is the box office, the entrance, what's on, etc.; as well as codes which express the idea of 'home territory' of the parochial environment**.**

The social changes as described in paragraph 3.4 demand different types of processes and structures, or, to use Hristova's (2015, 5) terminology, other partnerships and arrangements. Artists are increasingly looking for alternative locations to stage their productions. Often these are locations which do not deliver instant recognition, but which can be identified as innovative and provide possibilities to engage with the public in new ways. "So, the art of programming is the first strong resonance we can go for (…) And it is good to see that in Europe, where performing arts programming is traditionally monopolized by established theatre and festival programmers, more and more artists are choosing themselves when and where, and next to whom, they want to be visible. They are starting to contextualize not just their product, but their process and themselves as well. Presenting their work outside of the established venues, in unexpected places, bringing art, and artists, back into the public space and the public domain"[19].

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[18]   These are often one-off collaborations with other groups, such as the community art project Bijlmermeer Zwanenmeer (Bijlmer Lake Swan Lake), Ned Pho go.
[19]   From keynote speech Peggy Olislaegers (director De Nederlandse Dansdagen), at the expert meeting of The Art of Impact and Europe by People in Pakhuis de Zwijger, July 1st 2015.

4.4.3 Interaction between artistic practice and cultural places.

In the world of theatre, the transition from public to private, from reality to fantasy, plays on different levels simultaneously. The experience takes place at the location of the performance – in the theatre, at the festival site or in the converted factory. The way a space is experienced is not only dependent on physical, tangible aspects, but also on emotional aspects, the lived place, and the historical and symbolic context. Cutting right across these layers, the interventions made possible by modern communication technologies have meaning in all these different contexts and change perspectives. This implies a shift of focus, from the end result to the creative process, and engenders different relations between artist, public and place. These processes and activities are not directly visible or identifiable. They are about interaction, that which Sammadar[20] has called the 'in-between-space'. This is also the space where the transition from private to public takes place; where the semi-public space of the theatre is situated, a space which in theory, on an institutional level, is open to everyone, but which is closed to those who do not know the codes or how to get access. In the visual as well as in the performing arts, the autonomous artwork, introvert and sufficient for itself, is increasingly being challenged by open works of art, which exist by virtue of the spatial context, where the space adds an added layer of meaning (Doorman 2004, 157). Arts exhibitors are discovering the public space, theatre makers hit the streets or look for unique locations. The theatre has lost its position as the undisputed, primary place for staging performing arts, while the significance of place in the performing arts – as an element that can add meaning to the performance - is growing. After all, the creative artistic process has its own autonomy and complexity, which is essential to the creative process (see for instance Bilton 2007, 3) with a shift of focus towards place as a potentially critical concept playing a decisive role in the artists' practice. This leads to the third hypothesis of this study, that within the network society the public significance of cultural venues is more and more defined by both the dynamic interaction between artists and audience as well as the ongoing connectivity between the audience and local circumstances (spatial and social). In the field research the connectivity between artists, audience and a specific place as well as the interaction between this place and the local community will be compared.

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[20] Sammadar, lezing ECF mei 2013

4.5   Concluding

Due to developments in information and communication technologies, notions of place have acquired a different meaning in recent decades. One of the distinctive features of modernity is an increasing interconnection between the two extremes of extensionality and intentionality: globalising influences on the one hand and personal dispositions on the other. Within the network society Castells correlates the existence of physical and virtual networks with the creation and existence of identities which induce new forms of social change. This development of the network society has not only an impact on the economic and territorial aspects of place, but also adds new meanings to social connectivity. To reveal the sense of cultural places one has to take into account the interaction between artists and audience, both locally based and globally inspired and connected; the interaction between economic processes and non-functional success criteria for culture; the interaction between the parochial codes of the audience and the non-traditionally located new venues; and the interaction between public and community. These simultaneous processes of interaction are structured by different modalities.

Taking into account the conclusions of the previous chapters as well, a picture emerges showing multiple processes taking place simultaneously. The culture value prism seems to have changed and social and political support seem to have decreased. Cultural practices are changing from a production-distribution-consumer model into a participation model. As a response, virtual festivals, pop-up performances and exhibitions are emerging, meeting a need for participation and co-creation, and offering possibilities for experiencing a double presence, physical as well as virtual. The traditional cultural venue is losing its position as the undisputed, primary place for staging performing arts, while the significance of place in the performing arts – as an element that can add meaning to the performance and realise interaction between makers and audience - is growing. This results in new challenges for existing traditional cultural venues as well as new cultural venues in other, newly (re-) developed, areas. These challenges are encapsulated in the third hypothesis, which explores the interaction between artists and their audience as well as the ongoing connectivity between the audience and spatial locality.

My first hypothesis states that the dominance of economic values in our network society is changing the value prism, as explored in chapter 2. The second hypothesis, formulated in chapter 3.4, states that the rise of the network society is changing the public significance of cultural venues reshaping the connection between place, artist and audience. In addition, in this chapter a third hypothesis is formulated, stating that the public significance of cultural venues is more and more defined by both the dynamic

interaction between artists and audience as well as the connectivity between the audience and spatial locality. Applying Soja's method of analysis to all professional cultural venues built in Amsterdam in the last 15 years, these hypotheses will be further explored. In the next chapter, I will set out the methodological structure of the field research.

5.
METHODOLOGY

5   METHODOLOGY

Central to this chapter is the methodological setup of the field research. As such, this chapter bridges the contextual and theoretical explorations in the previous chapters and the empirical study in the next chapter. Taking into account the interaction between cultural places and their artistic position, their social context and their economic situation, I researched the formation of practically all new cultural places in Amsterdam since 2000. I looked at relevant aspects from different perspectives based on the trialectics of spatiality as described by Soja. I chose this method because it reasserts the dominant structures of the cultural sector (Soja 1996, 71). Furthermore, Trienkens (2007) also endorses this choice in her research. 'The disassembling of the spaces and the instant reassembling prevents us to read the distinction between *dominant* Firstspace and Secondspace and *non-dominant* Thirdspace as a binary distinction' (2007, 243). Soja's trialectics offer the opportunity to explore the full spectrum of issues related to the spatiality of cultural venues and enables the differentiation of specific relations between policies, people's perceptions and actions. The double triad of spatiality, sociality and historicity linking with first, second and Thirdspace provides the means to unravel the complex interactions between the artistic, social and economic processes at play.

I started the field research with a couple of assumptions, within the limits of my own system of thought. The literature and document research on the prism of artistic, social and economic values led to the hypothesis that the dominance of economic values in our network society were endangering the artistic and social values in the formation of cultural places. During my research two new hypotheses emerged, which have been formulated at the end of chapters 3 and 4. In the field these were explored by analysing the interaction between first, second and Thirdspace, revealing outcomes I had not expected beforehand.

In this chapter I will first briefly map Soja's notions of first, second and Thirdspace and argue why I used these specific categories to systemize the analysis. Next, I will describe the setup of the research, followed by a substantiation of the field research sampling criteria and time frame.

5.1.   Soja's trialectics

As described in chapter 4.1 Soja identifies a trialectic of being with spatiality, sociality and historicality as core notions, and a trialectic of

spatiality based on notions of Firstspace, (the 'real', physical, material world, with its rules and structures); Secondspace, (in which the 'real' world is interpreted by means of representations, relations and symbols); and Thirdspace, (where the interaction between Firstspace and Secondspace takes place). Subsequently, Soja draws a direct link between this trialectic of spatiality and the trialectics of being (Soja 1996, 23 and 71), creating two triangular relationships which are projected onto each other. Setting an agenda for the next chapters, the method of Soja will be applied to the development/management of cultural venues, in relation to the hypotheses as formulated in the previous chapter.

The first hypothesis, which assumes that the increasing dominance of economic values in our network society is changing the value prism of art, will be explored by analysing the determinant set of values in the formation process of the cultural venues analysed. Before I started my research, I presumed that the dominant reason why a cultural venue was formed, also meant it would be perceived and experienced as such and consequently that venues built for economic reasons would be of lesser value in terms of artistic or social value. However, this is not supported by my findings in the field research, as will be shown later on. The second hypothesis argues that the rise of the network society is changing the public significance of cultural venues and reshaping the connection between place, artist and audience. This involves the exploration of aspects such as the geographical positioning of cultural venues in new locations as well as artistic activities in new settings, and connecting to audiences in new ways. The third hypothesis supposes that the public significance of cultural venues is more and more defined by both the dynamic interaction between artists and audience as well as the ongoing connectivity between the audience and the spatial locality of the venues with their own community. When relating first, second and Thirdspace with regard to the third hypothesis, it becomes clear that the material and perceived worlds are not always in line with the world as it is being lived in practice.

5.1.1   Firstspace

Firstspace concerns a mapping exercise. Soja describes this space as the materialized, socially produced, empirical space. It is "directly sensible and open, within limits, to accurate measurements and description" (1996, 66). It is the material grounding which he also calls the perceived space. This is the type of description which tends to privilege objectivity and materiality. The architectonics and resultant geographies of the human 'built environment' provide the almost naively given sources for the accumulation of this

knowledge (Soja 1996, 75). As an empirical text, Firstpace is conventionally read at two different levels, one which concentrates on the accurate descriptions of surface appearances and the other which searches for explanations in primarily exogenous social, psychological and bio-physical processes. In this context Soja created matrices to describe the virtually limitless factual scope and space of Firstspace knowledge. He built matrices representing places or locations and related these to attributes or interactions. This is what I did as well. I started mapping the venues by listing 'attributes' such as 'programme' and 'audience', and 'interactions' such as 'cooperation' and in this way connected different places. Those first matrices fixate on the material form of things in space: with human spatiality seen primarily as an outcome or product. Using 'function', 'size' and 'location' as relevant categories helped me to organise the material I collected. Still, the information that one can extract from these matrices is incomplete and deceptive. Unless the historical development, the social activity and the economic choices are included as well, they create a kind of realist illusion. Therefore, more advanced forms of Firstspace analysis have been developed to delve deeper than such descriptive matrices and explore the historicity and sociality of spatial forms as well. Human spatiality continues to be defined primarily by and in its material configurations, but explanation shifts away from these plottings themselves to an inquiry into how they are socially produced (Soja 1996, 77). Although introducing these aspects complicates the simple graphic presentation of facts and figures, it does result in a more insightful understanding of how Firstpace is socially produced. Therefore, I chose to add increasingly more items to the list of categories, including architecture, facilities, costs, duration, historical backgrounds and city developments. As a result, my mapping became increasingly complex. I also analysed the causal flow in the other direction, that is how material geographies and spatial practices shape and affect subjectivity, consciousness, rationality and sociality, since my field research shows the relevance of the flow in this direction as well. Chapter 6 explores Firstspace aspects of the cases, presenting an overall impression of the cases and contextual data on growth of activities and audiences during the period of my research in the Amsterdam region. More elaborate descriptions for each venue are listed in alphabetical order in appendix I, II and III. Subsequently the development of cultural venues in relation to city developments are discussed.

5.1.2   Secondspace

In the trialectics of Soja, 'secondspace' represents symbolic space. It is the world of rationally interpretable signification. Abstract mental concepts

are used to explain the 'essence' (Soja 1996, 79). It is the meaning we give to things by the way we represent them, the words we use about them and the stories we tell about them, the ways we classify and conceptualize them, the values we place on them (Hall 2010, 3). This storytelling is not so much about the actual telling of a story but how structures of culture, society and economics are represented, thus creating discursive formations, defining what is and is not appropriate in our formulation of a particular subject (Hall 2010, 6). This framework of interpretation and explanation constructs identities and subjectivities. These constructions reflect structures of power and knowledge. According to Foucault it is discourse, not the subjects who speak it, which produces knowledge. Subjects may produce particular texts, but they operate within the limits of the episteme, the discursive formation, the regime of truth of a particular period and culture (Foucault 1980, 112). These mental spaces are thus the representations of power and ideology, of control and surveillance, comprising the dominant structures. These representations reveal only specific aspects and have the power to limit the course of action which we will follow, or to frame problems in such a way that only a specific set of actions is likely to occur to us. Hence the knowledge produced by such representations starts to function as the very legitimisation of dominant practices to the effect that the status quo is reinforced (Trienekens 2004, 71). The everyday realities of the inhabitants become obscured by the official knowledge which privileges legitimate forms and institutions and neglects local contexts of participation (Stevenson and Blanche 2015, 181). Secondspace is also the primary space of utopian thought and vision and of the purely creative imagination of some artists and poets (Soja 1996, 67). Deconstruction of the representations is complicated because it denies the fact that these texts are part of the whole system, and in fact cannot be considered separate from first or Thirdspace. Artworks, explanations and cultural policy, in documents, in concepts and in practice are all intertwined and interconnected. Yet, analysing the epistemology of these representations does help to produce an open alternative, an expansion of spatial knowledge (Soja 1996, 61).

In chapter 8 the Secondspace aspects are explored. This chapter will outline the context of city development policies in connection with cultural venues, followed by a description of municipal cultural policies and their relation and/or disconnection with the development policies. Both cultural and city policies specify economic value in terms of real estate value. The artistic value is broadened to the category 'cultural' since the city policy does define cultural value in general terms only, as will be shown in the following paragraphs. Social value is referred to in terms of social cohesion and connectivity between place and community. Subsequently, the chapter will explore the venues' functions and mission statements, the way cultural partners, architects and principals have expressed them in their plans, on

websites and in their programmes. The venue-by-venue analysis sheds light on artistic and architectural identity as specific categories. Artistic identity is determined by researching written representations of cultural organisations in policy documents and audience-oriented media. The architectural identity is determined by researching representations such as comments and image impressions by architects, reviewers and stakeholders. The research showed that both the artistic and architectural identities were determined by the same set of classification features, namely vision, connectivity, and functionality. Yet, as will be shown later on, the interpretation of these classification features is reflecting different types of power and knowledge structures.

5.1.3   Thirdspace

Thirdspace is the sum of Firstspace and Secondspace, and more. It is the accumulation of knowledge and insights gained by mapping and theorising, combining the data with perceptions into a third alternative praxis. Soja calls it the 'lived spatiality', "with all its intractability intact, a space that stretches across the images and symbols that accompany it, the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users' '' (Soja 1996, 67). Whereas Secondspace is about representation of space, Thirdspace is about spaces of representations. It combines the real and the imagined, things and thoughts on equal terms. Therefore, these lived spaces of representation are also the terrain for the generation of counterspaces, spaces of resistance to the dominant order arising precisely from their subordinate, peripheral or marginalised position. Lived social space is the space of radical openness, the space of social struggle (Soja 1996, 68). These practices of spaces that cannot be described in geometrical, geographical, or theoretical constructions refer "to a specific form of *operations* (ways of operating), to another spatiality (an anthropological, poetic and mythic experience of space) and to an *opaque and blind* mobility" (De Certeau 1984, 93). Thirdspace concerns itself with the difference between the known space and the lived space, or between the known culture and the lived cultural identity (Bieri 2012, 80). Gilmoore (2013, 86-96) has argued that most often cultural strategies for the arts relate to the specificities of places, the situated cultural practices and implicit knowledge of localities, their internal logics, histories and structures. The everyday realities of local residents become obscured by official knowledge which privileges legitimate forms and institutions and neglects the context of participation. Thirdspace is non-privileging and equally looks for daily practices of local residents, specificity of places and knowledge of localities. It looks for dominant as well as non-dominant structures in cultural placemaking. The dominant, non-dominant and resistance structures seem to be shifting. The othered group as well as the

dominant group is plural. The representations of space as being described in chapter 7 seem to obscure the lived spatiality, exactly as Gilmoore describes.

In chapter 8 Thirdspace aspects are analysed by the exploration of the different processes and practices which have led to the establishment and running of each venue. This analysis includes the connection between programme, audience and community, as well as location and architecture. Analysis of the specific cases (which are described in appendix 3) shows patterns of relations between the location, the architectural and cultural identity, audience, community and cultural strategies.

5.2   Method and set up

The relationship between culture and place, and more specifically between venues and the artistic program, the economic positioning and the social context is complex and multi-layered. Soja's trialectics of spatiality were used as a framework for the methodological approach related. However, Soja's model does not provide by itself a structured process of data collection or analysis. On the contrary, he leaves this open on purpose, to be able to move on to new possibilities at any time (Soja 1996, 82). The analysis of the wide range of detailed, rich and complex data required to map Soja's spaces, initiated many questions. To collect, structure and analyse these data I had to look for a method offering the openness required to explore Thirdspace as well as First- and Secondspace. I started the research following an inductive logic, building knowledge through my observations and questions as a practitioner. My aim was, not to explore a priori assumptions, though there are many, but instead to try to be 'sufficiently theoretically sensitive" enabling me to "conceptualize and formulate a theory as it emerges from data" (Glaser and Strauss 2008, 46). The inductive method is "concerned with generating and plausibly suggesting (but not provisionally testing) many categories, properties and hypotheses about general problems" (Glaser and Strauss 2008, 104). My first theoretical explorations suggested some possible hypotheses as stated at the end of chapter 2, 3 and 4, involving socio, economic and artistic aspects. This triangle of related concepts, combined with Soja's triangle of space, provided a framework to identify many categories, properties and hypotheses. My aim was not to test these hypotheses, but rather to explore them. This again raised many questions. How to collect the data, especially in relation to Thirdspace aspects? How to subject these data to an analysis trying to find patterns without losing the differences and the marginality? How to increase the openness of Thirdspace without getting lost in underlying nuances? How to combine the first set of findings with an inductive open method of analysis in order to safeguard an open perspective towards

Thirdspace findings? The field research aimed to explore the differences in the contextual cases and as such was designed as a comparative research. Selecting the data involved identifying those persons, cases, documents and reports, which by virtue of their relationship with the research question were able to provide relevant, comprehensive and rich information. Therefor the process of theoretical sampling as applied in the grounded theory method seemed to provide a helpful method. "The sociologist may begin the research with a partial framework of 'local' concepts, designating a few principal or gross features of the structures and processes in the situation that he will study" (Glaser and Strauss 2008, 45).

The data of the field research were sampled from 43 interviews, 40 internet sources directly related to venues and 111 documents, reports, policy papers, articles (see references). Based on the literature research, indicating that it was relevant to research the different views from each stakeholder, I started a first set of interviews around one venue, DelaMar, a commercial venue situated in the city centre, in the last quarter of 2014. I interviewed the artistic and business management, the financial stakeholder and an alderman. Furthermore, I interviewed the initiator of the Westergasfabriek in the same period, a public/private redevelopment outside the city centre, since the literature research indicated in- or outside the city centre as a signifying aspect. The questions were for example 'Who took the initiative to built the venue? Who paid for it? Who assigned the architect? Was there any research done on audience? How would you describe the identity of respectively the venue, the audience, the programme? What is the added value of the venue for the neighbourhood? Could you identify specific elements that together defined the venue as it is now? How are the venues experienced by the audience?' Based on the iterative approach of Glaser and Strauss as I interpreted it, comparing theoretical concepts and data analysis form interviews, reports, documents etc, I started to search for properties and categories. These were used as a topic list for the next sets of interviews, which were conducted in the first trimester of 2015.

This second group of interviews[21] was guided by a fixed frame of questions including the topic list (included in References) [22]. The questions concerned the same topics as the first set of interviews, yet more specified on some topics such as audience participation, time/planning, relation between venue, audience and internet communities. These questions were classified by three main issues: firstly, the influence of social, economic and artistic aspects

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[21]   These interviews were held with stakeholders from Muziekgebouw aan t Y, Anne Theater, Bijlmerparktheater, Podium Mozaiek, Rabozaal and MC. The case sampling is explained in more detail in the next paragraph.
[22]   Since the interviews included personal reflections the transcripts couldn't be included, but are available on request for private use only.

on the venue/place, secondly the signifying aspects and thirdly relevant relationships between these aspects. These three main topic areas were subdivided in specific topics related to First-, Second- and Thirdspace, such as 'how is the venue experienced in practice?', and more specifically 'does the venue live up to the expectations of the audience, artists, financial stakeholders, and/or policymakers?' and 'is the venue from the perspective of the artistic director/real estate owner/municipality profitable?' After every interview, I wrote memos. During the following analysis, by comparing these data with perceptions as presented in vision papers, programmes and policy documents, some of these properties were integrated and a set of core categories was identified, starting with size, function and location and later on complemented with architecture, facilities, costs and duration. I tried to set up a matrix, but I didn't succeed in capturing the triangularity of space in a two-dimensional matrix. Consequently, I tried to analyse the data by using Kwalitan, a computer program to support qualitative analysis. But alas, this didn't give any further insight. It proofed to reveal no more information on specific relations, yet it confirmed data on the list of properties. I broke the interviews down line per line. Constantly comparing these data with the memos and the data sampled from the documents and reports gave insight on specific topics. For example, the memos showed that all interviewees started to talk elaborately about themselves, their motivation, inspiration and actions. After comparing these memos with data gained from the reports and literature, I abstracted these findings from the specific cases. Consequently, the notion of leadership came to the fore. In the course of these interviews it also seemed that neither size nor discipline were significant aspects. Therefore, I enlarged the original case group and included other disciplines and sizes by adding Eye, Hermitage, Tolhuistuin, Pakhuis de Zwijger and Splendor in this second round of data sampling.

The disadvantage of Soja's model is that there always is more: for all spaces, it is possible to collect more data, and to find more possible relations. As explained above, the process of theoretical sampling as applied in the grounded theory method was used to collect data. This theory also advocates the concept of 'saturation' "Further no attempt is made by the constant comparative method to ascertain either the universality or the proof of suggested causes or other properties. Since no proof is involved, the constant comparative method in contrast to analytical induction requires only saturation of data, not consideration of all available data, nor are the data restricted to one kind of clearly defined case" (Glaser and Strauss 2008, 104). This method I applied to finalise the phase of data sampling. Observations in interviews led to checking and reading more documents as well as literature and vice versa. At a certain point adding new documents, interviews or other interviews offered no new insights or relations, but underlined the earlier findings. In the summer of 2015 I interviewed the last group and found no

new aspects, while for example the relevance of leadership was confirmed. The third round of interviews was carried out steered by the same set of questions and topics. The interviews fuelled the research, yet the written documents, reports etc were equally important. I constantly compared my observations with the hypotheses and literature as an iterative process. I choose this approach and method also because there is no scientific legacy on the topic of the development of cultural venues. Therefore, I had to research the field and the data related as if I were an anthropologist; the iterative comparison was used to facilitate a thick description.

In the next paragraph, the choice for the specific cases, place and period is more elaborately explained.

5.3   Sampling cases

The field research was carried out in Amsterdam, amongst 14 new cultural venues built in the period between 2000 and 2015. The choice for Amsterdam was based on several arguments: first of all, Amsterdam developed numerous large urban planning projects in this period, including a huge amount of real estate developments and many cultural venues. Moreover, in order to compare the formation of these buildings not only in terms of perceived, Firstspace terms, but also in relation to the representative, Secondspace aspects, including the city development and cultural policy plans, I decided to confine the research to Amsterdam. It would be interesting though to conduct comparative research in other cities in the Netherlands as well as abroad at a later time.

As a starting point for the cases I used an overview by the City of Amsterdam, an addendum to Kunstenplan 2013-2016. This shows the creation, renovation and expansion of cultural real estate in Amsterdam in the period 2005 -2012 and the projects scheduled for 2013-2016[23]. This overview lists 31 venues scattered all over Amsterdam.[24] Not all of these appeared to be interesting within the scope of this research. The venues were selected on the basis of either being a new artistic concept (such as Pakhuis de Zwijger), or being

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[23]   This list doesn't include the Amsterdam Theater and Ziggo Dome; the former I presume because it wasn't known yet at the time of publication, why the Dome is not included is not clear.
[24]   Thirteen new theatre/music venues were being (co) financed by the city: Muziekgebouw aan 't IJ, Podium Mozaïek, Pakhuis de Zwijger, a small stage in OBA, M-Lab, Conservatorium Amsterdam, Rabo-zaal (Stadsschouwburg and Melkweg), Bijlmer Parktheater, MusyQ, MC Theater, expansion DeLaMar Theater, Majellakerk and Tolhuistuin. New venues in the same period being solely financed by the private sector are Ziggo Dome, Heineken Music Hall, Theater Amsterdam and Splendor.

situated in a new location (such as Muziekgebouw aan t IJ)[25]. In the end, I decided to include 14 Amsterdam venues in my research, with different functions, disciplines and sizes, as well as finance and funding models.

At the outset of my research I decided to focus on venues with a performing arts function and an auditorium with a minimum of 200 seats. This choice was based on two assumptions: the structure of production, distribution and consumption in the performing arts is different from heritage and visual arts and these different processes influence the impact of the building. Secondly, the size of a building is generally taken as an indicator for professionalism. The sector itself is also structured in terms of function and size[26]. This distinction is made in both governmental policy and in the separate meeting groups of the different stakeholders[27]. During the interview process, by applying the grounding theoretical analysing method, I found out that neither size nor function seemed of specific significance in regard to the formation of cultural places. I couldn't find any specific similarity or dissimilarity in that respect. Therefore, I decided to enlarge my scope and to include other functions and sizes as well.

The interviewees were selected to get information on the full scope of functionalities involved in the formation of venues, including the economic, social and artistic aspects (the list of interviewees is included in References). The aim was to get a roughly equal selection between venue directors, artists or artistic directors, real estate developers and government representatives including politicians and city council officers. The interviews were in-depth and semi structured and lasted between one and two hours. During the interviews, I used a list of questions to ensure I covered all themes. These

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[25]   Stedelijk Museum, Scheepvaartmuseum and Rijksmuseum were not included being renovations/expansions not presenting new artistic concepts nor moving to a new location or setting. The Rabozaal (the new hall between Melkweg and Stadsschouwburg) is included as a case study, even though in practice it didn't become more than an extension for each of the venues. However, in advance it presented itself as a possibility for new concepts. Splendor is also included as a case study, even though it's very small, whereas Mlab and Q Factory (former MusicQ) are excluded because their orientation is mainly on talent development and public performances are a 'by product'. Ziggo Dome and Heineken Music Hall are not included since these large-scale commercial live music venues are only focusing on large public events with commercial earning capacities and do not have a specific artistic identity.

[26]   VSCD uses 80 performances as criteria for a professional venue and Fonds voor Podiumkunsten sets 200 seats and 100 performances as minimum criteria for a professional theatre.

[27]   In Amsterdam, there is a meeting group for theatres and one for museums and within those meetings there is a division between small and large venues. These meetings are steered by one representative of the large venues and one of the small in a co-chairmanship. Originally the commercial theatres were not included in these meetings however, at the beginning of the new millennium these meetings opened up to commercial venues as well. Most of these are not attending because the focus of these meeting groups is on governmental policy and subsidy oriented.

questions were organised around the artistic, social and economic aspects of the venues with a view to researching these on Soja's spatial dimensions. All venues were researched using documents such as working plans, mission statements, programmes, etc. In some cases, hardly any written documents were available, others made all documents public on their own webpages. All interviewees were asked for feedback and gave their consent for this publication.

Sampling criteria
- New location/setting
- New artistic identity/concept
- Primarily aimed at audience
- Formation between 2000 and 2015
- Constant policy context
- In Amsterdam

Figure 4. Sampling criteria

5.4   Time

The fieldwork took place from October 2014 till July 2015. It covered newly constructed and redeveloped arts and culture venues established in the period between 2000 and 2015. 2000 was a logical starting point since the new four year's cultural policy plan came into effect at that time. And it was also the time that works on the new developments on the IJ banks were started, and the redevelopment of Westergasfabriek as a public private partnership was formally agreed. The choice for 2015 as the cut-off date was also quite logical, as no new city development plans and no new major cultural venues were planned after this date. The cultural policy plan for the period 2017-2020 does foresee new constructions or redevelopments, however, as will be shown in chapter 7.2, cultural policy seems not to be representative for what happens in practice. To summarise the research includes the major city developments carried out in this period, as well as the analysis of a new orientation on cultural places as economic assets, which resulted in an exceptional growth of the number of cultural places in Amsterdam.

5.5   To conclude

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The analysis of the research will follow Soja's method by mapping the different dimensions of place and at the same time connecting the aspects of these different dimensions to find structuring patterns in the formation of cultural venues. Chapters 6 to 8 will be dedicated to these mappings and connections, as well as exploring the different strategies. The iterative process of coding interview data, analysing policy texts, studying literature and exploring the central elements as described in 5.2, will lead to the formulation of some general conclusions. In chapter 9, I will suggest a scheme to identify significant patterns, and launch some ideas and topics for further research.

6.

FIRSTSPACE: CASES & CITY DEVELOPMENT

6.   FIRSTSPACE: CASES & CITY DEVELOPMENT

In this chapter, the case studies will be introduced through a short description of 'surface appearances' (Soja 1996, 75) fixed in terms of concrete materiality. Therefore, it can also be called 'physical' or 'objective' space (Soja 1996, 62). The "'analytical deciphering' provides a potentially endless list of 'attributes'" (Soja 1996, 75) with location, historicality, artistic, social and economic properties. As described in chapter 5 I started to explore the venues in terms of material aspects function, size and location, identified as relevant categories by applying Soja's theory. After a first set of interviews, by comparing the data and applying a process of open coding (Glaser and Strauss 2008, 36) the additional categories of architecture, facilities, costs and duration were identified. From the start of my research, I tried to find patterns in these material aspects. This chapter will demonstrate that the data of the specific venues did reveal patterns in relation to overall city developments. Moreover, in order to come to a better understanding of these patterns, a short overview is given of the development of cultural venues in the past throughout the city.

Firstly, this chapter will give an overall impression and contextual data on growth of activities and audience during the period of my research in the Amsterdam region. The more elaborate descriptions per venue are enclosed in alphabetical order in appendix 1. Consequently, the development of cultural venues in relation to city developments will be shown. This Firstspace mapping provides a kind of bare spatial skeleton, which will be followed up in second and Thirdspace analysis to get a full picture. As has been explained before, these data form the material input for the integrated exploration of the hypotheses, which will be discussed after the second and Thirdspace mappings. Although one might argue that the hypotheses also can be explored per mapping, to come to a more precise exploration of the underlying assumptions, I have chosen otherwise. Indeed, these mappings are coherent parts and are to be understood in relation to each other. Of course, the mappings are done in relation to the underlying assumptions however the integrated analysis is postponed till the mapping exercised is completed. This Firstspace mapping should not be read as a fixed 'outcome', but rather as a first step to come to an understanding of the formation process of cultural venues. The representations in plans and programs will be explored in the following chapter. Consequently, in chapter 8 those mappings will be related to the experiences in daily practice. These connected findings will form the basis for the further exploration of the hypotheses in chapter 9.

6.1   First overall impressions

Looking at the material aspects of function, size and location, furthermore at urban development, architecture, facilities, location, costs and duration there seems to appear patterns between location and overall city developments. The new venues are scattered all over the city in different settings ranging from the centre of a densely populated residential area, to a theatre district or a meadow. Five of the venues are located at the Y-banks and four in the old city centre. Only one of the new venues is located outside the city ring road. All venues built outside the core city centre were built as a part of city (re)development. All new cultural venues in the old city centre are unique redevelopments, with the exception of Rabozaal, which can be regarded as an expansion of Stadsschouwburg and Melkweg in terms of city development. There seems to be a strong relation between the formation of new cultural venues outside the old city centre and larger city development. These new venues are part of wider urban development spaces. Furthermore, these venues have a specific architectonic quality, which gives them the quality of a 'landmark', without regard to size or function. The total amount of money spent on new venues in urban development spaces roughly equals the amount of money spent on new venues in the city centre. The construction costs for the Muziekgebouw aan t IJ/Bimhuis were more than 4 times the amount spent on the total of all communal projects like Tolhuistuin, Podium Mozaïek and Bijlmerparktheater. This research suggests that a key factor for investors might be the fact that a project is new and part of a larger urban development, without regard to the function or audience. These first impressions indicate a strong relation between the formation of new cultural venues and city development. This relation will be further explored in second and Thirdspace mappings.

Comparing the sizes of the different cases per se did not reveal any patterns. As explained in chapter 5 the size of a venue is generally taken as an indication of professionalism. According to governmental standards (Ministry OCW 2012), venues up to 200 seats are labelled as small. In my research, Splendor is the only small venue. In line with the same standards, 3 venues in my research are classified as medium size venues (setting the limit at 400 seats), the rest of the venues are large. Small and medium venues are to be found in the city centre as well as outside, in new buildings and redevelopments, as theatre or music hall, with and without parking lots, some with catering facilities and even a terrace, others with limited catering facilities. For large venues, the same applies. Overall almost 2/3rd of the venues have catering, a restaurant or café that is accessible independently from the theatre. Most of the venues are within 5 minutes walking distance of public transport with the exception of Theater Amsterdam.

Looking at the relation between cost and size, Tolhuistuin as one of the larger redevelopments was cheaper in absolute costs compared to the much smaller Bijlmerparktheater. The price per square meter ranges from below € 1000 per m2 at Tolhuistuin to € 3.750 per m2 at Eye and € 5.575 at DeLaMar. In absolute terms Muziekgebouw aan 't IJ / Bimhuis was most expensive with 60 million, and Podium Mozaïek cheapest with 2,6 million. More than half of the venues depend on governmental subsidies from the cultural departments to cover their exploitation costs.

6.1.1 Construction costs, exploitation and ownership

The total building costs seem to be fairly equal divided between private and governmental resources: total of 277,9 million, 101,8 private, 105,5 public and 80,6 private/public. Note that it is hard to obtain exact figures as some of the data of some commercial theatres are not publicly accessible; also some private venues are indirectly subsidised through tax advantages or specific agreements with the local municipality, and some public venues also received extra funding from private investors.
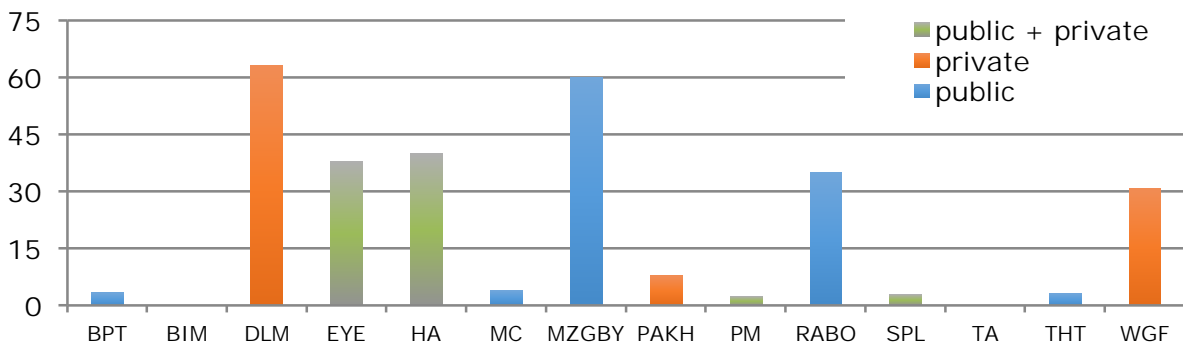
Figure 5. Total building costs

Note: BIM + MZGBY are totalled in MZGBY

Budget overruns due to construction related issues, seems to be a rule when it comes to large iconic venues, which are dealt with in cooperation with all stakeholders. In contrast, MC, Pakhuis de Zwijger and Tolhuistuin, all redevelopments and part of larger city development plans, coped with funding and construction issues, causing delay and higher costs which took a long time to solve, because of lack of commitment of all stakeholders. The renovation/rebuilding project of Hermitage was realised on time and within budget, while it was a complex redevelopment. Both large redevelopment

areas, Westergasfabriek and Tolhuistuin, coped with many setbacks like environmental pollution and asbestos contamination. DeLaMar had to deal with delay and cost overrun because of objections from the Welstand commissie[28] and Podium Mozaïek faced similar problems because of objections from the Cuypersgenootschap.[29]

	cost				time			
	within budget	overrun by construction	overrun by pollution	overrun by regulations	within time	delay by construction	delay by pollution	delay by regulations
Bijlmerpark theater	X				X			
Bimhuis		X				X		
DeLaMar			X	X				X
Eye		X			X			
Hermitage	X				X			
MC		X				X		
Muziekgebouw aan 't IJ		X				X		
Pakhuis de Zwijger	X				X			
Podium Mozaïek				X				X
Rabozaal		X				X		
Splendor	X				X			
Theater Amsterdam	X				X			
Tolhuistuin		X	X			X	X	
Westergas fabriek			X				X	

Figure 6. Cost and time overview per venue

As shown in Figure 6, the principal of the construction of privately financed venues is also the owner and exploiter of the venue with the exception of Pakhuis de Zwijger and the Hermitage. At the Hermitage, the principal was the user. Podium Mozaïek is the only venue that for a substantial part was financed with public money, where the user was co-principal. Podium Mozaïek, being not situated in a city development area, had to gather a substantial part of the funding for construction themselves.

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28 Municipal consulting body on architectural supervision.
29 Independent committee safeguarding heritage architecture.

These data accord with Trienekens (2011) findings that "a lot of money is spent by the municipality and private investors on 'flagship' projects, but hardly any money on communal projects". Trienekens furthermore concludes, "Generally, the community and artists are responsible for these projects". Whereas this is true for Podium Mozaïek, Tolhuistuin and Pakhuis de Zwijger, Bijlmerparktheater shows another picture: this communal venue was completely funded by governmental finances. This might be explained by the fact that Bijlmerparktheater was part of a city planning development and built with an iconic character. This requires further research.

Most venues in my research are owned by the principal of the construction, with the exception of MC at Westergasfabriek and the Hermitage (see Figure 6). In this respect, the bankruptcy of MC became even more painful for the municipality, since the renovation was paid for by the Municipality while the building is owned by MAB, a private real estate company. On the other hand, the Municipality owns the Hermitage, while the building costs and construction were the responsibility of the private foundation, The Nieuwe Kerk.

A new venue with a different kind of ownership is Splendor. This former bathhouse has been transformed by a group of professional musicians into a small concert venue / studio. It is situated just around the corner of the place where the Bimhuis used to be, in the inner city centre. Splendor started as a movement of professional musicians who all paid a share in cash money and inkind. Musicians, benefactors and visitors financially, artistically and socially share the ownership of the venue.

All over the Netherlands as well as in Amsterdam, there is a new trend of private persons buying or developing their own venue, not as a commercial enterprise like Theatre Amsterdam, but as a social investment. In Amsterdam, the same private investor bought four public places founded in the 19th century with different functions ranging from cinema and debate centre to concert hall and theatre. After renovation, there is programming without governmental subsidy, financed by the benefactor who also owns the places. A former church has also been renovated and serves as a small concert place financed by a private investor. Three other small venues, owned by private investors, are professionally programmed on a regular basis, funded with incidental project subsidiaries. The same can be seen in many places all over the Netherlands. This trend is too recent to make any assumptions on how it will develop.
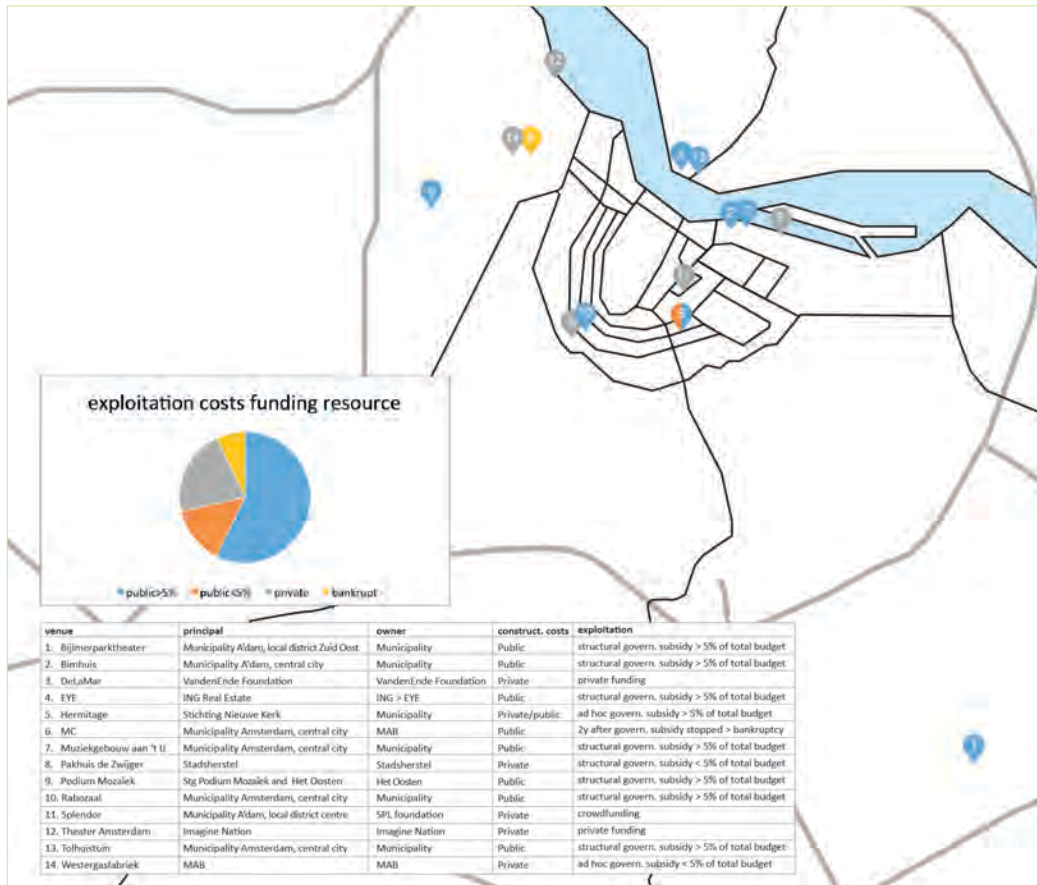
Map 1. Overview of principals, owners and funding resources for exploitation per venue.

Venues with a primary focus on the exploitation of the premises are either subsidised by governmental funds or by private entrepreneurs. Even the commercially run theatres need extra funding on a regular basis, which they get from their principals. Only large popular music venues (over 5000 seats) are being run without extra funding. More than half of the venues depend on governmental subsidies from the cultural departments to cover their exploitation costs for more than 5% of their total budget, the highest being up to 60% or 70%, while the increase of the number of venues was not planned nor budgeted by this department.

Depending on the contracts between catering and venue, the performance of the catering has an effect on the financial positon of the venue. This was one of the main reasons for the bankruptcy of MC (MC2015a), caused problems for Muziekgebouw aan 't IJ in the past (Muziekgebouw 2015a), and also is a problem for the Tolhuistuin programming foundation (AKR 2017). On the other hand, the catering in EYE is a joint effort and contributing to the overall performance (EYE 2015a).

6.1.2   Time span

Time span between concept development and opening of the venue is variable: Theater Amsterdam was opened within a year after the decision on the location, whereas the same process took 11 years at the Rabozaal. The average time for this process is 6,5 years. After Theater Amsterdam, the shortest time span is 5 years (Bijlmerparktheater and Podium Mozaïek). The same goes for the time span before setting the final location: more than a decennium passed before IJsbreker and TGA found their final destination in respectively the Muziekgebouw aan t IJ at the Y bank and the Rabozaal in the city centre. Again, Theater Amsterdam was faster than any other venue on its location choice. Some others, such as MC and Podium Mozaïek took a period of a around 2 years before settling. However, although the prolongation of opening is often experienced as frustrating, the time span itself seems of no importance for the performance of the theatre from the opening onwards. More relevant are the strategies chosen in the construction phase to establish the connectivity between programme, audience and location as for example shown by Bimhuis as will be discussed in chapter 8.

6.1.3   Changing numbers of activities, seats and audience

Overall cultural activities, seats and audience have grown substantially in the Amsterdam region, including all venues, during the period of my research. The number of seats in this period grew from 60.000 to 70.000 in venues being programmed on a regular basis. This is without the extra capacity of Westergasfabriek, which depending on the event has a capacity ranging from 4000 seats to 20.000 visitors at open air festivals, and without the capacity of 17.000 visitors of the large live music venue Ziggo Dome.

Comparing the number of activities seems somewhat arbitrary since these activities include small and large activities; the increase of 7.000 activities in 2001 to more than 12.000 activities in 2014 is mainly due to an increase of smaller scale activities. This is an increase of about 70%. Since 2002, the number of visitors for museums has almost doubled from ca. 6 million to almost 12 in 2014. This is for the most part due to the re-opening of Rijksmuseum, Stedelijk Museum and Scheepvaartmuseum. Also, NEMO increased its audience numbers and reached 0,6 million visitors in 2015. In 2014, Hermitage and EYE together received more than 0,8 million visitors. The theatre and music venue audience has also grown; from ca 2,8 million in 2001 to 3 million in 2010 to 5 million in 2014. Ziggo Dome, the new large live

music venue takes ca. 800.00 visitors followed by DeLaMar theatre with ca. 500.000 visitors in 2014. Over the same period of time, the traditionally largest venues Concertgebouw, Carré and Muziektheater coped with decreasing numbers of circa 15% overall, from 1,5 million yearly to 1,25. However, the opening of Ziggo Dome didn't have a negative effect on the numbers for Paradiso, Melkweg and the Heineken Music Hall, the main live music venues in Amsterdam. All in all, the growth of visitors and activities almost doubled for new venues in the city centre as well as in the outskirts. The large venues/areas and museums are attracting most of the visitors, and/or have more seats, while the smaller venues expand in activities.

6.2   Culture venues and changing city space

As shown, half of the new venues are built in newly developed areas and half in the core city. This is not significant per se, looking at former periods of expansion and the positioning of cultural venues. From a long-term perspective, cultural venues seem to be part of changing urban space. In 1638 the Stadsschouwburg was built at the Keizersgracht, and in 1664 the Leidse poort was built after the expansion of the canals. In 1774 Stadsschouwburg was rebuilt (after two great fires of the former building at the Keizersgracht) at this place, just inside the city walls. Felix Meritis (concert hall) and de Kleine Komedie (theatre) were built in the inner city in the same period (1777 resp. 1786) and have remained there until today.

1. Stadschouwburg at the outerside of the city.

1829

http://www.amsterdamhistorie.nl/kaarten/kaarten.html?imagenaam=amsterdam1829

Map 2. Amsterdam 1829

Map 3. Amsterdam 1875

A decade later, in 1864, Paleis voor de Volksvlijt, a multifunctional cultural area was developed as part of a city development plan. In the same period (opening 1886), the Concertgebouw, was built on the initiative of a group of wealthy citizens at the end of the 19the century, just outside the legal city border, close to the newly constructed Rijksmuseum (opening 1885). This national heritage art museum is built inside the city border, and next to this the city modern art museum, Stedelijk Museum (1895). In the same period Carré was built in the inner city (opening 1887). The location choice of the Concertgebouw by the private investors seems to suggest an act of economic land development. The overall development of cultural venues seems to be led by city developments and not so much by ideas on cultural clustering.
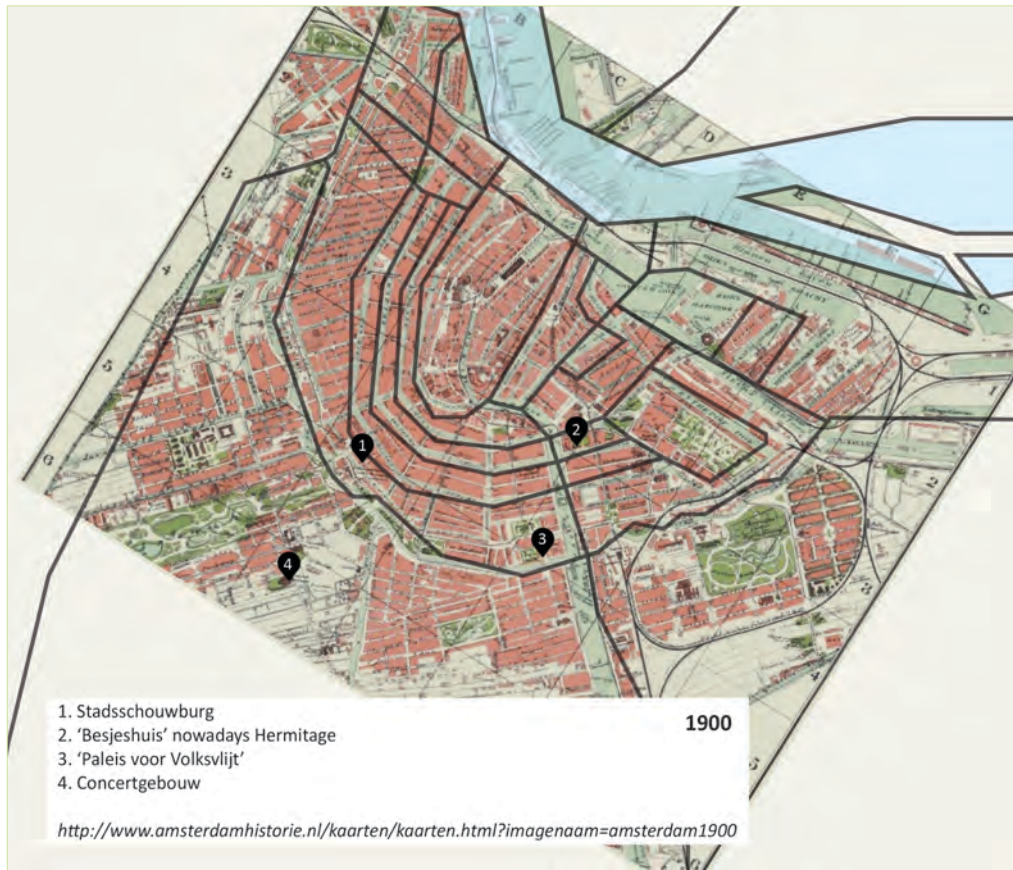
Map 4. Amsterdam 1900

Map 5. Amsterdam 1940

In the next decades Amsterdam expanded to all sides, and in 1940 Concertgebouw found itself in the middle of a residential area. The years after World War II the expansion goes on; however, no new large cultural venues are constructed until half way through the seventies.
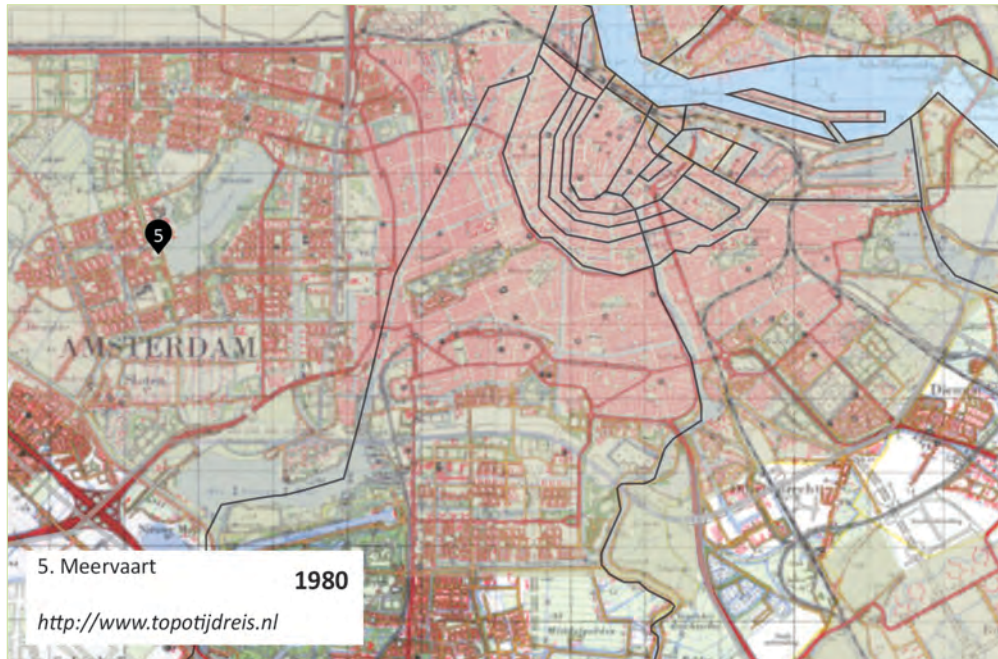
Map 6. Amsterdam 1980

In 1977 de Meervaart was opened in a newly developed area at the western part of the city, while in the city centre Van Gogh Museum was built (opening 1973). In the eighties National Opera and Ballet, better known as the Stopera, was built as part of the new cityhall in the inner city. This fitted in the urban renewal plan (opening 1986). In the nineties NEMO was constructed as one of the pioneers of the Y banks development (see next chapter).
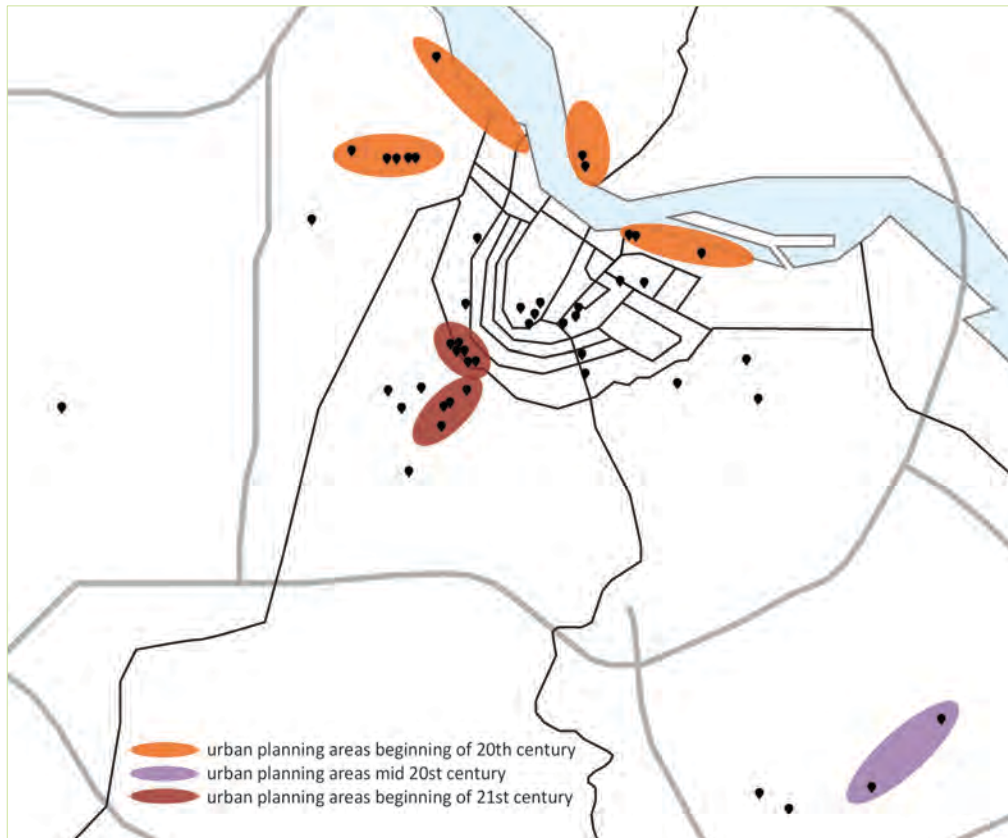
Map 7. Amsterdam 2015 cultural venues and city developments

From the late sixties, onwards many venues started operating in the inner city as what we now call redevelopments: Paradiso (live music venue) in a former church, Melkweg (live music venue) in a former milkfactory, De Balie (debate centre) in a court building etc. As can be seen in the map of 2015 cultural venues are concentrated in the city centre, as it existed in 1940. As the overview of the cases show, new cultural developments can be found in the inner city as well as in urban development areas, just as at the end of the 19th century.
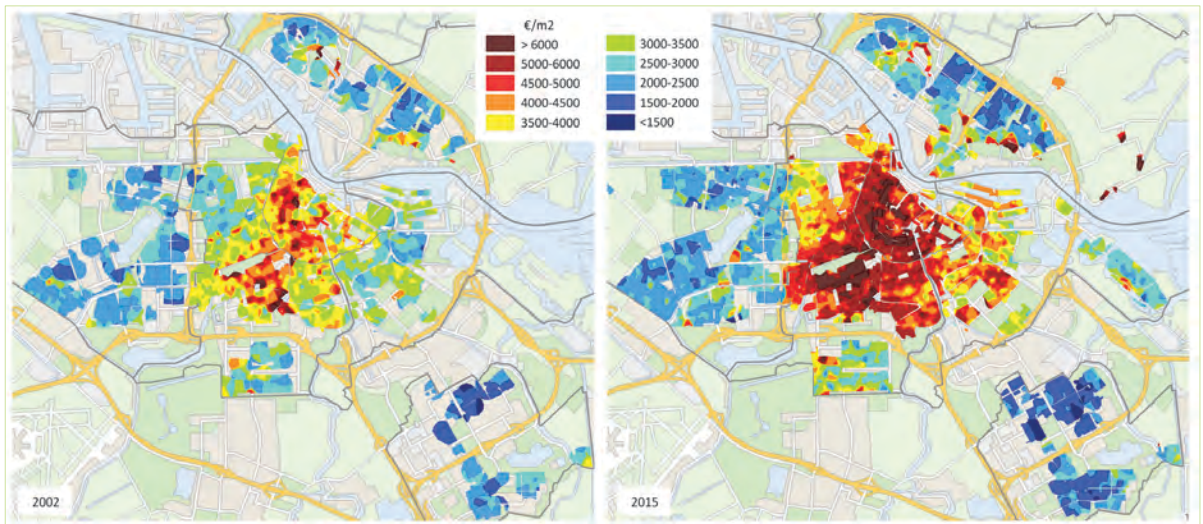
Map 8. Amsterdam 2002 (left) and Amsterdam 2015 (right) real estate value

The maps show the growth in real estate value between 2002 and 2015. From a long-term perspective, cultural venues are not merely part of but also contribute to the development of new urban spaces.
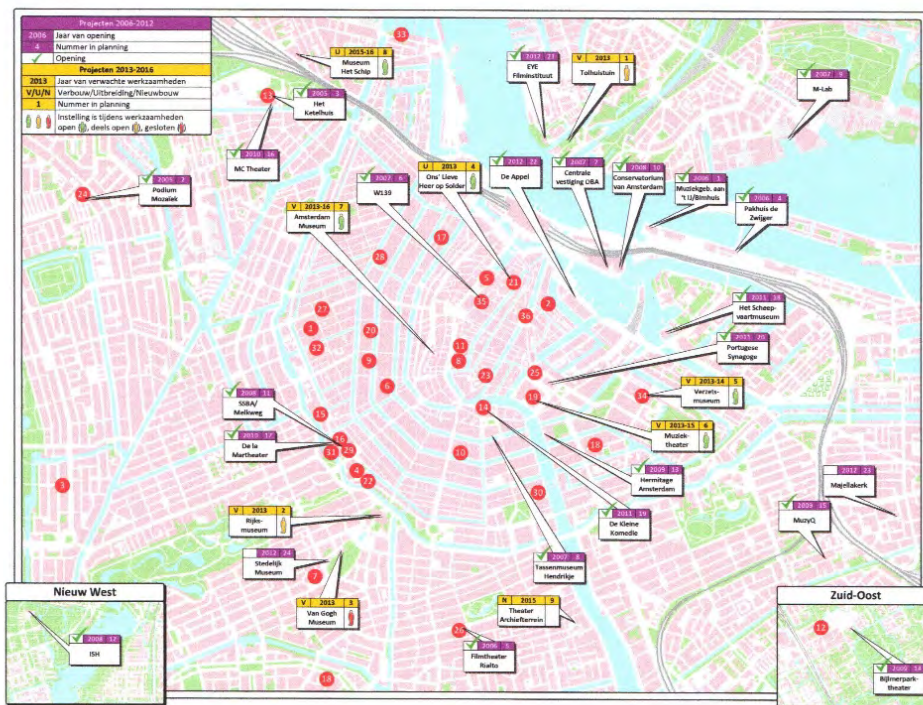
Map 9. Amsterdam 2012 cultural real estate developments

Map 9 shows the new buildings, renovation and expansion of cultural real estate in Amsterdam, either realised in the period 2005-2012 or scheduled for 2013-2016.

1. Bijlmerparktheater
2. Bimhuis
3. De La Mar
4. Eye
5. Hermitage
6. MC at Westergasfabriek
7. Muziekgebouw aan het IJ
8. Pakhuis de Zwijger
9. Podium Mozaïek
10. Rabozaal
11. Splendor
12. Theater Amsterdam
13. Tolhuistuin
14. Westergasfabriek
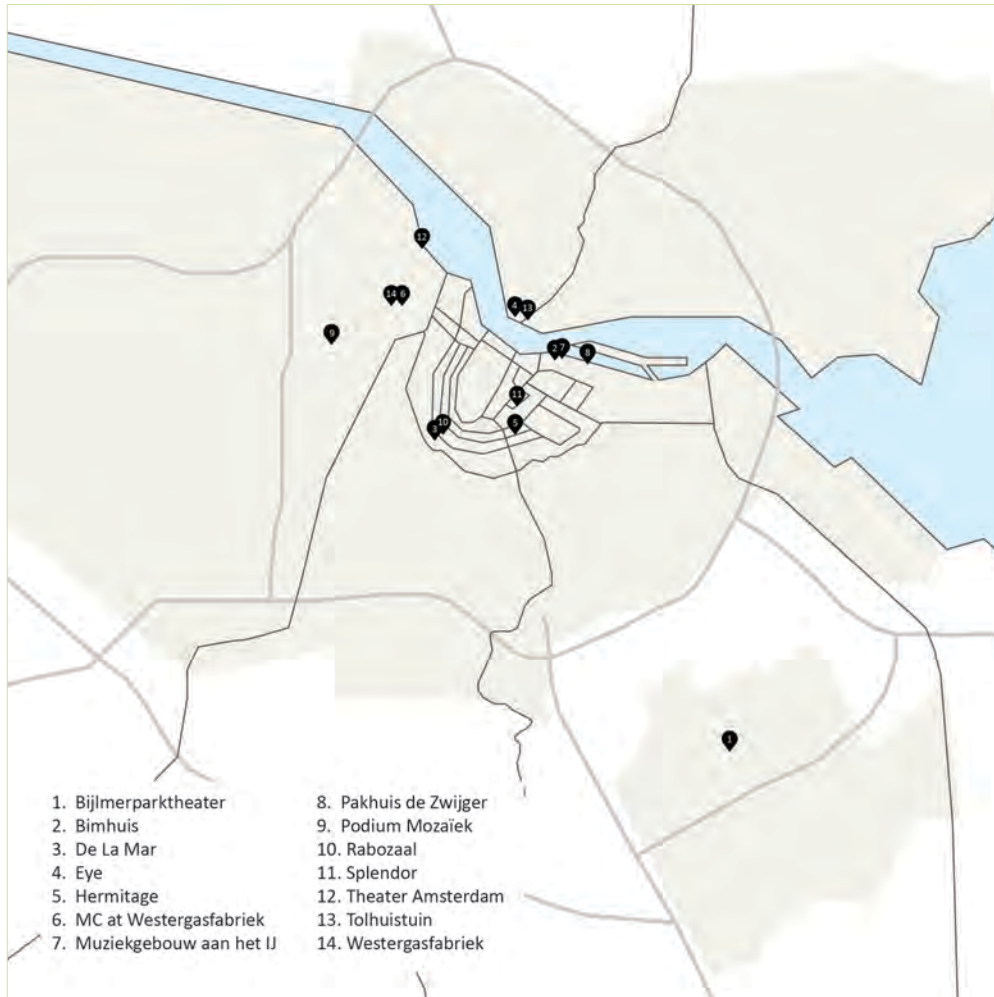
Map 10. Amsterdam cultural venues of field research

Between 2000 and 2015, 19 new cultural venues have been built, five of which are not included in this research: three of those are merely a rehearsal place with limited public performances, the other two are not included because they are large-scale commercial venues focusing on large public events without a specific cultural aim. At the same time, large-scale renovations have been realised at Stedelijk Museum, Scheepvaartmuseum, Van Gogh and Rijksmuseum. Over the same period of time, five small venues closed down. Map 10 shows the new venues included in this research, selected on number of activities for audiences as criteria for professionalism.

6.3　In conclusion

The new venues vary in size, function and location. Since 2000 the growth of visitors and activities almost doubled for new venues in the city centre as well as in the outskirts. The large venues/areas and museums are attracting most of the visitors, while the smaller venues expand in activities. At first sight, there seems to be no relation between size, function and location. Looking more closely at the categories several patterns seem to appear around the concept of location, not so much related to size or function, but to other aspects. Exploring the concept of location more deeply seems to suggest a relation with urban development. New venues are scattered all over the city in different settings ranging from the centre of a densely populated residential area, a theatre district or a meadow. There seems to be a strong relation between the formation of new cultural venues outside the old city centre and new urban development areas. Furthermore, there seems to be a relation between architectural quality and location. All newly constructed buildings in new urban development spaces have a specific architectonic characteristic, which gives these building the quality of a 'landmark', without regard to size or function. Also, the fact that a new cultural venue is part of a new urban space seems to attract investors, without regard to function or audience. The city development and location of cultural venues over the past centuries show that the former expansions of cultural venues just as now, partly were in the inner city, partly at the outskirts of the city, which are nowadays belonging to the inner city. From a long-term perspective, cultural venues are part of, ánd contribute to the development of new urban spaces. The developments in the period of my research seem to reflect this pattern.

In the next chapter, the city development plans will be explored to come to a better understanding of this relation between the formation of new cultural venues and city development. To the same end cultural policy will be analysed, before moving on to the Secondspace mappings per venue.

7.

SECONDSPACE: CITY PLANNING, CULTURAL POLICY AND VENUES

7. SECONDSPACE: CITY PLANNING, CULTURAL POLICY AND VENUES

The Firstspace overview in chapter 6 is the first step to come to an understanding of the changing significance of cultural venues. Firstspace shows the material reality, whereas Secondspace explores the 'thought things'; it is the world of rationally interpretable signification. (Soja 1996, 79). Abstract mental concepts are used to explain the 'essence' (Soja 1996, 79). It explains how structures of culture, society and economics are represented, creating discursive formations, defining what is and what is not appropriate in our formulation of a particular subject (Hall 2010, 6). This framework of interpretation and explanation constructs identities and subjectivities. These constructions identify, legitimize and reflect structures of power and knowledge, surveying and controlling both the spatial practices and the lived spaces of representation (Soja 1996, 80). Texts and images in formal reports as well as on social media, websites, brochures etc. were analysed on specific actions and frames to reveal these representations. Taking the Firstspace analysis as a first step, the Secondspace analysis focuses on the city planning and cultural policy level as well as on the level of individual venues. Framing takes place on the city and case level and both levels are being steered by the social, economic and artistic legitimations as being described in chapter 2. The categories of the Firstspace mapping are analysed in terms of connectivity of place, programme and audience as described in chapter 3.

On cultural and city policy level, the economic value is specified in real estate value, being a shared economic value in both policies. The artistic value is broadened to the category 'cultural' since the city policy does define cultural value in general terms only, as will be shown in the following paragraphs. Social value is referred to in terms of social cohesion and connectivity between place and community.

The venue-by-venue analysis illuminated artistic and architectural identity as specific categories. Artistic identity is determined by researching representations of cultural partners as exposed in policy documents as well as in audience-oriented media. The architectural identity is determined by researching representations such as comments and impressions by architects, peers and principals. The research showed that both categories used the same subcategories to explain the identity, namely vision, connectivity, and functionality. Yet, as will be shown, the interpretation of these subcategories diverges, reflecting different types of power and knowledge structures.

The analysis of the categories on both levels is summarized in an integrated scheme at the end of this chapter. This reveals sometimes

unexpected differences and similarities in types of framing between the cultural and architectural identity, city planning policy and cultural policy.

This chapter will firstly outline the context of the city development policy connected to the cultural venues as described in the previous chapters (7.1). Secondly, the municipal cultural policy will be described (7.2). Consequently, the relation and/or disconnection between both policies will be explored. This will be followed by an exploration of the venues in terms of function and mission statements, the way cultural partners, architects and principals express them in plans, websites and programme overviews (7.3). This will be concluded with an overall grid of categories followed by a Figure integrating the categories per case. Finally, specific aspects of the different explorations will be connected (7.4).

7.1   City planning

In physical spatial development, Amsterdam used to follow the same pattern as many western European cities, with a concentric structure as explained by Burgess (2013, 94). The city shows clustering of the same functions (wedges of activity) connected to the development throughout history. In this concentric structure, traditional performance arts centres are placed in the inner circle. In the 19th century, European cities such as Paris and Brussels were transformed by city developments inspired by Hausmann. However, Amsterdam, being the capital but not the seat of the national government, didn't get any national governmental money for such redevelopments, and the city was very poor, thus no such redevelopments were done (Wagenaar 2003, 11 and on). Finally, in 1866 the national government decided to build the Noordzeekanaal and a new Central Station in 1869. This was the beginning of a new era, giving the city a new spirit. The Noordzeekanaal (opened in 1874) created new business, and a new elite of entrepreneurs formed new meeting clubs, such as the Societeit de Groote Club (1872) and the Concertgebouw in 1888. Thus, the end of the 19th century became the 'second golden age'. During this century, the local politicians were confirmed in their conviction that unrestricted market mechanisms gave the best results in relation to city development (Wagenaar 2003, 16). Not only the successful private development of new living areas such as the Plantage, but also the private development of cultural venues such as the Paleis voor Volksvlijt, Concertgebouw and the Stadsschouwburg reinforced this standpoint. In 1894 the Stadsschouwburg was rebuilt financed by an elite group chaired by a merchant banker (theaterencyclopedie.nl/wiki/Stads schouwburg, _Amsterdam). As mentioned in the former chapter the Concertgebouw was built by a group of private entrepreneurs just outside the

city grounds apparently for economic real estate reasons. Yet, 18 years after the opening of the Concertgebouw this group of merchant bankers applied for state funding for the exploitation costs of the Concertgebouw.

Map 11. General Expansion Plan 1935

(Wikimedia Algemeen_uitbreidingsplan_amsterdam1935)

In 1917 a large expansion of housing under the direction of architect Berlage was approved by the city council, and in 1935 the General Expansion plan (AUP: Algemene Uitbreidingsplan Amsterdam) was endorsed. This was enabled by the fact that at the end of the 19th century the city annexed several small adjacent communities and in 1901 a new law, the Woningwet, enabled expropriation on behalf of development of social housing, thus overruling the public over private value, a novelty in the Netherlands at the time. This General Expansion plan focused on housing provision, guided urban development up until far after world war II period, such as the construction of the 'westelijke tuinsteden' and the Bijlmer expansion. After World War II city development was focused on development of housing and on accessibility for cars through city boulevards. Also, it was decided to construct a subway to the new Bijlmer area. Both facilities to increase the accessibility of the city required large-scale demolishment of old neighbourhoods. Resistance groups of the sixties brought about a change. The construction of a large building combining the city council and the opera and ballet house on the spot of a formerly famous flee market, became one of the focal points of protest and marked the end of this large-scale demolishment.

Originally the National Opera and Ballet was not destined to be built in the city centre, but the connection between the construction of the City council and the Opera and Ballet house, gave the latter its central position and the former its funding by the national government, which otherwise would have been denied. The political argument for this connection was that the cultural venue could give liveliness to the building at night hours, whereas the city council would be open at daytime. Also, the cultural venue could claim funding from the national government. It opened in 1986 (architectural odyssey.wordpress.com; operaballet.nl/nl/het-instituut/geschiedenis; theatre encyclopedie.nl/wiki/ Het_Muziektheater, Amsterdam).

Picture 1. City council and Opera and Ballet

(©het-muziektheater.nl)

Theatre Meervaart is the only new cultural venue built in the post war expansion areas. It was actually built after the completion of this expansion, as a combination of a community and hight arts centre (theaterencyclopedie.nl/wiki/Meervaart, Amsterdam). In the following years, in line with the processes described in chapter 3, local, regional, and national actors were demanding strategic action to improve the 'competitiveness' of the locale of the city, to ensure that it remained one of Europe's core commercial locations (Healey 2007, 38). In this period, the development of business areas just outside the city center emerged. While in 1985 the 'Structuurplan' (long term city planning policy document) still focused on the central core (Healey 2007, 51), by the mid-nineties city planning policy changed focus from a 'compact city' to a 'network city' (Healey 2010, 178). There was talk of a new golden age (Gemeente Amsterdam Ontwikkelingsalliantie 2008, 44 and 80). Amsterdam "pursued a rather 'implicit' strategy for economic development, of which the focus on partnership and facilitated self-organization was an important aspect" (2012, 41). Economic and spatial strategies included bottom-up initiatives in intermediate-scale regional planning (Salet 2012, 47). Thus, the Y riverbanks overall city planning scheme was swapped for a development strategy (Schram 2012, 69). Also, the concept of "multiple-intensive land use entered the scene" (Salet 2012, 57). Furthermore, there was a political concern to keep the city accessible and liveable for different social classes, with a focus on social housing. This gave the city a special quality in the eyes of researchers as

Soja (1996, 293) Fainstein (2010, 164) and Heinemeyer and van Schendelen (2003, 99), with a relatively small gap between the rich and the poor, showing a wide diversity related to the dynamics of the area. However, the political attitude towards redistributive housing policies has been receding (Fainstein 2010, 139). Since 2008 the number of poor in Amsterdam has grown, showing also an increase of 'working poor'. Recent reports show a slight decline of the number of poor since 2014. The percentage of very low incomes in Amsterdam has remained the same since 2001, however the percentage of high incomes has increased from 7% in 2001 to 12,4% in 2012.

In regard to cultural accommodations, the 'Structuurplan' 1996 gave priority to the development of cultural accommodations with strategic value for the economic and touristic competitive position of the city. These accommodations were to be located in the old urban core and the southern Y-bank, thus attracting a wealthier demographicto this area (Gemeente Amsterdam DRO 1996).

In the next 'Structuurplan' of 2003 Amsterdam is recognized for its potential as cultural city and represented as a creative city. This applied not only to the city centre, but also to the other districts: each got labelled with a specific cultural identity, such as the northern Y bank for research and small scale cultural developments, South East/Bijlmer for large accessible entertainment venues, de Baarsjes is relabeled 'Quartier Chassé' for conceptual artists and galleries (this district is next to the district where Podium Mozaïek is located) and the Zuidas area for international presentation (Gemeente Amsterdam DRO 2003, 47). In 2011, Amsterdam published a new 'Structuurvisie' in which new spatial connections were foreseen with a focus on specialised culture, leisure, creative and knowledge clusters (Gemeente Amsterdam 2011, 98). Amsterdam was represented as a creative city and a tourist attraction, and positioned as a centre for knowledge and finance.

cultural physical connections

Shared Amsterdam ambition

Olympic ambition

Areas and neighbourhoods with multiple identities

global node
roll-out centre area
connect local and global

Extension transformation areas

Specialized culture, leisure, creative knowledge clusters

Green
Public space
Cultural history
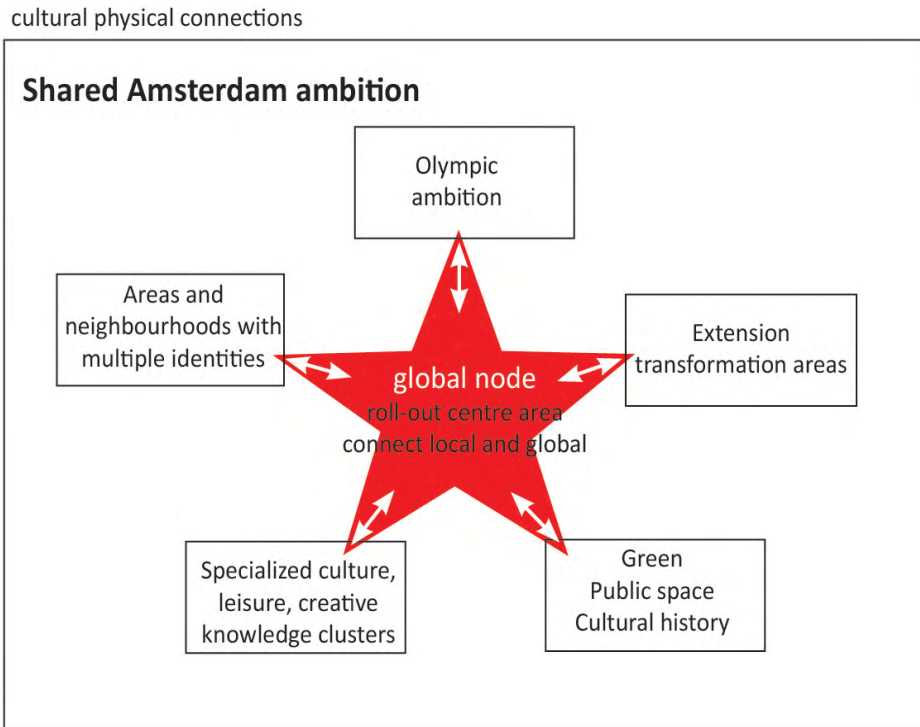
Figure 7. Spatial cultural connections in Structuurvisie 2040
(Gemeente Amsterdam DRO, 2011; 98)

Since most cultural venues in my research have been developed along the Y-banks and in the Amsterdam West district, the representations of these planning programmes will be discussed in more detail, as well as the Bijlmer development and the Art Factory Policy. The parallel development of the Zuidas remains outside the scope of this research, although the construction of a new museum of modern art originally was also part of this planning programme (Salet 2013, 57). The combination of design with a finance centre, enforced both the representation of Amsterdam as a creative city and as a centre of finance. Design was supposed to attract the same type of people as those daily working in the area in the financial sector.

7.1.1 Y-banks

Until the seventies of the 20th century the Y banks were in use as harbour with shipyards and docks for trans-shipment. In the following decade, the eastern part of the harbour got out of function, and the trans-shipment moved to the western parts of the harbour. In the same period, former harbour areas elsewhere in the world were transformed in housing areas. These developments gave an impetus to formulate new city plans for this area in the eighties. The overall plan included a grand scheme to bring Amsterdam to the next level, being able to compete with other European cities. This plan

concerned a private public partnership proposing a large-scale development designed by R. Koolhaas stretching out from Sloterdijk to IJburg, being called the longest terrace of Amsterdam. Many studies and reports passed by and the different partners couldn't come to an agreement. It became a "quagmire, hornet's nest, snake pit, minefield and was built on sand at the same time" (Gemeente Amsterdam, Ontwikkelingsalliantie 2008, 87). The public and private partnership dissolved and the overall plan was dismissed. However, some scattered parts were realized such as NEMO. This building reflects the ideas of the master plan: connecting the north and the south banks and giving the banks 'back' to Amsterdam. Through its architecture it should have connected the north to the south side, the roof terrace representing an upwards movement towards the light mirroring the downwards movement of the tunnel in the dark leading to north Amsterdam underneath. The pre-oxidized copper-clad facade of the 'bow' oriented towards the waterfront adds to the resemblance of a ship, whereas the red brick at the entrance oriented towards the city centre, connects the building with the city centre (arcam.nl). The building is located on a small stretch of land in the port of Amsterdam, straddling the entrance to a road tunnel and is surrounded by water. A pedestrian ramp leads up onto the building's sloped roof that serves as a public piazza for visitors and as a social focus for the neighbourhood (rpbw.com/project/39/NEMO-national-center-for-science-and-technology/). This was the first real 'iconic' building in Amsterdam, opened in 1997 right before the new millennium, being called 'NewMetropolis'. It was originally not built as a museum, but as a national centre for science and technology (geschiedenis-van-amsterdam-noord.nl/Y-tunnel/jan). The building was one of the 'landmarks' of the former overall Y-banks city planning and no connection was made to cultural policy nor was it connected to the cultural networks of the city and the region. It acquired the official status of a museum only some years ago. NEMO was not off to a good start. After two years, it went practically bankrupt, by lack of any governmental subsidies. This gave sustenance to the idea that iconic buildings might be positive for overall promotion purposes, but not for the organization itself. However, nowadays the venue is in the top 5 of the most visited museums in the Netherlands and the iconic character is felt to attribute to the innovative imago and national publicity (NEMO 2015a).

Picture 2. NEMO

(©NEMOsciencemuseum.nl/)

In 1994, Stadig became alderman on housing and spatial planning, the Grondbedrijf and large-scale spatial planning projects. This combination of responsibilities increased the agility of the alderman. He stayed on for 12 years, which gave him the opportunity to initiate, start and finish a number of large-scale projects (Gemeente Amsterdam 2015a). With Stadig an atmosphere of realism was introduced (Schram 2012, 68). He represented a new type of policymaking with an analytical pragmatic view on realising economic profitable projects for the city while actively involving private investors. He decided to approach the Y-banks development as an organic process, dividing the whole area in subprojects per island (Gemeente Amsterdam 2015a). In the same period city planning policy changed focus from a 'compact city' to a 'network city' as discussed above. The report 'Ankers in het IJ' published in 1995 reflects this change. This report was different from all other reports on this area because it was a development strategy instead of a planning strategy, which gave way to specific characteristics for each separate subarea (Schram 2012, 45 and on). Each island and area obtained its 'anchors', (semi-) public venues meant as blockbusters to attract Amsterdam citizens to visit the Y-banks. Therefore, "extra money became available from the urban development department to realise the construction of Muziekgebouw aan 't IJ and Bimhuis" (Gemeente Amsterdam 2015b). Moreover, these public investments had to convince the private market to invest in the area. These huge cultural projects, with buildings of remarkable architectural quality such as Muziekgebouw aan 't IJ/Bimhuis and EYE, added a substantial value to the image and visibility of the city. At the same time, long cherished dreams of Amsterdam cultural initiators could be realized (Schram 2012, 82). The idea was to attract

performing arts and not museums at the southern banks because the city planning body wanted to generate traffic at night. The assumption was the place as such would generate traffic during daytime anyway (Bimhuis 2015a).
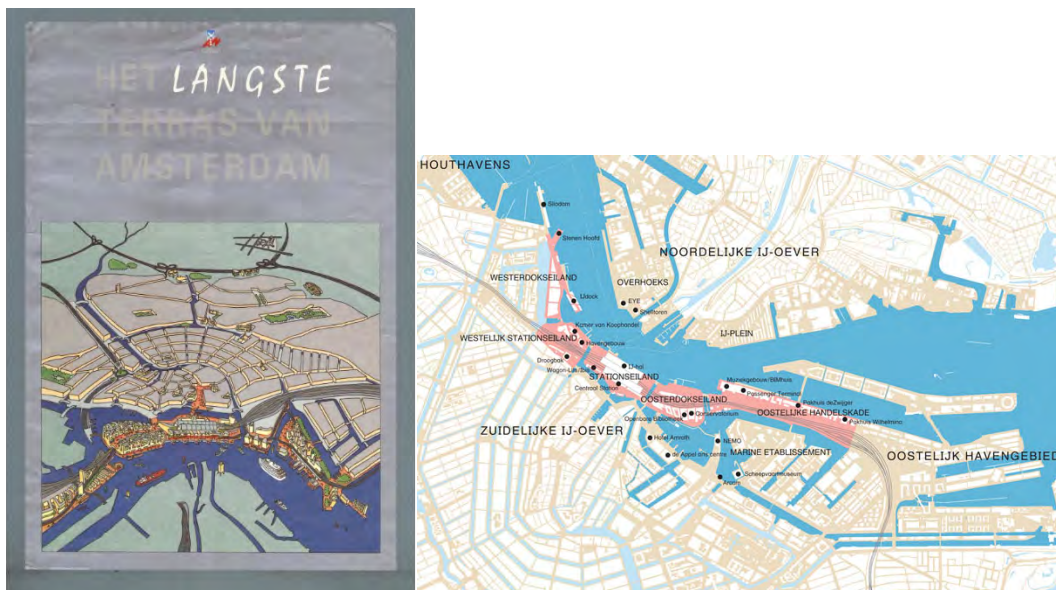
Picture 3. Y-banks South

Development plan (Schram 2012)

There used to be a difference in representation between the two waterfronts (Gemeente Amsterdam DRO 2008, 2). The tackling of the Southern Bank of the Y-river essentially proceeded from a planning per island, attracting high income groups, while the regeneration on the Northern Bank was primarily a gradual, bottom-up process trying to establish a new image without alienating the original inhabitants (Gemeente Amsterdam DRO 2011, 4). The southern part appealed more to traditional and creative businesses with an attachment to the city centre, the Northern Bank of the Y remained an industrial waterfront, with a gradual shift towards more office-based business activities, attracting 'pioneers keen to explore new frontiers' according to the concept text of the Masterplan Northerly Y banks. Although this plan was never formally endorsed, it remained the dominant representation of the planning developments of this bank. The northern bank held many industrial activities related to shipping yards, which dramatically declined in the seventies of the 20th century. It housed also large chemical concerns as Shell and Draka Solvay. Moreover, it housed a large, mostly low educated community living in small housing plots, constructed in the thirties of the 20th century and after World War II. It also included a small walled neighbourhood called Asterdorp, built as a reformatory community housing poor families. Only recently the slogan 'Noord gestoord' (loony North) became a fashionable nickname instead of an insult. Large parts of this area

were flooded in 1916 as well as in 1960. Although the northern banks are situated at the sunny side of the Y, it is not easy accessible by lack of direct and efficient connections to the city centre especially for cyclist and pedestrians. Also, parts of the area are heavily polluted. This background required a different city development plan, taking time to slowly develop the area into a multi-functional area including former industrial settlements and habitants as well as new habitants, housing plots, cultural and entertainment facilities. In spite of these different backgrounds and representations, the areas have become more and more similar: nowadays both sides of the banks accommodate a large iconic cultural venue, surrounded by smaller redevelopments of bottom-up oriented cultural initiators such as Pakhuis de Zwijger and Tolhuistuin, as well as large scale commercial hotels and offices. The North side attracted several media concerns, such as MTV, A Film, IDTV, thus becoming represented as the second media cluster of the Netherlands (see eg. min Vrom 2010, 11). The south bank accommodates large cruise ships at the Passengers terminal Amsterdam thus representing the touristic attractiveness of this new area because of its connectivity to the old city centre. As a consequence, large flocks of tourists roam through the area daily. Both banks have large-scale housing projects, large and small creative business estates, and both sides lost a lot of 'free' spaces: zones where artists, actors, and creatives of all kinds used to work and live together. Old warehouses were demolished on the south side, and recently the last artists living in a free zone at the NDSM terrain under the slipways of the shipping yards were relocated to Art factories elsewhere in the city. Because they had occupied the buildings for several years they were entitled to re-housing (Pruijt 2003, 154). In the Structuurplan 1996 titled 'Focus on the city' the idea was to enforce the relation between the city centre and the Y river. Later on the idea changed to reinforce the city and to profile Amsterdam internationally. Although some say Eye made the northern banks closer to the city centre others argue that the developments enlarged the gap: "not for the happy few, living in the new apartment blocks overlooking the Y river, but for the rest of the Amsterdam population. A brick wall has been built between the city and the Y river. By mass and volume, the developments at the Eastern and Western docks as well at the Oostelijke Handelskade drove the city further away from the Y banks than ever before" (archined.nl).
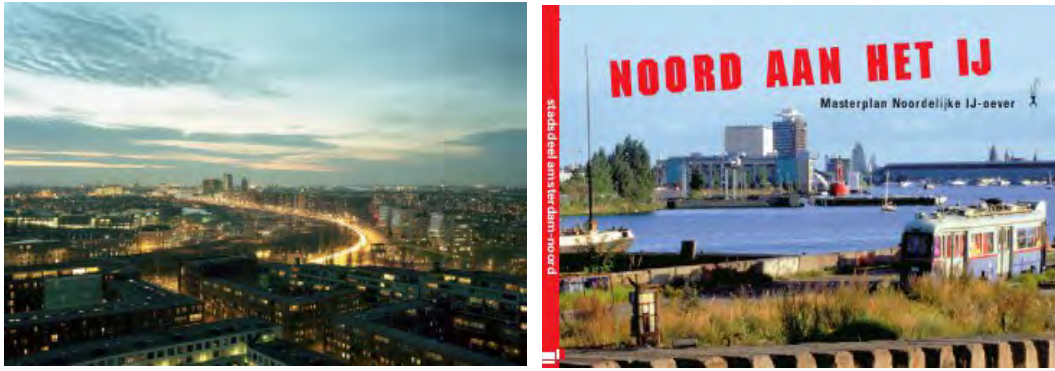
Picture 4. Y-banks North

©   *amsterdam.nl/stadsarchief/ photo Raimond Wouda (left)*
        cover Masterplan Noord 2002 (right)

7.1.2   Westergasfabriek area

While Stadig developed city plans for the Y-banks and the Zuidas, induced by global economic forces, district West was reigned by a more leftist party giving free reign to all kinds of public participation in the development of the Westergasfabriek area (Gemeente Amsterdam 2015b). The planning processes differed substantially from the planning of the Y-banks the latter primarily being a new urban development, aiming to meet contemporary demands in terms of economic and demographic developments. The Westergasfabriek was a redevelopment of the former gas plant of Amsterdam West. It was one of the first redevelopments in the Netherlands of old industrial premises of this size and later on it became a model for other redevelopments all over the Netherlands. At the time at the outskirts of the city, nowadays it is a part of the city centre and is surrounded by new and old housing plots. The area reflected on the developments at the Ruhr area and tried to gain its own identity, which was represented as being related to the community, the cultural experimental scene and outdoor leisure time.

The place had been 'donated' by the central city to the district West in 1992. The area was heavily polluted, most buildings needed reconstruction, but they could be used depending on the requirements of the inhabitants. The Westergasfabriek and the park measure 14,5 hectares in total. On a map of 1881, it says: 'terrain meant for park''. Nonetheless, in 1885 the Westergasfabriek was built on these grounds. Later, it partly became a park. In the seventies of the last century, the lack of green in that area of Amsterdam again became a point of discussion and the development plan was accordingly changed (Stadsdeel Westerpark 1996). Originally, the idea was to house permanent residents. In response to a call for ideas, the so-called IJsbreker group, part of whom later became tenants of the Muziek gebouw aan 't IJ, proposed a plan to establish the music centre of the 20th century.

Although there were some objections to this plan, being too sophisticated and out of touch with the local population, the alderman of culture at the time already promised half of the required budget of 31 million (guilders). This permanent destination was to be mixed with the 'Rizome-project' proposed by Chris de Vries, an artist living in the neighbourhood, safeguarding a constantly changing set of functions and activities, thus representing ideas on citizen participation and cultural innovation. Then in 1995, the IJsbreker suddenly switched to the Y project offered to them by the Y-banks development team, shocking the Westergasfabriek team (Gemeente 2015b). This decision came a few weeks before the district had to present the development plan for the area. District Westerpark demanded in exchange the appointment of one alderman, coordinating all municipal aspects, to speed up the overall project. In hindsight, this switch is referred to as a blessing in disguise (Gemeente 2015b and c). District Westerpark changed the plan to combining temporary instead of permanent cultural, entrepreneurial activities with the leisure type function of the park. This plan was based on three policy frameworks: firstly, the green environment programme for the Randstad[30], secondly, big cities issues especially related to the pauperization which at the time was a serious problem in this district, and thirdly, the culture strategy of the national government, using culture to tackle social inequality and deprivation. One of the cornerstones of the plan became hosting cultural activities with an innovative and temporary or ad hoc character. Therefore, the grounds around the buildings were transformed into a park with a special function for large festivals, and the buildings were transformed into (multi) tenant locations for culture related activities. The plan included cooperation with the private market. This cooperation fitted in the ideas on private and public cooperation just as at the Y banks. These ideas were not easily linked to the innovative cultural partners involved at the beginning; they resisted the idea of being connected to commercial partners for reasons of autonomy as well as out of fear for losing the inspiring industrial character by turning it into a commercial project. The people living in the neighbourhood on the other hand resisted the cultural partners because they felt they were not connected to them. Flexibility as a key concept opened up possibilities to all parties involved. After a period of consulting and experimenting with possible usages, it was decided the focus would be on temporary cultural activities and events requiring public and private commitments (kennisbankherbestemming.nu/ projecten/westergasfabriek-amsterdam).

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[30]   Randstadgroenstructuur, programme being developed for the whole area by municipalities, Provinces and national government.

Picture 5. Westergasfabriek

© jlgrealestate.com/westergasfabriek/

7.1.3   Bijlmer area

Only one venue in this research is situated outside the city ring road. This venue is located in the centre of the Bijlmer, in the district Amsterdam Zuidoost. The specific history of this area had a strong effect on the realization of communal facilities. This area was a polder formerly used by farmers, close to Amsterdam. In the sixties, it was developed into a new residential area inspired on Corbusier's ideas on a functional city and guided by the principles of the AUP of 1935 focusing on housing only. In those days, it was a progressive plan with a strict division between living, working and recreation. "Light, air and space" (Verhagen 1987, 6) were the catchwords to attract new residents. In the original architectural concept, multifunctional spots were devised, in which several public functions would be combined (Verhagen 1987, 96). Part of the philosophy was a mobility structure in which car traffic would be completely separated from bicycle traffic and pedestrians. Shopping, consolidated in a small, "obscurely located mall" (Fainstein 2010, 154), was meant only to serve the basic daily needs of residents. Van Eesteren, one of the leading architects of the AUP, later said "in the Bijlmer no child died in a traffic accident and one cannot say that about the van Baerlestraat"[31] (Verhagen 1987, 18).

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[31]   A crowded street in the inner city.

Picture 6. Bijlmer
(© photo: From Bijlmermeerpolder to Amsterdam Zuidoost, Evert Verhagen)

However, the project appeared to be problematic for various reasons and eventually even the planning establishment rejected what "the original planners had regarded as a physical design embodying the egalitarian ideal of a decent home for everyone" (Fainstein 2010, 154). Problems in the area were exacerbated by the sudden influx of Surinam people, in response to the declaration of independence of Surinam. It became a black ghetto type area, with high unemployment and criminality. Yet at the same time it developed its own identity which was represented expressed by the 'Bijlmer believers' as an exotic way of living, giving free way to the mixture of other cultures. This identity was reflected in music, food and the famous yearly football tournament and festival, Kwaku. Over the years, the cultural life in the Bijlmer area developed, offering a rich choice of activities indoor as well as outdoor. However, since there were no specific cultural or religious centres and the multifunctional centres didn't function as such, these activities were organized amongst others in parking lots and storing boxes. In the seventies, the situation in the Bijlmer became more and more problematic, with high unemployment and criminality, and increasing vacancy and illegal inhabitants. Several plans were proposed to revitalize the area and to position the area as an interesting business area especially for the banks leaving the city centre. These plans included demolishment of the high-rise blocks. In 1982 a revitalization project was being developed by OMA, including a business

area, a shopping centre, large cultural venues, a new railway station and a football stadium. The GETZ project (see chapter 1) was meant to be part of this revitalization. However, both the Bijlmer population as the Amsterdam politicians opposed these plans (Verhagen 1987, 94). The bleakness of the living circumstances in the area became sharp and clear with the crash of the El Al airplane demolishing several apartment blocks and causing a number of deaths amongst Bijlmer inhabitants in 1992. This accident became the pivotal point in the city development policy for this area. Not only because nor the backgrounds of the accident, nor the exact type of cargo nor the possibility of a relation between serious illness amongst the Bijlmer inhabitants later on ever became clear, but also because it became evident that many unregistered, illegal residents lived in the apartments. The accident led to an inquiry by the Parliament, but this didn't bring clarity. However, this unplanned destruction of one of the flats at the centre of the Bijlmer set into motion a new city planning approach, breaking with the designing principles of the original plan. Low blocks replaced high-rise blocks. From an area to solve the housing shortage with 'light, air and space' it became an area for headquarters and offices at the one site of the railway, while at the other side the housing area was renovated and upgraded with a shopping mall.
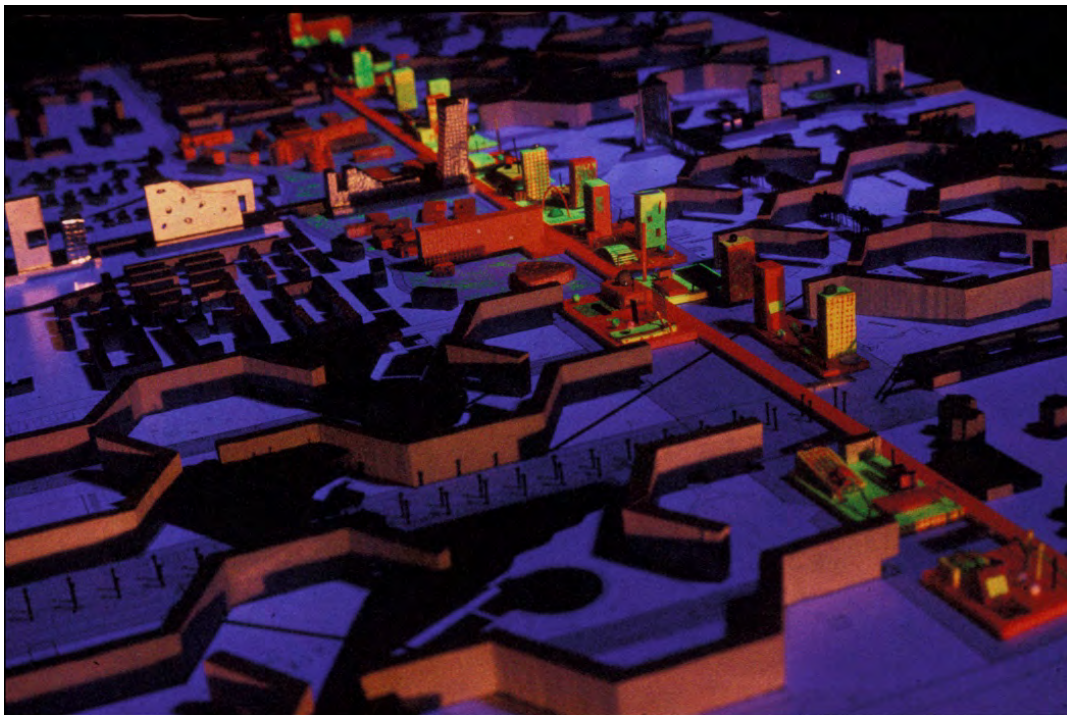
Picture 7. Bijlmer redevelopment plan
(©oma.eu/projects/bijlmermeer-redevelopment)

In 1996 the new football stadium was opened, followed by a Pathé movie centre in 2000 and the Heineken Music Hall in 2001. These new large venues were all built on the business side of the railway, the area of the business and large venues, the 'white collar. side. The other side became the side of the

inhabitants, 'the black area'. The redevelopment plans didn't foresee venues built for the benefit of the inhabitants of the Bijlmer but were designed to attract visitors from the wider region to economically boost the region. During the 90s, ideas to build a theatre specific for this area developed into a cultural strategy which finally became known as the stepping stone plan: Arena: 53.000 visitors, Dome: up to 17.000 visitors, Heineken Music Hall: 6.000, GETZ: 1600, all at the business white collar side, contrasted with the Bijlmer Parktheater seating an audience of 230, and other smaller community centres such as No Limit with maximum 120 seats at the 'black' inhabitants side. The local district council secured itself of public support by linking several cultural community initiatives together and promising them a structural subsidy, which was a novelty in the district (Bijlmerparktheater, 2015a). "The idea was originally that the Bijlmer Parktheater together with No Limit and GETZ/ ZO! Cultuur Zuidoost would form the cultural heart of the new centre area in Amsterdam South East. The talentdevelopment of the talent course of young people was based on the stepping stone theory" (Bijlmer Parktheater 2011, 9). The Bijlmer Parktheater was to house several amateur cultural initiatives scattered over different places in the neighbourhood, which for different reasons did not suffice anymore for cultural activities. These community arts centres were to be centralized in one building, to realize efficiency and professionality. GETZ with ZO! Cultuur Zuidoost would be the next step in this plan. Amateur artists, having shown and practiced their skills at the Bijlmer Parktheater, could take the next step to a large theatre, staging professional groups and shows for a larger audience. Really successful artists could go on to the Heineken Music Hall venue and even to the Ziggo Dome. However, as sketched in the introduction, the GETZ theatre was never constructed, so, therefore, the Bijlmer Parktheater became the stage for the whole area. It was developed as an initiative of the local municipality and financed with European Development funds for underdeveloped areas.
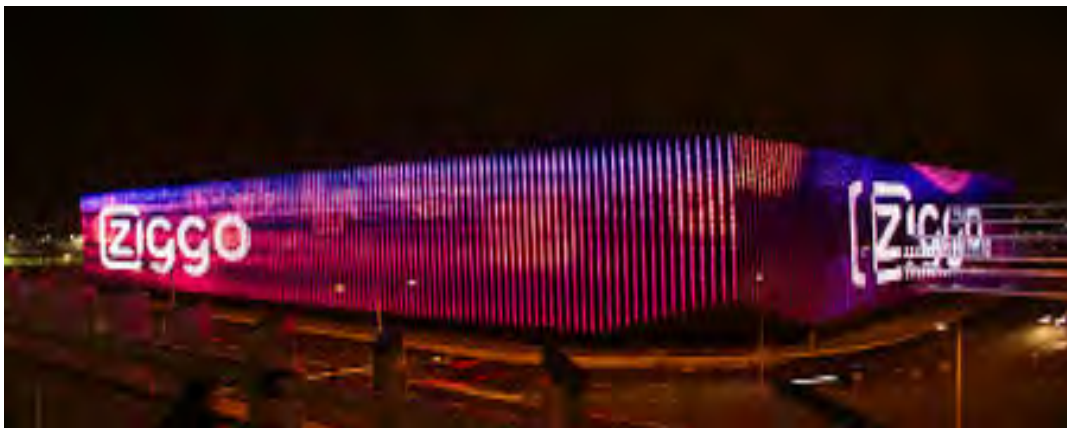
Picture 8. Ziggo Dome
(© Zuidoost.nl)

7.1.4   Art factories policy

The Art factories policy originally had to prevent the 'free spaces' getting lost in the new urban developments, as happened in the Y-banks development. Some of the old warehouses, squatted by artists and musicians in the eighties, creating an alternative lifestyle, were legalised and transformed into Art factories (Pruijt 2003, 144). Squatters of amongst others, Wilhelmina Pakhuis and Pakhuis de Zwijger took part in the Y-banks city planning. Pakhuis de Zwijger became one of the new public venues in this area and is as such part of this research. This ad hoc policy became structural at the turn of the millennium because of the supposed positive effects of these art factories and cultural hubs in terms of economic value for the area. It also fitted neatly in the agenda for stimulating cultural talent (see also Davies 1999). "In recent years, the significance of Amsterdam's art factories has been widely acknowledged. Commercial developers, housing corporations, investors and larger creative businesses see the added value of new and, for a large part, young creatives as a factor in Amsterdam's success as a creative city" (Gemeente Amsterdam Bureau Broedplaatsen 2012, 3). Today the primary task of the Broedplaatsen bureau is to acquire new locations for Art studios and factories. While this policy is broadly supported it is not entirely uncontested. It is questioned whether artistic programming should lend itself to the process of gentrification and city marketing (a.o. Kinetisch Noord and Pakhuis Wilhelmina in Volkskrant 2004). The city presents itself as a creative city for upcoming cultural entrepreneurs to attract large-scale creative industries.

Picture 9. NDSM loods

afbramerij bureau broedplaatsen
(©vastgoedvergelijker.nl/nieuws/tag/amsterdam/page/3 Nieuwsbrief Bureau Broedplaatsen #1 2015)

7.1.5   Recap

Looking at the city planning developments in relation to the formation of cultural venues over the years some aspects appear to be constant factors. In phases of city expansion cultural venues appear to be interesting projects in terms of real estate value as well as societal support. The second golden age shows the same pattern as the years around the turn of the millennium, also labelled as a new golden 'age': changes in the economy give impetus to new business models, new societal networks and urban expansion. Cultural venues built at the then outskirts of the city soon are incorporated as a natural part of the city core. These venues are rooted in the new economic order. Whereas in the nineties of the 19th century the focus of expansion was on housing, a century later city expansion transformed to an economic value per se with cultural venues serving as a competitive marketing tool to attract investors, tourists and high-income households. Planning policy adjusted to this change not only by explicitly recognising the artistic and public need for cultural venues as such, but also by identifying specific themes per area.

7.2   Culture policy

To execute the cultural policy, tasks are divided amongst the governmental bodies according to the principle of subsidiarity. Thus, the municipalities are primarily responsible for the 'demand task' (Boekman 2007, 40). This includes the financing of local cultural infrastructure, such as museums, and cultural accommodations for performing arts (Wijn 2003, 20). On a national level, there is no overall infrastructure policy for cultural buildings. Renovations or expansions for cultural venues are only co-financed by the national government if they have a national status and function. The cultural policy of the municipality of Amsterdam follows the 4-year cycle of the national cultural policy, which started its first period in 1989 (Wijn 2003, 17). Also, the national idea on cultural value as outlined in chapter 3 is followed. Moreover, culture policy is traditionally focused on and influenced by the developments in the cultural field (Gemeente Amsterdam 1992, 17). It is a reactive policy. This new regime of a 4-year policy cycle does not imply a change in this attitude, however, it is an answer to a plea for more central coordination. A top-down coordination might be explicitly rejected, yet the idea is to bring "an inspirational and coordinating policy which goes beyond the possibilities of the individual artists, groups, companies and institutions." (Gemeente Amsterdam 1992, 17).

The main themes of Amsterdam cultural policy plans are guided by the national themes as described in chapter 2. Thus, in the nineties the focus was on artistic quality, a diverse supply of culture and the edification of the working class. At the turn of the millennium the focus changed towards cultural entrepreneurship and promoting the spreading of culture and participation. Later on, this transformed into the stimulation of the creative industry and the planning of cultural amenities to reinforce economic developments, with culture as a public asset and a marketing tool. Amsterdam took the same reactive role as the national government towards cultural developments, coordinating and stimulating but not offering a long-term vision in a 'Structuurplan' as is being developed by city development policy.

7.2.1 Key representations in Art Programmes Amsterdam from 1992 till 2016

The first national 'Kunstenplannen' (policy document on Art and culture), published under the reign of Hedy D'Ancona in 1989 and 1993, were oriented on criteria of quality and professionalism. The idea was to facilitate artistically high-quality art even when this art didn't get public attention (Boekman 2007, 13). The first Kunstenplan published by Amsterdam in 1992, followed the national Kunstenplan. In this period, the legitimation of culture is determined by ideals as sketched in chapter 2 on the edification of the working class as well as ensuring high quality and diverse supply. Furthermore, it reflected on the increasing competitiveness amongst cities in Europe. However, according to the City Council this did not require action in regard to the Kunstenplan (Gemeente Amsterdam 1992, 8). In this plan, the necessity for a new venue for modern music and a new location for Theatre Group Amsterdam (TGA) was acknowledged, as well as the need for a new large live music venue and an extension of the Stedelijk Museum. Furthermore, it was stated that the Y-banks were not necessarily the most suitable location for these venues. This is in contrast to the representations in new city planning policies of the same period, focusing on a 'network city' in which cultural venues were an asset to attract real estate investors to this area. According to the Amsterdam Kunstenplan these new venues should be built at respectively the Museumplein and the Leidseplein (both situated in the city centre) to enhance the cultural position of the centre, in line with the former city planning policy, putting the centre at the core. During this first Amsterdam Kunstenplan period, in 1994, the Theaterfestival organized an Architecture congress. According to A. Sonnen, then director of this festival, the development of new theatre venues in the eighties was getting too much attention (and money) at the expense of the theatre production itself. Iconic

buildings were being built as monuments in an empty context, icons that gazed inwards (Kuypers 1994). The idea is that more and larger buildings as such do not contribute to the artistic quality (WRR 2014).

Picture 10. Heineken Music Hall

Live Music venue in Amsterdam Zuidoost/Bijlmer, opened in 2001 (©peekbv.nl)

From 1997 onwards the national and Amsterdam Kunstenplan covered the same period. In 1997 the national Kunstenplan under governance of Nuis, politician and literary professional, developed the first ideas on decreasing governmental finance of arts while increasing private funding. The Amsterdam Kunstenplan (Gemeente Amsterdam DMO 1997) ascertains both the growth of the city and the growth of the cultural city, stating that the makers and their audience would have to get used to the fact that not all performances and exhibits would take place in the inner city. Thus, it reflected on a changing society just as the national policy did, recognizing not only economical changes but also effects on the city development. In the Kunstenplan the developments around the Y-banks, the Westergasfabriek, and the South-East district including ideas for a commercial music and dance venues, represent these changes. The concern was that there would be too many programmes and seats, while financial resources were limited. These concerns lead to a decision for TGA contrary to the prior Amsterdam Kunstenplan: TGA was denied the new black box venue with the explanation that the audience was not big enough to justify an extra venue and that the the effects of newly planned commercial theatres on subsidised theatres was uncertain.

In the years before the turn of the millennium, ideas promoted by Florida on the creative class were used to inspire new cultural policy plans. The representation changed towards ideas on creative class, added economic value and diversity. Van de Ploeg, deputy minister of culture, an economist, represents this new economic and pragmatic approach on a national level. In the same period in Amsterdam, the alderwoman on culture Bruines requested the Danish intendant Davies to write a cultural memorandum on Amsterdam with amongst others a focus on the public domain and the infrastructure. Davies (1999) identified in his report 'Comments on a city of culture' an imbalance in Amsterdam concerning the distribution of the public domain, both indoor and outdoor. He is worried about the situation of the socially deprived people. He linked this issue directly to identity and identification and saw a key role for the public domain and cultural spaces and programmes. He also ascertained there was not enough room for experimentation and diversity and that thus far politics seemed to be reigned by a 'divide and rule' strategy. He advocated a policy at arm's length and advised to look at the programme of new infrastructure as a set of new structures emphasized the realities of changing Amsterdam. The then recently started Art factory and studio programme by the city planning department, fitted in nicely with the request for free spaces for young artists.

On a national level, the Kunstenplan 2001/2004 focused on cultural entrepreneurship and participation and this was followed and specified in the Amsterdam Kunstenplan (Gemeente Amsterdam DMO 2001). This plan stated that it had taken note of Davies' advice and after reviewing the institutions with their specific housing issues, it concluded it was necessary to develop a cultural planning vision connected to the metropolitan nucleus areas. In 2003, a long-term vision programme was published and the next programme, 2005-2008, was based on this document. The programme connected culture to economic, social and planning policies by three programme strands: stakeholdership, creative industries and the international cultural city. It was stated that the physical infrastructure should add value to the city identity and enhance identification with the city, just as Davies advocated. Diversity and cultural entrepreneurship were introduced as key concepts in line with the national Kunstenplan. A new fund was established to stimulate investments, not so much in new buildings as in the existing accommodations (Gemeente Amsterdam DMO 2005). Belliot was as alderwoman responsible for this plan. She came from the Southeast district, where she was one of the founders of the GETZ initiative.
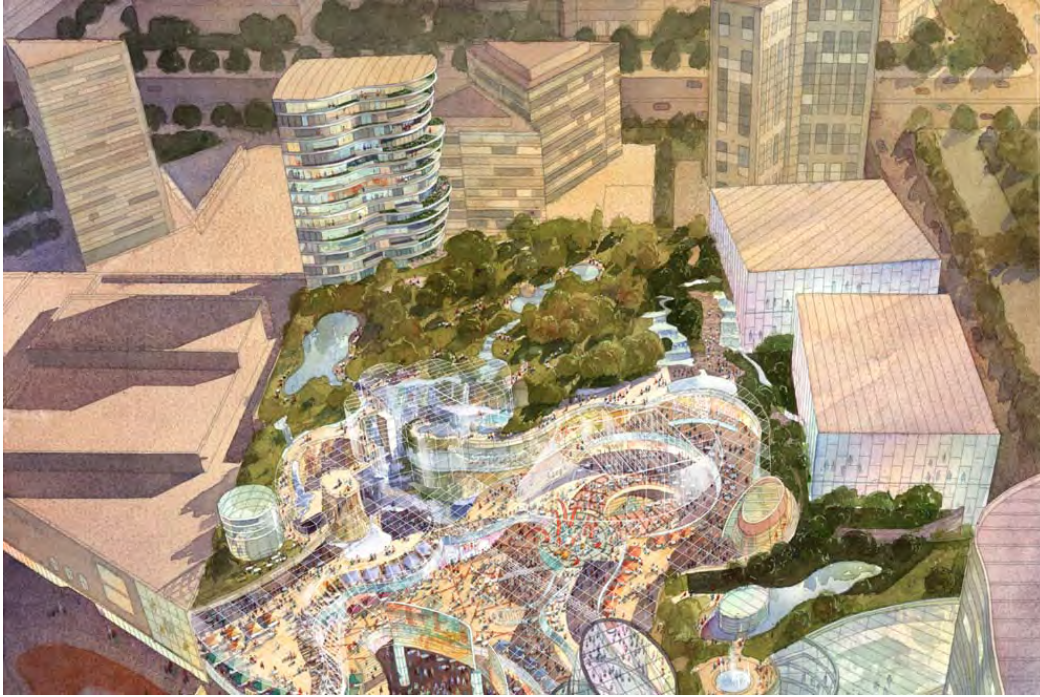
Picture 11. Architect impression Getz Entertainment Centre

(©Illustration municipality of Amsterdam).

Under her governance, the decision was made to merge Cosmic and Made in Da Shade, multicultural theatre companies (see also appendix 7.6) and to move from the Nes, a street with small autonomous theatres, to one of the premises at the Westergasfabriek (MC 2015c). She was also the alderman who tried to solve major issues concerning the renovation of the Stedelijk Museum by linking these museums to private parties. She came to an agreement with Van den Ende Foundation to build a new theatre at the location of the former Calypso/Nieuwe de La Mar area, on their initiative (DeLaMar 2014c). However, in this period, no concrete connection was made between the aims of both diversity policy and accommodation policy. Despite all policy attention, an evaluation report written on request of the cultural municipality department it was concluded that the actual spin-off of this policy was minimal (Lagroupe 2008). By then, cultural entrepreneurship had become one of the leading themes in national and local cultural policy. The attitude towards the cultural sector is increasingly business-like and business evaluation models are applied to the cultural sector to measure its output. [32]

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[32]   A.o. ministry OCW 2005, Cultuur in Beeld, using the input-proces-output/outcome model to monitor cultural policy.

Picture 12. Iamsterdam, marketing campaign

In 2006, Gehrels became alderwoman of culture, sports and leisure, as well as companies, acquisitions and shareholdings. Gehrels had a background as a consultant and had as such been one of the driving forces behind the I Amsterdam marketing campaign. Her first Art programme, 2009-2012 (Gemeente Amsterdam DMO 2009), focused on top quality, talent development and community arts in the districts outside the city ring road, and room for experiments with new media and diversity, completely in line with the national Kunstenplan. Cultural entrepreneurship was the dominant representation incorporating not only a wider range of cultural activities, creative industries, but also introducing culture and city marketing as leading principles. Policy on venues was an appendix to the programme, dealing with supervision and facilities costs control, ownership, and rental issues. Moreover, it announced research into the role of the cultural department at new (re)developments. In spring 2009, Gehrels appointed a cultural superintendent, Demeester, then director of the modern art centre De Appel. Demeester (2010) concluded that the cultural sector in Amsterdam had too many dreams and her diagnosis was that too often dreams about the future were used as excuses not to act at the present moment. "A lot of time and money is spent on pipe dreams and new, very expensive projects defeating realistic of visions and existing infrastructures". In the same year, a memorandum was published on a new approach to the art policy. This involved an overarching approach for the infrastructure in terms of function and impact on the city. Following this report, Gehrels invited two independent foreign experts to write a report on the state of Amsterdam as a cultural city, Taner and Collard. Taner (2011) established that the traditional cultural institutes saw diversity as a threat to artistic quality. Furthermore, he

saw a lack of cooperation by institutions. He advocated more cooperation, especially between the performing arts venues when it comes to the communal use of their physical infrastructure. The reports of Taner and Collard were integrated in the 'Kunstenplan' 2013-2016, with cooperation as a leading theme, next to cultural entrepreneurship and marketing. This was in line with the national policy, focusing on entrepreneurship, forcing cooperation by merging institutions and by cutting funding initiatives without enough public outreach. At that moment, the economic crisis was seriously felt and simultaneously, some long-term renovation projects were finally finished, such as the Rijksmuseum and the Stedelijk Museum. No new large-scale developments were devised. The programme had a separate chapter dedicated to cultural real estate. This chapter addressed supervision, maintenance costs and ownership. New developments and city planning were not mentioned, although in 2013 the Theatre Amsterdam was built and the development of the Ascherkwartier including a new theatre had already started.

The focus of national cultural policy recently has been changing towards the connection between cultural production and social support (WRR 2015, 28). Cooperation is the national and local central theme in Kunstenplan period 2017-2020. In the exploration preparing for the 'Kunstenplan' 2017-2020, the Amsterdam Art Council (AKR 2014) emphasized the importance of good cultural venues and concluded the actual situation in this respect is excellent, because of the recent investments and activities. The council is of the opinion there is a discrepancy between the dynamics of the cultural sector, the demands of the audience and the static character of the real estate. The latter asks for long lasting financial obligations while the budgets for culture are limited and fixed for periods of 4 years. There is a time span difference between city development planning and cultural policy (AKR 2015, 90). The new programme 2017-2020 (Gemeente Amsterdam 2016) elaborates on the same topics in relation to infrastructure as the former programme. No new developments are foreseen with the possible exception of a new location for Amsterdam Museum.

7.2.2   Relation between cultural policy and city planning

Cultural policy and city planning policy are fundamentally different in scope, impact and timespan. City planning is concerned with the quality of places and spatial organization that have an impact on the quality of life, distributive equality, environmental well-being and economic vitality (Healey 2007, 1). Safeguarding and supporting the balance between cultural production, distribution and consumption drive culture policy. Local cultural

policy follows national policy on the choice of cultural entrepreneurship and diversity as themes. During the first decade of the 21st century culture is more and more represented as a marketing tool, an asset to enforce the image of Amsterdam as creative city.

In the Amsterdam 'Kunstenplan' 1993-1996 the competitiveness amongst cities was mentioned, however, without any further consequences. In this 'Kunstenplan' 1993-1996, the policy still focused on a strong urban core. In the following 'Kunstenplannen' one sees a gradual recognition of the changing urban population, as well as the relevance of international competition. This was translated into a gradually changing policy that required more efforts from institutions, groups and artists to organise social support and show cultural entrepreneurship. Meanwhile, the traditional attitude of cultural policy reacting to the cultural field remained unchanged. As a result, cultural policy is not consistent on this topic, since its basic principle is reacting to the developments in the cultural sector and these developments change per year. For example, in the first 'Kunstenplan' (1993) it is ascertained that there is a convincing need for a new black box theatre. In the next 'Kunstenplan' (1997) it is argued there is no need for an extra theatre, and during the following 'Kunstenplan' this black box venue is actually constructed. There are various possible reasons for these changes, ranging from societal developments to rapidly alternating aldermen with different political backgrounds.

The impact of the change in city planning towards a city with multiple uses including the newly developed areas is not recognised in the cultural policy. In the 'Kunstenplannen' the developments of cultural venues are discussed as 'stand-alone' cases. In city plans on the other hand cultural developments and needs are recognized and plans are developed for cultural accommodations. However, as explicitly mentioned in Structuurplan 1996 "The substantial responsibility for the development of the arts is not contained within the scope of the Structuurplan. The task of spatial planning is to generate an urban development, within which sectors (like the cultural sector) can thrive. For this process both the wishes of the artists as those of the public (including tourists) have to be taken into consideration" (Gemeente Amsterdam DRO 1996).

In 2004, the AKR ascertained that the municipality invests in cultural venues without securing future exploitation costs (AKR 2004, 4) and consequently the city development planning defines the cultural policy (AKR 2004, 11 and 13). AKR advises the municipality to introduce a Cultural effect report (Cultuur Effect Rapportage) and to test the exploitation budget before the start of construction or renovation. This advice did not get any follow-up. The AKR repeatedly advocated choosing a large spectrum of programmes instead of building stone houses (a.o. AKR 2011). Hence, the lack of cultural

policy on culture buildings resulted in city planning leading the development of most of the new cultural venues. Van Rooy's (1996) reflection that there is no coordination or structuring in this respect by the cultural policy department still seems to hold ground. According to an overview of unbuilt venues in Amsterdam during the period from 1850 till 1996 approximately 500 different designs have been made (van Rooy 1996, 5). Especially the so-called 'contest for ideas' proves to be a powerful supply for these numerous concepts. Furthermore, it is stated that: "When you consider the rise and fall of numerous unbuilt theatres, it strikes you the City of Amsterdam never lifted a finger to try and direct the wild stream. Theatres are jumping across the city map like fleas. There's no direction or cohesion whatsoever" (van Rooy, 1996, 62). As shown in Map13, this image still is very accurate looking at the many places venues included in this research passed by before landing at their final destination.
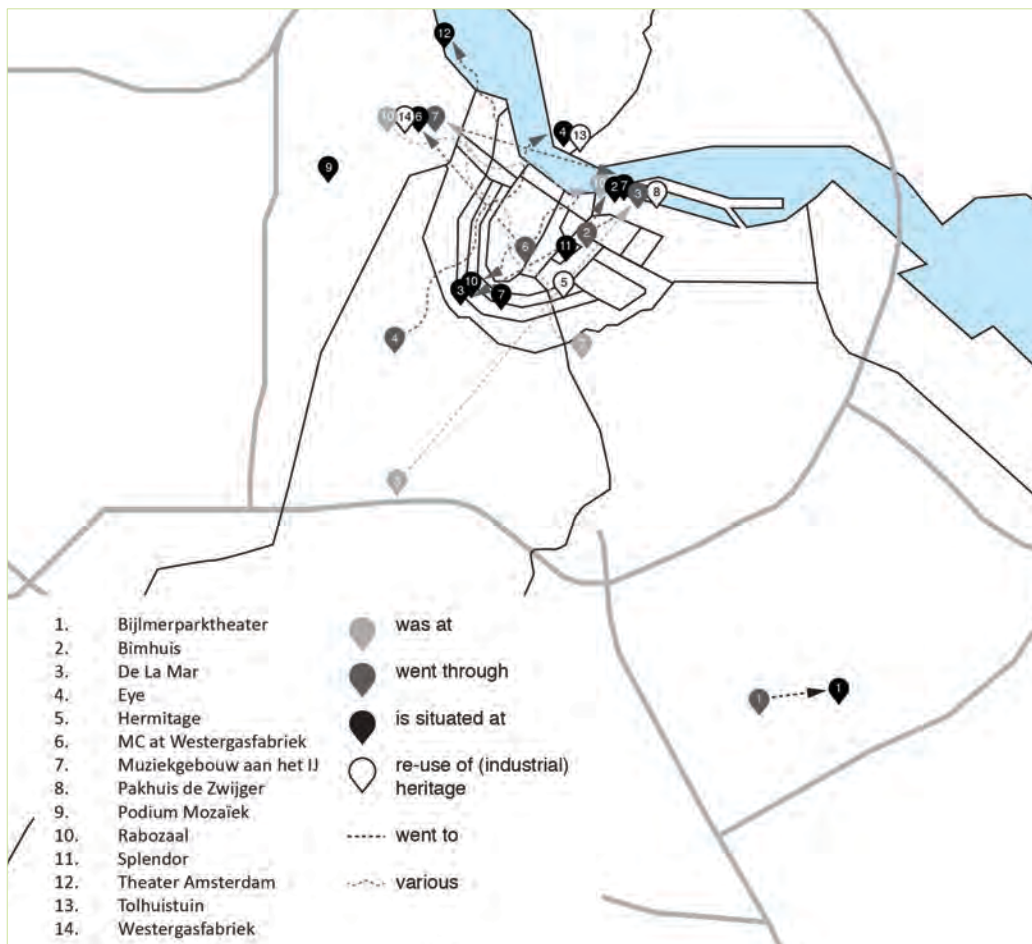
Map 12. Movements of cultural venues

The increase of the number of venues was not planned nor budgeted by this department. Since the budget was not adapted to the expansion of new venues, the competition between old and new venues on governmental subsidies became stronger. Also shifting cultural policy, without taking into

account the impact of development of new venues, has a negative effect on both existing and new buildings. The difference in city planning and culture policy phasing creates an insecure financial position for new venues and enhances the idea that new iconic venues are built for economic reasons and detrimental to artistic development.

In these paragraphs, structures of power controlling the formation of cultural venues were described by exploring city planning policy and cultural policy in the determining periods for the formation of the venues in my research. It was clarified that city planning implemented a new policy in the nineties, which included the construction of cultural venues as part of new urban development. On the other hand, cultural policy basically held on to the traditional approach of reacting to the developments in the cultural field. As a result, cultural policy did not develop an overall view on the formation of new venues, but merely reacted to each new venue per se, judging it for its artistic value from the moment the venue was in operation. Thus, while city planning has a major impact on the formation of cultural places, culture policy reacts to specific demands of the cultural actors and thus comes to the fore only from the opening onwards. This absence of cultural policy in the formation phase and the shift of responsibility to cultural policy from the opening onwards is identified as a sensitising concept in the changing public significance of cultural venues, that will be further explored in the next chapter. Firstly, in the next paragraph, the dominant representations of the cultural venues themselves will be explored.

7. 3   Venues and representations

As described, in Amsterdam the city planning department has the lead in development policy of cultural venues. This gives free rein to city planning and developers to use cultural venues as an investment impulse. On the other hand, the cultural sector also responded to these opportunities and created its own ideas and plans. In the appendix, the representations of the cultural venues are explored, each with its own mix of images, artistic identity and mission statements. The venues were analysed in search for specific patterns between social, economic and artistic legitimations, and connectivity between the concepts of place, program and audience both from the point of view of the architect as from the cultural organisation. The cultural organisations base the argumentation for building a new cultural venue on a promise of the start of something new, offering a place for a specific art discipline, a group of people or financial profit. The new cultural parties each develop their own ideas and intend to bring a new programme and/or to reach a new audience. The new buildings are represented in terms ranging from meeting place,

entertainment theatre, place for reflection, inspiration, a network, or creative and innovative entrepreneurial space. The idea good art will always find an audience is in line with the idea that there are never enough buildings as long as there is good art and public (Splendor 2015a; Tolhuistuin 2015a); putting artistic quality at the core, implies giving free way to mental images without being hampered by practical limitations in hardware. For artists, the venue can be either a chance or a restraint depending on the mind-set of the artist and the image of a venue. Some venues are regarded as a quality asset per se (De Warme Winkel 2015a; Concertgebouw 2015b), and/or are functioning as a benchmark (Tolhuistuin 2015a). An artist performing in a high-quality venue will gain artistic esteem, however, it might lose out on experimental or innovative image (De Warme Winkel 2015a; Bimhuis 2015a). Having your own building has always been a case of prestige and gradually started being used as recognition for a specific organisation or discipline (MC 2015b; Bijlmerparktheater 2015a). By nature, all venues focus on a specific artistic programming, however, this programming is linked to values of place and economics. Three venues started with an ambition to offer a place for a specific group of people or community. To these groups, the idea of ownership of a venue reinforced the feeling of recognition of their specific identity. It established their place in society and gave power (Bijlmerparktheater 2015a). For three venues, it started with an artistic ambition, realising a venue for a specific discipline, to further encourage and develop this discipline. Two venues started to show a specific discipline as an entrepreneur. These ambitions form the basis of the artistic identity. Looking at the programme brochures, website design, images etc., the similarity in representation targeted at the audience is striking. For non-regular visitors, it will be difficult to make a choice between the theatres based on the introduction slogans: "Home of theatre cultural hang out in the centre of Amsterdam", "the theatre has a history capturing the imagination" or "it is a unique cultural organisation". Two completely different venues even use the same slogan: "We are a theatre nowhere else to be found" (Muziekgebouw and Bijlmerparktheater).

Picture 13. Selection of programmes on websites

In formal plans the themes given by cultural policy are adapted, creating a discursive formation of venues as cultural enterprises, focused on marketing and open to all type of audiences, connecting to the local communities. Some venues reflect in their mission statements on the connectivity to the community, others only to the audience and/or the artistic representations. Furthermore, economical added value is highlighted to explain the significance of the venue. Some venues published special reports on the impact of the venue on increased real estate value in the neighbourhood to justify their existence. Some venues present themselves as the traditional playhouses, whereas others use 'expanding' or 'hub' and

'movement' as keywords, the latter including outside locations and virtual environments. Venues with an iconic architecture use this in their communication to stress the uniqueness of the place. Thus, they try to create an image of venues as places combining entrepreneurship with creation, financial added value with social inclusion, inspiration with marketing.

The architects highlight the specific characteristics of the building. Their inspiration for the vision on the design is attributed to the specific location or the function. The use of glass represents the openness of the venue to the outside world. Light represents the adaptability and flexibility to the changing atmosphere between day and night. View is mentioned to represent the connectivity of the inner venue atmosphere to the outer society. Flexible forms and constructions for multiple usages represent images of flexibility and adaptability. The new buildings are meant to be open and transparent. However, no special connections seem to be made between the design and the specific discipline, audience and community. The inspiration seems to be steered by the idea of a cultural venue as a public space as such without further consideration for the specific identity. Architects often use the same terms such as 'flow', 'open' and 'transparent', just as cultural organizations often use the same words to explain their identity such as 'inspiration', 'entertainment' and 'cooperation'.

The idea was to find patterns in the way the venues are being represented, revealing specific aspects in framing. The architectural and cultural vision both use representations related to functionality and connectivity to define their vision. Architects use ideas about the function and connectivity of the location to explain the essence of the venue. These aspects of location and functionality inspire them to assess the open and public character of the venue. Yet functionality refers only to the public accessibility and not to the specific discipline, program or audience. Connectivity identifies the physical, aesthetic relation to the spatial context. Overall the representations by the architects are relatively similar to each other. For example, glass is referred to as a representation of the openness and public accessibility at venues varying from Bijlmerparktheater, Eye, Muziekgebouw to Pakhuis de Zwijger and even the Rabozaal, referring to the corridor at the side alley connecting the Stadsschouwburg to the new venue.

Cultural organisations give meaning to the venues by indicating the function of the venue in terms of discipline: theatre, dance, music etc. Venues programming different disciplines use a different set of key words to specify their identity compared to mono discipline venues. Multidisciplinarity is related to keywords addressing specific groups of people – 'intercultural', 'community', whereas mono disciplinarity is defined by the attitude towards the discipline - 'experimental' 'professional' or 'improvisation'. These representations are not reflected in the comments or impressions of the

architects. Furthermore, cultural organisations mention aspects of connectivity to audience, artists and location not only to affirm the image of accessibility, but also to show the attitude to social inclusion and participation.

Concluding the architectural identity seems to be loosely based on the specific function of the venue, and much more steered by general concepts on public places. Connectivity is interpreted mostly as a material, spatial and aesthetic concept. Cultural organizations adapt their representation in formal documents to cultural policy categories. The specific function is a leading concept in defining the identity. Connectivity to the audience seems to be steered by general concepts on audience communication, revealing striking similarities on venue level. Connectivity to the nearby community is framed as the easily accessible programming. Thus, the categories of functionality and connectivity are interpreted differently by the cultural and architectural identity. The connection between the two on Secondspace level of representation depends on the iconic character of the architectural identity.

7.4   Grid of categories and integrated scheme of cases

This chapter started with exploring the city planning policy and cultural policy in regard to the formation of cultural venues. It appeared that in the period of my research cultural policy focused on cultural entrepreneurship and marketing, social inclusion, diversity and artistic quality. In city planning policy, the emphasis lay on real estate value as well as on quality of life and cultural functionality depending on the area. Real estate value was a decisive argument in newly developing areas, whereas liveability got more focus in earlier developed residential areas such as the Bijlmer. Both policies are articulated more or less independently from each other, following their own logic: city policy by nature trying to structure developments in the future, cultural policy trying to structure the present, reacting to demands from the sector resulting in shifting policy. The increase of the number of venues was not planned nor budgeted by this department. The difference in city planning and culture policy phasing enhances the idea that new iconic venues are built for economic reasons and are detrimental to artistic development.

On case level the specific categories for architectural and cultural identity are both defined in terms of functionality, connectivity, mission and vision, yet the meaning given to these concepts is different. This makes four sets of different categories defining the identity of a venue. Due to the future oriented structure of city planning policy those categories are dominant in the decision-making process leading to the formation of a new venue, especially

in relation to new venues in newly developed areas. The architectural identity is loosely based on the cultural identity. It seems to be more influenced by city planning policy categories than by cultural policy or venue categories. The impact in practice of the architectural identity on the identity of a venue will be explored in the next chapter. Cultural policy categories, due to its reactive nature, come to the fore from the exploitation onwards. This will be also be explored in the next chapter as a part of the Thirdspace mapping. Combining the findings of the previous paragraphs creates the following grid of categories of representation. The arrows indicate the influence of categories of representations on each other showing the dominance of the city planning policy on both the cultural policy and the architectural identity. It also shows the strong structuring flow from venues to cultural policy and the weak flow between cultural and architectural identity.
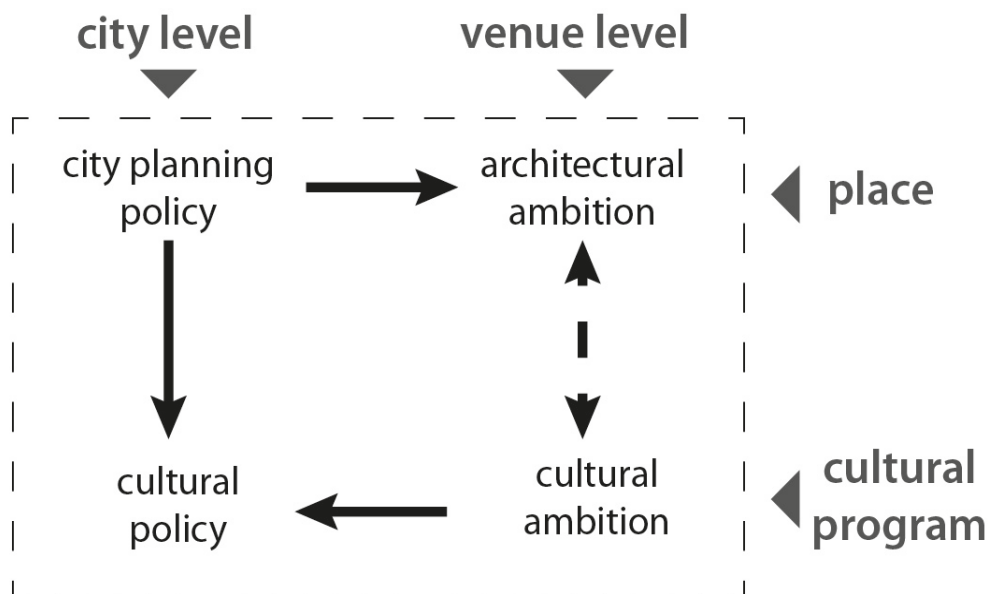
Figure 8. Grid of categories of representation

To provide more insight the categories of the grid are applied per case and combined in one diagram. This diagram shows the similarity in the use of concepts to identify the architectural vision such as view, history and light. Connectivity refers mostly to spatial and material qualities. Functionality is referred to in terms as 'public' 'flexible' and 'open'. A different type of concepts defines the cultural identity. Bijlmerparktheater, Podium Mozaïek and MC use 'intercultural' as key words to represent the ethnic diversity of the target group (including artists as well as audience and community) and they refer explicitly to the connectivity to the community. Discipline oriented venues, such as Bimhuis, DelaMar, EYE, Hermitage, Muziekgebouw, Rabozaal, and Theater Amsterdam do not refer to the community in their representations and/or mission statements. Their identity is defined by their attitude towards the discipline. Mono discipline venues zoom in on the

specific attitude towards the discipline such as 'experimental' 'improvisation' or 'professional'. Some venues use key words indicating a participatory process such as 'meeting', 'entrepreneurial', 'create', 'collaborate' and 'workspace'. In contrast both commercial venues and EYE use the key word 'entertainment' reflecting a more passive position towards the audience. Furthermore, the diagram shows that the added value of individual venues is assessed differently on city policy level compared to cultural policy level. The assessment of city policy is based on an expectation, with real estate value as the dominant category. All venues in newly developed areas are positively assessed by city planning policy, attracting new investors, new residents, new audiences, etc. to these areas. Cultural policy assesses the cultural programme. This assessment is fluid and depends on the performance of existing venues and on the four-year business plans of new venues. Over the years the assessments change depending on the results and the congruity of the plan with policy themes. In the diagram, this change is reflected by using a /. For example, at the start Muziekgebouw was assessed as being moderate on cultural quality, later this changed to good.

	VENUES						CITY					
	Cultural mission			Architectural vision			City policy values			Cultural policy values		
	Identity	connectivity	functionality	inspiration	connectivity	functionality	real estate	social	cultural	marketing	social	cultural
Bijlmerpkark theater	Intercultural	audience/ community	theatre	form ellipse	start of cultural axe		-	+	+	-	+	±
	Community		dance	colour led light	linking park and square	light creates atmosphere						
			music	changeable atmosphere night/day	form creates a covered entrance	glass/open						
Bimhuis	Network	artists/ audience	music	familiarly	landmark	extension to MZGB	+	-	-	-	-	+/±
	Improvisation				oriented toward city centre	flexible view						
	Collaboration				new public space							
DeLaMar	Professional	artists/ wide audience	theatre	history	_	accommodate productions plus wide public	-	-	-	+	-	+
	Diversity of disciplines High quality			diversity of productions								
	entertainment			red light/colour	open glass facade							
EYE	Art	audience	film	movement	extrovert landscape reference	functional zones	+	+	+	+	+	+/±
	entertainment		museum	light	introvert spatial concentration	dynamic flow						
			knowledge institute	changeable visual effects								
Hermitage	art/history	audience	museum	historic building	_	receiving public	-	-	+	+	-	+/±
	Reflection					home to various functions						
	Inspiration											
MC	Intercultural	artists/ audience/ community	theatre	historic crane construction	_	light	-	-	-	_	+	±/_
	Urban		dance	industrial heritage		flexibility						
			music									
Muziekgebouw aan 't IJ	Dissemination	artists/ audience	music	transparency	landmark; public and democratic building	open flow/ flexible/mobile	+	+	+	+	_	_/+
	Inspiration			play of light	oriented towards harbour and station	attract wide range customers/visitors day/night						
				dynamic view	open glass façade inviting passers by	view						

Venue												
Pakhuis de Zwijger	Inform	audience/ community	debate	historic building	ground floor glass connecting street and bridge	three parts housing different functionalities	-	+	+	+	+	±
	Create		film	accessible								
	Urban			transparency								
Podium Mozaïek	Intercultural	artists/ audience/ community	theatre	historic building	_	combining medical practice and theatre	-	-	-	-	+	±/+
	Local		dance	saving original details								
	International		music									
Rabozaal	Agreement	artists/ audience	theatre	radical new architecture in 19th century context	visual contact between indoor and street	glass corridor	-	-	-	-	–	+
	TGA/SSBA/		dance	changeant fabric		imposing view						
	Melkweg		music			shelled space						
Splendor	Meeting	artists/ audience	music	historic building		free space for musicians	-	-	-	+	–	+
	Club			transformation	_							
	workspace/lab			precise restoration								
Theater Amsterdam	commercial	audience	theatre	modest	Building is determined by its location	closed hall	-	-	-	+	–	?
	entertainment			supporting the function	open to the waterside, front square							
				grandeur	entrance under extended roof							
Tolhuistuin	Meeting	artists/ audience/ community	theatre	respecting original architecture	gateway to city's northern district	cultural hotspot	+	+	+	–	+	±
			dance		an extra draw to entice people to cross the Y river							
			music									
Westergasfabriek	creative/ cultural	artists/ audience/ community	theatre dance music	special qualities of historic buildings	balance between demands and existing context	implementation of new creative, social and cultural life	+	+	+	+	+	+
	Innovation		festivals	adaptability								
	entrepreneurial		film	balance between knowledge and intuition								

Figure 9. Grid of categories of representation per venuez

This Secondspace analysis seems to assess the relation between the formation of new cultural venues outside the old city centre and new urban development areas as was identified in the Firstspace explorations. Furthermore, the architectural quality appears indeed to be unrelated to the specific function of the venue. Urban development, and spatial and material aspects are dominant in defining the architectural identity. The cultural identity appears to be determined by its functionality in terms of mono disciplinary or multi-disciplinarily, process in terms of participation, or target

group. This seems to indicate different patterns of interaction between the cultural vision, function and connectivity to the audience and community. Furthermore, the findings of paragraph 7.2 are confirmed in the exploration on venue level.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter started by exploring the relevant policies guiding the formation of the venues. It was exposed that city planning implemented a new policy in the nineties, which included the construction of cultural venues as a part of new urban development. Economic competitiveness, cultural and public need, and marketing themes were identified as key aspects. On the other hand, cultural policy basically held on to the traditional approach of reacting to the developments in the cultural field, with a changing focus on diversity and a persistent focus on cultural entrepreneurship and marketing. As a result, cultural policy did not develop an overall view on the formation of new venues, but merely reacted to each new venue per se, judging it for its value from the moment the venue was in operation. During the period of my research the dominant added value changed from the edification of the working class and ensuring high quality and diverse supply, to diversity and participation and consequently to cultural entrepreneurship and (city) marketing. Thus, while city planning has a major impact on the formation of cultural places, culture policy reacts with specific themes to individual demands of the cultural actors, from the opening onwards. This absence of cultural policy in the formation phase and the shift of responsibility to cultural policy from the opening onwards is identified as a sensitising concept in the changing public significance of cultural venues, that will be further explored in the next chapter.

The mapping of the cases shows that the legitimation of a venue is based on different sets of artistic, social and economic representations. Architects seem to work on fixed ideas of cultural venues as public venues being transparent, open and with a dynamic flow. Each cultural organization develops its own ideas to consolidate the artistic identity and function. They follow the themes of cultural policy and the aims of city policy to enhance the image of creativity combined with financial profitability, in formal reports and plans. They use general concepts as inspiration and reflection to explain the essence of their identity and give it meaning by adding specific aspects related to the discipline, target group or participatory processes. Furthermore, there seem to be different patterns of the interaction between place, audience and community. This will be more deeply explored in the Thirdspace mapping.

In the next chapter the daily practice and specificity of the venues will be explored and related to the first and Secondspace mappings. More specifically the focus will lie on the impact of architectural quality and the cultural identity and on possible different cultural strategies.

8.

THIRDSPACE: VENUES AS THEY ARE EXPERIENCED IN PRACTICE

8.   THIRDSPACE: VENUES AS THEY ARE EXPERIENCED IN PRACTICE

In this chapter, the significance of the new venues will be explored in relation to the 'material' and the 'mental' aspects - as described in the former chapters. Thirdspace does not privilige either daily practices of inhabitants, specificity of places or knowledge of localities, but takes all these elements into account. The everyday realities become obscured by official knowledge which privileges legitimate forms and institutions and neglects contexts of participation. These lived spaces of representation are the terrain for the generation of counter-spaces, spaces of resistance to the dominant order, arising precisely from their subordinate, peripheral or marginalised position. Lived social space is the space of radical openness, the space of social struggle (Soja 1996, 68). It combines the real and the imagined, things and thoughts on equal terms.

The Firstspace mapping gave insight in the individual cases and suggested a structuring process by urban development. Secondspace mapping assessed this structure and showed specific categories for framing with structuring relations between cultural policy, city planning, and cultural and architectural identities of the venues. Thirdspace is the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users' and will try to overcome the dominating and 'controlling powers' (Soja 1996, 67) of Secondspace representations. By interviewing cultural directors, artists, programmers as well as constructors, civil servants, politicians and real estate companies I tried to find the "imposing and operational power of spatial representations" (Soja 1996, 68). However, Thirdspaces is "a limitless composition of lifeworlds that are radically open and openly radicalizable; that are all-inclusive and transdisciplinary in scope yet politically focused and susceptible to strategic choice; … that are never completely knowable" (Soja 1996, 70). So, while Thirdspace mapping tries to overcome dominant Secondspace narratives, it does not present a permanent construction, but rather describes 'a possibilities machine' (Soja 1996, 81), exploring social practices and thinking of new possibilities, just like desire lines reorganise the pedestrian landscape. "Folks follow these trails not because they are there, but the trails exist because they are being used" (olifantenpaadjes.nl, January 2017). In this chapter I try to describe these 'trails', and how they are created by participants, users and 'inhabitants' as they build their venues.

The Firstspace mapping identified a strong relation between the formation of new cultural venues outside the old city centre and new urban development areas. In addition, there seems to be a relation between architectural quality and location. Traditionally, cultural venues have been

built as part of new urban spaces, and contributing to their development. New developments which were realised during the period covered by my research seem to reflect the same pattern. Secondspace mapping revealed differences in phasing and scope between cultural policy and city planning, which is identified as a sensitising concept. Although the cultural and architectural representation of the venues show similar features, analysis shows these categories are interpreted differently. The relation between cultural and architectural representations as well as the impact of the discrepancy between cultural policy and city planning will be further explored in this chapter. The venues also seem to adopt different strategies in the interaction between place, audience and community. This will be explored more in depth in this chapter as well.

In the following, I will first give an overview of the individual cases. In appendix 3 the exploration of the different processes and practices per venue leading to the formation and subsequent management of the venue are described. These mappings include artistic, social and economic aspects and more specifically examine the connection between programme, audience and community, as well as location and architecture. Analysis of the specific cases reveals three distinct relational patterns: the first pattern is between the location, the architectural and the cultural identity. A second pattern reflects the connectivity between location, audience and community and restructures the Secondspace grid of categories of representations in chapter 7.4. This pattern will be explored and described in paragraph 8.2. A third pattern revealing the different cultural strategies which are used in practice will be described in paragraph 8.3.

8.1   Overall view of individual cases.

The venues were analysed in order to find specific relational patterns between artistic, social and economic practices. The focus was specifically on the relationships between programme, audience and community, as well as the relation between location and architecture from the point of view of a broad group of committed agents, including civil servants, actors, cultural managers, building companies, commercial entrepreneurs and politicians. Cultural venues have significance on multiple levels: they are a source of artistic inspiration, a meeting place for artists and the public, an asset for project developers, a tool for city marketing and a tourist attraction, but they are also places which maintain the status quo and bring about exclusion. On all these levels, a mix of artistic, economic and social values is involved. The newly built large iconic venues and venues in larger area redevelopments were built as part of a city development scheme. The cultural function was planned

to attract other potential real estate investors (Schram 2012, 82), or it was part of a deal with private investors (Stadsdeel Westerpark 1996, 75). In the first plans for redevelopment of the Y-banks, the cultural function was nondescript; anything would do, as long as it attracted public traffic. Culture policy was not involved until just before the start of the operation of the venue. This results in the situation where new venues have to apply for funds within the four-year cycle framework that also applies to existing venues. Several of the newly constructed venues were confronted with serious financial setbacks because of this system. As the cultural policy budget was not adapted to allow for the expansion of new venues, the competition between old and new venues to receive government subsidies became fiercer as well. In the end, changing course of cultural policy led to an insecure financial situation for MC and Pakhuis de Zwijger. Podium Mozaïek and Bijlmerparktheater were until 'Kunstenplan' 2017-2020 not identified as cultural venues, but as community centres and as such couldn't get financial support from the 'Kunstenplan' budget. The shifting cultural policy, which did not take into account the impact of development of new venues, has a negative effect on both existing and new buildings. Furthermore, the differences between city policy and cultural policy reinforce the belief that new large venues are built for economic reasons and detrimental to artistic development.

Analysis of the specific cases shows three patterns of relations. The first concerns the relationship between location, architecture and cultural identity. A second pattern reflects the relations between location, audience and community and restructures the Secondspace grid of categories of representations as shown in chapter 7.4. A third pattern reveals the different cultural strategies that are used. These patterns will be described in the following paragraphs.

8.2   Cultural identity and connectivity

All venues, especially those outside the city centre, use the impact of the architecture to strengthen the cultural identity and realise a feeling of belonging. The character of the built environment is connected to the activities of people in the environment and plays a role in shaping the public realm (Lofland 1998, 181 and 188). The larger the audience, the more difficult it is to engage the audience (Mackintosh, 1993). This is true not only for the auditorium itself but also for the entrance, the lobby etc. Still, in their formation process new venues do little research into the connectivity of the venues' audience and artistic identity to the physical and social context. None of the venues I studied had done specific research among the audience, peer

groups, artists or in the neighbourhood. Even for venues claiming connectivity with specific target groups as their raison d'être, such as Bijlmerparktheater and MC, this aspect seems to have been underestimated.

8.2.1   Cultural identity and architecture

In 1994 at a theatre architecture conference, new iconic buildings were called "monuments in an empty space, icons that only refer to themselves without historical or social context" (Kuypers, 1994). Venues housed in icon buildings are regarded as representatives of the economic symbolic space. Yet, cultural organizations in an iconic building do experience the iconic character as an added value: "giving pride" (Bijlmerparktheater 2015a), "before the move most people didn't even know of the existence of the film museum and institute" (EYE 2015a), "the building functions as a strong marketing tool" (NEMO 2015a). However, the iconic character is also experienced as a barrier: "Part of the community was also intimidated by the building because it's so impressive" (Bijlmerparktheater 2015a). For Bimhuis, flourishing in a non-conformist context, the move to a brand new iconic building was daring: "the biggest challenge was not to become part of the 'establishment' while inhabiting an icon building and at the same time also make use of the qualities of the building to underline the relevance of the artistic identity" (Bimhuis 2015a). The way this challenge was met, was by retransferring the symbolic representation of Bimhuis from a place to a movement. Following this symbolic transfer, an actual change in the connectivity between audience, programme and venue took place. The time between the decision to move and the opening of the venue was used to reshape this connection. (Bimhuis 2015a en b).

For most redevelopments, the architect was chosen in collaboration with the users. Often, they consciously decided to work with architects who were known to focus on preserving the original quality and/or social context of a place (Gemeente Amsterdam 2015c; Pakhuis de Zwijger 2015a). The architects for the new iconic buildings were chosen by the local council without the involvement of the future users. Their views were only taken into account at a laterstage through user group consultations. None of the architects chosen by the local council had any experience in building cultural venues. This is not a problem if a project is supervised by a strong director or a company of actors or dancers. In every other case, the personality of the famous architect will eventually win the day (Mackintosh 1994). The architect of EYE did not attend the opening because "there was a disagreement on the layout which wasn't executed according to the plan" (Architectenweb.nl 2012). However, "right from the start, the venue was a great success and the

audience of the venue has increased far beyond expectations. The architectural quality of the building supports the popularity of the institute" (EYE 2015a). Bimhuis is always well equipped because the architect was chosen and instructed by the artistic director (Bimhuis 2015a and b). However, Muziekgebouw t IJ at the same location is still struggling with its architectural qualities even though the artistic director worked together closely with the architect's design team (Gemeente 2015d; Muziekgebouw 2015a).

8.2.2   Cultural identity and location

The process of deciding upon a location differs from venue to venue. Some venues were built at a location of their own choice, whether it was offered by the City Council (DeLaMar), or proposed by the initiator and agreed upon by the city district government (Podium Mozaïek). Some were part of the redevelopment of former industrial areas, where the 'winning' cultural projects were selected by means of a public contest issued by city planning departments. Others have a long history of moving from location to location across the city (see also map 12 in paragraph 7.2.2). In the city plan for the Y-banks, the authors claimed that dreams would come true (Schram 2012, 82). One of those dreams was to build a centre for contemporary art music led by the so-called IJsbreker coalition. Many different locations had been considered to make this dream come true. The last stop before the final destination at IJ-banks was the Westergasfabriek. This final location at the southern Y bank was determined by city planning politicians and civil servants (www.kennisbankherbestem-ming.nl, Gemeente Amsterdam 2015b, c and Westergasfabriek 2014a). Another dream was the black box theatre for Toneelgroep Amsterdam (TGA). TGA had a temporary venue at the Westergasfabriek, it was then planned to be developed at the current Muziekgebouw location, but in the end, it was built between the Stadsschouwburg and the Melkweg (Rabozaal 2015 b and c) after the Melkweg had intervened. Yet, another dream was the professional urban theatre that moved to Westergasfabriek before coming to a tragic end (MC 2015 a, b and c). This location was chosen by the management team of the cultural organization and approved by the City Council's Culture Portfolio Holder and council executives. Some dreams never came true, such as the professional theatre in the Zuidoost district mentioned in the introduction, Huis voor de Dans and Gamelan huis.

Three of the venues - Splendor, Rabo and Muziekgebouw aan t IJ - started off with an artistic ambition, to realise a specific venue for a specific discipline in order to further encourage and develop this discipline. The exact location seems to have been more a matter of chance than choice,

because the exact location wasn't that relevant. This fits in with the, until recently, widespread idea among people in Amsterdam's cultural sector that there will always be an audience in Amsterdam, as long as the programme is good enough (ao Splendor 2015a). However, according to Marlet the attraction of a venue depends not only on the programme, but also on the proximity of similar venues and the characteristics of the local residents (Marlet 2009). Splendor and Rabozaal are situated in the centre of the city in the proximity of many similar venues. Both venues are successful and appreciated by audiences as well as artists (Asko 2015a; De Warme Winkel 2015a).

Four of the venues I researched were housed at a redevelopment location. The Hermitage was a large historic building in the city centre, until recently in use as a nursery home for elderly people; Pakhuis de Zwijger was an old warehouse in one of the city's former port areas. So, both sites had no history as cultural venues. The idea to house these cultural venues at these locations was purely triggered by these locations becoming available. Along with the development of the idea and the redevelopment of the site the connectivity to the community also had to be developed from scratch. The Hermitage however could already count on a considerable number of potential visitors, as it was located in the city centre. The same applied to Splendor and Rabozaal. Westergasfabriek and Tolhuistuin are two other venues which are housed at redevelopment sites as well. They consist of large garden and/or park areas with several buildings. There was a significant difference in size, timing and process between these two redevelopments, but what they did have in common is that both were made possible by the transfer of ownership from a private business to the city. Both areas had been closed to the public for years and in the city's planning vision they were designated as green areas, offering opportunities to connect the local community through cultural programmes, and providing a boost to economic activity. Westergasfabriek had a relatively long incubation period before the redevelopment actually got off the ground, which provided opportunities to experiment with different types of programmes and organisational models. In this phase, the buildings and park were determining the choice of programmes and events. Consequently, the buildings and park were reconstructed in line with the experience of this period. Tolhuistuin also had an unanticipated incubation period of sorts, due to the long delay in its construction. The redevelopment of both areas has had a positive impact on the real estate value of the adjacent communities, attracting higher educated residents. However, the results are not very clear in respect of the added liveliness and connectivity especially in relation to the original local residents. Both areas seem to reflect Zukin's conundrum of postmodern culture: the processes enhance the role of culture in social differentiation; they also equalize perceptions of cultural production 'for the market' and 'for art' (Zukin 1993, 54).

Different mechanisms can be distinguished in the process of choosing a final location. Combining these practices with the grid of categories of representation as outlined in chapter 7.4 a new link is revealed, leading directly from city planning policy to cultural organisations. This direct link is manifested not only in public contests issued by city planning departments, but also in individual cases such as Muziekgebouw, where the city planning portfolio holder and the cultural initiator are in direct contact. This link is added in the diagram with a red arrow, indicating a trail which is often followed although it is not as such represented in formal policy structures.
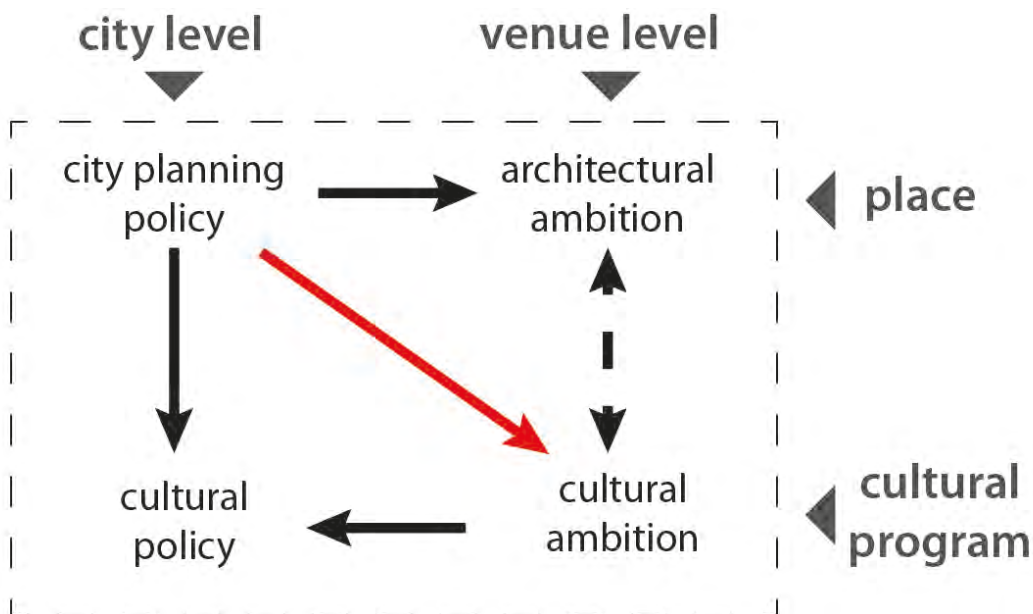
Figure 10. Grid of categories of representation in practice

8.2.3 Connectivity between location, audience, and community

The conceived social impact of cultural venues varies from social cohesion, a stimulation of pride and identity, ownership and a feeling of belonging. The feeling of ownership is dependent on the perceived distance between the social and psychological environment and the 'home territory' of the venue. Theatre visitors do not know each other, but they do recognise each other on the basis of communal codes of conduct within this theatre community. Theatre still is a meeting place for specific social groups, even though it is open to the public in general. This can be explained by socio-spatial dialectics, in which group, activity and space connect with each other and in which aspects of social context and identification are at play. This is why *ad hoc* adaptations in programming with a view to enforce diversity of audience groups will not bring about structural changes. "Those rules are also

perceived as restrictive and are a reason why festivals are more attractive to larger audience groups. A theatre has rules, one is not allowed to leave the hall, or to take drinks, while at a festival you can stop by and decide to stay or move on." (Rabozaal 2015c). At Bimhuis, the rules are more flexible, accommodating the hard-core audience that likes to be immersed in the music as well as people that enjoy the music as a social occasion (Bimhuis 2016a). Muziekgebouw is trying to modernise the traditional concert practice of demanding complete silence from the audience. They try to retain the silence code to do justice to the widely praised acoustics of the auditorium, but they also try to involve different audience groups (Muziekgebouw 2015a).

The analysis of the different aspects of connectivity reveals two social groups; the local community and the target audience. Venues in the city centre do not take into account the local community as such. The specific aspects constituting the atmosphere of the venue seem to be less relevant than being part of the atmosphere in the city centre. There seems to be no difference between small, large, iconic or non-iconic venues in this respect. The programme is the main vehicle for attracting an audience from the larger region, and the venue's atmosphere needs to be match tithe programme's specific character. The DeLaMar Theatre for instance promises an uncomplicated theatre experience of high quality and offers a traditional atmosphere with red carpeting and plush seats, golden dress circles and luxurious foyers, all designed to make the audience feel part of the traditional theatrical magic.

Venues that are not situated in the city centre cannot rely solely on the quality of the programme and a matching interior design to create an appropriate feeling of belonging. Other aspects, such as accessibility and catering facilities are needed to attract the target audience. Whereas these facilities appear to be of minor importance for city centre venues, they seem essential for the other venues. However, the target audience and the local community do not share the same communal codes at venues such as Tolhuistuin, Westergasfabriek and Eye. "The area is called 'the golden lining' and is not regarded as ours, it does not belong to the original residents of North. However recently the feedback has become more positive in this regard" (EYE 2015a). These venues seem to have opted primarily for the 'home territory' of the audience target group. They do recognise the importance of reaching out to the direct community but at the same time seem to accept that the gap between their natural audience and the local residents is an inescapable fact. The lack of an outdoor eating and drinking area and a good catering location in the building itself has frustrated the Bijlmerparktheater's ambition to become a community centre (Bijlmerparktheater 2015 and MC 2015b). Podium Mozaïek on the other hand, does provide these facilities, and has become a popular and well-knownmeeting place for the community (LPBL 2012, 9 and kennisbankherbestemming.nl). The facilities at EYE, Tolhuistuin and

Muziekgebouw aan 't IJ are more or less identical, with an independent, publicly accessible restaurant, a large outdoor eating and drinking area and a magnificent view over the river IJ. Still, bars and restaurants located on the northern banks of the IJ are much more popular. This might be because they are considered more of a trendy place. If that is the case, one would expect their popularity to drop offas soon as another 'hot spot' pops up (Gemeente Amsterdam 2015a and d). However, the difference in popularity between the northern and southern banks might also be the result of their geographical positioning, with the South bank still being regarded as a windy, cold and unwelcoming spot (Gemeente Amsterdam DRO 2008, 2, Bimhuis 2015a; Gemeente Amsterdam 2015a). While the location, setting and architecture of a venue may correspond with the communal codes of the audience and artists, this does not mean they will match the codes of the local community. This is an issue which is particularly pertinent to venues that are built as part of city planning in newly developed areas. These venues also have to put in extra efforts to accommodate the target audience in terms of programme, accessibility and catering facilities. New venues in the city centre can rely on the historically close connection between cultural venues, artists and audience, offering a quality programme with matching atmosphere and shared codes of conduct.

8.3   Cultural strategies

In the daily practice of cultural organisations different patterns can be identified, revealing a shift from the traditional playhouse to venues organised as 'hubs', including outdoor locations and virtual environments. This shift plays a major role in the changing impact of venues as meaningful spaces (Lofland 1998, 64). Places sensitive to their environment, with an evolving sense of spaceand creating their own developmental logic within the city, often go beyond city 'walls' by expanding their regional, national and international networks (Hristova 2015, 4). The more a venue manages to engage different groups within and outside the city, the more opportunities there will be for people to contribute as creators of its continuous transformation (Hristova 2015, 9). In this scenario, the impact and appreciation of a venue shifts from being merely a distribution centre to acting as a crucial hub engaging the art community, the audience and the community at the intersection of production, consumption and distribution. This results in a dynamic where the different areas and communities involved overlap and intertwine. The key element here seems to be the sensitivity of the venues to community support and the balance between artistic identity and economic profitability. Those venues where the artistic identity is formulated as a 'movement' to bring about more programmes which are artistically

relevant to the community, also organise programmes outside of their own premises. One could say that the connectivity to the artistic and social context are the resources of these venues. Venues focused on the management of the building are keener on aspects of hospitality and entertainment. I identified four categories of strategy.
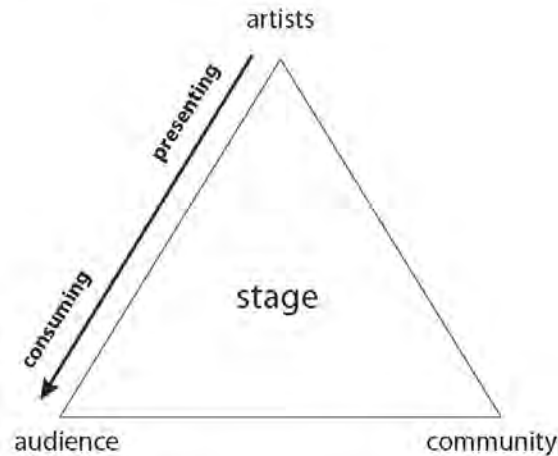
Figure 11. Diagram representing artists, audience, community interactions in standalone strategy

The standalone strategy is focused on the venue as a standalone organization, which aims to be successful as a centre for cultural consumption, to fulfill the 'demand task' as identified in cultural policy (Boekman Cahier 2007,40). The building itself is presented as the unique selling point, underlined by the artistic identity, e.g. "The Concertgebouw is an instrument, just like a Stradivarius" (Concertgebouw 2015 a and b). In their promotion, Concertgebouw pick out the hall's key characteristics to underline its excellence. The building's essence is described in terms of having a soul, being inspirational and magical (Concertgebouw 2015a). The balance between artistic identity and economic profitability is delicate (Concertgebouw 2015b; DeLaMar, 2014a). The focus on cultural entreprise in cultural policy (chapter 2.2.2) requires venues to manage their operations as efficiently as possible from a financial and marketing point of view. This leads to the notion, also amongst 'hard core' commercial cultural entrepreneurs, that more and more cultural venues consider the programme to be secondary to the building and the organisation. "It is like having a top-quality restaurant without money to buy food … thus theatre programming has become a charity asset" (Hummelinck 2015a). It is believed that there are too many programmes and too many seats available, while financial resources are limited and should be used for artistic high-quality programmes and venues (Concertgebouw 2015a

and 2015b). Commercial theatres are more inclined to adopt the standalone strategy. Both DeLaMar and Theater Amsterdam apply entrepreneurial strategies in their programming, for instance by choosing to stage long-running shows. DeLaMar also contractually restricts successful productions from taking their show to other venues in a large area around Amsterdam. "Hospitality and guest experience" (DeLaMar 2014b) are equally important to secure sufficient revenues. "A good performance and a good review alone is not enough. Something extra is needed" (Hummelinck 2015a).

Extension strategy:

Figure 12. Diagram representing artists, audience, community interactions in extension strategy

The second strategy, which is the extension strategy, is focused on trying to expand support for the venue to other groups in society by aggregating different kinds of activities. These venues extend their activities; make connections between their home territory and the world outside, and engage with their audiences and with other theatres and/or disciplines. The aim is to expand, reach out to new audiences and generate more income for the venue. All new activities take place within the venue itself and are incorporated in the programme and/or organization. The Amsterdam Stadsschouwburg dubbed this strategy 'expanding theatre' (Daamen 2012). In this strategy, the theatre is used as a platform for urban public debate, organising discussions and hosting various kinds of (political) performances. In this new role, the venue explicitly aims to connect with its wider cultural network and acquire a central position in the public life of the city. So rather than merely hosting theatrical or musical performances, the venue also provides a stage for discussion, reflection and encounter. Positioning themselves as a guide for new ways of programming, these venues adopting the extension strategy also explore using

all the different spaces within their building, including the lobbies, entrance halls and even the loading docks, trying to realise a more open festival-like atmosphere (Rabozaal 2015c; Muziekgebouw aan t IJ 2015a). For Westergasfabriek looking for new activities is part of their DNA, constantly balancing entrepreneurship with social commitment (Westergasfabriek 2015a). Some of the larger venues are changing their strategy from standalone to extension. These days, Hermitage also shows work from other museums than the Petersburg Hermitage. Central to this strategy is justifying the existence of the venue, creating more public and financial support.
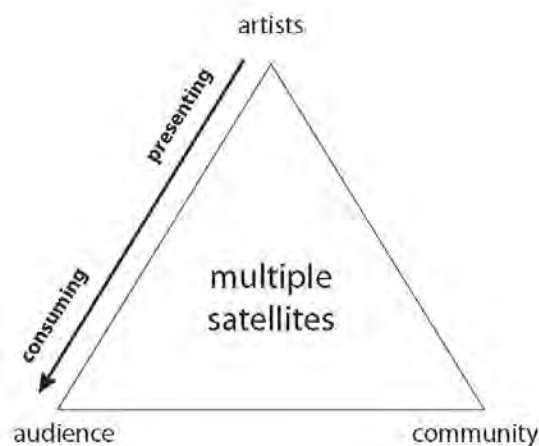
Figure 13. Diagram representing artists, audience, community interactions in satellite strategy

A third strategy is to move beyond the walls of the venue, and extend the venue's programming to different locations across the city. These external locations are like satellites which are strongly linked to the home venue. Venues adopt the satellite strategy for various reasons, ranging from the possibility for more experiment to opportunities to perform for a different or larger audience. Melkweg for example programmes a hiphop and R&B festival at NDSM in North Amsterdam (Rabozaal 2015a). Ideally, the new venue will set a benchmark and inspire new programming concepts, which, if successful, will then start looking for a place of their own (Tolhuistuin 2015a). Tolhuistuin itself is a combination of a new artistic idea for a community art centre and an extension of life musicvenue Paradiso's programme. For a long time, Paradiso, who were also a partner in the GETZ project, had been looking to open an additional stage in the city. They were already staging performances in smaller clubs across the city, but they wanted to complement their own venue with a larger stage to accommodate specific music groups and to reach out to a larger audience than these clubs could provide.

Hub strategy:
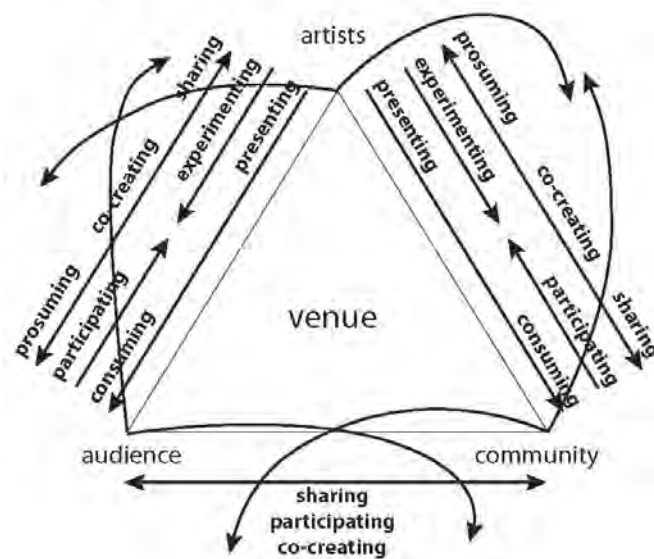
Figure 14. Diagram representing artists, audience, community interactions in hub strategy

Strategies which are more sensitive to changes in our wider society seem to separate their activities from the venue: they develop concepts around new approaches towards audience and makers taking part on equal footing, in which the building serves as a hub, an engine and a breeding ground (a.o. Podium Mozaïek 2015a, Bimhuis 2015b and Pakhuis de Zwijger 2015a). This concept acknowledges the relevance of a venue as a bearer of artistic identity and quality and adds concepts of collaboration and participation. The resulting projects or productions can be performed inside as well as outside the venue. Splendor even started off without a building. "Splendor already existed before there was a building. The power of the idea and the quality of the performances had already been proven. Splendor is more an idea than a building" (Splendor 2015a). Artists are leaving the structure of the theatre and look for different, unusual locations, new ways of working and connecting directly to the audience. Generally, festivals take place in public spaces that have been transformed into unique locations (van Vliet 2012). The growth of festivals is often used as an argument to encourage the cultural sector to become more entrepreneurial, to focus less on venues and more on programmes and audiences. This led to the development of marketing concepts such as 'culture without venues' and 'the city as a stage' (EK 2015a). This concept of actively looking for participation is also mentioned by Niehe Productions: "We distinguish between: 'once in a lifetime', 'nice to see' and 'need to see'. The unique selling points are the location, the cast and the possibility of participation" (Niehe Producties 2015a). This approach expands

the traditional role of the producer and the format of the programme by including the audience as a participant and co-creator, and extending their participation to include social media, introductory talks and post-performance meet-ups with cast and director. In this strategy, the venue develops into a hub or node for all aspects of the creative chain and reflects the inside-out movement illustrated in Figure 2 in paragraph 3.4. The venue operates as a facilitator, booster or hub, recognising the dynamic interaction between artists, audience and place. This approach is similar to the idea of placemaking, creating sustainable, smart, and sociable cities by shifting the perspective from the objective idea of 'space' to the human quality of 'place'. In this process, the locale (public realm territory) is situated in the (physical) public space as well as in the (physical) parochial space (Lofland 1998, 13). Inhabitants of the public realm act primarily as audience to the activities surrounding them (Lofland 1998, 31). The artistic venue in this process operates as a locale in which all inhabitants are mutually accessible to one another and are actively supporting the possibility of triangulation, looking for external stimuli to provide a linkage between people, including both creators and audience. "The artistic value is a combination of the artistic idea and the audience" (Splendor 2015a). These venues are conceived as physical places for presentation and consumption, as places in transition, for experimenting and participating, as well as places without borders, for co creating and prosuming, seeking to develop and inspire a specific artistic identity beyond the borders of the venue.

Artists who are looking for new ways of working, reaching out and connecting with the social context and the audience, find themselves split between two positions. On the one hand, they acknowledge the traditional venues, the status quo, by performing on their stages. As a company or ensemble, you want to be perform at these venues, because its gives you status, renown and access to the establishment, as these venues are still the hallmark of quality. This even applies to groups who strive to be part of a countermovement or underground scene, and who take a deliberate stance against the establishment, such as the theatre group De Warme Winkel or Summer Dance[33] (De Warme Winkel 2015a). The experience of performing at a venue which is considered to be the epitome of quality is still important. On the other hand, artists and makers are moving away from these venues, looking for inspiration and collaboration with other groups and/or the audience. This used to be the case for young revolutionary groups only, but more and more traditional makers and artists are also reaching out; to exchange the quality of acoustics for the charm of interaction with the

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[33]   This is a hip hop/urban dance festival proud to have the opening night in the large hall of the Stadsschouwburg.

audience, but also for economic reasons. However, for some of these groups performing at a commercially driven venue is still a bridge too far (De Warme Winkel 2015a). Actor and theatre maker Lucas de Man observed: "The local is necessary to realize the sense of belonging, while the global ensures the work itself is recognized"[34]. To these artists reaching out into the wider community, autonomy and intrinsic value of art are not synonymous. Their ambition is to look for new ways as well as new places, finding a balance between the artistic value, social developments and economic needs. In practice, venues adapt their strategy to the political and economic situation and the type of leadership. This will be described in the following paragraph.

8.4   Leadership

The different types of strategies appear to be connected to different types of leadership. Analysing the interviews, I found three key leadership capabilities: identity/professionalism of the director/leader, the ability to connect different disciplines/networks and the ability to collaborate. To be convincing, a venue director needs to project a certain degree of artistic understanding and excellence, in combination with professional leadership skills. To set up a new artistic project also requires knowledge of the political structures and power networks. Over the last decade entrepreneurial skills have become more important (Commissie Cultuurprofijt 2008, 14). Depending on the type of venue either the entrepreneurial aspect or the artistic aspect is the most important. To effectively manage a venue sensitive to changes in society, it is also important to be able to connect people of different groups and backgrounds, prioritising the connection over the connector (a.o. Hermitage 2015a; Podium Mozaïek 2015a; Bimhuis 2015b; Muziekgebouw 2015a).

There is a strong sense of belonging to the peer group in terms of artistic qualifications or background. Almost all interviewees started to tell what their background was, even if I knew them personally. Most of the venues show enduring continuity in management. Usually, the initiators of new venues stay on for many years as director or chair of the board (in case of Splendor and DeLaMar) after the venue has been opened. Many of these initiators are known for their perseverance (see for example Schram 2012, 163 resp. 173 on Muziekgebouw aan 't IJ and on Pakhuis). In only one case where the director was appointed during construction, the new venue was off to a smooth start. At three other venues, the directors were not involved from the

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[34]   L. De Man, actor and theatre maker, in his essay The 5 Battles of a Creative Generation, July 2015.

very start of the planning phase, severe problems occurred during the first few years after the opening. The most successful directors seem to fit in a dwelling mode of engagement and their activities are probably best described as deliberate coping (Golsorkhi 2010, 8). The connectivity to the artistic identity, the social context or the economic purpose seem to be the driving forces, and it is through retrospective reinterpretation that actions emerge (a.o. DeLaMar 2015a, b and c Gemeente Amsterdam 2015a, Muziekgebouw 2015a, Asko 2015a, Bimhuis 2015b).

When the individual personality of the director is more dominant than their ability to bring about meaningful connections, the venue is likely to be operated as a standalone theatre. Venues with a hub strategy seem to combine a strong artistic identity firmly rooted in society and an expanding programme reaching beyond the home venue. There appears to be a positive relationship between the success of these hub venues and the venue leader's capabilities to act as a connecting agent between the different networks of the peer group, power networks, audience groups and artists. "We changed our ways of working. We try to expand the base of the building. Cooperation is essential. And the staff's involvement stretches beyond their job descriptions as well; for instance when the doorman shows his knowledge of a specific music trend, he too becomes part of the programming team" (Muziekgebouw 2015a). Making all these new connections enriches the artistic and social contexts, generating more artistic and social interaction, and resulting in new programmes at the venue and beyond, which in turn generate more public and audience involvement etc.

Creative learning in terms of creative cross-overs and collaborations goes one step further. Taner (2011) observed in his report a lack of collaboration. AKR advised more collaboration on the use of venues. And collaboration was also put forward as one of the main objectives in the 'Kunstenplan' 2013-2016 and 2017-2020. However, so far this has only spawned a few ad hoc coalitions and an incidental structural partnership. I have not found any evidence of successful partnerships in the sense of creative learning by collaboration to build new structures, perspectives or movements (Noordergraaf 2014). Although there have been initiatives for creative collaborative crossovers (Hummelinck 2015a; MC 2015b; Muziekgebouw aan 't IJ 2015a), these have not succeeded and none of the interviewees had a satisfying explanation why not. The only exception is Splendor; this is the main reason why they won the Amsterdam Award of Arts (Amsterdam Prijs voor de kunst 2015).

8.5   In conclusion

This chapter explored Thirdspace mapping rethinking first and Secondspace mappings by researching experiences and daily practices of actors in the cultural, governmental, political and economic field. Firstspace mapping identified a strong relation between the formation of new cultural venues outside the old city centre and new urban development areas and a relation between architectural quality and location. Secondspace mapping revealed differences in phasing and scope of cultural policy and city planning. The cultural and architectural representation of the venues show similar features in identifying categories, but analysis shows these categories are interpreted differently. In addition, the Secondspace mapping indicated the practice of different cultural strategies to shape the interaction between place, audience and community. Thirdspace mapping assessed the findings of the Firstspace and Secondspace findings and also revealed some new patterns.

All venues, especially those outside the city centre, reflect on the impact of the architecture to strengthen the cultural identity and realise a feeling of belonging. Iconic architecture is experienced as an added value as well as a barrier. The formation process of new venues shows little research is done into the connectivity of the home territory of the venues' audience and artistic identity, with the physical and social context. This why many of the new cultural venues could be established in newly developed areas without considering the connectivity with artists and audience. Venues in the city centre don't take into account the local community as such. Venues which are in more remote or newly developed areas, try to connect to the target audience as well as the local community. In most cases the target audience and the local community are not naturally connected, which can result in situations where the location, exact setting and architecture corresponds with the communal codes of the audience and artists, but not with those of the local community. These venues also have to make extra efforts to accommodate the target audience in terms of programme, accessibility and catering facilities. New venues in the old city centre can rely on the historically close connection between cultural venues, artists and audience, offering a quality programme with matching atmosphere and shared codes of conduct.

The process of deciding upon a location differs for each venue. Some venues were built at a location of their own choice, whether these locations were offered by local politicians or proposed by the initiator and agreed upon by the local district government. Sometimes the exact location seems to be more a matter of chance than choice. Combining these practices with the grid of categories of representation as outlined in chapter 7.4 a new link is revealed, leading directly from city planning policy to cultural organisations.

Cultural organisations adopt different strategies. The key element here seems to be the sensitivity of venues to community support and the balance between artistic identity and economic profitability. The standalone strategy is focused on the venue as a single organization, which aims to be successful as a centre for audiences to consume culture as a product. Their building is presented as their unique selling point, with their artistic identity underlining this. The balance between artistic identity and economic profitability is a delicate one. Another strategy is focused on trying to find support for the venue among other groups in society by aggregating different kinds of activities. These venues extend their activities; make connections between their own world and the world outside and engage with the audience and with other theatres and/or disciplines. The aim is to expand, reach out to new audiences and develop more income for the venue.

A third strategy is to move beyond the walls of the venue, and extend the venue's programming to different locations across the city. Venues adopt the satellite strategy for various reasons, ranging from the possibility for more experiment to opportunities to perform for a different or larger audience. Finally, venues considering themselves to be a kind of 'movement' require more interaction between artists, audience and venue. In this strategy, the venue develops into a hub for all aspects of the creative chain and reflects the inside-out movement. The venue is operating as a facilitator, booster or hub. This approach is similar to the idea of placemaking.

The different types of strategies appear to be connected to different types of leadership. In analysing the interviews, I found three key leadership capabilities: identity/professionalism of the director/leader, the ability to connect different disciplines/networks and the ability to cooperate. To be convincing, a venue director needs to project a certain degree of artistic understanding and excellence, in combination with professional leadership skills. To set up a new artistic project also requires knowledge of the political structures and power networks. Over the last decade entrepreneurial skills have become more important. Depending on the type of venue either the entrepreneurial aspect or the artistic aspect is the most important. To effectively manage a venue sensitive to changes in society, it is also important to be able to connect people of different groups and backgrounds, prioritising the connection over the connector. By exploring the Thirdspace experiences several new 'trails' became visible. In the next chapter these findings, combined with the conclusions of first and Secondspace explorations will be compared to the hypotheses.

9.

REFLECTIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

9.   REFLECTIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The central question in this study concerns the impact of the dynamics of the network society on the formation of cultural places. The research was initially based on the hypothesis that the increased dominance of economic values in our network society is changing the artistic significance of cultural places. To answer this question the study set out to explore the changing notions on the value of culture during the last decades, showing a shift in relations between culture and the economy as well as between culture and society. This shift was related to the development of the network society, as described by Castells (2010), with its changes in the economic and social aspects of place. With the application of Soja's (1996) analysing perspective I explored these simultaneous processes of interaction, in the context of formation/development of cultural venues in Amsterdam.

My first theoretical explorations suggested some possible hypotheses as stated at the end of the chapters 2, 3 and 4. In this concluding chapter the findings of the preceding chapters are explored further, guided by these hypotheses. The analysis and comparison of the Firstspace, Secondspace and Thirdspace mappings seems to suggest some unexpected relationships. The initial assumption that the increased dominance of economic values is changing the artistic significance of cultural places was called into question. This assumption was inspired by the increasingly louder call of art professionals, councils and culture institutions to stop investing in new cultural buildings. Also, since the 1970s cultural venues have been expected to be valuable in a social and community context. The expectation for added social value is not only described in governmental policy documents, but also claimed by many cultural organisations in their working plans and mission statements. Yet, to my surprise it appeared that economic and artistic value rather seem to reinforce each other, while social value seems to be marginalised. This will be explored more elaborately in the next paragraph. The analysis seems to affirm the other two hypotheses, illuminating some specific patterns concerning amongst others cultural and urban policies. As will be discussed in paragraph 9.2 and 9.3, essential aspects to all hypotheses appear to be related to different types of strategy and leadership. Based on these analyses and findings, in 9.4, a structuring scheme will be proposed, mapping a set of categories determining changes in the significance of cultural venues. An exploration of the implications of this research will conclude the chapter.

9.1   Impact of dominance of economic value

This research was initially based on the hypothesis that the increased dominance of economic values in our network society is changing the artistic significance of cultural places. In chapter 2 the value prism of art was described and the conceived dominance of the economic value became apparent. The research shows that the new venues attracted considerable amounts of new audiences, new private sources of money ánd new activities, thus having a positive economic and artistic effect. The realised venues each have their own history, revealing that the impetus for a new building is a mixture of artistic, social and economic aims. Commercially run venues are primarily built to realise an artistic value even though they have a commercial financial and organisational strategy. Contrastingly, the large iconic venues were built on assignment of the local city policy government as a means to attract private real estate developers. City policy has a strong influence on the development of new venues, in some cases connecting directly to cultural partners following an informal trail.

The impact of the change in city planning including the development of many cultural venues, is not recognised in cultural policy. In cultural policy plans the developments of cultural venues is discussed on a case to case basis. Since the budget was not adapted to the expansion of new venues, this implied an increasing competition between old and new venues on governmental subsidies. On the basis of city planning dynamics, large new venues were constructed, without prior effect reports linking them to cultural policy measures, although the venues were largely dependent on governmental funding for their exploitation. This situation creates an insecure financial position for new venues and enhances the idea that new iconic venues are primarily built for economic reasons and are detrimental to artistic development. More than half of the new venues are dependent on culture policy based subsidies. Whereas in general, throughout the cases studied, interaction between economic and cultural values works out positively in terms of the realisation of artistic aspirations, the exploitation does not share in this positive effect. The question is whether the problematic financial situation in exploitation, is due to the urban development planning dynamics, inspired by global pressures of creating added value by building iconic buildings. One may ask what the impact is of the lack of strategic cultural policy-making in relation to this urban development pressure.

In advance, I presumed that the dominant reason why a cultural venue was formed would influence the way they were perceived and experienced to such an extent that venues built for economic reasons would be of a lesser artistic value. However, the research shows another pattern. There is a close interaction between cultural and economic values in the midst of changing

structural conditions. Venues cannot be identified as either cultural or commercial. Even for commercial rooted venues, commerce is not an end in itself. It is a means to maintain a specific cultural value. In this interaction, the social value seems to get out of sight, even in those cases that explicitly linked their added value to the liveliness and connectivity of the neighbourhood as the aim of the venue both in policy and mission statements. Cultural organisations that were offered locations by city policy departments accepted these without questioning, probably not realising that local circumstances may ask for different trajectories. Thus, it may be the case that a community venue is built on a specific spatial locality that is not compatible with the characteristics of the neighbourhood, or that a programme attracts a kind of audience that causes a distance between the parochial realm of the audience and the neighbourhood. In the daily practice of the venues their iconic character often appears to be an added value to the artistic value as well as a barrier to social connectivity. Hence, rather than an exchange of economic and cultural value there seems to be an interaction between these values. What the implications are for the social value becomes a more pressing question.

9.2   Strategies related to place

I expected a change in the meaning of cultural places as a result of the societal network developments going along with a shift in relations between both culture and economy and culture and society. This has an impact on the economic and social aspects of place. The shift in relations between culture, economy and society are reflected in different types of strategies on societal support, artistic identity and economic profitability. The four strategies as described in chapter 8.3 each seem to relate to spatial hierarchies in a different manner: the standalone and extension strategies organise all activities within their building or premises. The artists and public are expected to come to the specific location because of the programme and the characteristics of the venue, in terms of hospitality, facilities and representation. The standalone strategy, maintaining the traditional separation between presenting and consuming, is focused on the safeguarding of the building, balancing between artistic quality and economic profitability. "In DeLaMar it is all about sales: we always ask ourselves what will the revenues be? We have to pay the building" (DeLaMar 2015c). Venues with an extension strategy try to enlarge and diversify audiences. Although in representations, written documents, website texts etc, this is a successful model, being adapted by more and more venues, in practice this proves to be complicated: "the options within a theatre are limited. It has all kinds of rules that are restricting" (Rabozaal 2015c). The existing audience and the new target groups do not share the same communal

codes by nature. "We are experimenting with trying to accommodate younger people, we changed the furniture, the format, and it has to match" (Muziekgebouw aan t IJ 2015). Yet, the new target groups have to accommodate themselves to the rules, atmosphere and setting of the venue, which remains exclusive through the parochial codes. "We have to think differently; the building has its limitations yet we should try to find new models. Innovation, connecting with the audience, the key is trying to make the imagination tangible" (Muziekgebouw aan t IJ 2015c). In the long run this strategy is experienced as challenging: "Also the developments on globalisation, digitalisation, commercialisation in media and television are devastating, because in comparison the earning capacities of theatre are far less" (Rabozaal 2015c).

The satellites and hub strategy both organise activities beyond their own venue, throughout the city. In these strategies reaching out to a larger audience is created by moving outside the venue towards the lived world and practices of the target group. These strategies explicitly focus on organising activities outside their own building. However, venues with a satellites strategy are operating the main venue as a standalone organisation, and the extra locations are functioning as satellites in order to enlarge the audience and earnings of the 'parent' venue. "Paradiso had to go outside the building because we had too many good programmes and extensions, and Paradiso was too small" (Tolhuistuin 2015a). On the other hand, venues with a hub strategy are part of a network, with the aim of connecting audiences, artists and communities reaching out to new audiences and creating new programmes. These venues are imagined and experienced as places to gain pride and ownership, and gathering communities with other codes of conduct. Venues that acknowledge their relevance as bearer of artistic identity and quality, and add concepts of incubation and participation in terms of process are more strongly relating to the social aspects of place. "The building and our way of working stimulates new contacts, connections and exchanges" (Podium Mozaïek 2015a). Yet this does not necessarily lead to an increase of audience or earnings, but it does lead to an increase of small scale activities and a diversification of audience groups.

9.3   Connectivity

The third hypothesis supposed that the public significance of cultural venues is more and more defined by both the dynamic interaction between artists and audience, and the connectivity between the audience and local social and spatial circumstances. In the whole development process of cultural

venues, the compatibility of the artistic identity and the parochial codes of the audience with the physical and social characteristics of the spatial domains gets little attention. Even when connectivity with specific communities was a decisive argument to build the venue, this aspect seems to be underestimated. Actually, only one venue of my research was experienced from the start onwards as physically, socially and culturally synchronised, showing a tight connection between artistic identity and social context, nurtured by the building in terms of atmosphere. Analysis shows a difference between two social groups: the local community and the target audience. At stake are the connection between the venue and the audience on the one hand and the connection between the venue and the spatial locality with its own community on the other. Being connected to the local community requires substantial connectivity of the parochial codes of the venue, including the atmosphere, programme and audience, with the local community. In this respect, a key aspect appears to be the exact geographic positioning. As shown above these social and spatial aspects are generally overlooked in the formation processes, hence the connectivity with the local community needs to be realised during the exploitation within the set artistic and physical context. Venues in the city centre do not need to take into account the local community as such. The specific characteristics of the venue seem to be less relevant than being part of the whole atmosphere of the old city centre. The program is key to attract an audience from the larger region, and it is decisive whether the atmosphere of the venue is in accordance with the characteristics of the programme. New venues located in the city centre can profit from the historical tight connection between the city centre, cultural venues and audience. Thus, they can more safely choose for a standalone strategy as long as the artistic programme is interesting enough for both artists and the target audience.

However, venues that are in more remote or newly developed areas have to connect to the target audience as well as the local community by offering the right atmosphere in line with both parochial codes. As it turns out, in most cases the target audience and the local community each have different expectations of the program and the adequate atmosphere. Cultural venues situated in remote or newly (re-)developed areas will have to take more effort to make the connection between artists and audiences, and ask for a different strategy, giving room to specific local circumstances. Even though in Secondspace representations connectivity to the local community is often mentioned as a specific asset, this is not reflected in Firstspace physical appearances and Thirdspace experiences. Finding a trajectory adapted to the complex combination of the venue with its specific architectural, social and economic characteristics is one of the difficult questions for the management. The capacity of the leader to act as a connector between the different networks of the peer group, power networks, audience groups, makers, and local

community turns out to be of essential impact. Depending on the personality and the capacities of the leader, the interaction between audience, community and spatial location can be more developed.

9.4   Structuring scheme

The central question in this study concerns the impact of the dynamics of the network society on the formation of cultural places. The cases show a great variety in conditions, formations and exploitations. The ad-hoc character of cultural policy, in contrast with the long term urban policies create an unstable position for cultural venues. Furthermore, most of the venues analysed are not the result of a clear choice, based on a careful balancing of artistic and economic objectives, and related to specific local and historic circumstances. Instead most of the cases seem to be the result of a rather eclectic coincidence of specific opportunities. Much depends on how the leadership is able to deal with these opportunities and to link the socio-economic and artistic value of the venue with the specific characteristics of the local situation.

These findings were first of all identified by the analysis per space. The final phase of the research was aimed at linking the findings of the first-, second- and thirdspace analyses and at producing an understanding of the spatial triangularity per venue. The findings per case and space were interconnected, thus producing an insight reflecting all aspects of spatiality. I tried to find patterns, by generating the data per case to a general level, in terms of their economic, artistic and social dimension, as well as in terms of their spatial aspects. These patterns were applied to the individual cases, again in an iterative process of comparing data with theory and hypotheses. Based on this analysis, it was possible to identify some specific relations between spatial, economic, artistic and social aspects, determining the broader significance of venues. Consequently, these aspects were translated into a scheme with spatiality and sociality as structuring axes.

This scheme is organised around two axes showing tendencies: one referring to the spatiality, showing a tendency from the specific locality of the building to presence all over to the city. The other axis refers to the topic of sociality going from exclusive to inclusive, showing a tendency of orientation on a specific venue with its own audience and artists towards an open source method of outreaching to other audiences, artists and venues. Venues with a standalone strategy, without connection between artists, audience and venue are likely to be situated in the city centre. Venues with satellites extend their activities to other places throughout the city to attract new audiences from other communities. Venues with an extension or hub strategy can be situated

in the city centre as well as in newly developed areas. They need connecting abilities in leadership, to foster connections between both artists and audience, and venue and community. Hub venues work in a mode of reciprocity and therefore the leader should be able to connect and cooperate as well. The research indicates that standalone and satellite venues focus more on the balance between artistic and economic properties, whereas extension and hub venues are more oriented on the social value, although they do have to deal with economic aspects as well. An import difference between the extension venues and the hub venues is the variation in connectivity to the community. Both types are open to others, yet whereas extension venues tend to relate to and invite other audiences and artists, hub venues tend also interact and cooperate not only with audiences and artists but also with the community living in the direct neighbourhood of the venue. These relations between strategies, spatiality and sociality are presented in the following diagram:
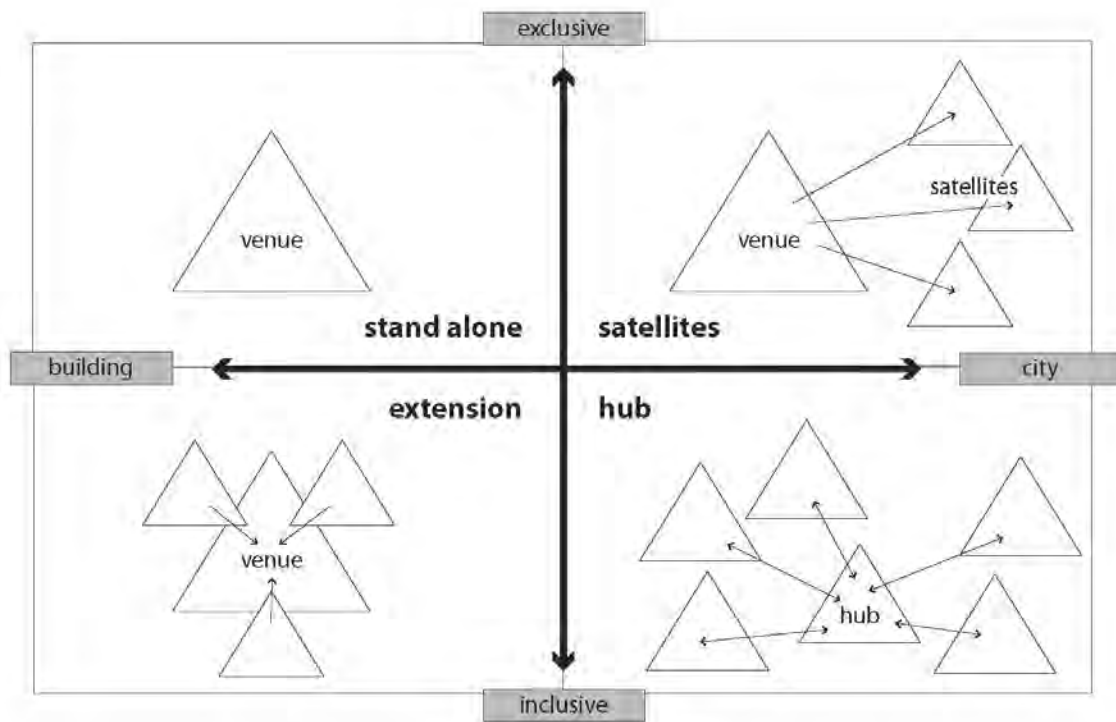

Figure 15. Diagram representing strategic models in relation to spatiality and sociality

This is not to say that venues with other combinations do not exist, however, the research seems to indicate that venues with other combinations evolve towards one of these typologies or fail. For example, Theater Anne, located in a newly developed area and operated as a standalone venue, recently stopped all its theatre activities. This structuring scheme also does offer insights explaining the differences at the outset between Muziekgebouw aan 't IJ and Bimhuis. Both started at the same moment on the same location. Bimhuis self-consciously positioned itself towards the windy and aloof margins of the local spatiality thus carefully maintaining the bohemian independent atmosphere of the jazz programme. They launched the notion of Bimhuis not being a place but a movement. At the same time Bimhuis promoted the proximity of public transport and the car parking facilities as luxury commodities. Right from the start Bimhuis increased considerably in audience and activities, by connecting artists and audience to the venue, including cooperation with other (international and Amsterdam-based) venues and presenting itself as a hub in a network. Muziekgebouw aan 't IJ started as a standalone venue, as if it was situated in the city centre, expecting the audience to come to this venue because of the programme and expecting the musicians would come because of the good facilities and the possibility of forming new alliances. Yet this wasn't the case. To the audience the venue was too windy and the aspired alliances didn't work out. The ensembles and musicians moved in opposite directions and rather formed oppositional networks. After some years Muziekgebouw aan 't IJ changed leadership and started to extend to other venues and programmes. All cases can be applied to this scheme. Yet the typologies should not be read as a fixed structure, but as a tool to identify specific relations between key aspects of cultural venues. For example, DeLaMar can be identified as a standalone stage, with a focus on realising a not-for-profit and cultural attractive programme, trying to attract cultural tourist from the wider region and situated in the centre of the city. Melkweg can be characterised as a venue with satellites, organising concerts on other locations to attract larger and more audiences to gain more income. Stadsschouwburg with the Rabozaal can be typified as an extension venue, with its expanding programme inviting artists and programmes from all over the city to perform in the Stadsschouwburg, thus trying to attract new audiences and using the whole venue to create connectivity between audiences and artists. Podium Mozaiek fits into the hub venues category, with its programs in Kunstenhuis at Westergasfabriek, at outside locations in nearby parks and open spaces; housing, facilitating and enabling different groups and people, and connecting with organisations all over the city and from abroad.

9.5 Reflections on methodology and methods

The research was embedded in the socio-economic framework of Castells (2010), the foremost theorist of the concept of the network society. His analysis of the technological, cultural, and institutional transformation towards the network societies inspired me to research the development of urban cultural venues in a broader perspective, related to the social and economic dynamics of the information age. To me it was highly relevant for understanding contemporary forms of urban transformation. Furthermore, theories on placemaking where used to explore the meaning of cultural places. These theories were helpful in recognising specific patterns. The study identifies a disconnection between cultural and urban planning policies in Amsterdam and more specifically a lagging behind of cultural policies. This observation leads to the question what the impact is of the lack of strategic cultural policy in relation to these urban developments (paragraph 9.1). In Amsterdam, cultural policies could be thought of as following Milohnić's argument: 'The first precondition for the successful utilization of cultural policies based on the fast development of cultural and creative economies should be a strictly individual and site-specific approach that is sensitive to historical, social, economic, demographic, ecological and other important aspects of the city in question" (Hristova 2015, 57). Urban policy could appear to answer to Healey's plea in regard to placemaking for "grasping the fine grain of interactive dynamics between situational specificities and broader dynamics" (Healey 2003, 117). It would be interesting to study more deeply the possibilities for and effects of site specific cultural policies in relation to more general urban development policies. More specifically I am curious to study the possibilities of applying experiences of placemaking, as used in urban developments, to cultural policies in order to make them more open and inclusive. "It is often said [...] that these policies lead only to poor quality arts work, worthy at best, but lacking the excellence that, by implication, is evident to the rest of the arts world". Consequently, Matarasso argues that the real problem is not a shortage of artistically outstanding projects but "the continuing marginalisation in contemporary cultural and urban policy" (Hristova 2015, 136, 137). Since my study shows the dominant force of urban policies over cultural policies in Amsterdam, placemaking theories might be relevant for exploring alternative cultural policies. It would be interesting to apply placemaking concepts, and more specifically with an eye on a 'sense of belonging', to cultural policies in order to identify inclusive artistic values. Linked to this is the issue of connectivity (paragraph 9.3). Placemaking demands "a kind of 'holistic' sensibility, drawing in the various relations and dimensions that affect how a place and its future come to be imagined" (Healey 2010, 35). In addition to recent research on diversity and flexibility in strategic management of venues in the Netherlands by the Amsterdam

Business School, testing the relational sensibility of cultural managers might be an interesting contribution on this topic (Alexiev 2017).

In my study, the dynamics of cultural venues became manifest not only in terms of placemaking but also more specifically in terms of a 'sense of place'. A gap is identified between the representation of venues and the way they are practically experienced. In representations venues seem to lose their identity and become look a-likes, whereas on the level of practical experience the venues cope with difficulties in creating a sense of belonging. Especially in venues where audience and artist groups have a different parochial code compared to the communities living in the neighbourhood. Specific strategies are required to connect venues placed in communities with different parochial codes without losing the connectivity to the peergroup with its exclusive quality assessment. To gain more insight in these strategies it would be interesting to study comparable situations in other cities, such as the new concerthall in Parc de la Vilette (Paris), or the City Theatre and Opera in Brussels.

Creative city making "emphasizes how we need to understand the hardware and the software simultaneously" (Landry, 2017,273). Soja's model helped to study not only the hardware and software simultaneously but also to include a third level of 'lived' space.

By applying Soja's concept of analytically disentangling en reassembling different elements of venue development; their material base, their representation and their practical use, I could escape the many dichotomies which are dominating the discourse – subsidised versus commercial, economic versus artistic quality, artistic quality versus social community art etc. Instead of boxing different aspects of place and trying to find patterns within and between these boxes, I combined Firstspace geographical aspects, which refer to territory and its local allegiances, the architectural quality, the infrastructural context and the aspect of economic activity, with Secondspace mental and symbolic aspects such as policy plans and mission statements, and Thirdspace aspects of cultural activity, practice and experience. This methodology offered me an appealing perspective to explore the relations between and valuation of place and culture in a more profound way, leading to new insights.

While collecting the data, one of the main issues was how to map the different spaces without losing the inner connectivity between them. This was solved by choosing for an approach per space with them being connected in the concluding chapter, by linking the data per space and venue and consequently generating the data per case to the city level. Studying the elements of spatiality separately revealed specific patterns between social processes, strategy and policy, yet the one element cannot be considered without the other. The analysis of the cases showed the connectivity between

both triangles of concepts. The disadvantage, being descriptive and sometimes seemingly repetitive, outweighed the clarity obtained by pulling them apart. As framework for the explorations of space and culture it offered structure and openness to find new patterns.

Firstspace mapping offered many data including a historical unfolding. Secondspace appeared to create an illusion of reality, which seems to be upholding a dominant representation of the cultural field. Thus, Firstspace related to Secondspace showed how the mechanisms between policy and formation seem to reinforce each other without critical assessment. Exemplary for this is the self-evident notion to be found in many documents and reports on the (negative) relation between the economic and artistic value. Yet, Firstspace data nor Thirdspace information validate this representation. This dominant view is therefore questioned by this study. Yet, this needs to be confirmed by further research, which falls beyond the reach of this explorative research. The impact of the documents and reports appeared to be not so much a driving force for city development, but this codification shapes the dominant power in cultural policy and practice, revealing that the particular trajectory of cultural value formation is steered by urban development forces. Thirdspace data show that the impact of Firstpace aspects can be reinforced or altered by leadership. This appears to be a key aspect to create a 'sense of belonging'.

To conclude, by applying the economic, artistic and social processes in the formation of culture places to Soja's model, this study gave multiple insights in the relation between culture and place. It reveals amongst others how economic and artistic processes mutually reinforce each other. Also, it was shown how the sense of a place and social development is compromised. In these processes, the meaning and significance of a venue becomes highly dependent on the venue leader, who, as a sort of social, economic and cultural brooker, has a crucial role in realising a sense of belonging by recognizing the inner connectivity of the spaces involved.

9.6   Implications of the study

The analysis of the interaction between First-, Second- and Thirdspace mappings led to some findings, which were surprising to me. The double triad of spatiality, sociality and historicity as well as first, second and Thirdspace enabled to unravel part of the complexity of artistic, social and economic processes at stake. Secondspace appeared to create an illusion of reality, which seems to be upholding a dominant representation of the cultural field.

Thus Firstspace related to Secondspace showed how the mechanism between policy and social processes seem to operate as a self-fulfilling prophecy, with hardly any self-reflexivity among the cultural actors and financial and governmental stakeholders. The interaction between Firstspace and Secondspace as analysed in Thirdspace revealed the neglect of social processes during the formation period that hampers the exploitation. Also, the distinction between various operational strategies and the significance of the leadership appeared by analysing daily practices of physically similar venues.

This analysis touches upon various issues: First of all, the presumed dominance of economic processes appears to be counterbalanced by artistic processes in the formation process of new cultural venues. There is an on-going interaction between economic and artistic values. Given the ad-hoc character of formations, this might be analysed, asking what the cultural venues are supposed to be aimed at and, given specific local circumstances, what does this imply for the social value, and more specifically for the position of the local community? Secondly, cultural policy seems to be lagging behind both the urban developments and the societal processes leading to different connections between venues, artists and audience. This raises issues on how cultural policy can relate more pro-actively to urban and social developments, stimulating the circulation and production of artistic qualities with an open, innovative and entrepreneurial attitude. Can the vertical organisation of the subsidised arts still meet with the increasing demand for flexibility and specific local characteristics? Can local cultural policy enhance, or at least be part of, urban and social development policies, thus safeguarding the cultural values, instead of responding to these developments and thus becoming side-tracked? Thirdly, the resemblance in representation is striking: the fact that working plans are similar is probably the consequence of the demands of institutional cultural policy. What does it imply that architects also represent these venues in similar terms? Why are venues not pronouncing their own identity in communications to the audience more clearly? Does it reflect an uncertainty about the notion of artistic excellence, craftsmanship, autonomy, innovation versus entrepreneurship, entertainment, audience participation, co ownership, and shifts in taste? Fourthly, I was surprised to find how little aware the cultural initiators of venues appear to be of the importance of the specific location and architectural characteristics of their new venue. Do the cultural organisations feel so marginal in relation to the dominant dynamics of urban development? Or are they not aware of the impact of architectural and geographical characteristics? Fifthly, in newly (re-) developed or remote areas the aspect of connectivity to the community is mentioned as a key aspect in all policy documents and work plans, however it is not translated in practice, neither by adapting the architecture, the specific lay out, nor by adapting the programme. Are venues afraid to lose their identity and specific atmosphere by opening up too much to local

circumstances, resulting in negative quality assessments? Last but not least, the role of the leader is known to be of importance. Indeed, almost all interviewed cultural agents started to talk about themselves, their background, their identity and their passion. Notwithstanding the importance of these characteristics, one can ask whether these are sufficient assessed to form a solid as well as connective and open trajectory.

Behind the strategies and narratives there seem to appear some significant relations. The reactivity of cultural policy as wells as the passive involvement of cultural organisations in urban developments, enhance the notion that artistic values become more side-tracked. This leads to enhancing the marginality of the cultural sector, while urban developments enable another positioning. Furthermore, vertical cultural policy making seems not to relate to the more flexible local developments, while the exchange between cultural, economic and social values have become more complex and closely linked. There is a need to develop new forms of cultural policy in order to help the sustainable development of new cultural practices. Also, the pragmatic interaction between urban policymakers and cultural organisations marginalises the social values. There is the danger that the lack of awareness for this situation undermines the social support of cultural organisations and confirms the criticasters argument of increasing the negative effects of gentrification.

What these findings demonstrate is, how there is a need to understand the complexity of a situation in which urban development, cultural policy and artistic movements are closely (yet not always recognised as such) linked to each other, since the relation between artistic, social and economic values has been changing. In order to offer a more open and stimulating perspective it is necessary to find ways for urban cultural governance, stimulating local cultural, urban ánd social developments, recognising the close relations between those fields.

These questions impose many challenges on both policy makers and cultural organisations. Linked to the vertical and regulatory policy making, it requires a horizontal strategy, leaving more flexibility to local specificity and paying attention to social connectivity. Therefor it is necessary to understand the developments and to be aware of the interaction between the social, artistic and economic processes. The research implies that the development of new venues depends very much on accidental coincidence of local circumstances, politic targets, artistic dreams and personal characteristics. Cultural policy and urban developments should become more closely connected, enabling a more proactive approach in recognising the interaction between local communities and artistic activities. Furthermore, it would require leaving the traditional set up of production-distribution-consumption for a participation model wherein the processes ánd the outcomes are pivotal.

This would also imply to set aside the current cultural vertical policy framework wherein the responsibility for buildings and creative groups, for distribution and production, is divided amongst different governmental levels. Instead one could opt for a policy with an integral approach towards the cultural infrastructure, including venues and programmes, stages and artists, and festivals, the latter mostly presenting a practice wherein place, program and audience are tightly connected. This would also imply a re-adjustment of cultural policy from an either national or city orientation towards a locally specific strategy, thus being able to differentiate according to differences in local cultural, social and economic needs. The idea is to realise a policy structure wherein cultural infrastructure is not an end of line aspect, but one of the drivers in urban developments, offering a determined and linked perspective on urban cultural governance, while being more open, and flexible on local level. The findings of this research might help in developing such policy making, by recognising the relevance of Thirdspace, as relevant trails of practice, connected to physical realities.

Also, cultural organisations need to be aware of the determining combination of aspects, as described in the typologies, if they want to preserve or re-conquer their positions as places for encounter, inspiration and reflection. The scheme of typologies could be a meaningful tool, offering a different set of modalities as drivers. This need for deliberate choices for strategies also requires specific characteristics of cultural leadership. Depending on the strategy, cultural leaders have to be able to display connecting and cooperating abilities. This goes beyond craftsmanship, artistic skills and entrepreneurial skills. Performing and conceptual art schools could play a role here and include social connecting and cooperative skills in their education programme.

9.7   Further research

This study leaves many questions for further research. It would be interesting to assess the validity of the structuring typology as proposed in this conclusion, including the impact of the type of leadership. Can generalisations be drawn from this research, if applied to other settings? What impels organisations to change from one typology to another? A comparative analysis could be done amongst venues in other cities, to achieve a more generative theory on new developments. Another comparative analysis could be done between new and existing venues in Amsterdam to assess the validity of this typology for all cultural venues, regardless their age.

Qualitative practice based research is needed to find out how cultural policy and practice relate to urban development and vice versa in other

regions as well. The aim of this research would be to explore empirically the spatial, social and cultural conditions that attribute to the cultural development of cities. These insights could be used to further explore the interaction between planning strategies and cultural policies and maybe find some new trails helping to overcome the differences in timing and scope of both policy areas.

Related to this is more in-depth research analysing the relation between the social processes of the network society and the cultural practice. The research should focus on the question why the social network processes get so little attention in the cultural sector. This research should be aimed at understanding these relations and learning how to adapt cultural strategies to these social processes.

Although much is already said and written on the topic of the instrumentalisation of arts and culture, since it appears to be a structural phenomenon, it still needs more research, especially in relation to urban development. This is not because of the economic added value of cultural real estate, but because of the potential of new developments wherein the integration of artistic and social activities could be of great importance to the cultural sector specifically, and given the added value of culture as such, to society as a whole.

9.8   Epilogue

The impetus for my research was the failure of the GETZ project, years ago. My interests progressed from the issue of social diversity to the changing significance of venues. When I now reflect on my puzzlement at that time I can see that there were multiple reasons why the project did not succeed. In the case of GETZ, the intention was to create psychological and social ownership for a specific group of residents. In plan and approach, it resembled a local cultural intervention. Simultaneously the aim was to build a large, iconic building, on a scale unprecedented in the Netherlands. The economic and legal stakeholders (banks, construction companies and the municipality) clearly had an economic goal for the entire complex. However, it was not part of a central city development plan, the envisioned residents were not part of the ruling psychological and social network structures and the stakeholders were not part of the community of residents. The project was experienced by the envisioned residents as farfetched and not community based. As Bijlmerparktheater is already experienced as being too intimidating, and MC at the Westergasfabriek could not make it for various reasons. GETZ for sure would have known a very problematic start. Moreover, in contrast to the Muziekgebouw aan 't IJ, since it was not owned by the city, it would have

been questionable whether the cultural department would have been willing to support financially in case of deficits. Although my conclusion is that it is a good thing GETZ was not realised, this does not imply that I think that in general no new venues should be built to provide for specific groups, on the contrary. However, this should only be done when all aspects and spaces are taken into consideration.

On April first, 2017, while I was working on the last revisions of this research the local newspaper published a press release about the same plot where originally Getz was planned, revealing a 'new' plan for this area. The idea is to realise "a combination of residential area, offices and entertainment, initiated by the cooperation of real estate developer, bank and municipality as 10 years ago. The development is called 'Urban Interactive District', and including a popvenue seating 1500 persons" (Parool, 2017).

Picture 14. GETZ revitalised.

Turning full circle?

APPENDIX I
FIRSTSPACE
EXPLORATIONS VENUES

APPENDIX I   Firstspace explorations venues

6.1   Bijlmer Parktheater

Function: theatre
Size: 1 theatre hall 230 seats
Gross floor area: 2,010 m2
Facilities: 3 studios, 1 foyer small kitchen and bar
Opening: 2009
Construction costs: 3,3 million
Architect: De Ruiter
                   in 2010 nominated for Amsterdam Architectuur Prijs

Ymerezaal (© photo: www.architectuur.nl/project-kort/bijlmer-parktheater-amsterdam)

Corridor (© photo: www.architectuur.nl/project-kort/bijlmer-parktheater-amsterdam)

Location: Amsterdam South East
Distance to Dam Square: 9,4 km

Bijlmer Parktheater is situated in the residential area of South East. It is a solitary building on a meadow. The theatre is not far from the market, the district town hall and the shopping centre. On the way to the theatre one passes by homeless shelter (solely drug addicts according to hvoquerido.nl, 27-1-2016). Public transport and parking lots are at approximately 5 minutes' walking distance.

6.2   Bimhuis

Function:	concert hall
Gross floor area:	2,250 m2; whole complex 18,000m2
Size:	1 concert hall 250 seats
Facilities:	foyer with café and diner possibilities at concert nights; adjacent hotel
Opening:	2005
Construction costs:	60 million total complex
Architect:	Danish bureau 3xN, interior StudioC architecten
City development:	Y banks south city development

concert hall (© photo: www.locaties.nl/bimhuis)

café (© photo: www.iamsterdam.com)

Location: Amsterdam southern Y banks, east district
Distance to Dam Square: 1,8 km

The Bimhuis is part of a larger venue, that also houses the Muziekgebouw aan 't IJ (see appendix 6.7). Although they are in the same building, they operate as two separate venues, with their own entrance, organisation, programme and funding. To enter the venue, one has to cross a high bridge, although one can also enter through one of the entrances on the ground level. The building is situated in a recently developed area, as part of the Y-bank city development along the South bank of the Y, known as the cold and windy side. Various means of public transport are nearby, and the building has its own parking lot and is adjacent to a hotel, which can accommodate the international artists.
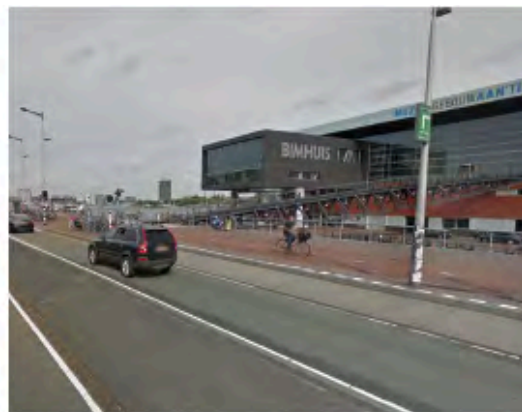
Google street view
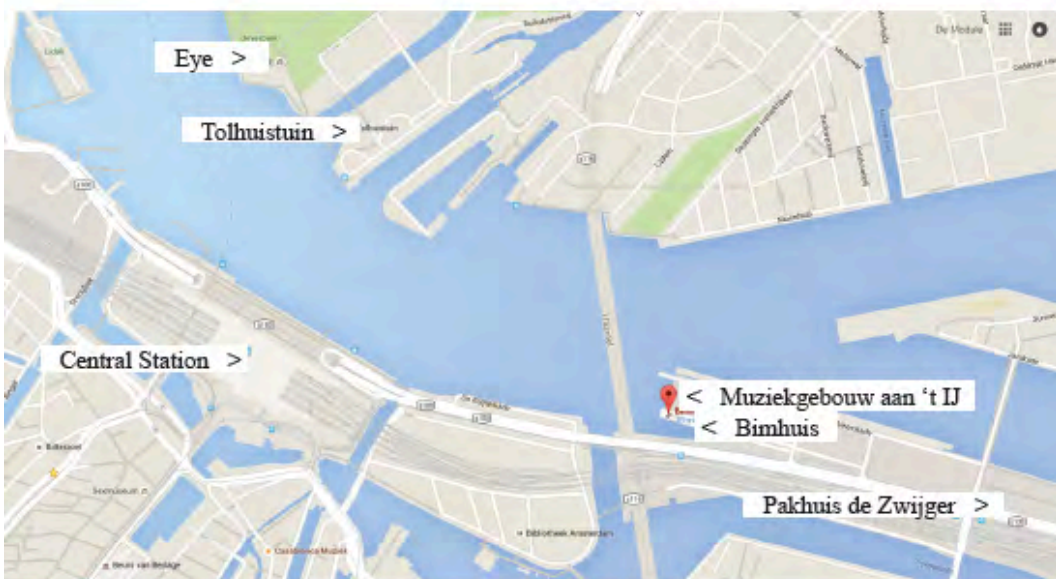
6.3   DeLaMar Theatre

Function:	theatre
Gross floor area:	9,500 m2
Size:	2 theatre halls 940 and 601
Facilities:	6 foyers, 1 vip-salon, 1 studio and 2 restaurants opened parallel with programme or for private arrangements
Opening:	2010
Construction costs:	63 million
Architect:	Arno Meijs en Jo Coenen
City development	Renovation/rebuilding

Foyer (© photo: www.architectuur-fotograaf.eu/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/LHP6500.jpg)
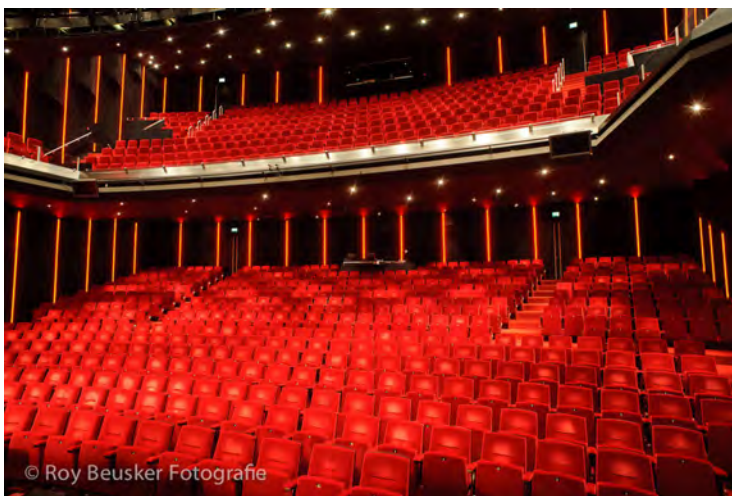
Wim Sonneveld zaal (©: Roy Beusker Fotografie)

Location: Amsterdam Centre
Distance to Dam Square: 1,6 km

The theatre is a renovated old theatre and cinema complex. It is situated at the heart of the old city centre adjacent to the Leidseplein with many cultural venues such as the Stadsschouwburg, Bellevue theatre, De Balie, Melkweg and Paradiso. Restaurants, café's and hotels surround it. Although the location is not easily accessible by car and parking space is limited, it is very accessible by all means of public transport.

Google street view
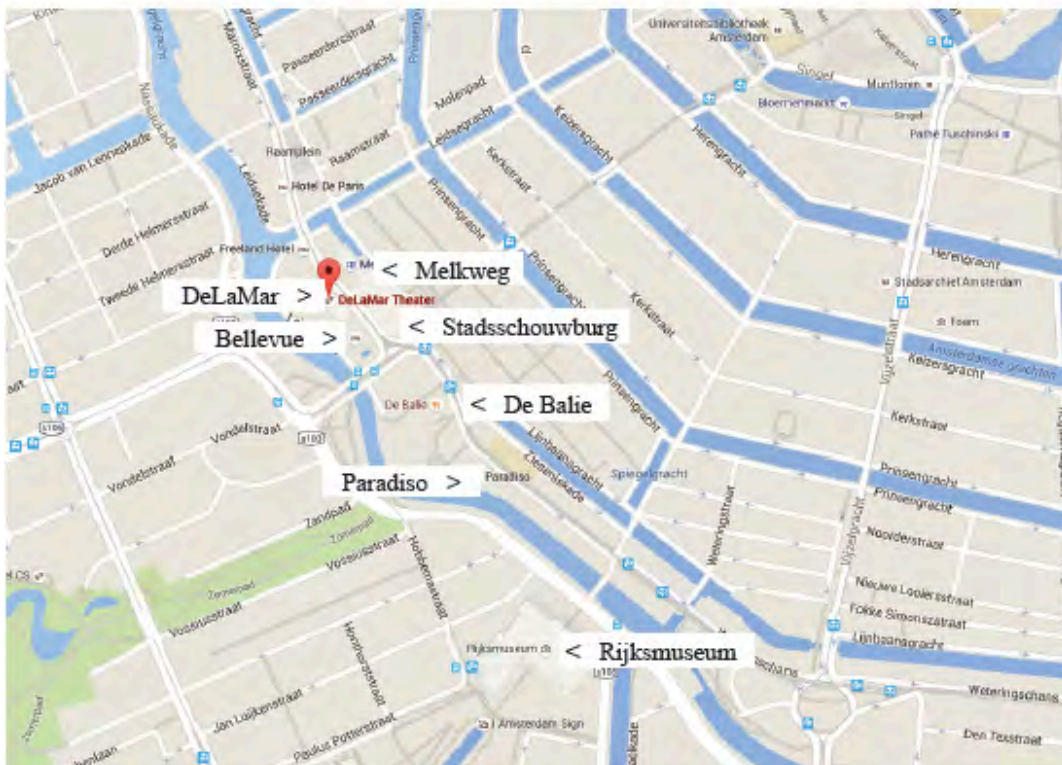
6.4   EYE

Function: museum & knowledge centre for movies
Gross floor area: 10.000 m2
Size: 4 cinema halls, resp. 315, 130, 130,
                       67 seats,
Facilities: foyer, lounge, studio, meeting facility,
                       arena restaurant open day and night
                       for visitors of film/exhibition and general public
Opening: 2012
Construction costs: 36 million
Architect: Delugan Meissl Associated Architects
City development   Y Banks North city development

cinema 2, 130 seats (© photo: www.eyefilm.nl/en/event-location/spaces/cinema-2)

arena (© photo: www.eyefilm.nl/en/event-location/spaces/arena)

Location: Amsterdam North, Y banks
Distance to Dam Square: 1,7 km

The venue is situated in Amsterdam North, in a newly developed area, adjacent to Tolhuistuin; directly opposite Central Station. In terms of public transport there are busses nearby, on the North side of the Y, and there are ferries to Central Station, providing access to busses, trams, metros and trains. It has its own parking lot.

Google street view
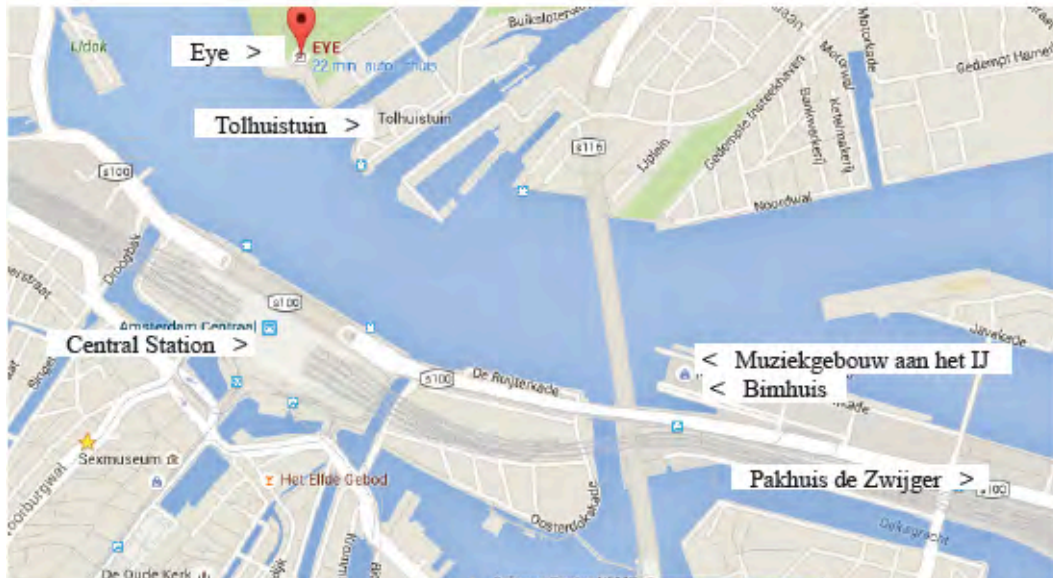
6.5   Hermitage

Function: museum
Gross floor area: 14,000 m2
Size: 2 exhibitions wings, 1 wing with
                         two permanent exhibition rooms and vip rooms
Facilities: auditorium and restaurant outside
                         terrace, restaurant open only to visitors
Opening: 2000 agreement, opening 2009
Construction costs: 40 million
Architect: Van Heeswijk
City development: Redevelopment
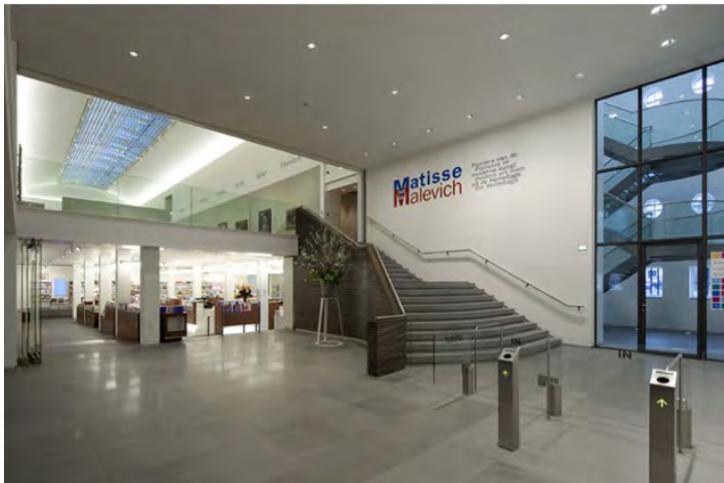
entrance (© photo: Luuk Kramer)

restaurant (© photo: Luuk Kramer)

Location: Amsterdam Centre
Distance to Dam Square: 1,4 km

It is situated in the middle of the oldest parts of Amsterdam at the Amstel River. It is a redevelopment of a former historical nursing home. Several means of public transport are nearby; trams, busses and subway. There are several parking lots within 5 minutes' walking distance.
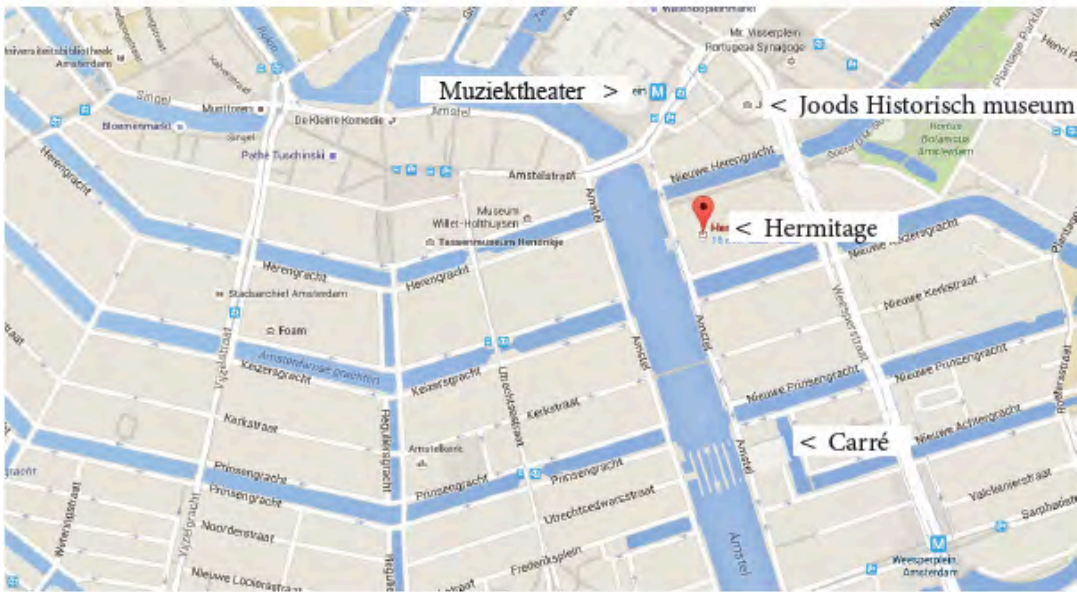
*sky impression
(© photo: birdseye - view -
Hans van Heeswijk Architects*

6.6   MC

Function:	theatre
Gross floor area:	1,775 m2
Size:	1 theatre hall, 500 seats, studio,
Facilities:	foyer, restaurant open all day, also to general public
Opening:	2010
Construction costs:	4 million
Architect:	Moko Omaha and subsequently bureau Koldeweij
City development:	Redevelopment of former industrial area

theatre hall and restaurant foyer (© photo: www.mconline.org; doesn't exist anymore)

Location: Amsterdam West
Distance to Dam Square: 2,7 km

The venue was situated at the Westergasterrein (see also Westergasfabriek) as part of a redevelopment plan for this former gasworks factory. The entrance of the venue and the restaurant were located on a back street of the area, with no daily passerby traffic on days without special events or sunny weather. There is limited public transport, and limited parking lots within a walking distance of 5 minutes.

http://www.stevensvand ijck.nl/nl/projecten/mc-theater-amsterdam
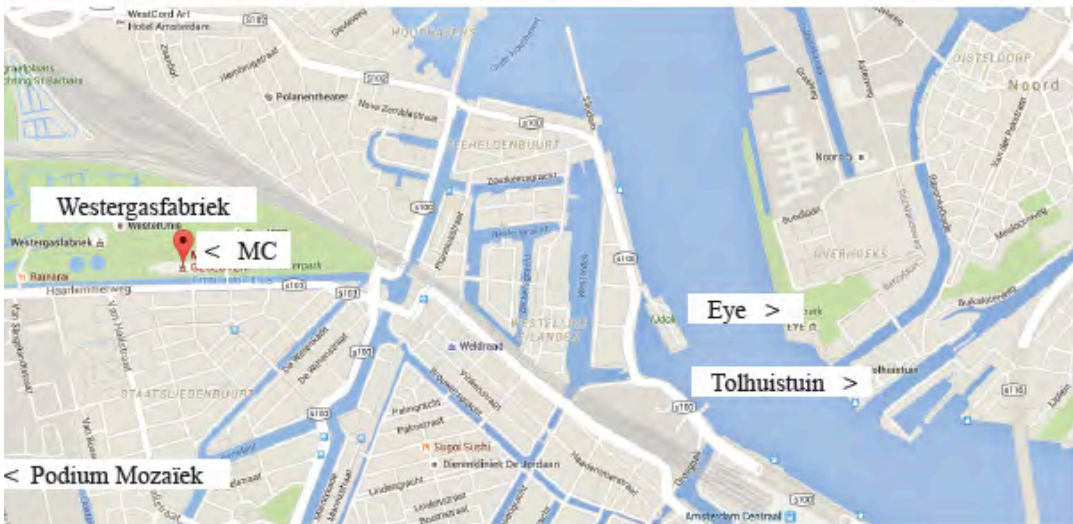
6.7 Muziekgebouw aan 't IJ

Function:	Concert hall
Gross floor area:	13,400m2; complex 18,000m2
Size:	2 concert halls 725 and 100 seats
Facilities	three foyers, 1 studio, atrium and large entrance hall separate restaurant, outside terrace
Opening:	2005
Construction costs:	40 million; whole complex 60 million
Architect:	Danish bureau 3xN
City development:	Y banks south city development

foyer (© photo: https://lucywoodblog.files.wordpress.com/)

concert hall (© photo: https://lucywoodblog.files.wordpress.com/)

Location: Amsterdam southern Y banks,
                              east district Amsterdam
Distance to Dam Square: 1,8 km

The building is located in a recently developed area, along the south bank of
the Y. Entrance can be either via the bridge (the main entrance to Bimhuis) or
passing by the dock at ground level via the main entrance or the terrace
entrance. Multiple means of public transport are nearby, the building has its
own parking lot and is adjacent to a hotel, which can accommodate
international artists.

View on Central Station
(© photo: https://fotokunnen.files.wordpress.com/2015/06/amsterdam-3853.jpg)
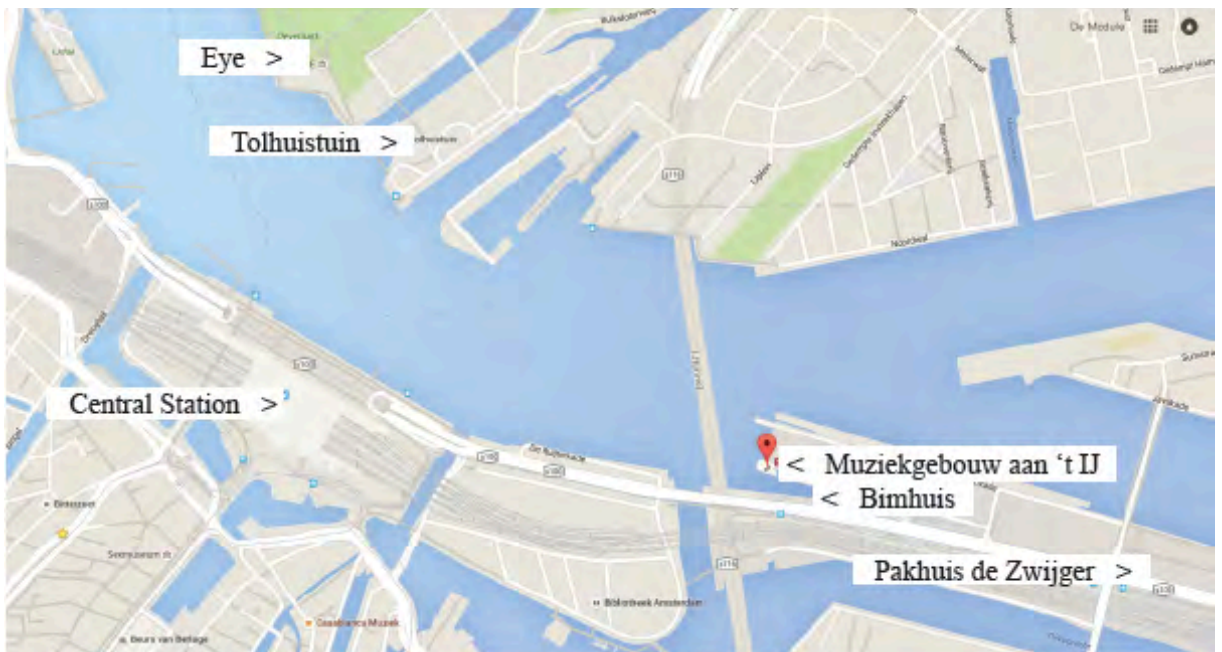
6.8   Pakhuis de Zwijger

Function:	centre for media and urban culture multitenant building
Gross floor area:	6,224 m2
Size:	1 hall 300 seats, 4 halls varying in size 200-100 seats, 3 floors offices
Facilities:	restaurant open during week- days, day and night open to general public, outside terrace
Opening:	2006
Construction costs:	11 million
Architect:	Van Stigt
City development:	Y banks south city development

main hall (© photo: www.dezwijger.nl)

restaurant (© photo: www.dezwijger.nl)

Location:	Amsterdam southern Y bank,
	east district Amsterdam
Distance to Dam Square:	2,3 km

Pakhuis de Zwijger is based in a former warehouse at one of the old harbour quays It is situated at the same quay as Muziekgebouw aan 't IJ and is surrounded by massive buildings housing a mixture of companies and residents. Busses and trams stop nearby, and there is a parking lot within walking distance.

Google street view
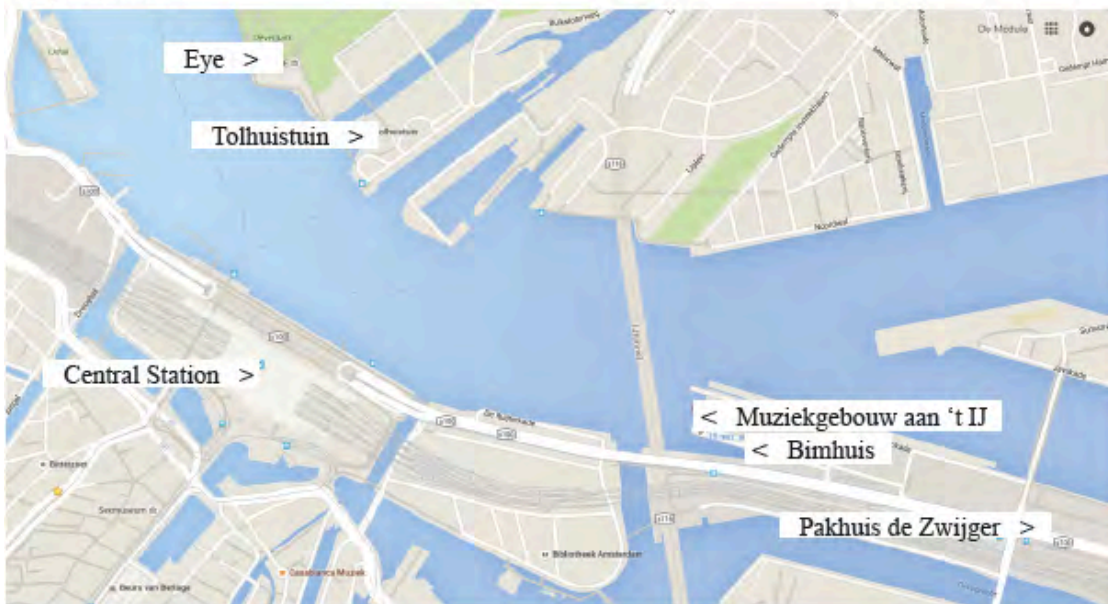
(© photo: www.dezwijger.nl)

6.9   Podium Mozaïek

Function:	theatre
Gross floor area:	1.652 m2
Size:	theatre hall seats 288
Facilities:	studio, foyer, meeting room
	restaurant always open, accessible for general public and audience, outside terrace
Opening:	2005
Construction costs:	2,6 million
Architect:	J.F. Groos
City development:	Redevelopment of former church

café (© photo: http://media.ndtrc.nl/Images /20121025/0b2d662c-7d17-4aa3-a854-d374cc875009).jpg

restaurant (© photo: http://www.vvv.nl/activiteitenkaart/detail/240a921f-b3d8-4c14-9d2a-99fb482202eb)

Location: Amsterdam West
Distance to Dam Square: 3,5 km

Podium Mozaïek is situated in a district at the west side of the city with a multicultural population dominated by Turkish and Moroccan people. The venue is located in a residential area at a thoroughfare directly connected to the ring road. Trams and busses stops directly in front of the venue.

Google street view
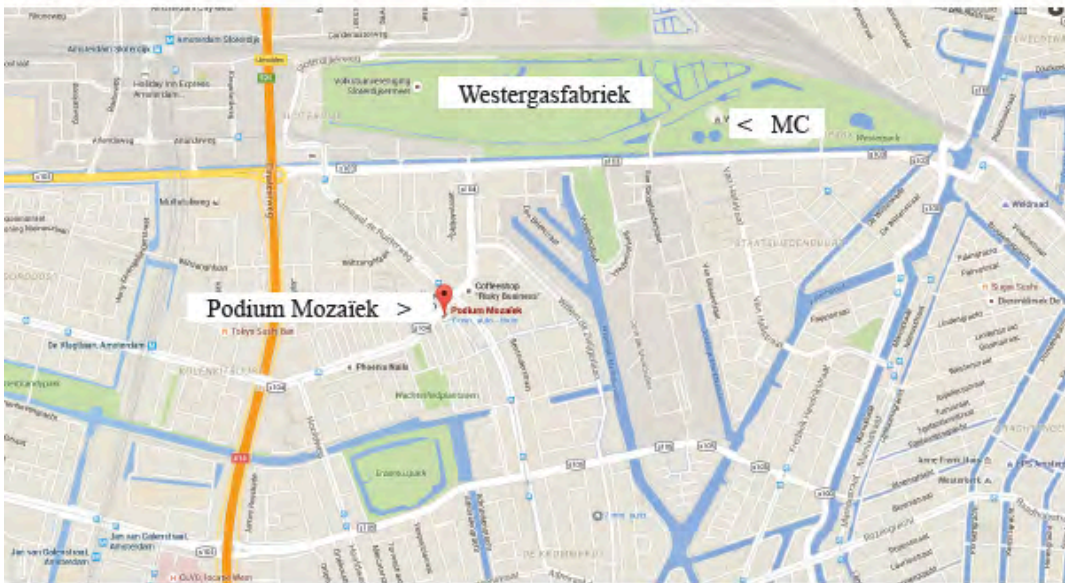
(© photo: http://img.zaalhuren.net/cache/ hero_home_hd/Podium_Moaiek_ Pim Warnarssept_2009_7.jpg)

6.10   Rabozaal

Function:	theatre and concert hall
Gross floor area:	7,270 m2
Size:	500 seats; 1400 combinated seat/stand
Facilities:	both venues have their own café/restaurant opening all hours to general public
Opening:	2009
Construction costs:	35 million
Architect:	J. Klinkhamer
City development:	new building between historic buildings

hall (© photo: www.arcam.nl/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/934-rabo-zaal-3_Christiaan-de-Bruijne.jpg)
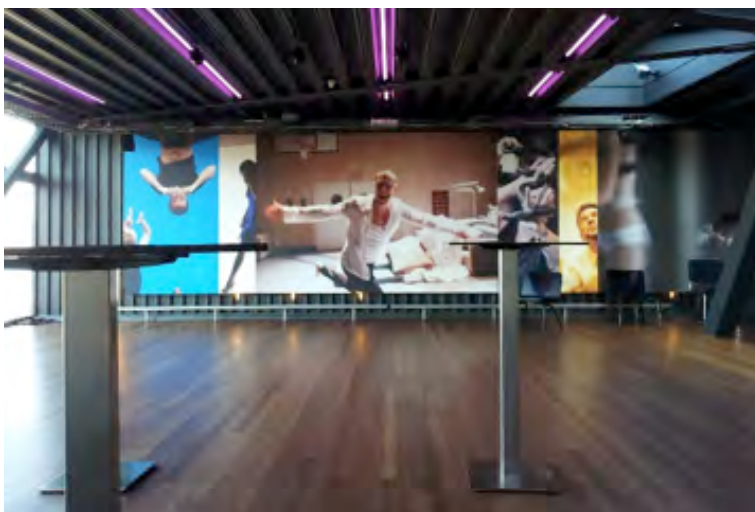
foyer (© photo: idem)

Location: Amsterdam Centre
Distance to Dam Square: 1,6 km

The theatre is situated at the heart of the old city centre adjacent to the Leidseplein with many cultural venues such as the DelaMar, Bellevue theatre, De Balie, Melkweg and Paradiso. Restaurants, cafés and hotels surround it. Although the location is not easily accessible by car and parking space is limited, it is very accessible by all means of public transport.

Google street view

Rabozaal
(© photo: Theateradvies)

6.11   Splendor

Function: concert hall
Gross floor area: 550m2
Size: 2 halls resp 100 and 65 seats
Facilities: foyer, multifunctional attic workspace, bar
Opening: 2013
Construction costs: 1,9 million
Architect: MTB architects
City development: Redevelopment of former bath house

Audience hall (© photo: www.mtbarchitecten.nl)

Location: Amsterdam centre
Distance to Dam Square: 950 m

Splendor is situated in a quiet small street, just behind the Waterlooplein, the National Opera & Ballet hall and the theatre school. This is in the heart of the centre, with all means of public transport are nearby and a public parking lot next door.

Google street view
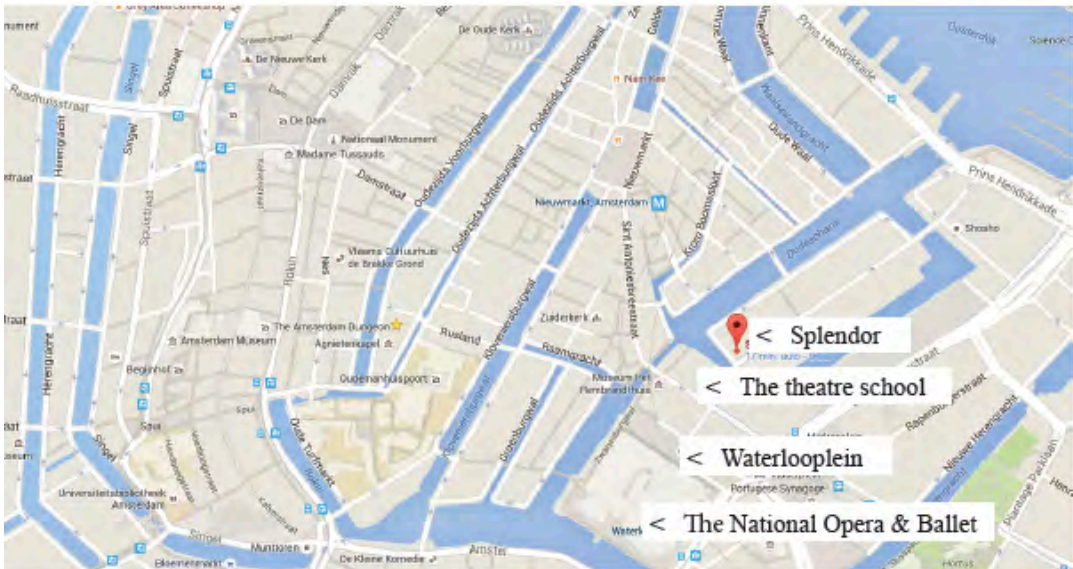
6.12 Theater Amsterdam

Function:	theatre
Gross floor area:	7,500m2
Size:	1 theatre hall 1100 seats
Facilities:	2 vip lounges and foyer, restaurant open at programme nights
Opening:	2014
Construction costs:	request for this information was denied
Architect:	Dedato
City development:	city development Westelijke Houthavens

Main hall (© photo: www.arly.nl/resources/site1/General/theatre%201.jpg)

Restaurant

(© photo: https://res.cloudinary.com/homify/c_fill,q_70,w_740/v1438131456/p/ photo/image/150609/90x450_oak_Select_Anne_Frank_Theatre_Amsterdam__3_.jpg)

Location: Amsterdam West
Distance to Dam Square: 3,6 km

Theater Amsterdam is a free-standingbuilding, located on the waterfront just outside central Amsterdam in the Westelijke Houthavens district at the Southbank of the Y, an area that is currently being developed into a new residential area in the style of the Eastern harbour district, that was developed at the end of the last century. The nearest public transport is a 20 minutes' walk. It has its own parking lot.

(© photo: http://www.heren2.nl/project/
theater-amsterdam)

Google street view
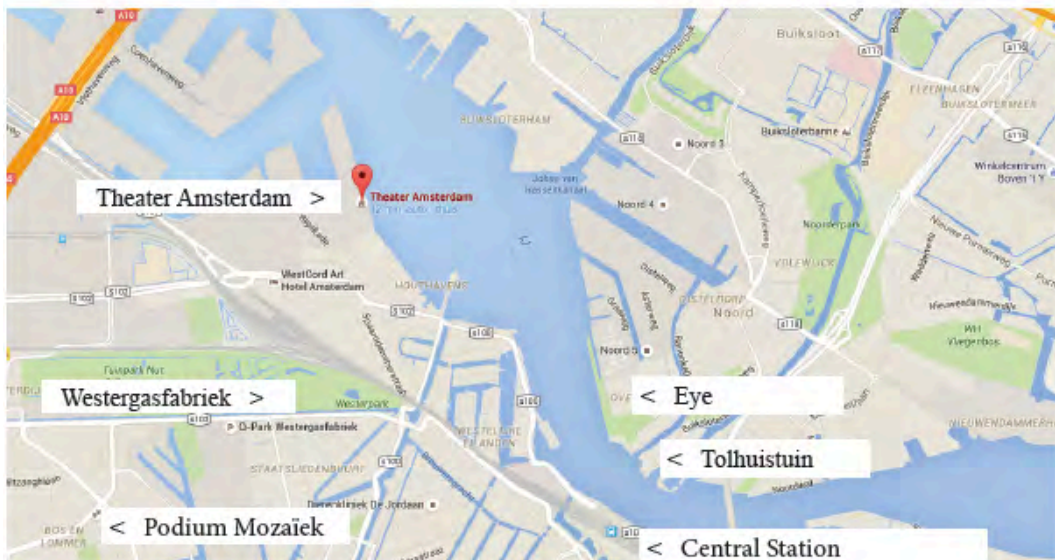
6.13   Tolhuistuin

Function:	multifunctional culture area
Gross floor area:	4,400m2 main hall; area ca 15,000m2
Size:	the complex is formed by a park, one large public venue, with a concert hall 200 seats, 2 separate halls 100 resp. 125 seats and an exhibition space, and 4 multitenant buildings, a garden, with a garden house and a 'brughuis' for smaller gatherings
Facilities:	restaurant, garden and outside terrace with view on
Opening:	2014
Construction costs:	3,2 million
Architect:	VASD and Dirk Zuiderveld
City development:	Y banks North city development

concert hall (© photo: www.stichtingtolhuistuin.nl)

garden (© photo: www.stichtingtolhuistuin.nl)

Location: Amsterdam North Y banks
Distance to Dam Square: 1,6 km

Amsterdam North, newly developed area, adjacent to EYE; right opposite Central Station. Public transport, bus at the North side of the river Y, subway, train, tram nearby, ferry to Central Station, own parking lot.

Google street view
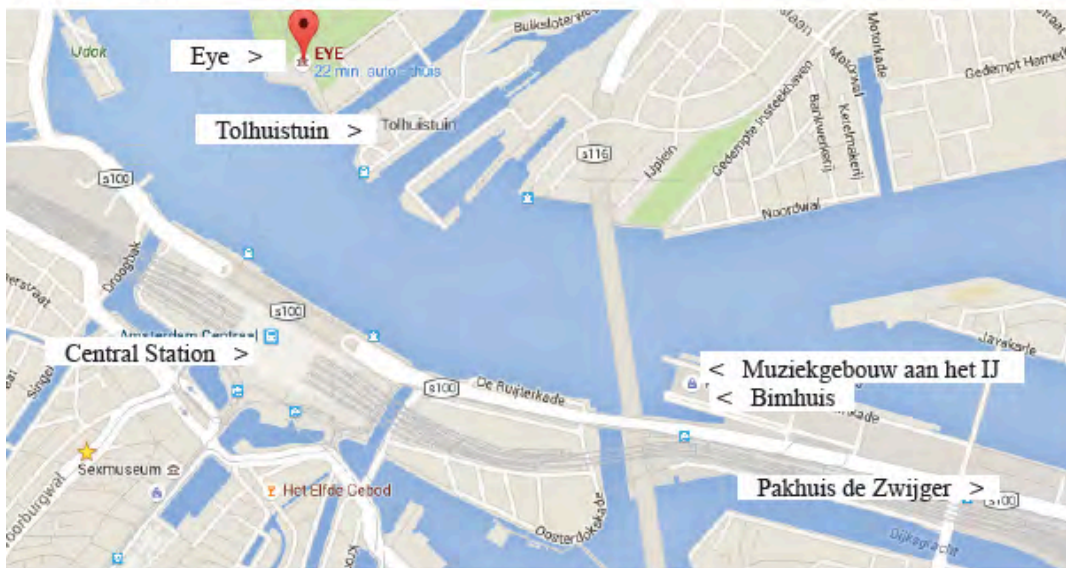
Areal view
(© photo: beeldbank Amsterdam)

6.14   Westergasfabriek

Function:	multifunctional cultural area
Gross floor area:	130,000 m2
Size:	13 buildings with a historical qualification, 7 event locations including two large venues holding 1000 resp 2100 seats in theatre configuration
Facilities:	several restaurants, cinema, bakery, film studio, offices
Opening:	Premises were in use till 2000 and from 2003 onwards.
Construction costs:	31 million
Architect:	Braaksma en Roos

various locations at Westergas premises (© photo: www.westergasfabriek.nl)

Location: Amsterdam West
Distance to Dam Square: 2,7 km

The Westergasfabriek lies in the western part of the city, enclosed between the railway on one side and the road and canal to Haarlem on the other side. A public park surrounds the buildings. On the east, west, and north side one can enter the premises through the park. On the south side, there are two small bridges. The area is part of the Brettenzone, a green area in the district. There is limited public transport, and no parking lots within a walking distance of 5 minutes.

Google street view
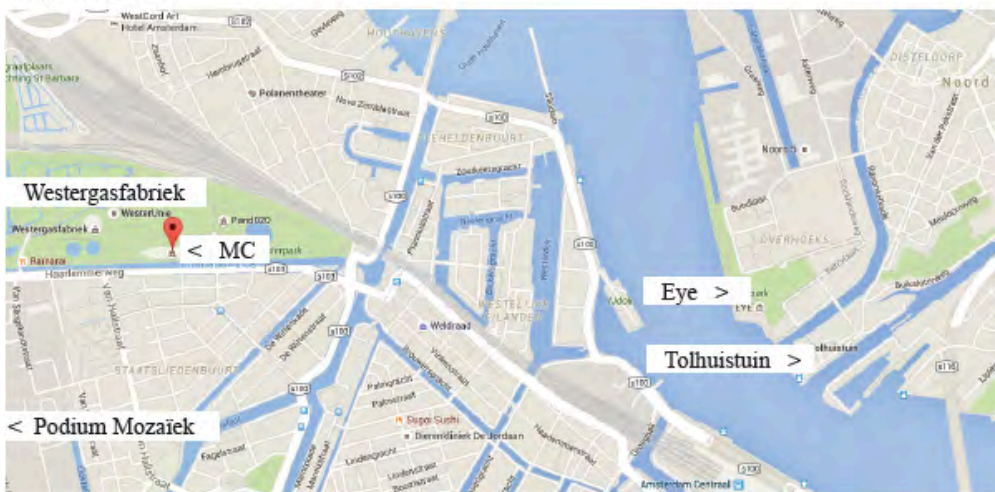
Areal view
(© photo: beeldbank Amsterdam)

Overview construction costs, exploitation and ownership per venue

Bijlmerparktheater

Principal:	Housing association Ymere and Municipality Amsterdam, district Zuidoost
Time span plan to opening:	lobby started in 1998, in 2004 collaboration with two local cultural institutions, 2007 start construction, 2009 opening
Construction costs:	EU subsidy Urban 2 programme, local and city municipality funding
Exploitation costs:	own income ca 30%; subsidy from local and central city municipality;
Owner:	Municipality Amsterdam

The Bijlmer Parktheater is a foundation and it hires the building from its owner, Stadsdeel Zuidoost. The rental fee is part of the governmental funding condition, agreed upon in a long-term rental agreement.

Bimhuis

Principal:	Municipality Amsterdam, central city
Time span plan to opening: opening	In 1997 decision for this location 2005
Construction costs:	City funding by city development department
Exploitation costs:	Own income on average between 46-50%; rest subsidised by governmental funds
Owner:	Municipality of Amsterdam

Bimhuis has a lease contract with the municipality and is being subsidised for the same amount by the municipality.

DeLaMar

Principal:	VandenEnde Foundation
Time span plan to opening:	In 2003 agreement for the location, 2010 opening

Construction costs:	VandenEnde Foundation
Finance exploitation:	100% private income
Owner:	VandenEnde

EYE

Principal:	ING Real Estate
Time span plan to opening:	in 2005 decision for this location, 2012 opening
Construction costs:	ING real Estate, Ymere, Municipality of Amsterdam and national government
Exploitation costs:	50 % own income; 50 % subsidised by local and national governments
Owner:	ING, recently changed to EYE

Hermitage

Principal:	district and government Stichting Nieuwe Kerk
Time span plan to opening:	2000 agreement, opening 2009
Construction costs:	funding by private funds, sponsors, municipality
Exploitation costs:	funding by own income, private funds, sponsors, ad hoc project governmental funding
Owner:	Municipality of Amsterdam

MC

Principal:	Municipality Amsterdam, central city
Time span plan to opening:	2005 location agreement, opening 2010
Construction costs:	municipality
Exploitation costs:	governmental funding
Owner:	MAB

Muziekgebouw aan t IJ

Principal:	Municipality Amsterdam
Time span plan to opening:	lobby started in 80's, in 1995 decision for this location, 2005 opening
Construction costs:	Municipality Amsterdam, central city
Exploitation costs:	gradually growing towards 50% own income, rest governmental subsidy
Owner:	Municipality of Amsterdam.

Muziekgebouw aan 't IJ has lease contract with the municipality and is subsidised for the same amount by the municipality.

Pakhuis de Zwijger

Principal:	Stadsherstel
Time span plan to opening:	process of redevelopment started around 2000, start construction 2005, opening 2006
Construction costs:	Stadsherstel
Exploitation costs:	funding by own income, private funds, sponsors, ad hoc project governmental funding
Owner:	Stadsherstel

Podium Mozaiek

Principal:	Stichting Podium Mozaïek in cooperation with local municipality and Woningcorporatie Het Oosten (Stadsgenoot)
Time span plan to opening:	in 2000 agreement for location; opening 2005
Construction costs:	EU subsidy Urban 2 programme, local and city municipality funding private funds, sponsors, Woningcooperatie Het Oosten EU subsidy Urban 2 programme, local and city municipality funding

Exploitation costs: varying 40-50 % own income; rest subsidy local and central city funding

Owner: Het Oosten (Stadsgenoot)

Rabozaal

Principal: Municipality Amsterdam

Time span plan to opening: 1998 first plan for this location; 2009 opening

Construction costs: Municipality Amsterdam

Exploitation costs: Municipality Amsterdam

Owner: Municipality Amsterdam

Splendor

Principal: Municipality Amsterdam, local district centre

Time span plan to opening: initial idea in 2010, start reconstruction 2012, opening 2013

Construction costs: musicians and participants by crowdfunding and local district centre, Municipality Amsterdam

Exploitation costs: musicians, shareholders and participants by crowd funding

Owner: Municipality, local district centre

Theater Amsterdam

Principal: Imagine Nation

Time span plan to opening: 2013 location agreement;

                                    construction time 7 months; opening 2014

Construction costs: Imagine Nation

Exploitation costs: Imagine Nation and support from Anne Frank Foundation Basel

Owner: Imagine Nation

Tolhuistuin

Principal:	Municipality Amsterdam, central city Noordwaarts
Time span plan to opening:	2006 competition 2014 opening
Construction costs:	municipality and local district North
Exploitation costs:	combination of Paradiso, catering and subsidies
Owner:	Municipality

Westergasfabriek

|	
Principal:	MAB
Time span plan to opening:	1992 delivery to district Westerpark, 2000 delivery to MAB; total renovation period buildings from 2000-2008. Premises were in use till 2000 and from 2003 onwards.
Construction costs:	MAB with national renovation funds
Exploitation costs:	100 % own income
Owner:	MAB

APPENDIX II
SECONDSPACE
EXPLORATIONS VENUES

APPENDIX II   Secondspace explorations venues

7.1   Bijlmerparktheater

Architectural vision:

In the urban development plan, it was determined that the Bijlmer Parktheater had to be built in the heart of the Bijlmer, at the intersection between the Bijlmerpark and the new Anton de Kom square. Because of this location the theatre gives an impetus to the cultural and socio-economic developments of the surrounding area. Simultaneously it constitutes the beginning of a new cultural axis, that connects the various cultural facilities of the Arena Poort.
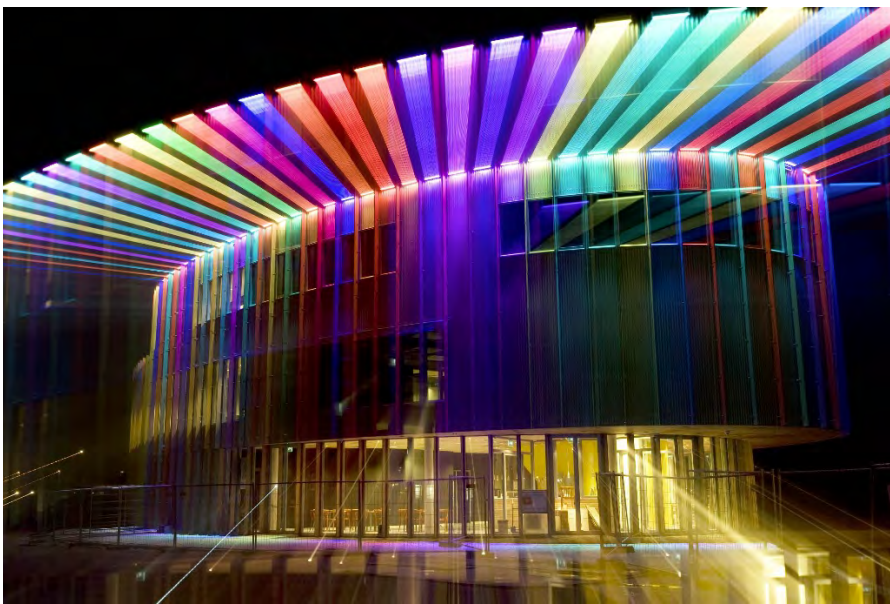
Bijlmerparktheater at night (© Zuidoost.nl)

"The high architectural quality is fostering pride to the community" (Bijlmerparktheater, 2015a)

 "The elementary shape of the Bijlmer Parktheater is an ellips, in which the floors are slightly shifted in regard to each other. This creates a sheltered entrance. The shape of the building did entail that an affordable, partly glass façade had to be found. The solution arose from a combination of vertical wooden ribs and corrugated metal. During the day, the theatre is remarkable because of its shape, while it's distinct at night because of its colour, which can be adjusted per occasion because of the application of LED" […] "With relatively simple means a versatile theatre has been realised, with a special character. As an extra the stepped bank of the water directly adjacent to the building has become an inviting 'lounge-area', thus connecting the park with the theatre" (De Architect, February 2009; 75).

Function:

Intercultural theatre, with cultural education, community art and talent development.

Mission:

"We are unlike any other theatre. We are experts on intercultural programming, cultural education, community art and talent development. With everything we do, we're connected to Amsterdam Zuidoost community. We pass our intercultural and artistic knowledge on to national and international fora. Enrichment, connection, confrontation, and entrepreneurship are our core values" (www.bijlmerparktheater.nl,January 2016). "The Bijlmer Parktheater is focused on theatre and circus programming, active art practising, cultural education and talent development in Amsterdam Zuidoost and the adjacent region, with connections to the urban area of Amsterdam and the national cultural field. Primary target group are the inhabitants of Amsterdam Zuidoost and the direct area, with a focus on children, youngsters and young adults" (Bijlmer Parktheater, 2011; 5). It started as a house for Circus Elleboog, Jeugdtheaterschool Zuidoost, Krater Theater and the Theaterwerkplaats. "In the beginning, it was difficult to establish a good profile, because circus Elleboog simply wanted a facility to teach, whereas Krater wanted to realise a theatre programme" (Bijlmerparktheater 2015a). Lately, the circus activities have been stopped because of financial deficits. It has a kind of dual position, like Podium Mozaïek: in the Kunstenplan 2013-2016 it was labeled as a local community arts centre (buurtaccommodatie) and therefore formally not regarded as part of the professional art circuit. In the new Kunstenplan 2016-2019 this term is exchanged for 'cultuurhuizen'. Bijlmer Parktheater presents itself as a professional theatre exceeding the community arts level, as well as a centre for education. Its partners realize more than half of its activities and visitors by focusing on participation, education and talent development of children.

"We are unlike any other theatre" Homepage (bijlmerpatktheater.nl, January 2016)

7.2   Bimhuis

Architectural vision:

Added as an extension to Amsterdam's music hall on the IJ River in Amsterdam, Bimhuis works as both a landmark building and an exciting new public space. The overall layout gestures towards the IJ, interacting with the different light, water, and weather conditions, and the time of day.
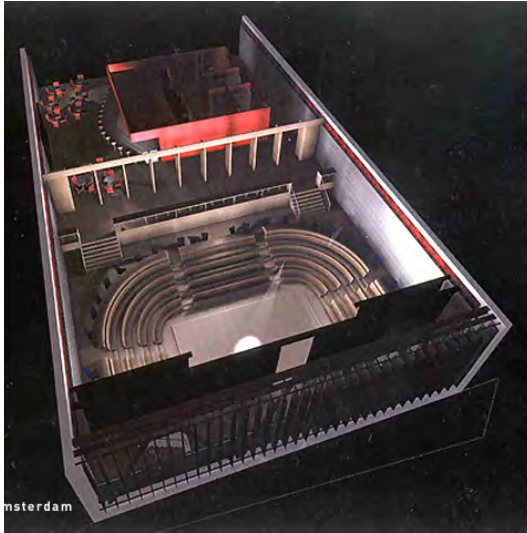
Bimhuis interior (©image studioarchitecten.nl)

"The place is a triumph, the same as the old place but better" Mike Swerin (Bimhuis2015b).

"In the Bimhuis hall, accessible by the upper foyer through a stairs passage (the hall seats 300 people), the space has a homelier size, with a smaller cafe-foyer continuing into the camera music hall. Drawing the curtains behind the stage, during the concerts, it is wondrous to discover the view on Amsterdam through the enormous glazed window. After three years of use, Amsterdammers enjoy the Muziekgebouw as a well-known music center and a charming place to spend time, as was the intention of the Municipality and of the architects. It is a not-so-frequent case of successful city planning" (archdaily.com/38816/ muziekgebouw-3xn).

Function:

National and international jazz and improvised music.

Mission:

"Bimhuis is an important junction in the international network of improvising musicians and is the spot where new bands and projects are formed in which local and international musicians collaborate" (Bimhuis.com/history 28-1-2016).

Bimhuis started to reframe the core quality already before the move from the old cosy venue to the new iconic building. Bimhuis was branded as a movement, taking along audience and musicians. Thus, Bimhuis originally started as a traditional venue, however, in the new venue it developed into an accelerator for activities in places all over the world: "We are not only presenting. We are an engine" (Bimhuis 2015b). "The Bimhuis was founded in 1974, three decades prior to the completion of the current building. The former furniture showroom on the Oude Schans, nearby Amsterdam's Red-Light district had been acquired by some musicians who had just become members of the recently founded Professional Association for improvising musicians (Beroepsvereniging voor Improviserende Musici, abbreviated BIM). The Bimhuis quickly achieved the status of prime Dutch venue for improvised music and the hall became a favourite spot for renowned international bandleaders. The space was simultaneously made available to new Dutch initiatives, conservatory students and apprentice orchestras" (Bimhuis.com/history 28-1-2016). The move from the old premises to the hyper-modern iconic building challenged the Bimhuis to combine both the underground quality belonging to the old school jazz and the task of being a relevant music venue.

 "Bimhuis is not a means but an instrument" (bimhuis 2015b). Bijlmerparktheater at night (© Zuidoost.nl)

Bimhuis cherished the old image and at the same time worked on a new concept and identity, becoming an engine for the development and dissemination at other venues in other places all over the world. "The Bimhuis annually receives twice as many visitors now as the old venue did in its most successful year ever. Everyone plays there now, from stars to

amateurs, from mainstream to avant-garde. In essence, the Bimhuis has basically remained the same: an important junction in the international network of improvising musicians. To this very day, the Bimhuis continues to be a spot where new bands and projects are formed in which local and international musicians collaborate" (Bimhuis.com/history 28-1-2016). "It is essential to have a strong identity, to cooperate and to influence each other on all levels" (Bimhuis 2015b). "The Bimhuis provides a perspective on Dutch and international music with over 300 concerts annually, through which a variety of jazz, world and improvised music can be enjoyed. The focus is on new developments, but the Bimhuis also offers a significant selection of more mainstream music. Bimhuis is 'founding member' of the Europe Jazz Network" (Bimhuis.nl, January 2016). In 2011 Bimhuis received the Amsterdams Fonds voor de Kunst Award. However, in 2016 Bimhuis was criticised by the Amsterdamse Kunstraad for lack of artistic relevance.

7.3   DeLaMar Theater

Architectural vision:

 "Soon after the VandenEndeFoundation acquired the theatre in 2001[35], the dream was to renovate the building in line with its history and its present-day use. The new theatre would have to reflect the diversity of its productions (cabaret, musicals, family theatre and international performances) and also accommodate free and subsidised productions for a wide public". (jocoenen.com)

Architecture impression (© photo: VandenEnde Foundation)

"Classical grandeur and contemporary character" (arcam.nl/nl/de-la-mar-theater)

"In building a theatre, the pragmatic considerations in the design are the deciding factors. In the design phase, it's not a wise idea to lose yourself in excessive conceptual thinking. It's better to give clear answers to questions such as 'where are the exits?', 'where do I build the facilities?' and – let's not forget – 'where do I locate the escape routes?'. The two original facades are linked by a contemporary interpretation of the original entrance to the theatre. The transparent glass façade provides a perfect building line at street level and also provides direct communication with the Leidseplein on the corner. In contrast, the actual facade has been set back by approximately 2 metres and finished with a special red texture. This creates a surprising tension between the two facades that is used effectively both in structural and functional terms. The otherwise flat glass facade acquires an appropriate plasticity that catches the eye, particularly in the evening. This makes the theatre stand out,

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35   The juridical transfer took place in 2006.

especially in its opening hours…. The theatregoer is seduced by a classic interior with contemporary elements. Red carpets lead the visitors to the various foyers that are crowned with chandeliers and glittering chromed lamps. The atmosphere is alternated with wengé flooring or red floor covering on which gold-coloured, leather sofas and chairs keep company with chrome, glass-topped tables. The new theatre is a homage to glamour, excitement and the traditions of the theatre world, and provides a certain nostalgic feeling of the fascinating nineteen-fifties" (jocoenen.com). "Van den Ende is of the opinion that those who are willing to pay a considerable price for a theatre ticket, should be surrounded by wealth and 'must be able to 100% enjoy their experience'… Even if there are no shows on the luxurious interior entices passers-by. Especially when it is dark outside, DeLaMar becomes a magical red illuminated box that can lure in visitors from the Leidseplein… A tribute to the glamour, excitement and traditions of the theatrebusiness" (De Architect January 2011; 57).

Function:

Professional and entertainment theatre combined with talent development and cultural entrepreneurship.

Mission:

DeLaMar theatre mainly programmes stage performances, cabaret and musicals. These three genres are being complemented with musical theatre, concerts, film premières and theatre lectures. The theatre is exclusive in the sense that it presents successful and unique performances for a longer period of time. The theatre is unique by presenting exclusive programmes for a long period. Joop and Janine Van den Ende had a strong personal drive to establish a cultural venue combining theatre with exhibits inspired by foundation Maeght in St Paul de Vence in the South of France. "The idea was to have a physical place where the policy of the VandenEnde foundation could be brought into practice…The government proofs to be an untrustworthy partner, policy is a pendulum. This is a dilemma. The foundation financed eg Foam and Rozentheater and then suddenly the government decided to stop financing, thus endangering the continuity" (2014c). It was their long-cherished dream to establish their own venue combining cultural entrepreneurship with talent development. "This place was extraordinary apt because the former Nieuwe de La Mar used to be the theatre venue which Joop as a child visited and which inspired him to work in the theatre business" DeLaMar 2014c). By saving the Nieuwe DeLaMar theater Van den Ende could cooperate to establish the Leidsplein as "the theatre place/square of the Netherlands" (De Architect January 2011; 54).

However, it also meant the original idea of a "kunsthuis" focused on art exhibitions had to be altered to a theatre venue with limited space for exhibitions.

The performances are selected on quality criteria as well as on commercial potential. "We started to produce because there wasn't enough supply" (2014c). Actors have to excel and at the same time be well known, preferably from television. "Audience comes to the Stadsschouwburg because of the interpretation of a play and to DeLaMar because of the story and the experience" (DeLaMar 2014b).
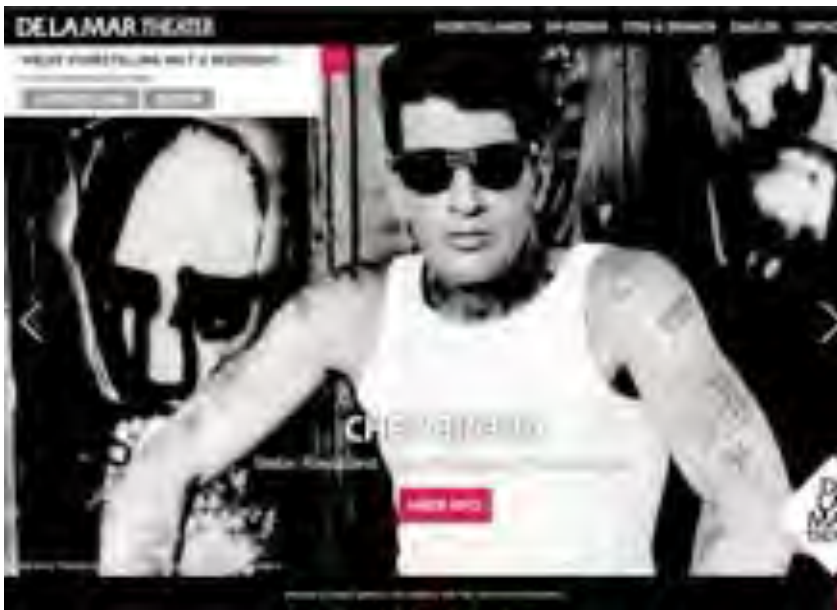
Homepage (delamar.nl, January 2016)

"People do know DeLaMar theatre…The venue is a meeting place for artists, audience and business partners" (DeLaMar 2014a). "

"The DeLaMar Theatre has a theatre history which captures the imagination. Big names like Wim Kan, Wim Sonneveld and Freek de Jong used to perform in the former Nieuwe de la Mar Theatre at the Leidseplein. Since November 2010, after a drastic renovation, the theatre has reopened its doors and the audience can once again enjoy great musicals, plays and cabaret" (www.delamar.nl January 2016).

7.4   EYE

Architectural vision:

EYE Film Institute Netherlands is situated on a prime location at the bend of the river IJ, opposite the historical part of the city and the Central Station. The building is designed as a highly tense and dynamic geometric solid.

The light is reflected in multiple ways by smooth, crystalline surfaces, thus subjecting the building's appearance to permanent optical changes during the course of the day.
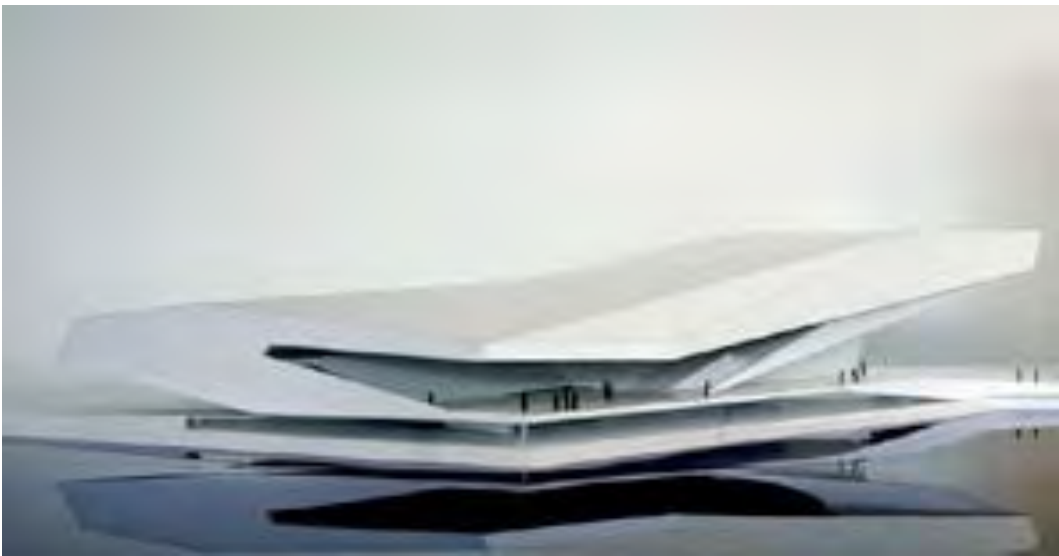
Eye has brought North-Amsterdam closer to the central city.'(De Architect, 2012) Architect's impression (© photo: inpainorxtc.tumblr.com/image/40766464407)

 "Movement and light manifest themselves clearly as essential parameters for the film as a medium in the architectural production. The entrance into the building is characterized by continuous spatial concentration and directed visual relations. Spatial development, light incidence, and materiality define the path that leads from the southern glass front and the museum shop into the heart of the building. The room widens successively, before unfolding its full dimensions as an architectural and functional focus. Whereas on the south side the building's shell opens fully onto the adjacent river, terrace-like steps extrapolate the partly allocated, partly alterable functional zones as well as the interior's character and atmosphere, by allowing access to the exhibition level, to the projection rooms and restaurant. Flowing transitions between the single functional areas underline the distinctive continuity and the dynamic of the room flow, thus transforming the usage into a physiologically tangible sequence of constantly changing spatial impressions. Movement and light generate standpoint-dependent, variegated

atmospheric connections which oscillate between extrovert landscape reference and introverted spatial concentration. Accompanied by these variable perceptions, the perambulation of the building resembles a movie sequence with changeable visual effects" (dmaa.at/projekte/detail-page/eye-film-institute.html). A team that included the former directors of the film museum chose the architect. "Architects were invited to present their vision on a contemporary museum for film. The architect we choose clearly stated that film is movement and has to be a place where people can meet each other. He told that he loved film, but hated the cinema places, with commercial chains. He took his napkin and showed the design he had in mind" (Eye 2015a). "DMMA won the tender with the conviction that both film and architecture are filter imposed upon reality… it is the cinematic 'mise-en-scène' that enables the connection between the architecture and the function of the building and its surroundings… Financial perils, though, have left their mark on the execution of the plans". (De Architect, June 2012; 26;27)

Function:

National museum for films of all genres from film history; follows latest developments by organizing new acquisitions, programmes, and debates. Knowledge centre on film restoration, research and education.

Mission:

EYE focuses on film as an art form, as entertainment, and as part of a digital visual culture. "In the old premises in the Vondelpark we looked at an artist's impression of the new building. You saw immediately that this was about other times. Vondelpark was about the 19th century. It had prestige and hardly any room for audiences…. The building represents much more than an architectural design. To us it's important to show what type of film museum we want to be. Here it is much more diverse. We can show what film can be, ranging from art to entertainment to science" (Eye 2015a). This national museum for cinema, located on Amsterdam's Y-harbour, holds more than 40.000 films from all genres. The collection represents an outstanding sample of film history, from classics and blockbusters to cult films. EYE also closely follows the latest developments in film by organizing new exhibitions, programmes, and debates. EYE is internationally acclaimed for its knowledge and expertise in the fields of film restoration, research, and education. EYE was founded in 2010 as a result of the merger between four organisations: the Filmmuseum, Holland Film, the Filmbank, and the Netherlands Institute for Film Education" (eyefilm.nl; November 2015). 225.000 visitors for 2015 were expected (Eye Filminstituut Nederland, 2010: 30). EYE has a twofold policy;

it clearly needs to attract as many visitors as possible to the place; in this respect, it is a traditional venue. However, by nature, being the national film institute, it also develops activities and projects to the benefit of the development of cinematography as such. "Eye is being mentioned as a pioneer" (Eye 2015a). More and more, these activities open up to larger audiences in different on- and offline places. "In our programmatic vision, we don't need to re-invent the wheel. Every month we have a festival with its own audience and we open up the house. We host youthful teams; they build their own community, blog and organize their own activities and programs. Film clubs academy students are invited to search the archives and make their own programs "(Eye 2015a).

Homepage (eyefilm.nl, January 2016)

"EYE is sometimes called 'the cinematic memory of the Netherlands'. And in all modesty, that title is no exaggeration" (eyefilm.nl; November 2015).

7.5   Hermitage

Architectural vision:

After several successful exhibitions of Russian art in De Nieuwe Kerk, the idea was born to establish an annex of the Hermitage in Amsterdam. Besides fine arts, this centre of Russian culture had to be home to concerts, symposiums, a library, a documentation centre and shops. Amstelhof, the building that housed the Amsterdam elderly for more than 400 years, changed into a new accommodation that fills the entire building. (//heeswijk.nl/ projecten / hermitage-amsterdam.html)

Architectural impression (©http://heeswijk.nl/projecten/hermitage-amsterdam.html)

"The building is being returned to the community and the city" according to the jury of the Geurt Brinkgreve Bokaal 2009

"The visitor strolls from the entrance on the Amstel river through the courtyard to the east wing with its foyer, auditorium and restaurant. Even before the entrance ticket is bought, the building's true magnitude is revealed. The whole of the garden wing is devoted for receiving the public and functions as a central meeting point in the building. It comprises a large auditorium, smaller halls for lectures and courses, a spacious shop and café-restaurant with a terrace on the garden side. This wing is open to the public who are not visiting the exhibition, also outside museum opening times. There is an entrance for groups arriving by coach via Weesperstraat, who enter the Hermitage Amsterdam via the Nieuwe Keizersgracht. The rear side of the garden wing has a public terrace favourably situated - out of the wind and in the sun. Temporary exhibitions are being held in the two exhibition wings. They comprise two large exhibition halls surrounded by cabinets" (http://heeswijk.nl/projecten/hermitage-amsterdam.html). "I had a clear picture for the building. Human dimensions, light, colour shades and grandeur" (Hermitage 2015a)

Function:

A satellite museum of St Petersburg's hermitage showing parts of their collection.

Mission:

"The Hermitage Amsterdam aims to use art and history to inspire, enrich and above all offer opportunity for reflection" (www.Hermitage.nl; July 2015). "With our diverse exhibition and supplementary programming, the Hermitage Amsterdam presents the world heritage of one of the greatest museums – the State Hermitage in St Petersburg – to Dutch and international visitors. We take inspiration from the historical ties between Amsterdam and St Petersburg and between the House of Orange-Nassau and the Romanovs. We believe that innovation and education are essential. The Hermitage for Children offers special art education for the youngest generation. As an enterprise, we take pride in the fact that we finance our activities from our own resources, with support from the business community and private individuals" (www.Hermitage.nl; July 2015). The director of the Nieuwe Kerk was inspired to start an annex to the Hermitage of St Peterburg after succesfull exhibitions with collections of the Hermitage. "To my surprise I was the first western museum director to approach the Hermitage. Of course, Peter de Grote in Amsterdam fascinates us, since there is a historic tie. Nowhere else one can find such tight relations with the Romanovs as with the house of Orange" (Hermitage 2015a). Since 2014, the Hermitage collaborates with the Amsterdam Museum and the Rijksmuseum on a permanent exhibition of 'Hollandse Meesters'. In the first calculations, 250.000 visitors were expected. The first two opening years more than doubled this amount, but in 2011 the museum had to cope with a sharp decline. However, the number of visitors is still higher than originally foreseen. Since the museum is not structurally funded by governmental subsidies, the museum is highly dependent on private sponsoring (www.hermitage.nl)

Homepage (hermitage.nl, January 2016)

"A crazy but fantastic idea" said Michail Piotrovsky, director of the Hermitage in St - Petersburg in 1997 (hermitage.nl/nl/hermitage_amsterdam/welkomstwoord)

7.6   MC

Architectural vision:

The maginificent eastern purification hall of the Westergasfabriek is a national monument built in 1885. Here the city's gas was purified in big cauldrons with calcium oxide and chemicals. The heart of the complex is the level floor hall. This space can take on many shapes by moving the adaptable walls and the extendable grandstand (architectenbureaukolde weij.nl/projecten/ wester gas theater).

Architecture impression (© photo: www.architectenweb.nl)

"For the structure of the MC Theatre a 125-year old crane construction, found in the Westergasfabriek, was used. The hall and its connecting spaces are hanging from this construction" (text: theater advies 2010).

"By securing the 'suspended hall' via the original cranetracks on the old foundations we avoided having to drive piles through the heavy floor. The air-processing installation has also been obscured entirely. With the removal of the wall plaster the rough brick wall has become visible again. Because quick changes are possible in terms of utilisation, the hall is suitable for all kinds of purposes. Regardless of whether shows, TV recordings, conventions or business pitches are taking place, the interaction between the hall and the foyer always works well. The atmosphere and intimacy of the old industrial hangar is and remains to be pleasantly present. Finally, the lighting accentuates the contrast between old en new. Industrial heritage as sustainable source of inspiration" (architectenbureaukoldeweij.nl/ projecten/ wester-gastheater).

Function:

Multicultural theatre Westergasfabriek

Mission:

"In MC, a new type of theatre develops and disseminates in alignment with the image of culture and   culture experience of the urban environment in the Netherlands" (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2009). "The current and new generation of makers and audience ask for new types of theatre, with an explicit role for interactive media and attention for content in relation to context. The context was first of all the new theatre, being the place for intercultural makers, disciplines cultures and audiences". (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2009). MC was to combine the activities of both Made in da Shade and Cosmic, presenting a mixture of urban and 'traditional' theatre founded by De Rooy and de Palm. Made in Da Shade was linked to DNA, initiated by Collins. Yet, DNA remained independent, while Made in da Shade, as the house performing group of the venue Cosmic, merged. "Initially Cosmic was oriented on the Caribbean, representing a large neglected group, but focused solely on that group. With Elmecky it changed to an urban programme with a new policy plan. The target group was enlarged to urban, with new repertoire and new issues. Made in da Shade was a group thinking small" (MC 2015c). MC wasn't only a place to show, but also wanted to be a creative hot spot, and MC created productions as well. In the urban and hip-hop music world MC stands for Master of Ceremony, but of course, it also refers to multicultural and Made in da Shade and Cosmic. Although the two groups differed in styles they also shared artistic ideas and ambitions. The programme offered a mixture of urban music and theatre.

(facebook.com/mctheater/27-10-2014 being the closing down date)

'It was a match made in heaven', director Lucien Kembel said in 2011 (Baaij, 2011).

7.7   Muziekgebouw aan 't IJ

Architectural vision:

The Muziekgebouw is all about music. Providing new common premises for two well-established institutions; the IJsbreker and the Bimhuis, the building has become an attractor for an advanced music audience as well as for a generic public life - and a landmark facing the fjord IJ. It is located at the tip of the Oosterlijke Handelskade pier, just a short walk from the heart of the old canal city (3xn.com).

Architecture impression (©museumtijdschrift.nlwp-content/uploads/ 2012/03 / Muziekgebouw aantIJ.jpg)
"It's a truly public and democratic building, designed with a 24/7 open flow"
(www.3xn.com)

The structure of the building consists in a concrete volume, surrounded by a glass façade and covered by a roof slab, oriented towards the harbour and the station; on the right side a solid box is ejected over the side channel, supported by a bridge structure, and facing the center of Amsterdam. These objects, the glass volume, the hanged box and the covering roof, explain already from the exterior the hierarchy and the relation between space and functions. The project is then an ensemble of different objects under a common roof, coming from the idea of gathering more functions to let the complex attract a wide range of customers and visitors all day long. (archdaily.com/38816/ muziekgebouw-3xn). "Transparency and the play of light consciously influence the building's appearance: large glass facades let in a flood of daylight; filtered, softened and protected by the cantilevered roof. The glass facades also allow passers-by to enjoy glimpses of the concerts and activities taking place. Everywhere the daylight shapes the different building elements in dynamic ways, and ingenious electrical light features pulsate according to the music in the Muziekgebouw concert hall" (3xN.com).

Function:

Concert hall for modern classical music and related genres as jazz, classical music, electronic pop music and world music, national and international.

Mission:

"To share our love for music with as many other people as possible and to show how multifaceted music is. We want to inspire, surprise, be the talk of the town and a frontrunner". Muziekgebouw aan 't IJ was originally branded as the new concert hall for contemporary music, with exceptional acoustic qualities and with a size unknown in Amsterdam. The initiator was convinced that there was a large audience interested in this type of music. His idea was to form an alliance with the contemporary ensembles scattered all over the city. For various reasons this did not work out. "The first years the programming was not really up to hthe status of such a grand venue" (Splendor 2015a). "For a long time, contemporary music has been very academic and innovation solely was about scores and not about audience" (Muziekgebouw 2015a). Since a couple of years, after a change of management, the mission statement of has been changed and the focus is transferred from the venue to the artistic core i.e. dissemination and inspiration of specific music disciplines. "How to share this new music with as many people possible" [...] "One of my dreams is to create liveliness also during daytime, to transform the venue into a kind of hub" (Muziekgebouw 2015a). Interesting is the comparison with the mission statement of the Concertgebouw of Amsterdam: "Enrich people with music that benefits most from the unique qualities of the Concertgebouw" (Concertgebouw.nl). "We still have a mission focused on contemporary music. We try to orientate ourselves inside out, to try to connect new music to many people. Imagination is key. We try to find ways to innovate the experience, to develop activities in cooperation with other cultural parties outside the hall and to attract young people with new programs" (Muziekgebouw 2015a).

Homepage (muziekgebouw.nl, July 2016)

"Muziekgebouw aan 't IJ is the Netherlands' most important stage for contemporary music, as well as for classical music with a modern twist. [...] The ceiling, walls, chairs and floor: they are all flexible and mobile" (www.muziekgebouw.nl, july-2016).

7.8   Pakhuis de Zwijger

Architectural vision:

Pakhuis de Zwijger has, while respecting its original withdrawn and monumental character, been transformed in an accessible and very transparent building. The design consists of three parts. On the right side of the building, or the bridge, (from the city's perspective) one can find the entrance, the creative hubs, the offices and the restaurant. Above the bridge three auditoria are situated, and to the left of the bridge there are the facility spaces, the dressing rooms and technical workplaces. Radio studios are located under the bridge. Furthermore, the plinth of the building has been set in glass, creating a direct interaction between the entrance on the ground floor and the restaurant on the first floor, and the street and the bridge (burovanstigt.nl).

Architect impression (Pakhuis© Hans Kuiper)

"The old cooling warehouse De Zwijger (1934) is the monumental showpiece of the Oostelijke Handelskade in Amsterdam. It's the only warehouse, from the many which used to be here, which is still visible from the citycentre in all its classical glory" (kennisbankherbestemming.nu/projecten/pakhuis-de-zwijger-amsterdam). "When van Stigt came to have a look he immediately started drawing on the back of a coaster, and brought down the cost from 17 million to 11 and the further down to 7 million. And he actually did it for 11 million in two years, he's a miracle worker" (vincenteverts.nl/directeur-egbert-franssen-met-het-verhaal-achter-pakhuis-de-zwijger/ jan 2017).

Function:

Centre for media and urban culture, multitenant building for offices and a public function for gatherings on topics relating to city development and creative industry.

Mission:

Our goal is always to inform, inspire and create. The magic is not just limited to the stage; the discussions and unexpected crossovers are just as magical (dezwijger.nl/over-ons). "Pakhuis de Zwijger is a unique cultural organisation which opened its doors in 2006 and grew out to be an independent platform for and by the city of Amsterdam and her inhabitants. The role of a city in the omnipresent transition to a sustainable society is complex. The creative and innovative approach to related issues has become Pakhuis de Zwijger's trademark. Under the name of New Amsterdam – City in Transition, Pakhuis de Zwijger organises events about the urgent and complex urban challenges of today. The old cooling warehouse is home to the creative industry and the people who make the city to what it is. We call them City Makers, a title of honour. They are the centre of the stories we tell every day. And that's why not only the employees make Pakhuis the Zwijger; it's also our visitors, who help us build a strong community" (dezwijger.nl/over-ons/). The building houses several tenants, however, the main programming force is Stichting Pakhuis de Zwijger, in combination with the Cultuurfabriek, a full-service communication and production bureau. Pakhuis de Zwijger started as a cooperation of several cultural initiatives mainly active at new media topics. It has a strong internet performance and relates to the audience via online platforms. "We see similar trends between cities, that are happening globally. My goal is to connect the local with the global, glocalisation, really. Simultaneously I connect private initiatives with institutions. So, we are a double-connector, our purpose is in creating connections. Since the beginning, many new initiatives started at the Pakhuis and moved out establishing their own venues (such as Women inc.), thus becoming a benchmark for many venues in the Netherlands as well as abroad" (Pakhuis de Zwijger, 2015a).

"There is no place in Amsterdam like Pakhuis de Zwijger, an independent and non-profit cultural warehouse that is all about sparking inspiring discussions, connections, creativity, bottom up initiatives and innovation" (Cities in transition.eu /jan 2017).

Online members
(dezwijger.nl jaar verslag 2015; 9)

7.9   Podium Mozaïek

Architectural vision:

The original details of the Pniëlchurch have been subtly preserved: an impressive engraved window from the old vestibule now constitutes the glass wall of the office (the second window broke during the renovation, such things can happen too…), the wall painting in the great hall has been maintained, the colour blue is still a recurring motive. The construction team had a good chemistry, from architect to mechanic there was a drive to demonstrate the best thing possible. (arch-lokaal.nl)
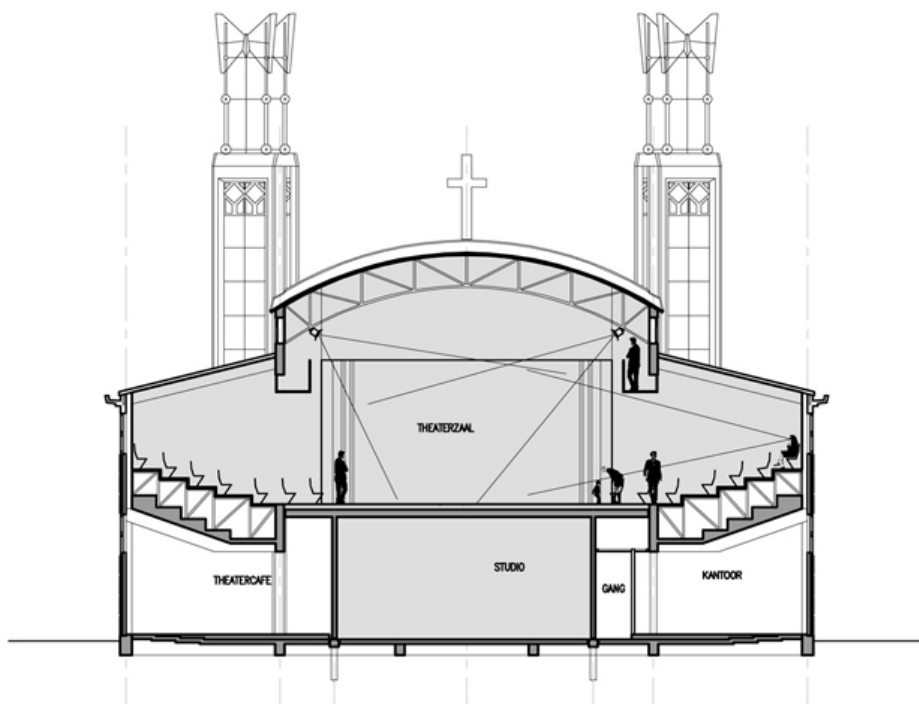
Architecture section (©o-drie.nl/portfolio /podium-Mozaïek)

"With the transformation of this church into a multicultural centre, one of the rare monuments of the rehabilitation has been saved in a unique way for posterity" (www.groosco.com; podium Mozaïek).

Function:

International cultural venue.

Mission:

Podium Mozaïek is an international cultural venue for residents from the neighbourhood, city, region and the Netherlands and a memorable stage for

international performers. "Podium Mozaïek is a theatre in Amsterdam-West, established in the former Pniëlkerk on the Bos en Lommerweg. Our programme offers world music, theatre, exhibitions, and spoken word from national and international artists. Theatre Rast is based at the same location. Before or after a show you are most welcome to enjoy the relaxed atmosphere of the Podium Mozaïek Theatre Cafe. Podium Mozaïek gives Amsterdam-West its own cultural heart. In the building, you will find a number of offices, studios and workshop spaces. Podium Mozaïek is also available for conferences, company presentations and parties" (www.podiumMozaïek.nl). In addition to the mission as stated above Podium Mozaïek stimulates, develops and presents an intercultural and multidisciplinary programme for a culturally diverse audience, that recognises itself in the programme and/or gets to know each other through the programme. It is a model for Amsterdam and the Netherlands in the field of adventurous programming for a cultural divers audience (Podium Mozaïek 2012;1). Podium Mozaïek originally started as a community theatre and it presents itself as a hub, initiating many activities not only in the neighbourhood but all over Europe. "In my opinion, a venue has to be active, in the sense that you should not fence yourself in in your building; we also have programmes outside the venue and we are creating programmes beyond our own venue" (Podium Mozaïek 2015a). "Our role is to boost and to facilitate: the artistic content is always in the hands of the makers. With our activities, we add value to the development of programmes which might be best described as 'cultural cross-overs'" (www.podiumMozaïek.nl; Jaarverslag2014). "The model of a theatre that only serves as a showcase is passé" (Podium Mozaïek 2015a). Podium Mozaïek aims not only "to present intercultural and diverse programmes, but also to develop into the knowledge hub of intercultural performing arts" (LpBL enAtlas voor gemeenten, Waarde van Podium Mozaïek in beeld, 2010; 7).
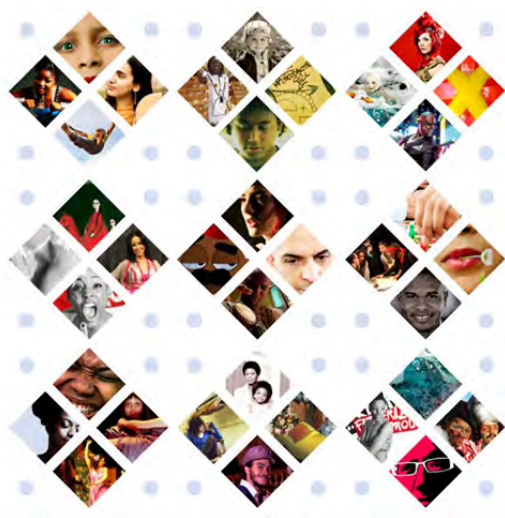

Homepage (©podiumMozaïek.nl, January 2016)

"In 1986, director Rufus Collins dreamt aloud: theatre should resemble a metropolis. Dynamic, colourful, multilingual" (Theaterkrant 2016).

7.10   Rabozaal

Architectural vision:

"An important aspect is the way in which the building has been anchored in its location: radical new architecture between and above the nineteenth century buildings, different in scale, but fitting in the old colour pattern. We developed a double layer metal cladding, inspired on 'changeant' fabric. Another new element in the environment is the strong visual contact between the street and the indoor activities. From the introvert traffic spaces of the old Schouwburg, you suddenly arrive in a different architecture: a glass corridor, which has literally been suspended in the street interior. One staircase up, all of a sudden, you step into the completely shelled space, surrounding the new hall. There you have one imposing view: from the Rabozaal you look through the huge glass rear wall at the back of the stage, to see the brick façade of the old stage tower and on the side the trees of the Leidseplein." (J. Klinkhamer Zichtlijnen 2011)
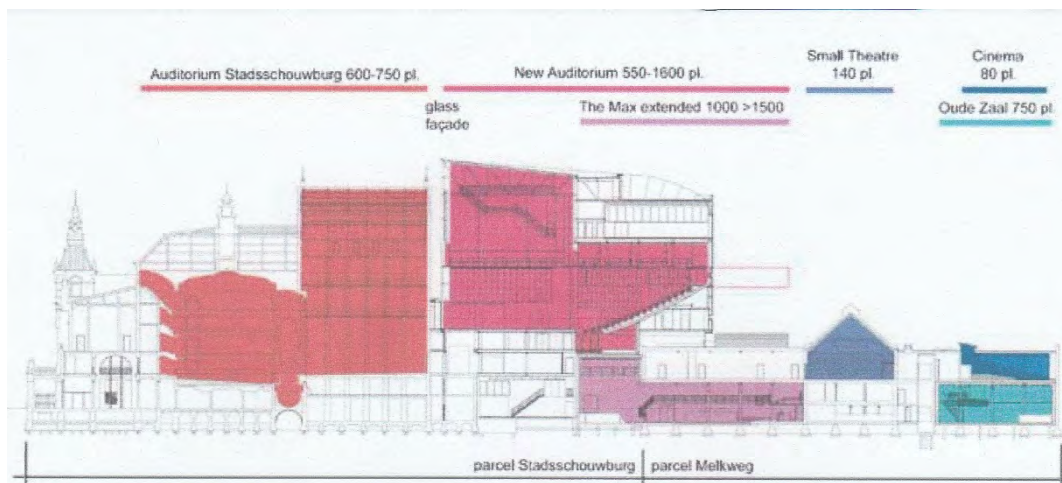
Architecture section (J. Klinkhamer Zichtlijnen 2011)

"A theatre that urges observation" (NRC 5-6-2009)

 "The choice of the city theatre company for the bonbonniere that has presided over the Leidseplein since 1894, marks the end of a period in which the experiment and the rejection of the traditions of civil theatre were emphasised. It signifies a thorough recalibration of the position of the Schouwburg in society and can as such be regarded as a cultural-political action. […] The location of the new theatre-hall behind the existing stage is also and intelligent invention. […] However, the central conundrum of in what manner a theatre should manifest itself as a cultural anchor point in the current cultural climate has been skilfully circumvented, and remains

unresolved" (De Architect November 2009; 64 and 6). In contrast: "The Rabozaal, up in the expansion of the Stadsschouwburg seems like a Pathé cinema in a castle. This impression is created by the many stairs and corridors with thick walls and small windows, all forged out of black aluminium. Should it protect us against too much of a view on the rabble and the noise of the 'debauched' Leidseplein? Not just the ambience is different, also the seats aren't made of red velvet anymore, but are dark and stiff" (Toneelblog.nl 14-4-2013). Originally the plan provided one independent entrance in the small alley next to the entrance of the Melkweg. However, in the final design phase the then newly appointed director of Stadsschouwburg intervened because in his vision it was important "to keep the audience groups together and enlarge the possibilities for the Stadsschouwburg". Thus, both venues got the same indoor entrances.

Function:

40% house of Toneelgroep Amsterdam, 40% theatre, dance programming by Stadsschouwburg and ca 20% pop music programme by Melkweg.

Mission:

Each partner has its own mission; there is no collective mission for the venue as such. Melkweg and Stadsschouwburg agreed upon a yearly planning dedicating 60 days to Melkweg and 150 to Stadsschouwburg and TGA each. From the start, the venue was based on a business agreement and there was no joint mission statement nor artistic programme. "The cooperation is limited to the exploitation. TGA and Melkweg both rent from Stadsschouwburg, that is doing the administration" (Rabozaal 2015b). "Of course, originally there was an intention to cooperate, however it didn't work out"(Rabozaal 2015c). Thus, the significance of the venue has to be inferred from three different missions as being reflected by the three stakeholders. Melkweg explicitly mentions the Rabo venue to stress the diversity of programmes. "Melkweg stands for pop culture in the broadest of senses. Each year, hundreds of concerts, club nights, films and music films, theatre performances, expositions and multi- disciplinary events together attract more than 400,000 visitors. Melkweg also programmes concerts and other events in the Rabozaal, the modern multi-functional venue shared by Stadsschouwburg and Toneelgroep Amsterdam. The diversity of its programming and visitors, together with its different spaces and special location, have made the Melkweg a unique place for years" (www.melkweg.nl). "The venue makes it possible to organize specific programs which we otherwise couldn't do [..] however the availability is limited" (Rabozaal 2015a). To the Stadsschouwburg the Rabo venue offers an extra opportunity to be a meeting

place for the audience: "Stadsschouwburg is a place where audience can get in contact attentively with performing arts and its social context, it can learn and be informed. Also, it is a place to stay, to enjoy, meet en relax. We call it 'serious pleasure'. […] The Rabozaal connects high and low arts and contributes to make the Stadsschouwburg into the 'hottest' theatre of the country" (Stadsschouwburg 2012;1) "`The new Schouwburg has become an accommodation that has space for larger and smaller performances, but also for reinterpretations of the classical canon and for experiments with new styles and new texts. Moreover, director Melle Daamen regards the complex as a 'public arena' and a cultural lounge'. (De Achitect november 2009; 64) " It was an old an overaged icon. […] The meaning of theatre and dance is too limited, it has to be combined with being a hang out, for the elite, a place for thought, cultural meeting place, all types of words depending on who's with you" (Rabozaal 2015c).The Rabo venue offers TGA a suitable home base to fulfil its mission: "Toneelgroep Amsterdam has as mission to be the top institute on theatre in the Netherlands" (Toneelgroep Amsterdam 2012;2). "It's a Unique venue; nowhere in the world one can find these possibilities" according to Versweyveld (Zichtlijnen june 2011). All three partners were happy with the result: Melkweg because it enabled the enlargement of their large Max hall, Stadsschouwburg because it provides an extra venue for other types of theatre and dance productions and TGA because it finally fulfilled its wish for their own stage.

Homepage Stadsschouwburg *Homepage Melkweg*
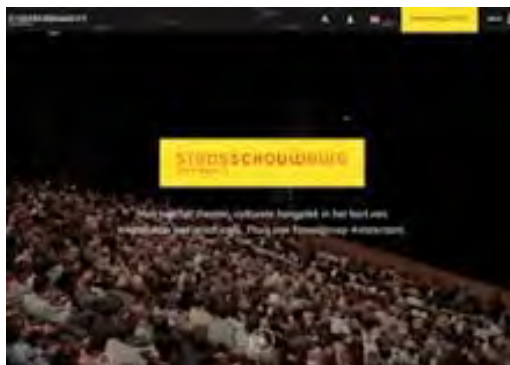
(stadsschouwburg.nl, January 2016) *(melkweg.nl, January 2016)*

7.11   Splendor

Architectural vision:

The objective was to transform the building into a music hall for the Splendor foundation and to thoroughly renovate the building. The building will gain a new basement, the exterior will be renovated and on some places reconstructed in its old shape. (mtbarchitecten.nl).

"Splendor shows that passionate principals and innovative ways of financing go very well with a precise renovation" jury Geurt Brinkgreve Bokaal 2013 (©Annemiek Verheij)

Function:

Free space for musicians.

Mission:

"Splendor is a meeting place, a club, a workspace, a musical laboratory and much, much more" (www.splendor.com). The former Bathhouse was transformed into "a dream house for musicians, composers and other queer

birds" (Parool, 18-82015). "A club for every kind of music, conceived and founded by 50 top-notch musicians and their public. In 2010, a group of enterprising musicians, composers and artists had a plan: invest in a place where everything is possible, where experimentation knows no boundaries and where artists and their public connect to inspire each other. Splendor is run by a group of 50 exceptional musicians from every nook and cranny of the international music scene. Splendor is a second home to them and their public, but also to the vast number of musicians from the Netherlands and abroad that come to rehearse or perform there. The best part of the success of Splendor is that they achieve it together with their members" (splendor.com). "These member concerts are the perfect moment to connect with the musicians: we love to chat, have a drink together and exchange ideas on how we can make Splendor even more exciting" (2015a). It is presented as a place where all types of music and musicians meet, with a lot of room for experimenting. "Splendor is much more an idea than just a building. The artistic value is determined by a combination of the idea and the audience" (Splendor 2015a). The idea was to create a place free from the government, politics and other powers and to be accessible to everybody and for every type of music: from classic to jazz to gipsy music. "We meet a demand and become happier ourselves as well" (Het Parool 18-8-2015)

homepage

homepage (Splendor.com, January 2016)

"Splendor forms the first stage in the backbone of quality music of the city" (M. van Boven in Volkskrant 2013).

7.12   Theater Amsterdam

Architectural vision:

This theatre, situated at the Danzigerkade in Amsterdam has been constructed specifically for the production of ANNE. A building that has been partly determined by its location in the Houthaven: foyer and restaurant at the front, directed towards the water in a grand and open manner, the closed off theatre-hall on the interior. The architecture is modest and functional to the performance about Anne Frank. However, it is simultaneously a theatre with grandiosity, because of the abundant forecourt and the amply overhanging canopy (Dedato.com).

The architects choose for a 'modest' design, because the play has a strong impact. The idea is that visitors can moor their boats at the quay in front of the building. The auditorium has an impressive 180-degree projection screen, the standard stage wraps around the audience in a semi –circle, resembling the stage set up of 'Soldaat van Oranje'. The auditorium is fully equipped for an international audience. The theatre features a multilingual system providing subtitles in eight languages.

Architecture impression (© photo: Dedato.nl)

"Bright theatre especially for Anne." (Volkskrant 2014)

Function:

Theatre built for long series.

Mission:

To offer demanding theatre programme in terms of set and technique for a long uninterrupted period. Theater Amsterdam made its debut on 8 May 2014. Located outside central Amsterdam, the theatre is the only venue in Amsterdam where shows can enjoy an uninterrupted run. It offers "unique opportunities for massive sets and the latest theatrical techniques". (www.theateramsterdam.nl). "Theatre, Amsterdam and Anne Frank go together […] It is a must see for parents with their children" (Theater Amsterdam 2015a). The Theatre was originally built to show 'Anne the musical' for a couple of years. "I belief theatre is perfect to illuminate historically and socially relevant issues for discussion" (theater Amsterdam2015a). "The Anne Frank Fonds Basel launched the project to provide a contemporary rendition of one of the most important texts of the 20th century, bringing it to new audiences. […] This is the first time that a play has truly reflected the original source text, resulting in profound and insightful stories and emotions" (Annefrank.ch; January 2017). The producers, who also produced the blockbuster 'Soldaat van Oranje' hired the same artistic director and asked two celebrated Dutch authors, Leon de Winter and Jessica Durlacher to write the script, hoping to create another blockbuster. ".. dramatizing this has been the biggest challenge of our careers – not least because, in the Fifties, our predecessors Frances Goodrich and Albert Hackett wrote a tremendous adaptation, and also because both our families suffered similar fates as the Frank family" (Annefrank.ch; January 2017). Recently Theater Amsterdam announced to start a new musical, Sky, from April onwards.

Homepage (theateramsterdam.nl, January 2016)
"From 'one dimensional' to 'incredibly beautiful'" (NRC 2014).

7.13   Tolhuistuin

Architectural vision:

Tolhuistuin, the former Shell company cafeteria, is now designated as a gateway to the city's northern district. Zuiderveld and VASD transformed what once was a canteen catering for 250 employees into a modern, 4400 m2 cultural centre, a cultural hotspot for a crowd of 1,700; "An extra lure to entice people to cross the IJ River, with respect to the characteristic architecture of Arthur Staal and with a very small budget" (Vasd.nl).

Architecture impressions (© photo: www.vasd.nl/project/de-tolhuistuin-amsterdam)

"A building which, in itself perfectly designed, wherein every servant, manager and window cleaner is happy, still will be an absurdity, if it's not carefully designed within the context" Staal said in an interview (Onsamsterdam.nl; Jan 2017).

The original building was designed as canteen for the staff of the Overhoeks tower. The complex is regarded as one of the highlights of his oeuvre. "Throughout the building Zuiderveld placed wooden objects and made panelling of wood. They offer informal hangouts, in line with the idea of structuralism that wanted to stimulate 'encounters'. The reconstruction of Staal's jewel became an ode to one of the best buildings of structuralism in the Netherlands" (NRC 19-9 2014). "The whole reconstruction has been done with respect for the original architecture by Arthur Staal. The high square black box to accommodate the pop auditorium is positioned in such a way

that one has to take a special effort to see it. The large balcony is not fixed to the main building: if needed, everything can be removed" (Gebouwdin.amsterdam.nl; January 2017).

Function:

Live music venue, restaurant, community art centre, dance, music and exhibitions.

Mission:

To create a meeting place for the community. Since the 19th century, the Tolhuistuin was a favourite leisure spot for the people of Amsterdam (a.o. Verhagen 2005). Since 2014, after a long period of reconstruction, the former canteen holds a restaurant, a live music venue, a community-based performance venue and an exhibition place. The programme consists of music concerts produced by Paradiso (a famous live music venue situated at the centre of the city), exhibitions by Framer Framed (centre for modern art), theatre-, literature-, poetry- and dance programmes by Tolhuistuin, Solid ground movement (hip-hop school) and Slaa (organising literary activities in Amsterdam). The smaller buildings, former offices, are being leased to many cultural tenants who are the creative backbone of Tolhuistuin and represent a diverse set of disciplines. The programme initiated by Stichting Tolhuistuin is trying to link the new and old habitants of the district; the latter being mainly of diverse backgrounds and poorer education than the former. The idea is to be a creative hotspot for North with creative from North. "We want to connect the people from the canal district to the Van der Pek neighborhood in the North, a poor working-class area […] we don't want to become the next hipster hangout place. These places are easily claimed by a specific group of people, while we want to be there for everybody" (tolhuistuin.nl/in de media/2014). In the imagination of the then newly appointed artistic leader Tolhuistuin has to become a place for experimentation, with a new and challenging repertoire: "It has to be a resilient, safe and daring, relaxed place that's a frontrunner on relevant social theme's" (Parool 16-4-2016). "You build a venue because you have a programme that hasn't a place […]. Gathering is more important than liking. […] Pampering is important, to offer the audience more than it is expecting" (Tolhuistuin 2015a).

"Filled with harmony the water whispers, Peace on earth is celebrated in the Tolhuisthuin' (quote from 'O City of Amsterdam, embrace your north bank' by Simon Vinkenoog in Verhagen 2005; 40). homepage (tolhuistuin.nl Jan 2016)

7.14   Westergasfabriek

Architectural vision:

What makes adaptive reuse so complicated is that the design is not merely influenced by the demands, but also by the context, the special qualities of the existing structure and the degree of adaptability of the heritage. Our designs were conceived in the search to the optimal balance between what was demanded and what was given – between knowledge and intuition.

(Braaksma-roos.nl)

"It is an excellent example of both clear vision and the management of a cooperative venture between government, business and creative endeavours. In a European context, the Westergasfabriek is a model for the implementation of new, creative, social and cultural life into an industrial heritage site" (jury Europa Nostra 2010 on Zuiveringshal; Braaksma - Roos.nl). "It is important to give free way to the programme. Some architects do understand this. Old buildings do need a patron, because the architecture is already there. Proposals by other architects were dismissed because they wanted to demolish too much" (Gemeente Amsterdam 2015c). The process of renovations has been executed in phases. It started in 2000 and finished in 2008.

Function:

Cultural enterprise with spaces for creative, cultural and innovative entrepreneurs.

Mission:

The Westergasfabriek develops and rents out spaces for creative, cultural and innovative entrepreneurs. We want to inspire a broad public and provide

leisure opportunities in an exciting, sustainable and friendly environment. The Westergasfabriek is a meeting place for enterprising local, domestic and foreign visitors with refreshing ideas (Westergasfabriek 2010). "People come to Amsterdam's Westergasfabriek to meet, work and relax. This beautiful city park, with its historic factory buildings surrounded by expanses of green, also has workplaces, venues for large and small events, and a range of catering, film, theatre and exhibition facilities. The Westergasfabriek encourages the use of its spaces for creative events, ensuring the area keeps its exciting and refreshing atmosphere. We participate in cultural projects and support collaborations between our business tenants. We use online media and our modern digital infrastructure to inform the general public about what we stand for and what we're up to here at the Westergasfabriek" (wester gasfabriek.nl). "You don't have to go for the quick wins and at the same time have to remain hip. It's important to keep that image" (Mab 2015a). "Creative people got a lot of freedom. New projects came to us…The only way to survive is to create a daily flow of visitors" (Gemeente Amsterdam 2015c). "I protected the artistic profile. I came from Mickery, the Holy Grail in the art and working for a real estate developer was regarded as a disgrace by the subsidized cultural scene… We developed new concepts such as Rollende Keukens and Sunday Market" (Westergasfabriek 2014a). "The leading principle was and still is to follow the cultural social mission… We have to stick to the original plan and the selection criteria. You need a good story that matches with the buildings" (Mab 2015a). The tenants of the buildings are selected on their creative activities and innovative and cooperative energy. The creative and energetic effect of the events and festivals reflects on the tenants and vice versa. (Stadsdeel Westerpark 1996; kennisbankherbestem ming.nu, www.westergasfabriek.nl). The park is public space and is kept and cared for by the municipality district.

Homepage (westergasfabriek.nl, Jan 2016)

'To the treatment building in high heels; The Westergasfabriek, vital like a medieval city.' (NRC 1994).

APPENDIX III
THIRDSPACE EXPLORATIONS VENUES

APPENDIX III   Thirdpace explorations venues

8.1   Bijlmerparktheater

Krater experienced the new venue as "an acknowledgement for the work that was accomplished during the years before". Crucial factor in the formation was the availability of European funding and "the willingness of the local municipality. They were in a flow to establish new beautiful buildings" (Bijlmerparktheater 2015a). Originally Krater theatre, a small local venue with a professional programme, was partner in the development of GETZ. However, in the long and complicated process of this project, Krater decided to go for the less ambitious, but more viable plan for the Bijlmer Parktheater to merge with amateur-oriented cultural partners. "We wanted a sparkling and manageable venue" (Bijlmerparktheater 2015a). Getz was planned in the white-collar business district and therefore less attractive to Krater and the other partners. Also, it was "elusively megalomaniacal… the political advocacy took place behind the scenes by the big boys and we didn't have any influence, that's why we withdrew" (Bijlmerparktheater 2015a). "Getz was a megalomaniacal plan, that didn't balance the interests of all parties. It represents the old world, causing plans to become too big and lining the pockets of the real estate developers; everybody wanted to get too much profit out of it" (Ballast Nedam 2015a). Bijlmerparktheater on the other hand is situated in the middle of the residential neighbourhood where it is rooted artistically and grounded in its audience. "We had more influence on the programme and were ahead of the local municipality in delivering concrete plans… This made it our own dream" (Bijlmerparktheater 2015a). Yet the exact position is cumbersome, because it is positioned too much as a standalone and just too far away from the daily bustle of the community. "The location of the Bijlmerparktheater is extremely inappropriate… it was thoughtlesslydumped as a kind of isle. It should have been placed next to the sport centre at the market square…yet it does provide in a need, because there is no other theatre place in the neighbourhood" (MC 2015b). "The plot was assigned to us by the local municipality and we accepted it because it was in the residential part of the area and the idea was that the venue would become part of a new residential area" (Bijlmerparktheater 2015a). However, as a result of the economic crisis this has not been realized up till now. The theatre is not far from the market, the city department town hall and the shopping centre. However, it still is too remote to be a meeting point. When walking from the parking lot or public transport the last building one passes is a shelter for the homeless and drug addicts. This is not pleasant, neither for the theatre visitors nor for the residents of the shelter. Both parties try to make the best out of it; in 2011, a specific theatre production was produced about addiction (Diversityjoy.nl March 2016). The venue is hampered by the fact that there are limited catering facilities and that there is no outside terrace. "There was a

report that advised not to facilitate catering, so we now have to deal with a small little kitchen, while everybody expects us to provide full catering" (Bijlmerparktheater 2015a).

The architecture, although it evokes feelings of pride, also makes people insecure: its beauty and style is not taken for granted by the community (MC 2015b). "The impact of the quality of the building was not foreseen. Part of the community was afraid, because the building was so impressive, others were proud to have as a community such a beautiful building that even made it on to the national news" (Bijlmerparktheater 2015a).

Outside (©thegrandladiesofjazz.blogspot.nl) Foyer (©maartenbrante.com)

The feeling of ownership by the community is gradually growing, "Krater is working exclusively with people from the community. Embedment in the community is a pure necessity…The pride of the community to have their own venue must be cherished. Especially talent development is leaping forward. This is very important because it really contributes to people's education…Trust has been growing gradually and now we programme semi-amateurs as well as professionals" (Bijlmerparktheater 2015a). "It is phoney to say that it is nice to have audience from the city centre. It's not nice. The Bijlmerparktheater has to attract people from the community" (Gemeente Amsterdam 2015c).

The organisation functions as a superordinate for the other partners handling the overall venue related facilities. The director of this umbrella organisation is also director of one of the main partners, Krater theatre. The director has been involved in this project from the start and still holds the same position, being the constant factor in the formation and exploitation. Since the opening the organisation struggled with financial and political setbacks: Circus Elleboog stopped in 2015, because its subsidy was suspended and there was no alternative funding. "There came a new local city council after two years, asking: 'why don't you close down and move to MC at Westergasfabriek?' ". Also, the social housing corporation involved as principal of the construction stopped the sponsoring without transitional arrangements. "The first five years we needed to settle and make ourselves known. In this new

'Kunstenplan' period I feel the need to present new surprising activities connected to the community" (Bijlmerparktheater 2015a). So even though this venue was established on a spot that is part of the parochial community; the atmosphere, exact setting and the facilities pose serious challenges for the management.

8.2   Bimhuis

Bimhuis, a jazz venue, is situated in the same building as Muziekgebouw aan t IJ. The move was a pure necessity; there was no ambition in growing nor expanding, but because of governmental regulations they had to move out. The new venue evoked divergent reactions: "American musicians felt finally respected, while at the same time the hard-core audience and musicians of the old venue were suspicious" (Bimhuis 2015b). The Bimhuis was originally founded in 1974 in an old warehouse at a canal in the inner city and had to move for circumstantial reasons. The Bimhuis was afraid of losing the special atmosphere of the old venue. "In the beginning people regarded the place as too far out and a little scary. However, when we started at the Oude Schans that spot was also regarded as a remote" (Bimhuis 2015b). To safeguard the specific atmosphere Bimhuis choose their own architect, StudioC Architecten, for the interior design. The outline/architectural plan was kept the same in the new building and the move was prepared in intensive collaboration with the musicians and the audience. The view over the city from the hall itself, or from the foyer over the Y-river is magnificent. The layout of the former venue at the Oude Schans, which most important feature was a hall in the shape of an amphitheatre, allowed for an intimate atmosphere near the stage. At the same time, the audience could stray to the back of the space to the adjacent bar. The layout of the stage and access to the bar have remained the same, but everything is more spacious, comfortable and technically advanced. The desire to stick to the old layout was so strong that originally the Bimhuis did not want to have windows behind the stage "because a good performance needs intimacy" (Bimhuis 2015b). However, this side has a magnificent view of the city. Therefore, the backside of the stage, which at the same time functions as the facade of the venue on the outside, was indeed constructed in glass. Musicians who prefer to create a more intimate atmosphere can do so by closing dark velvet curtains. "I look back with satisfaction and contentment on what it has become. Bimhuis is thoroughly thought through. Yet the setting in the building is not good; the building has too many entrances. Visitors do not automatically enter the inner square and after a concert everybody takes his own route through all those different entrances. When leaving the Bimhuis people enter a large empty hall and this feels more desolate than stepping outside in the rain. Yet the audience still comes" (Bimhuis 2015a).

View on the city during a concert (©bimhuis.nl)

Interestingly enough, where the visitors of the Muziekgebouw complained about the windiness and coldness of the place, the visitors of the Bimhuis were enthusiastic about the wonderful ambiance, taking the windiness for granted, even though they dislike the entrance. The Muziekgebouw attracted in the first years only with the greatest effort some new visitors; the Bimhuis doubled visitors within a couple of years. The Bimhuis had a different history, a very specific and unique programme, and an audience that felt home in this windy aloof place. Jazz did not find its origin in the establishment and therefore the venues where never originally based in regular theatre districts. The 'regular' type of places for jazz venues are indeed harbour districts, windy, remote places (Bimhuis 2015a). The main worry for the jazz venue was to bridge the gap between the ambience and comfort of a modern building, and the music, musicians and audience. "Mixing audience and musicians is crucial to realize interaction. A concert is a success if there is interaction" (Bimhuis 2015a). This is the reason why they chose their own architect and tried to copy the old building as much as possible (Bimhuis 2015 b). They also took already during the construction process visitors and musicians several times on tour through the new building (Bimhuis 2015a). For the musicians and the audience, the improved logistics, in terms of parking lots and nearby hotel facilities, in combination with the good atmosphere of the venue, proved to be a strong added value overcoming the negative aspects of windiness. Also, the atmosphere created by the StudioC architects aligns with the demands of the audience and musicians.

Originally the idea was to find synergy between Muziekgebouw aan t IJ and Bimhuis by festival-like programming. "In the beginning, we were both working to establish a new organization. Moving takes a lot of energy and one loses the collective memory on daily routines… The cooperation with the artistic director was good. He turned out to be an artistic director capable of considering the business side. That makes it easy to be a managing director" (Bimhuis 2015a). It was a great success right from the start and the number of visitors increased, especially the audience coming from outside of Amsterdam. The view also attracts many commercial parties.

Bridge to Bimhuis (© Wojofoto)

"An isolated spot, behind the railway, facing a thoroughfare and beside the cold windy Y-bank" (Volkskrant 3 februari 2005).

8.3   DeLaMar Theater

Main hall (©greatervenues.com)

Van den Ende chose the location after considering several locations throughout the city. "None of those places really charmed Joop: He found the spot of the Muziekgebouw too windy and at the Heineken square the residents opposed the idea of a large theatre" (DeLaMar 2014c). At the beginning of the new millennium, the current location was discussed with the alderman as a possible location, however, at that time the city council was unwilling to give away a former public theatre and cinema to a private investor. Van den Ende was invited to join in the redevelopment of Stedelijk Museum. Yet, this couldn't be combined with Van den Ende's idea of a 'Kunstenhuis'. Although this didn't work out, Van den Ende Foundation invested € 6 mio in the Stedelijk Museum. Meanwhile he was considering building a musical theatre at the Zuidas, however this didn't work out either. In 2002 a new alderman took office, Belliot, and she invited Van den Ende to redevelop Calypso, a cinema complex next to the former Nieuwe de La Mar theatre. Later on, this theatre was also added as part of the location and thus it became an interesting place, because of its size, its location and the history. It took some effort to convince the city council, although almost all large venues in Amsterdam were originally initiated and financed by private parties. "Van den Ende held a presentation for the city mayor and aldermen in the mayor's house, showing Tuschinski, Paleis van de Volksvlijt, Concertgebouw and Carré, all those beautiful buildings which were built by rich people. He finished his presentation saying, "that's what I want" (Gemeente Amsterdam 2015a). In 2004, the city council and Van den Ende came to an agreement that obliged Van den Ende Foundation to finance the reconstruction, the personal costs related to the former theatre and to provide 1 million programme funding for the first 10 years. Furthermore, Van den Ende Foundation had to respect the former programme diversity in

disciplines and theatre companies. The construction process itself took longer than expected, due to difficulties with the aesthetic commission and the city development plan. This also led to higher construction costs.

(©VandenEnde Foundation)
"From arthouse to theatre with a lot of art"(VandenEnde Foundation, 2010:7).

The choice for this location was based on economic calculations as well as on assumptions of more emotional enticement for visitors. "The location wasn't suitable for musical theatre, but nevertheless for Joop the place was good. Situated in the heart of the city, next to the Leidseplein and the Stadsschouwburg. Therefore, it was possible to present a diverse programme with pure entertainment and quality drama" (DeLaMar 2014c). The venue is located in the centre of the city, competing with many large theatres just around the corner, thus also profiting from the natural large amount of theatre visitors in this area. "The strategy is to focus on the uniqueness of the programme, the celebrities on the stage and the special atmosphere of the old city centre, offering a special general experience" (DeLaMar 2014 a, b, c). "In DeLaMar everything is focused on sales: we always consider what the revenues will be" (DeLaMar 2014c). It has a system of dynamic pricing. It also uses the history of the building to rouse the extra special feeling of the live experience. Thus, it creates an atmosphere in which the audience feels at home and at the same time is trespasses into a new world of magic, imagination and emotion. The location, with its history, adds up to this special atmosphere.

Van den Ende is associated with musical theatre. "There is a strict division between the reputation of musical theatre and theatre" (2014c). In the formation period a director was contracted coming from a culturally highly esteemed festival, thus bridging the gap between subsidized and commercial theatre. However, he left before the opening. After an interim, the current director was appointed, experienced in the retail business. "My drive is to make many people enthusiastic about theatre. I try to produce work I support and that affects people. When we produce a play, we do everything to sell every single seat" (DeLaMar 2014a).

8.4   EYE

On the left side amsterdam centre, on the right side the Eye film institute (©Peter Smith Ilovenoord.nl).

EYE is a landmark with a specific architectural quality. "For us the building was a tool to find our new identity. I never regarded it as a move. The question was, who are we?" (Eye 2015a). The history of EYE has many different aspects, which go beyond this research. The wish to have a stronger emphasis on public film screenings and expositions was important for the design and the choice of the location. The former film museum was situated in an old villa in the Vondelpark in the city centre, and there was a fear of losing the small but loyal audience and the special ambience. During the initial stage, 21 locations were examined, but none of these proved to be good enough. Finally, the process was reversed and the former director of the Filmmuseum challenged real estate developers to pitch their idea for the Filmmuseum. This turned out to be a successful approach, and soon after the location was set and the developer could start. The design team consisted of architect DMAA, EYE and ING real estate. The building was financed via a private-public agreement between housing corporations Ymere and Vesteda and ING real estate development. Moreover, in a decisive moment, the government supplied an extra investment of 1 million euros. "ING saw it as a marketing tool for the development of an expensive residential block, to show that they could manage such a complex architect and complex building process" (Gemeente Amstedam 2015d). Eye has a rental agreement for 25 years and the municipality gave the developers a 'assurance of purchase. This assurance has been a topic of debate as the developer terminated his activities as developer due to the economic crisis. "The building has become an icon for city planning development. It's seen as a motor for the development of the

area and is regarded as the linking pin between the city centre and North" (Eye 2015a).

"The building is regarded as a festival. Crucial is the diversity in programming and audience. The idea behind it is in line with Aristotle's thinking that there are many things but there needs to be unity in place and time. That is in the end what a festival is" (Eye 2015a). With the new building a new identity came into being, attracting a complete new audience. "To my surprise Eye really got a soul "(Concertgebouw 2015a). For Eye the new building became immediately a strong marketing tool because of its specific architectural character and its visible position. "It works as a magnet to the visitors. The building attracts people and enables us to make programmes for larger audiences. The expectations that people have of a film museum are diverse, ranging from Pixar to James Bond exhibitions. We make programmes with a high artistic ambition combined with the necessity to attract a large audience" (Eye 2015a). Mentioned as a drawback of the architecture is the closed character on the side of the residential area, therefore being more inviting to people form the other site of the river, than the nearby residents. "We have a duty to be a museum, an archival institute and also a cinematic palace. People going to the movies don't cycle more than 10 minutes. Therefore, it's important to connect with the nearby residents" (Eye 2015a). This is a difficult target audience, as it is on average less educated, however the overall Y bank development caused a change in population of the adjacent area. New housing blocks adjacent to EYE attract younger and more highly educated residents.

Restaurant (©adventorousKate.com)

8.5   Hermitage

"The Hermitage at the Amstel, just as the hermitage at the Neva. It couldn't have been in the Bijlmer" (Hermitage 2015a). The building used to be a nursery home for the elderly, run by the Diaconessen since the 17th century. When, at the close of the twentieth century, it became apparent that the Amstelhof care facility no longer met contemporary requirements it was decided to find a new purpose for the building. There were several options, but the choice was made to repurpose it as a spin-off of the Hermitage in Sint Petersburg. "It was important to involve all people, including the local community, to make my dream their dream, to give a public function to this monumental building" (Hermitage 2015a). After a feasibility study and a strong lobby amongst private and governmental sponsors and funds, the municipality and the Hermitage came to an agreement at the turn of the millennium. In 1999, the municipality bought the building from the Diaconessen and leased the renovated building to the foundation Hermitage aan de Amstel in 2007. Following its complete renovation, three architectural bureaus collaborated to turn Amstelhof into a modern museum: Hans van Heeswijk (building), Merkx+Girod (interior) and Michael van Gessel (grounds). The construction process was remarkable for several reasons, one of them being the project was finished on time and within budget.
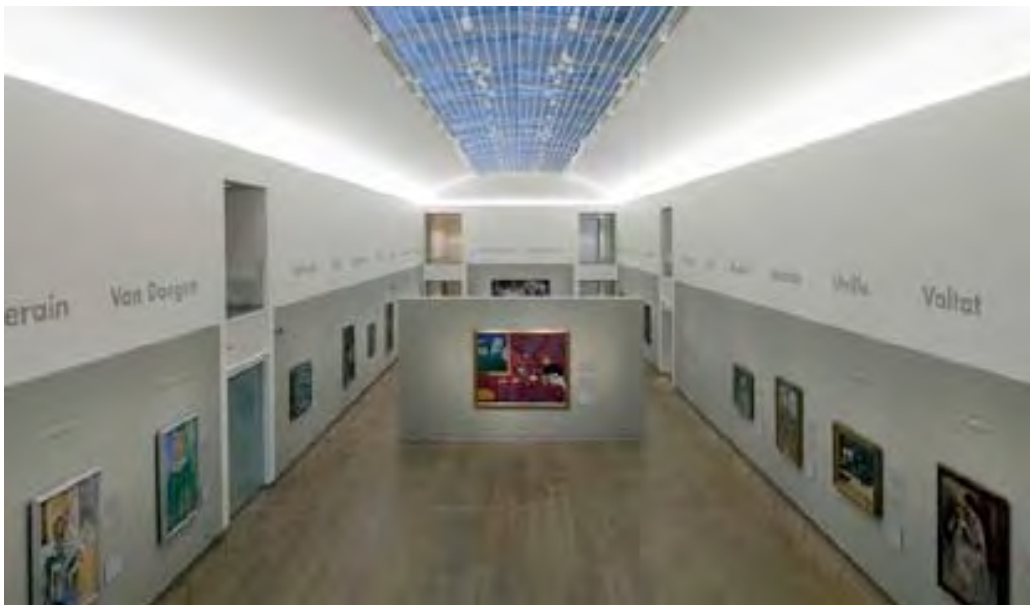
Inside the Hermitage (© photo: Hermitage)

"I really studied the Hermitage in St Petersburg. I learned that the Russian people consequently teach their children to look at art. We copied this and organise educational activities twice a week" (Hermitage 2015a). After the first years of success the Hermitage coped with decrease in visitors. Operating without structural governmental subsidy this meant it had to look for other opportunities to attract new audience groups. Therefor, it changed its strategy from offering a unique collection, to opening up the location for other collections in partnership with Dutch museums. "Cooperation is essential for the exploitation" (Hermitage 2015a). It recently introduced a completely new concept called the "outsider Art museum" (hermitage.nl). "Beautiful exhibits are relevant, but the people are key. What a fantastic team" (Hermitage 2015a).

"Today from the outside the building looks the way it looked in 1683, when it opened: a strong building with a sober quality" (hermitage.nl).

8.6   MC

MC was the result of a merger between Cosmic, a theatre venue in the city centre, and Made in Da Shade, a theatre group based in Amsterdam, performing throughout the country. Cosmic needed a new place because the old place in the Nes, a small street in the city centre with many small but artistically highly regarded theatre venues, became too small and was declared unfit for use by the fire department. Cosmic initiated together with Paradiso what became the GETZ project. However, since this didn't work out and Cosmic meanwhile changed management other choices were made. Made in da Shade wanted to grow but could not do so because of lack of governmental support. Initially, the former Surinam stakeholders of Cosmic refused to move out of the city centre. The Nes was regarded a more dignified location providing more significance and acknowledgement from the cultural establishment. "Cosmic in de Nes was important for the connection with the other theatres in de Nes and with the Theaterschool in the vicinity, a cradle for new upcoming talent" (MC 201b).
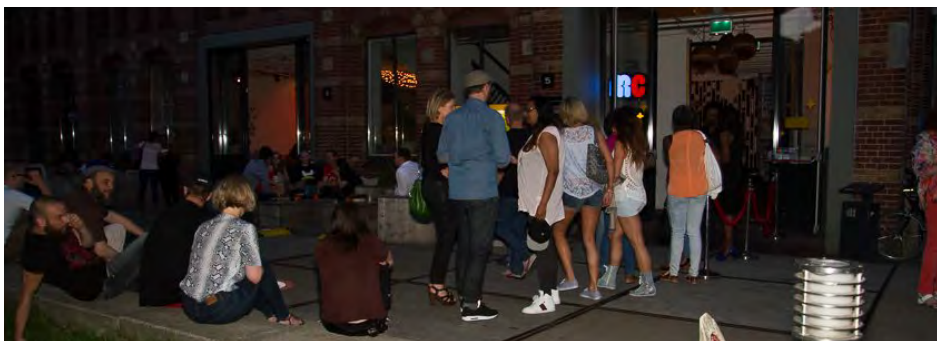
Kick off Da bounce urban film festival (facebookpagina MC © Nancy Tjong 2014)

The final decision for the new location was based on a new artistic profile, an entrepreneurial business model and with the financial support by the alderman of culture. The directors who were responsible for this decision were dismissed before the actual development of the new venue but only after the closing of the agreement with the owner and the municipality. "I knew Liesbeth (note: cultural project leader of Westergasfabriek) and the programmer of Cosmic knew Maya (real estate owner). At that time, this area was coping with soil pollution and not flourishing as it is now. We wanted to ride the wave created by Rick van der Ploegs policy (note: see par. 7.2.1). This opened doors" (MC 2015 c). During the construction process, the costs turned out to be higher than anticipated. This was solved by extra funding from the municipality and a loan by the owner, Westergasfabriek b.v., established to realise cultural programming in the Westergasterrein area. In 2008, problems arose between the architect and MC. This caused a delay in the construction and in the end the work was finished by a new architect, Koldeweij.

MC tori by Jurgen Tjon a Fong (facebookpagina MC ©Dylan Ray Fenix)

MC went bankrupt after four years at the new location. Naturally there are multiple reasons for this, but one argument is that the location was not connected to the home territory of the origin of the makers and target audience. "To us it didn't matter who came with an idea or project as long as it helped to create a good atmosphere between place and audience. This was also the reason why the project leader was against MC. It didn't connect with the residential community" (Gemeente Amsterdam 2015b). The place itself, being part of the larger cultural redevelopment of Westergasfabriek, did not connect to the identity of the venue, and neither did the neighbourhood. "The idea was that by establishing this venue in this hip and booming area, it would get a push upwards and that it would give the area an impulse to become more diverse in its activities and visitors" (MC 2015c). The theatre was supposed to bring more daily liveliness and connectivity to the Westergasfabriek area. In practice MC "felt isolated" (MC 2015a) and from the other side it was experienced as operating "introverted and as a standalone" (WGF 2015a). "They did realise to create an urban place, but they thought too small. They should have been organising large festivals and productions" (MC 2015c). "The artistic program was too prominent, hindering commercial activities" (Westergasfabriek 2014a).

In 2012 MC chose to use the special arrangement offered by the Municipality of Amsterdam as part of the Kunstenplan 2013-2016 to stimulate cultural entrepreneurship: they promised to resign from applying for subsidies in the future in exchange for 2,5 million euros paid at once as a transition fee. However, as it turned out MC was not capable of making the change in spite of severe organisational interventions. At the end of 2014, MC was being declared bankrupt, which seems to have been caused by a combination of economic, artistic and social factors; there were issues with the catering contract, there was a lack of entrepreneurial experience, artistic quality was disputed and there was no connectivity between the target audience group and the neighbourhood. "In the end, the main problem was the lack of time to make it work. The withdrawal of funding by the municipality came too early after the merger" (MC 2015a).

8.7   Muziekgebouw aan 't IJ

Muziekgebouw aan t IJ is situated along the south bank of the Y, known as the cold and windy side. The view over the Y river from the foyer is magnificent. The history of this venue goes back to the end of the seventies. At that time, the Netherlands became more and more renowned for its 'ensemble culture', originally based at the IJsbreker. This location was actually not suitable for music performances. However, the ambience was good and it became the place to be for musicians and composers interested in contemporary classical music. The director of the venue launched the idea to look for a suitable concert hall, in terms of size and acoustics. He initiated the plan for a new venue with 700 seats. There was no concert hall of this size in the city. The director, being a persistent lobbyist, managed to convince some relevant politicians to support this idea. "Director Jan Wolf had friends everywhere" (Gemeente Amsterdam 2014a). Many different locations were considered serious options like the Zuiveringshal at Westergasfabriek (which later became the home of MC) before settling at the Y River. However, from within the sector, the commitment was inconsistent. This was due to the long-time span between the original idea and the final opening, but also because of the lack of cooperation amongst the key stakeholders. Long before the new venue was established, concerts were held at different places like the Tropen theatre and live music venue Paradiso. The Concertgebouw also presented its own series of contemporary music. To be able to compete with the Concertgebouw the acoustics had to be very good. Although Jan Wolf was a musician by origin, he was regarded an "expert on building concert halls by the constructors" (Gemeente Amsterdam2015 d). Right from the start, there were budget problems, also due to the, at the time, overstrained construction market. The complexity of the project and problems with the quays caused further delay. Thanks to the delay, the architect was able, together with Wolff and an acoustic expertise bureau, to further refine the acoustics of the building (Huisman, 1996). The ceiling, walls, chairs and floor are all adaptable.

Muziekgebouw aan 't IJ also houses the Bimhuis and offices of different cultural institutions such as the Holland Festival. Although Bimhuis and Muziekgebouw aan 't IJ share the same building, they operate as two separate venues, with their own entrance, organisation, programme and funding. "In the building, there is no shared feeling" (Splendor 2015a). One year before the opening, the Amsterdamse Kunstraad severely criticised the artistic plan. (AKR 2004). Also, several of the expected tenants could not afford the requested rent. The rent money was needed to cover the exploitation costs of the building. All in all, it was not a smooth start, even though the venue was highly praised for its architectural qualities and won many awards. "Musicians

love to play in the hall, it is great. However back stage it doesn't work. Too overblown, too big" (Asko 2015a).

main concerthall (©facebook Muziekgebouw)

jubilee 10 year (©facebook Muziekgebouw)

The venue is located in a newly developed, non-residential area. There are no other competing venues in the vicinity but one. The venue is accessible through the entrances on the ground floor or via a bridge up in the air. It is exposed to wind, there is activity during the evening or night. Despite the isolated and windy setting, the building is being praised for its acoustics, architecture and the view. The location soon became popular as a place for business receptions, however, its artistic identity was not clearly stated and the audience attendance was low. This was the core objection to the Muziekgebouw since it didn't have a good new artistic programme (Concertgebouw 2015a and AKR 2004). Consequently, the Concertgebouw and the Muziekgebouw aan t IJ became rivals on programme, audience and governmental subsidies, undermining the artistic and economic position of the Concertgebouw (comparing Gemeente O+S 2002; 2005, 2008, 2015). The programme and the financial model of letting the inhouse offices were based on the condition of a good collaboration between the modern music ensembles; however, some ensembles didn't join at all, and others only partly. The director was praised for his persistence, lobbying and for his knowledge on music halls and

acoustics (Gemeente Amsterdam 2015 a and 2015 d). On the other hand, he was criticized for being an 'einzelganger', 'powerplayer' and 'quarrelsome' (Muziekgebouw aan t IJ 2015 b; Asko 2015a; Splendor 2015a, Bimhuis 2015 a and b). "It was the first large cultural institute to move outside the city centre. The ensembles really missed something and should have made an alliance to create a production house" (Holland Festival 2015a). The venue focused on the acoustic qualities and the magnificent view over the Y-river from the foyer. In 2011, the municipality wrote in its Hoofdlijnen nota 2013-2016 that the Muziekgebouw "had not yet developed into the cultural and musical hotspot for Amsterdam, which it should have, taking into consideration the large amounts of municipality investments and subsidies, the 'state of art' possibilities and the exceptional location" (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2011; 21). "One can make a landmark for large audiences, a kind of NEMO with classical improvised music. That takes guts" (Splendor 2015a).

The directly competing venue in terms of programme and discipline is the Concertgebouw, which is is situated in an old classical building with a long history, in the old centre of the city, and is well known for its acoustic qualities. The audience of the classic music scene is used to this atmosphere and feels at home in it. This is in stark contrast with the ultramodern atmosphere of the new building, being judged too cold and chilly (a.o. Bimhuis 2015a). In the course of 2012, the management changed and the mission statement added to the specific qualities of the building an overarching ambition in relation to the dissemination of contemporary music. The current management tries to highlight the specificity of the venue and change the atmosphere of the building by "adding light sculptures and furniture in the foyers" (Muziekgebouw 2015a). The main attempt to attract new audience is to change the direction from being solely a good music hall "to a place to be for all type of new developments in the discipline, targeting a new and younger audience group for whom the ambience is more connecting to their lifestyle" (muziekgebouw.nl/agenda/Series/239/De_keuze_van_Nalden). "To be clear I think the venue is a blessing, however when I came it was inwardly oriented, and it was designed as a traditional 'cultuurtempel'. The venue has a magnificent view as a special asset, and we have to overcome the cold and chilly feeling of the entry" (Muziekgebouw 2015a). In 2015 the municipality decided to list Muziekgebouw aan 't IJ as a venue in the A-bis (Amsterdamse basis infrastructuur), a list of venues defined as "solid hubs in the network of cultural institutions in Amsterdam, nationally as well as internationally". (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2015; 31).

8.8   Pakhuis de Zwijger

Pakhuis de Zwijger was redeveloped as a cultural hotspot. This former warehouse is situated at the same throughway as Muziekgebouw aan t IJ/Bimhuis at the windy south bank of the Y. It was built in 1934 as a warehouse. During the decline of the harbour activities in the seventies, it became unused until musicians and artists squatted the place in the eighties. The municipality offered the squatters the place on the condition that they developed it into a cultural hotspot. The squatters joined forces with the director of the Cultuurfabriek and together they founded Foundation De Zwijger. Meanwhile, a bridge was being constructed, going straight through the Pakhuis, an architectural novelty. This operation, together with the required pile driving led experts to declare the building unsafe and therefore it was decided to demolish it altogether. However, simultaneously, it got listed as a historical building by the Cuypers genootschap.

Front outside
(© facebook Pakhuis de Zwijger)

"It started with a dream, which sprung from Cultuurfabriek and the Over het IJ Festival almost 20 years ago, and became reality in 2006 at the south bank of the Y, at that time a barren wasteland with old warehouses far away from the city centre. A major challenge to start a successful cultural enterprise, to say the least" (Fransen at ten years Pakhuis de Zwijger).

Consequently, a new report on its safety was requested and the building was not demolished, however now the project was confronted with the calculated costs for renovation that were too high for the partners involved. After hiring a new architect, the budget decreased significantly. The reconstruction was finally delivered on time within budget. At the opening in 2006, the building got its cultural tenants, ranging from local television broadcaster Salto and Waag society to Amsterdam Fonds voor de Kunst. Stadsherstel Amsterdam n.v. became owner of the building renting out the building to the tenants,

associated in a separate foundation. (bron: kennisbank herbestemming. nu; July 2015).

Before its redevelopment it was a lively area squatted by a heterogeneous group of artists and musicians, feeling at home in this free zone. However, the new businesses and housing blocks changed the atmosphere of the area. Pakhuis introduced a new programme concept, trying to incorporate the local communities by facilitating projects initiated on a local community level as well as attracting new target audiences. Difference with the other venues is that Pakhuis does not only look for audience per se but rather for participators - as they call it -, audiences that are also part of the processes and projects. "Fransen: 'We make all programs in joint venture with partners, we never work as a stand-alone '. […] Everts: 'An icon in Amsterdam, and if you miss something you can always follow the programme on their website, it is a truly fantastic place to be.'" ((vincenteverts.nl/directeur-egbert-franssen-met-het-verhaal-achter-pakhuis-de-zwijger/jan 2017). The venue therefore is a meeting place as well as a source of ideas, projects and plans. "That convergence of roads under the warehouse is emblematic for De Zwijger. It actually is an intersection, between tradition and modernity. A meeting point between cultures and generations and a crucible of disciplines and thoughts". (fashionscene.nl/jan2017). "This place often radiates because of the involvement and enthusiasm of the audience. Socially relevant projects are invented here, that can be implemented elsewhere. It has a large online community and attracts visitors from local, regional and recently also European communities". However, "even though many local residents visit the venue for a specific programme, it took years before the venue became more of a meeting place for the locals" (Pakhuis de Zwijger 2015a). Significant is the decision of the Amsterdam municipality and AFK not to support the Pakhuis financially from 2017 onwards. The Pakhuis is being praised and esteemed for its activities and recognised for its added value for the city by both. Yet, financial support is being denied by the municipality for lack of financial stability and by AFK for being a successful cultural entrepreneur, not in need for extra financial support by the government.

Main hall (© facebook Pakhuis de Zwijger)
"Again I was invited to Pakhuis de Zwijger in Amsterdam, what a delight! This time at one of the most relevant events on the area of HR, recruitment and digital media"
(buro-bloom.online/jan 2017).

8.9   Podium Mozaïek

Outside (© facebook Podium Mozaïek)

Podium Mozaïek was looking for its own venue and discovered a new purpose was being sought for the Pnielkerk, a former church. In cooperation with the municipality, Podium Mozaïek carried out the whole process, from funding to construction. Extraordinary is the fact that Podium Mozaïek was responsible for two thirds of the total budget, € 2,6 million. Podium Mozaïek acquired 1,2 million in funding from various private and public funds and received 0,5 million from the European Urban 2 agenda. The building also houses a doctor's practice. This increased the costs because of extra measures needed against noise pollution. Another complicating and cost increasing factor was a protest by the Cuypergemeenschap against the original design, with the entrance on the side. However, in the end, the renovation was done within budget. "Within a year Podium Mozaïek could already say to be rather successful. An outstanding achievement" (Kennisbankherbestem-ming.nl; 4 februari 2016).

Podium Mozaïek is regarded as a venue at the right location, enabling social cohesion: "This is the perfect location. This comes from the good spirits. The venue and the way we use it makes it easy to enable new connections and encounters" (Podium Mozaïek 2015a). People from the immediate community easily found their way, the atmosphere matches both the locals as the cultural visitor from the larger surrounding area. The venue attracts young immigrants, low-skilled local residents as well as highly educated people from the further away. Visitors like the small scale and the atmosphere. The catering facility is also relevant in this positive rating. An audience survey showed that the venue is appreciated for the ambiance as well as the specific

location, readily accessible for the local residents. Moreover, it is the only venue of professional quality in the direct neighbourhood. (LpBL, Atlas voor Gemeenten, 2010; 8).

Mapping showing the origin of the visitors of Podium Mozaïek (podiumMozaïek.nl; annual reports).

From the start, it was a success, although it had to battle prejudice about the quality of community art. Unlike the Bijlmer Parktheater, the programming had to start almost from scratch. Theater group Rast was based in Podium Mozaïek from the very beginning. Since a couple of years, Nederlands Blazers Ensemble, a contemporary music brass ensemble, has its base at Podium Mozaïek. Podium Mozaïek is the initiator of many festivals and cultural activities in the neighbourhood, taking place outdoors and indoors at other locations and also is partner of many international festivals. In the 'Kunstenplan' 2017-2020, Bijlmerparktheater as well as Podium Mozaïek, are for the first time recognised as a 'Cultuurhuis' instead of being labelled as a community centre (see also Trienekens 2004; 229). As such, it is designated as an A-bis location and will receive municipality subsidy on a structural basis.

Festival in nearby park programmed and produced by Podium Mozaïek (©facebook Podium Mozaïek)

8.10   Rabozaal

View on the venue seen from Melkweg (©arcam.nl)

Rabozaal sprang from the wish of Toneelgroep Amsterdam (TGA) to have a modern performance space and of the Melkweg wanting to enlarge the audience capacity of their recently in 1995 opened 1000 cap Max hall. TGA had been performing for a while at one of the buildings at the Westergasfabriek before it was renovated. TGA looked at several locations. There was a plan for a large building on the spot of the current Muziekgebouw aan 't IJ/Bimhuis containing a new library, a bus station and many more different functions. This became too complex. In the spring of 1998 the Melkweg director presented a plan to TGA and Stadsschouwburg for the construction of the desired modern theaterspace between the SSBA and the Melkweg, and partly above the latter, so that the capacity of the Melkweg Max hall could be enlarged to 1500. The buildingplan was based on the criteria from TGA, the theaterspace, rehearsal spaces and offices. Both neighbours and the municipality adopted the plan enthusiastically. Now called the Rabozaal, the space is used by TGA, Stadsschouwburg and Melkweg.

Originally, the idea was to have just one new entrance for this new hall. However, the new director of the Stadsschouwburg, who started shortly after the decision for this extension, proposed to create a passage from the old theatre building to the new hall to enable the audience of the Stadsschouwburg to enter via the Stadsschouwburg itself, so that it would experience its special atmosphere. Melkweg also got their own inner route to this venue and uses the separate entrance to the street for their programmes in the Rabozaal. The construction was complicated, because of the location in

the inner city and the lack of workspace on groundlevel, and took a long time. It is a special venue because it is a modern black box theatre with the facilities of both a traditional stage theatre and a music venue.

"It is not simply the black box that the previous direction of Toneelgroep Amsterdam had requested, who detested the old theatre hall, with its proscenium, cherubs and red velvet, so vehemently that for years the entire company retired to an old engine room outside the city centre in voluntary banishment" (NRC 5 juni 2009).

Premiere Husbands and wifes (©facebook TGA)

The new venue did not lead to new programmes nor to any cooperation between the Stadsschouwburg, Melkweg and /or TGA; only once a combined programme was organised around the elections of the American president, and this was a mere coincidence (Rabozaal 2015c). Since both venues have their own indoor entrances, the hall is not experienced as a joint venture, not by the organisations nor by the audience. "It has never been a priority to the stakeholders to make a joint programme" (Rabozaal 2015b). "Cooperation in the cultural sector is mostly restricted to facility matters and does not include content, it's often reactive instead of innovative" (Rabozaal 2015c). Melkweg uses the Rabo venue often for seated concerts to underline the diversity of programming although it is extremely expensive for the Melkweg in usage and the lack of flexibility in availability is in the pop music programme a major disadvantage (Rabozaal 2015a). Therefore, Melkweg uses the Rabo venue only up to 40 days on an average per year. Stadsschouwburg introduced the concept of "expanding theatre and experiments with programming outside the hall, however still in the building, accommodating the audience to meet and walk around." (Rabozaal 2015c).

8.11   Splendor

Outside (©facebook Splendor)

Splendor is located in a historic monument, built in 1920 as a bath house and later on used amongst others as a bicycle workshop and a school in the Amsterdam School architectural style. It started with "a bunch of professional musicians dreaming about a free space to play without the pressure of a programmer or sales department. Back to the basics: what do we want and what do we feel is really important at the moment. And how can we really involve the audience?" (Splendor 2015a). The starting capital was raised by the musicians and, subsequently, other donators and volunteers were involved in the renovating process. In exchange for one bond, one received a private concert by one of the Splendor musicicians, four bonds were good for a quartet. Our starting point was: you help to realise our dream, so what's yours?" (Het Parool 18-8-2015). Finally, the municipality also paid for a part of the renovating costs.

The 50 core musicians invest €1000 and play several times a year for the members. In exchange, the building is theirs - 365 days a year - to create, explore and produce wherever their imagination takes them.
(www.splendor.com*). For just €100 a year, you can go to 50 concerts for free – conceived and presented by one of the 50 Splendor musicians. "Splendor wants to stay away from the influence of cultural policies and governmental institutions, however this is only possible because these musicians earn their income at other places" (Splendor 2015a). "Splendor is an expression of a need for their own identity" (Fonds Podiumkunsten 2015a). In 2015 Splendor won the AFK 'stimuleringsprijs' (incentive award). "Within a short period of time Splendor has developed into a focal point of the musical life in Amsterdam and beyond" (AFK; 2015).

Loft   *Before renovation*

(© photo: splendoramsterdam.com*/ 2014 -foto-Foppe-Schut.jpg)*
(©mtbarchitecten.nl)

 'To users and their guests Splendor feels like coming home." (nrpguldenfeniks.nl, 2014)

8.12   Theater Amsterdam

"Anne leaves the audience numb" (theater nieuws ©artiestennieuws.nl/51492/anne-de-theatervoorstelling-laat-publiek-in-stilte-achter)

In 2012 Imagine Nation took the initiative to build their own theatre. In June 2013, the green light was given for construction, which started in august of that year. The municipality was cooperative in approving licenses and the architect had his office next door, so all in all the whole process could be completed within a short period of time. Although the building has a magnificent position with a spectacular view on the Y river, the location feels at the moment desolate and far out, only surrounded by some private companies. It took two years before the municipality supplied any official signs directing the public towards the theatre.

Theater Amsterdam chose its location almost overnight, and the building process was extremely fast as well. The venue is situated in an area in development, and although a large new housing area is under construction, it will take many years before this area is completed. This also means that there still is no local community in the vicinity of the venue. This did not seem a problem because the target audience was to come from all over the Netherlands and even the world by car or coach. However, the musical received mixed reviews. Especially the review on the front page of the Dutch daily newspaper NRC was devastating. "They might have as well fired a scud missile on the theatre", according to the director (Volkskrant 2015 and

Theater Amsterdam 2015a). Also "a TV news show took the menu of the restaurant to holocaust survivors and asked how they felt about champagne on the menu" (Theater Amsterdam 2015a). The audience did not come in the expected numbers. "We have two major problems: the topic and the fact that it is a theatre play. It is not a musical. People want musicals… Audience research indicates that the show gets a 9 however people don't share it on social media. After the play, you want to be alone. People are leaving immediately and I do understand that: it's a totally different experience" (Theater Amsterdam 2015a). The start became even more difficult because neither the district department, nor city marketing supported the theatre, thus it became isolated both artistically and socially, where it was already isolated geographically. The venue appeared to have no connectivity to the relevant cultural peer group network nor to the local municipality. "The alderman of culture said, 'this is a gift to the city'. Ever since, nobody helped and we are only being tackled by press and power networks. People didn't grant us the position and the subsidised theatres saw us as a threat" (Theater Amsterdam 2015a).

The Anne Frank foundation was not involved with the production. The Anne Frank Fonds Basel was principal as owner of the copy rights of Anne Franks Diary. "We had some difficulties with the commercial setting surrounding the play. It is presented as a convivial evening out, with drinks, dinner packages and hostesses. In our view, this is not appropriate to the history of Anne Frank. "(Annefrank.org; jan 2017). Many international newspapers covered this controversy around the play. The play won in 2014 the national innovation prize. The jury complimented the play for the 'innovative way' Anne is presented. Moreover, they praised the fact that the theatre was especially built for the play. According to the jury the building emanates distinction and hospitality. According to press publications the musical thus far received 300.000 visitors and was performed more than 400 times. To compare; 'Hij gelooft in mij', a musical which ran 2,5 years at DeLamar had more than 700.000 visitors and 'Soldaat van Oranje' attracted in 5 years almost 2 million visitors (sources form various press releases).

stage

(©facebook Theater Amsterdam)

8.13   Tolhuistuin

Main entrance (©facebook Tolhuistuin)
'Pipe-dream Tolhuistuin is finally brought to life' (Parool 2014)

In 1938, Shell bought the premises, closing the area to the general public. In 2005, the new development plan for the northern Y bank was ready and in 2009, as part of this development, Shell moved out completely. The largest building of the whole complex, next to the Overhoeks tower, was the former canteen. This canteen, situated on the waterfront, with a chain of tent shaped roofs was designed by Arthur Staal in the sixties and is now the main venue of the complex. The development of the former Shell premises started with a competition for ideas, held by the local municipality (project bureau Noordwaarts). A cooperation of Chris Keulemans and Paradiso won this competition. The idea was to make it into a cultural attractive 'hotspot, not only for the hip and trendy public mostly living on 'the other' side of the river but also for the original population of the surrounding area of Amsterdam north, since long a relatively poor district of Amsterdam'. They founded the Stichting Tolhuistuin and became operator and programmer of the premises. Stichting Tolhuistuin started in 2007 with the first public programmes in the former gardens, while the reconstruction and renovation of the other building were on their way. The period from start to the opening took considerably longer than anticipated. The venue finally opened in 2014, instead of 2008, because of a lot of problems during the renovation, including the bankruptcy of the contractor. Meanwhile both initiators left. The organisational and juridical structure of the whole complex is rather complicated, which impedes cooperation between the different partners. Originally the idea was that the commercial exploitation enabled the community oriented art programmes. Three main partners, THT restaurant, Paradiso and Stichting Tolhuistuin are

linked together by cooperation agreements. These agreements regulate each share in costs and the planning system. THT restaurant is commercially run. Paradiso attracts large audiences with the pop programme. The programme of Stichting Tolhuistuin is regarded as community oriented and in the latest Kunstenplan the venue is listed as an A-bis location, therefore being secured of municipality subsidy for the years to come. However, it generates less audience and less money in comparison to the other partners. The complicated construction of agreements is the Achilles' heel of Stichting Tolhuistuin. At the same time, it is regarded as a top location, which offers more chances for good and interesting programs (AKR 2016; 147). "The programme is good, however it's not yet a success. They have to dare to invest, they should have an extra programmer" (Tolhuistuin 2015a). "The focus has been on the artistic identity and we achieved a lot, however it isn't visible. The audience experiences firstly the restaurant and secondly the live music venue run by Paradiso and the rest is almost invisible. Yet, we do programme many activities with high public attendance. Partly it is a pr problem, partly an issue of budget; international and community programs demand other types of budgets" (Tolhuistuin 2015b).

Garden (©facebook Tolhuistuin)

8.14   Westergasfabriek

Outside (© *facebook Westergasfabriek*)

The Westergasfabriek and the park measure 14,5 hectares in total. On a map of 1881, it says: "terrain meant for park". Nonetheless, in 1885 the Westergasfabriek was built on these grounds. Later, it partly became a park. In the seventies of the last century, the lack of green in that area of Amsterdam became a point of discussion once more and the development plan was accordingly changed (Stadsdeel Westerpark 1996). "In the history of the neighborhood there was a strong notion to realize a park in the area [….] We started with the idea that almost all buildings would be demolished" (Gemeente Amsterdam 2015b). The grounds were heavily polluted so it took until 2001 before the construction of the park started. "We knew we had to come with a good plan; the concept of the park was dominant and we needed to gain time to give the place meaning" (Gemeente Amsterdam 2015b). "In hindsight, I understood the local municipality was afraid the buildings would be squatted, therefore they looked for temporary cultural usage" (Westergasfabriek 2014a). "Meanwhile the buildings were given a monument status provoking the fury of the friends of the park" (Gemeente Amsterdam 2015b). As a consequence, the buildings had to be redeveloped. Therefore, a competition for ideas was organized, that ended up with two winners. One was a project inspired on the concept of a rhizome allowing multiple independent and connected creative initiatives. Next to this the idea was to find a large cultural venue to attract money and audience. "It was the cliché of that time, we needed a spearhead" (Gemeente Amsterdam 2015b). The ambition of the IJsbreker for a professional contemporary music centre was nominated as the other winner. However, two years later, the Y banks needed also a spearhead and in a crucial phase the Mayor and Aldermen decided to move IJsbreker to the Y oevers. In hindsight, this was a blessing in disguise: Under the pressure of having very limited time the decision was made to change the plan and propose a complete temporary usage instead of partly flexible and partly permanent cultural usage. "To us it didn't matter who came with an idea to develop the spirit of the place and the audience" (Gemeente Amsterdam

2015b). "Again and again we had temporary users as TGA, Cirque du Soleil, Drum Rhythm. It worked very well" (Westergasfabriek 2014a). "You need a program that matches the buildings" (Gemeente Amsterdam 2015c). After the development plan was approved, the municipality started to look for a real estate developer and owner since this was not regarded as a proper business for the State. In 1999, district Westerpark and Meijer Aannemers Bedrijf (MAB) signed a partnership agreement, long-term lease agreement and a new development plan. The district Westerpark was responsible for the park, MAB for the renovations, development and exploitation of the buildings (project-westergasfabriek.nl). The relationship between the two parties was not always easy, especially not when the costs for asbestos removal turned out to be much higher than expected (Gemeente Amsterdam 2015 b, c, Westergasfabriek 2014a, MAB 2015a). "Since we worked closely together respecting each other, the culture and ownership could become connected" (Gemeente Amsterdam 2015c). The contractual agreement was thus that none of the parties could break the contract without doing harm to themselves as well as the other (Gemeente Amsterdam; 2105c and www. Kennisbank herbe stemming.nu/projecten/westergasfabriek-amsterdam). "The project team was a good team; the cultural project leader was a connector and had access to a large cultural network" (Gemeente Amsterdam 2015b). "The good part was that people like the alderman also took care we weren't bothered by others…" (Gemeente Amsterdam 2015c). The successor of the widely praised cultural project leader who had been on the project for almost two decades, is "a networker and he understands money" (Mab 2015a).

"You need patience. Nothing goes quickly. It takes time and you need to create a platform" (Mab 2015a). "In those days, we had time" (Gemeente Amsterdam 2015b). "To start is one thing, but to proceed is something else; you need to persevere" (Westergasfabriek 2014a). "The whole area is being propelled in an upward movement, however this is only interesting in the long run" (Mab 2015a). Westergasfabriek involved a highly active community participation, which was formally regulated, during the whole process of development and restructuring. This participation process caused great consternation from time to time (e.g. with the final plans for the park), but also great commitment. The friends of the Westerpark are still active (vriendenvanhetwesterpark.nl). In 1992, just after the Westergasfabriek was donated to the municipality, the place immediately attracted all kinds of activities. Ranging from a film studio, fashion shows, opera performances and the studio of Toneelgroep Amsterdam to Cirque du Soleil shows and house parties. The space itself and the creative energy attracted creatives and because of the size and the variety in buildings, it was an ideal setting for events and festivals. Nowadays, the area has a history of being the source of many successful cultural events and activities such as Unseen, Picnic and Kunstvlaai.

"The Westergasfabriek is regarded as a model for redevelopment, far beyond the Netherlands' borders" (©facebook westergasfabriek)

SUMMARY AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

SUMMARY

The central question in this study concerns the impact of the dynamics of the network society on the formation of cultural places. The research was initially based on the hypothesis that the increased dominance of economic values in our network society is changing the artistic significance of cultural places. To answer this question the study set out to explore the changing notions on the value of culture during the last decades, showing a shift in relations between both culture and the economy and between culture and society. This shift was related to the development of the network society, as described by Castells (2010), which has an impact on the economic and social aspects of place. With the application of Soja's (1996) analysing method I explored these simultaneous processes of interaction.

Initially, I expected to find relations between for example decision making process and size of the venue, between cost control and principals or between artistic identity and location. However, each new venue appeared to have a specific set of characteristics. At first sight, there seemed to be no relation between size, function and location. Looking more closely several patterns seemed to appear around the concept of location, not so much related to size or function, but to other aspects. Further research revealed the impact of city planning policy on the formation of cultural places. Exploring the concept of location seemed to suggest a differrence between new cultural venues in the city centre and in new urban development areas. The fact that a new cultural venue is part of a new urban space seemed to attract investors, without regard to function or audience. Furthermore, there seemed to be a relation between architectural quality and location. The city development and location of cultural venues over the past centuries show that the former expansions of cultural venues occurred both in the inner city, and at the then outskirts of the city, which have become part of the inner city now. Contemporary expansions follow a similar pattern. From a long-term perspective, cultural venues are part of, ánd contribute to the development of new urban spaces.

The formation process of deciding upon a location differs per venue. Some venues were built at premises of their own choice, whether these were offered by ruling politicians or proposed by the initiator and agreed upon by the district government. Significant is the direct link between city planning policy and cultural organisations in this process. The absence of cultural policy in the decision making and formation phase becomes sometimes clearly visible from the opening onwards. From that moment, the responsibility shifts to cultural policy, resulting in sometimes painful and often insecure situations for new venues, which were constructed with the support

of planning policy but then denied support by cultural policy in the exploitation.

The mapping of the cases shows that the legitimation of a venue is based on different sets of artistic, social and economic representations. Architects seem to work on fixed ideas of cultural venues as public venues being transparent, open and with a dynamic flow. Cultural organisations develop their own ideas and simultaneously follow the themes of cultural policy to enhance the image of creativity combined with financial profitability. They use general concepts as inspiration and reflection to explain the essence of their identity and give it meaning by adding specific aspects related to the discipline, target group or participatory processes. A significant aspect was finding how the different physical presentations were similarly represented in texts, website and policy documents thus creating an illusion of reality, operating as a dominant representation of the cultural field.

The Thirdspace analysis revealed different patterns of connectivity between artists and public on the one hand, and the venue and the community on the other. Little research is done on the connectivity between the home territory of the venues' audiences and artistic identity, and the physical and social context. Sometimes the exact location seems to be more a matter of chance than choice. The location, exact setting and architecture sometimes corresponds with the communal codes of the audience and artists, but not with the local community. New venues in the city centre can rely on the historically tight connection between cultural venues, artists and audience, offering a good programme with a matching ambiance and shared codes of conduct. On the other hand, venues in newly developed areas have to take extra efforts to accommodate the target audience in terms of programme, accessibility and catering facilities. In these cases, the target audience and the local community are not naturally connected. All venues, especially those outside the city centre, reflect on the impact of the architecture to strengthen the cultural identity and realise a feeling of belonging. Iconic architecture is experienced as an added value as well as a barrier.

In advance, I presumed that the dominant reason why a cultural venue was formed would influence the way it was perceived and experienced to such an extent that venues built for economic reasons would be of lesser artistic value. However, the research shows another pattern. There is a close interaction between cultural and economic values in the midst of changing structural conditions. Venues cannot be identified as either cultural or commercial. Even for commercially rooted venues, commerce is not an end in itself. It is a means to maintain a specific cultural value. In this interaction, the social value seems to get out of sight, even in those cases that explicitly mentioned added value to the liveliness and connectivity of the neighbourhood as the aim of the venue both in policy and mission statements.

In the daily practice of cultural organisations different strategies can be identified. Key element here seems to be the balance between artistic identity, economic profitability and societal support. The 'standalone' strategy aims to exploit the venue as a consumption centre. The building itself is presented as the unique selling point and the artistic identity underlines this. There is a constant balancing between artistic identity and economic profitability. The 'extension' strategy is focused on trying to find support for the venue in a larger realm of society by incorporating new activities. These venues expand their activities; make connections between out- and inside worlds, with the audience and with other theatres and/or disciplines. The aim is to reach out to new and larger audiences and generate more income for the venue. The 'satellites' strategy involves moving beyond the walls of the venue, and programming on different locations throughout the city. This programming is an extra activity of the venue and the locations are regarded as satellites. This is prompted by different factors, varying from the need to attract larger and new audiences to the possibility for further experimenting. Finally, those venues where the identity is formulated as a 'hub' require more interaction between artists, audience and venue. In this strategy, the venue develops into a network for all aspects of the creative chain. This type of thinking is in line with thinking in place-making, as the key to creating sustainable, smart, and sociable cities.

The four strategies each seem to relate to spatial hierarchies in a different manner: the standalone and extension strategies organise all activities within their building or premises. The artists and public are expected to come to the specific location because of the programme and the characteristics of the venue, in terms of hospitality, facilities and representation. The standalone strategy specifically has a focus on the traditional separation between presenting and consuming, between artists and audience, and is focused on the safeguarding of the building, while balancing artistic quality and economic profitability. Venues with an extension strategy try to both enlarge and diversify audiences, and to increase earnings. Although in representations, written documents, website texts, etc. this is a successful model, being adapted by more and more venues, in practice this proves to be complicated. The options within a theatre are limited. It has all kinds of rules that are restricting. The satellites and hub strategy both organise activities beyond their own venue, throughout the city. In these strategies reaching out to a larger audience is created by moving outside the venue towards the living world and practices of the target group or the relevant communities. These strategies explicitly focus on organising activities outside their own building. However, venues with a satellites strategy operate as a standalone organisation, with a focus on enlarging the audience and/or earnings, and the extra locations operate as a satellite to the initiating venue. On the other hand, venues with a hub strategy are part of a network, with the

aim of connecting audiences, artists and communities, and reaching out to new audiences and creating new programmes.

The different types of strategies appear to be connected to different types of leadership. In analysing the interviews, I found three key leadership capabilities: identity/professionalism of the director/leader, ability to connect different disciplines/networks, and ability to cooperate. To be convincing a certain air of artistic quality is needed in combination with professional leadership. Any artistic project requires knowledge of the political structures and power networks. Depending on the type of venue entrepreneurial capacities are more relevant. To effectively manage a venue sensitive to societal changes it is important to be able to connect people of different groups and backgrounds, making the connection more important than the connector. Finding a trajectory compatible with the complex combination of the venue with its specific architectural, social and economic characteristics is one of the difficult questions for the management. The capacity of the leader to act as a connector between the different networks of the peer group, power networks, audience groups and makers, turns out to be of essential impact. Depending on the personality and the capacities of the leader, the interaction between audience, community and spatial location is more developed.

Based on the analysis of the cases, it is possible to identify some specific relations between the venue and the cultural, economic, social, spatial and managerial characteristics. This is put in a scheme. The combination of specific properties of place, value, connectivity, strategy and leadership form the basis of this scheme. All venues relate to economic artistic and social values: centre and satellite stages focus more on the balance between artistic and economic properties, whereas network stages are more oriented on the social value, although they do have to deal with economic aspects as well. Standalone venues without connection between artists, audience and venue are likely to be situated in the city centre and require entrepreneurial qualities from the leader. The same type of leader is required for satellite venues extending their activities to other places throughout the city to attract new audiences from other communities. Extension venues can be situated in the city centre as well as in newly developed areas. They need connecting abilities of leadership. Yet, even though there is a connection between artists and audience, as well as between venue and community, these relationships are characterised by one way traffic. Network venues work in a mode of reciprocity and therefore the leader should be able to connect and cooperate as well. However, these typologies should not be read as a fixed structure, but as a tool to identify specific relations between key aspects of new venues.
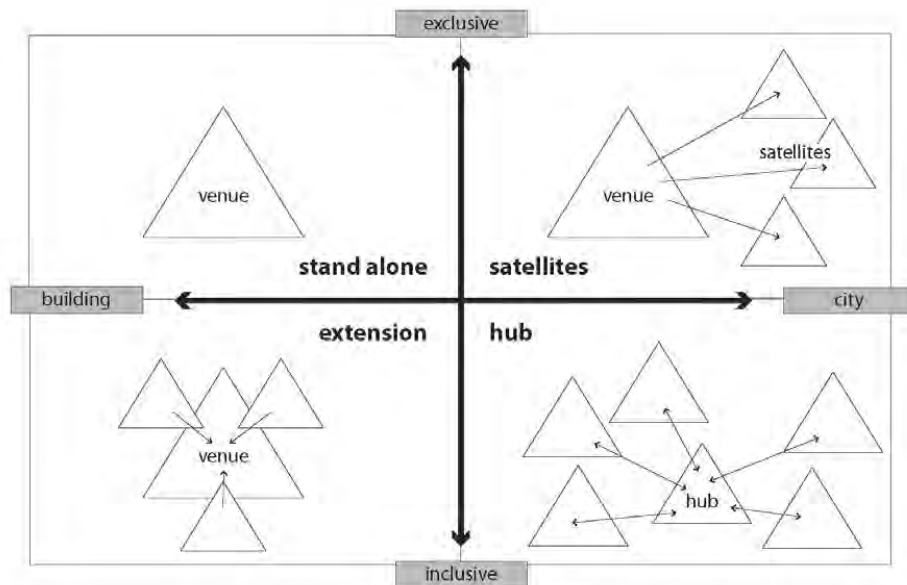
Diagram representing strategic models in relation to spatiality and sociality

The research implies that more attention should be payed to the development of cultural infrastructural development policies. Cultural policy and urban developments should become more closely connected, enabling a more proactive approach recognising the interaction between local communities and artistic activities. Furthermore, it would require acknowledging the participation model wherein the processes ánd the outcomes are pivotal next to the traditional set up of production-distribution-consumption. This would also imply sidestepping the current cultural vertical policy framework wherein the responsibility for buildings and creative groups, for distribution and production, is divided amongst different governmental levels. Instead one could opt for a policy with an integral approach towards the cultural infrastructure, including venues and programmes, stages and artists, and festivals, the latter mostly presenting a practice wherein place, program and audience are tightly connected.

This would also imply a recalibration of cultural policy from either a national or city orientation towards a specific local strategy, recognising differences in local cultural, social and economic needs.

This study leaves many questions for further research. It would be interesting to assess the validity of the structuring typology as proposed in this conclusion, including the impact of the type of leadership. Can generalisations be made from this research, if applied to other settings? What impels organisations to change from one typology to another? A comparative analysis could be done amongst venues in other cities, to achieve a more generative theory on new developments. Another comparative analysis could

be done between new and existing venues in Amsterdam to assess the validity of this typology for all cultural venues, regardless their age. The aim of this research would be to explore empirically the spatial, social and cultural conditions that attribute to the cultural development of cities. These insights could be used to further explore the interaction between planning strategies and cultural policies and maybe find some new leads in helping to overcome the differences in timing and scope of both policy areas.

Nederlandse samenvatting

In het kort

Wat betekent de verdergaande economisering van kunst en cultuur, de meer nadrukkelijke inzet van kunst en cultuur in stedelijke ontwikkeling en de gedifferentieerde maatschappelijke waardering van kunst en cultuur voor de ontwikkeling van cultuurgebouwen? Welke spanningen levert dit op? Welke invloed heeft dat op de verhouding tussen plaats, maker en publiek? Het onderzoek beoogt meer zicht te geven op het krachtenveld waarin kunst en cultuur vandaag de dag moeten functioneren: welke waarden zijn daar concreet bij betrokken en hoe verhouden die zich tot elkaar?

De centrale thematiek wordt ingebed in een breder perspectief van de veranderende verhouding tussen plaats ('space of places') en stroom ('space of flow'), zoals ontleend aan het werk van Manuel Castells. Als methodologische basis wordt het drieledig model van Soja gebruikt, met aandacht voor de fysieke-objectieve ruimte, symbolische-representatieve ruimte en praktische-ervaren ruimte. Dit model maakt het mogelijk om vanuit zowel de plaats- als de netwerk- dynamiek de toegevoegde waarde van kunst en cultuur zichtbaar te maken, niet alleen in relatie tot economische en sociale aspecten, maar juist ook tot de eigenheid als artistieke en culturele waarde. Het veldonderzoek is uitgevoerd rondom een 14-tal gebouwen/projecten in Amsterdam, gerealiseerd in de periode 2000-2015.

De belangrijkste conclusies

- De nieuw/herbouw heeft geleid tot een enorme impuls aan extra culturele activiteiten. Daarnaast leidt het in een aantal gevallen ook tot meer erkenning en waardering voor culturele instellingen als relevante ontwikkelpartij. Er lijkt sprake te zijn van een onderling versterkende wisselwerking tussen economische en artistieke impulsen. Echter: de sociale waarde raakt hierbij onderbelicht.
- De stedelijke planontwikkeling bepaalt de culturele gebouwen infrastructuur in plaats van het cultuurbeleid. Dit komt niet alleen door een andere, langere planningscyclus, maar ook door een fundamenteel andere opstelling ten aanzien van de rol van de overheid op de respectievelijke beleidsterreinen.
- In de praktijk passen nieuwe theaters en musea verschillende ontwikkelstrategieën toe, waarbij er een onderscheid lijkt te zijn tussen gebouwen in de binnenstad en gebouwen in nieuw ontwikkelde gebieden. Ook de leiderschapsstijl maakt een essentieel verschil.
- De onderlinge relaties tussen de gebouwen, de stad en de bewoners/bezoekers/makers zijn samen te vatten in een schema met vier verschillende typologieën van culturele plekken: 'stand alone', 'satellieten', 'extensie' en 'hub'.

Toelichting

Het onderzoek begon vanuit de vooronderstelling dat de steeds verdergaande economisering van kunst en cultuur de ontwikkeling van cultuurgebouwen beïnvloed. Om dit te toetsen zijn de veranderende ideeën in de afgelopen decennia over de waarde van cultuur onderzocht. Dit bracht een verschuiving in de verhoudingen tussen cultuur en economie, én tussen als cultuur en maatschappij aan het licht. Deze verschuiving is gerelateerd aan de ontwikkeling van de netwerkmaatschappij, die gevolgen heeft voor de economische en sociale aspecten van ruimte, zoals beschreven door Castells (2010). Met behulp van de drieledige ruimte theorie van Soja (1996) heb ik deze processen onderzocht.

In eerste instantie verwachtte ik verbanden te vinden tussen het besluitvormingsproces en de grootte van het gebouw, en tussen artistieke identiteit en de locatie. Echter, elk gebouw bleek specifieke kenmerken te hebben en op het eerste gezicht leek er geen verband te zijn tussen grootte, functie en locatie. Wel maakt het onderzoek de impact zichtbaar van het stedelijke ontwikkelingsbeleid op de totstandkoming van culturele gebouwen. De bouw van een cultureel gebouw als onderdeel van een nieuw stedelijke ontwikkelingsgebied lijkt investeerders aan te trekken, ongeacht de functie of het beoogde publiek. Verder lijkt er een verband te zijn tussen locatie en architectonische kwaliteit.

Ook vroeger werden nieuwe culturele gebouwen zowel in het centrum als aan de randen van de stad gebouwd als onderdeel van stedelijke uitbreiding. Die randen zijn inmiddels onderdeel van het centrum geworden. Huidige uitbreidingen volgen een vergelijkbaar patroon. Vanuit een lange termijnperspectief bezien zijn culturele gebouwen onderdeel van de ontwikkeling van nieuwe stedelijke ruimte, en dragen hier ook aan bij.

Het totstandkomingsproces van de keuze voor een locatie verschilt per gebouw. Sommige gebouwen werden op een locatie van eigen keuze gebouwd, soms werd die voorgesteld door bestuurders, soms stelde de initiator een locatie voor en ging vervolgens het betrokken bestuur akkoord. Opvallend in dit proces is de directe relatie tussen stedelijk ontwikkeling beleidsambtenaren, politieke bestuurders en culturele organisaties. De afwezigheid van cultuurbeleid in de besluitvorming en totstandkomingsfase wordt in sommige gevallen duidelijk zichtbaar na de opening. Vanaf dat moment verschuift de verantwoordelijkheid naar het cultuurbeleid, wat voor pijnlijke en onzekere situaties voor nieuwe gebouwen zorgde, die gebouwd werden met steun van stedelijk ontwikkelingsbeleid, maar vervolgens in de exploitatie niet in die mate werden gesteund vanuit het cultuurbeleid, terwijl hier wel op gerekend werd.

Analyse van de afzonderlijke cases laat zien dat de legitimiteit van een gebouw is gebaseerd op verschillende artistieke, sociale en economische representaties. Architecten lijken te werken met vaste ideeën over culturele gebouwen als zijnde transparant, open en dynamisch. Culturele organisaties ontwikkelen hun eigen ideeën en volgen tegelijkertijd de thema's in cultuurbeleid om het gewenste beeld van creativiteit gecombineerd met ondernemerschap te bevestigen. Ze gebruiken algemene concepten als inspiratie en reflectie, om de essentie van hun identiteit te verklaren, en geven hier betekenis aan door specifieke aspecten van de discipline of doelgroep toe te voegen. Opvallend is hoe (soms totaal verschillende) gebouwen en programma's vergelijkbaar worden gepresenteerd in teksten, op de website en in beleidsteksten, die zo een illusie van de werkelijkheid creëren, in lijn met de dominante representatie binnen het culturele veld.

De 'Thirdspace' analyse onthulde verschillende patronen van verbinding tussen kunstenaars en publiek aan de ene kant, en het gebouw en de lokale gemeenschap aan de andere kant. Er is maar weinig onderzoek gedaan naar de verbinding tussen het publiek, de artistieke identiteit, het gebouw en de fysieke en sociale context. Soms lijkt de exacte locatie meer een zaak van toeval dan van keuze. Dus kan het zijn dat de locatie, de precieze setting en de architectuur wel overeenkomen met de gedragscodes van het publiek en de artiesten, maar niet met de lokale gemeenschap. Nieuwe gebouwen in het oude stadscentrum kunnen rekenen op de historische sterke verbinding tussen culturele gebouwen, artiesten en publiek, zolang ze een goed programma aanbieden in een prettige ambiance met gedeelde gedragscodes. Aan de andere kant moeten gebouwen in nieuw ontwikkelde gebieden extra moeite doen om de doelgroep zich thuis te laten voelen, in termen van programma, toegankelijkheid en horecafaciliteiten. In deze gevallen is er niet een vanzelfsprekende verbinding tussen doelgroep en de lokale gemeenschap. Alle culturele organisaties, in het bijzonder die gevestigd zijn in gebouwen buiten het stadscentrum, erkennen de impact van architectuur op de culturele identiteit en op de uitstraling. Iconische architectuur wordt zowel als extra waarde als obstakel gezien.

Op voorhand veronderstelde ik dat gebouwen die zijn gebouwd met economische doeleinden minder toegevoegde artistieke waarde zouden hebben. Echter, mijn onderzoek toont iets anders aan. Er is een nauwe interactie tussen culturele en economische processen. Gebouwen kunnen niet gecategoriseerd worden als ofwel cultureel, ofwel commercieel. Voor commercieel geënte gebouwen is commercie geen doel op zich. Het is een middel om een specifieke culturele waarde te tonen. Hierbij lijkt de sociale waarde te worden vergeten, zelfs in die gevallen waar de toevoeging aan

levendigheid en sociale cohesie in de buurt expliciet wordt benoemd als doelstelling.

In de dagelijkse praktijk van culturele organisaties kan onderscheid gemaakt worden tussen verschillende strategieën. Cruciale elementen zijn balans tussen artistieke identiteit, economische rendabiliteit en maatschappelijk draagvlak. De 'standalone' strategie wordt getypeerd als een gebouw dat wordt bestuurd als een op zichzelf staande organisatie, die als doel heeft succesvol te zijn voor consumptie. Het gebouw zelf wordt gepresenteerd als uniek 'sellingpoint' en de artistieke identiteit is hieraan ondersteunend. Er wordt constant gebalanceerd tussen artistieke identiteit en economische rendabiliteit. De 'extensie' strategie focust op het creëren van draagvlak voor het gebouw in bredere zin, door nieuwe activiteiten te integreren. Deze gebouwen breiden hun activiteiten uit; ze maken connecties met binnen- en buitenwerelden, met het publiek en met andere theaters en/of disciplines. Het doel is om nieuw en meer publiek te bereiken en meer inkomen te genereren. De 'satelliet' strategie houdt in dat een gebouw de activiteiten uitbreidt buiten het eigen gebouw, en op verschillende locaties in de stad gaat programmeren. Dit programmeren is een extra activiteit van het gebouw en de locaties worden gezien als satellieten. Dit komt voort uit verschillende beweegredenen, variërend van de noodzaak om meer en nieuw publiek te bereiken tot de mogelijkheid voor verdere experimenten. Ten slotte zijn er gebouwen waarvan de identiteit geformuleerd is als een 'hub'. Deze strategie vraagt meer interactie tussen kunstenaar, publiek en gebouw. In deze 'hub' strategie ontwikkelt het gebouw zich tot een knooppunt voor alle aspecten van het creatieve proces. Deze manier van denken komt overeen met 'place-making', als de sleutel tot het creëren van duurzame, slimme en sociale steden.

De vier strategieën verhouden zich ieder anders tot ruimtelijke hiërarchieën: de 'standalone' en 'extensie' strategieën organiseren alle activiteiten binnen het eigen gebouw of gebied. De kunstenaars en het publiek worden verwacht naar die specifieke locatie te komen vanwege het programma en de karakteristieken van het gebouw, in termen van gastvrijheid, voorzieningen, locatie en representatie. De 'standalone' strategie legt de nadruk op de traditionele scheiding tussen presenteren en consumeren, tussen kunstenaar en publiek, en is gefocust op het beschermen van het gebouw, terwijl het artistieke kwaliteit en economische rendabiliteit in evenwicht probeert te houden. Gebouwen met een 'extensie' strategie proberen zowel meer en divers publiek aan te trekken, als inkomsten te vergroten. Hoewel dit model in representaties, geschreven documenten, website teksten, etc. succesvol is en door meer en meer gebouwen overgenomen wordt, is het in de praktijk gecompliceerd. De opties binnen een theater zijn begrensd en heeft allerlei soorten beperkende regels en gedragscodes. De 'satelliet' en 'hub' strategie organiseren activiteiten buiten

het eigen gebouw, verspreid over de stad. In deze strategieën wordt een groter publiek bereikt door buiten het eigen gebouw te bewegen, in aansluiting op de gewoontes van de doelgroep en/of relevante buurtgemeenschappen. Gebouwen met een 'satelliet' strategie opereren als op zichzelf staande organisatie, met een focus op het vergroten van publiek en/of inkomsten, en de extra locaties werken als een satelliet van het initiërende gebouw. Daarentegen zijn gebouwen met een 'hub' strategie onderdeel van een netwerk, met als doel het creëren van verbinding tussen publiek, kunstenaars en gemeenschappen, het bereiken van nieuw publiek en het maken van nieuwe programma's.

De verschillende soorten strategieën lijken verbonden met verschillende soorten leiderschap. Bij de analyse van de interviews kwamen drie cruciale leiderschapscompetenties naar voren: de identiteit/professionaliteit van de leider, het vermogen om verbindingen te leggen met andere disciplines/netwerken, en het vermogen om samen te werken. Om overtuigend te zijn, is er een zeker gevoel van artistieke kwaliteit nodig, in combinatie met professioneel leiderschap. Daarnaast is kennis vereist van politieke netwerken en machtsstructuren. Het vinden van een aanpak die past bij de complexe combinatie van het gebouw met specifieke architectonische, sociale en economische karakteristieken is een van de lastige opdrachten voor de leiding. Afhankelijk van de gekozen strategie en de locatie van het gebouw zijn ondernemerscompetenties meer of minder relevant. Om effectief een hub strategie toe te passen, is het belangrijk om mensen uit verschillende achtergronden te kunnen verbinden, en de verbinding belangrijker te maken dan de verbinder. De competentie van de leider om als verbinder op te treden tussen de verschillende netwerken van de peer group, de machtsstructuren, het publiek, en de makers blijkt van essentiële impact te zijn. Afhankelijk van de persoonlijkheid en de capaciteiten van de leider, kan de interactie tussen publiek, gemeenschap en locatie zich verder ontwikkelen.

Gebaseerd op deze analyses, is het mogelijk om specifieke verbanden te identificeren tussen het gebouw, en de culturele, economische, sociale, ruimtelijke en bestuurlijke karakteristieken. Dit is samengevoegd in een schema.
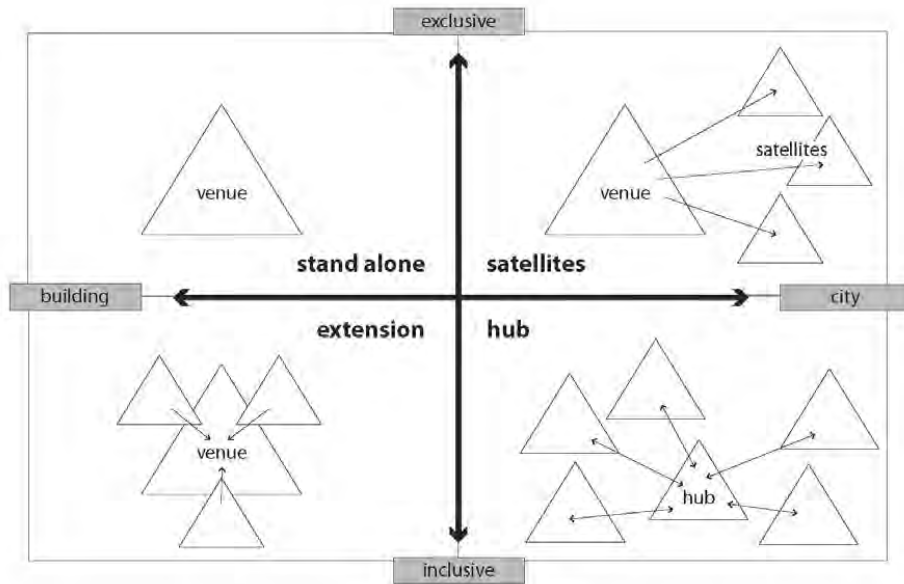
Diagram strategien in relatie tot ruimte en gemeenschap

Alle gebouwen zijn verbonden met economische, artistieke en sociale waarden, waarbij 'standalone' en 'satelliet' podia zich meer focussen op de balans tussen artistieke en economische eigenschappen, terwijl netwerkpodia zich meer op de sociale waarde oriënteren, hoewel deze ook met economische aspecten om moeten gaan. 'Standalone' gebouwen zonder een verbinding tussen kunstenaar, publiek en gebouw bevinden zich meestal in het stadscentrum en vereisen ondernemerscapaciteiten van de leider. Hetzelfde type leider is vereist voor 'satelliet' gebouwen die hun activiteiten uitbreiden naar andere plekken door de stad om nieuw publiek uit met andere achtergronden aan te trekken. 'Extensie' gebouwen bevinden zich zowel in het stadscentrum als in nieuw ontwikkelde gebieden. Deze vereisen verbindende vermogens van het leiderschap. Echter, hoewel er een verbinding is tussen kunstenaars en publiek, en gebouw en gemeenschap, zijn deze connecties eenrichtingsverkeer. 'Hub' gebouwen werken met een methode van wederzijdse uitwisseling, wat betekent dat de leider vaardig moet zijn in samenwerken en verbinden. Echter, deze typologieën moeten niet worden gezien als een vaste structuur, maar als een hulpmiddel om specifieke relaties tussen sleutelaspecten van nieuwe gebouwen te identificeren.

Het onderzoek suggereert dat er meer aandacht gegeven moet worden aan het ontwikkelen van integraal structureel beleid voor de culturele gebouwen infrastructuur. Cultuurbeleid en stedelijke ontwikkeling zou sterker verbonden moeten worden, wat een meer proactieve aanpak in het herkennen van de interactie tussen lokale gemeenschappen en artistieke activiteiten mogelijk zou maken. Bovendien zou er ruimte moeten worden voor gemaakt voor het participatiemodel waarin de processen en uitkomsten centraal staan,

naast het traditionele model van productie-distributie-consumptie. Dit houdt ook in dat het huidige verticale culturele beleidskader waarin de verantwoordelijkheid voor gebouwen en creatieve groepen, distributie en productie, verdeeld is onder verschillende overheidsinstanties moet worden veranderd. Hiervoor in de plaats zou men kunnen kiezen voor een beleid met een integrale aanpak van culturele infrastructuur, met inbegrip van gebouwen en programma's, podia en artiesten, en festivals, waar dat laatste veelal een werkwijze vertegenwoordigt waarin plaats, programma en publiek nauw verbonden zijn. Dit zou een herijking van cultuurbeleid impliceren op nationaal en op regionaal/stedelijk niveau, waarin ruimte ontstaat voor verschillende de lokale culturele, sociale en economische eisen.

Deze studie roept veel vragen op voor verder onderzoek. Het zou interessant zijn om de geldigheid van de structurerende typologie, als voorgesteld in deze conclusie, te testen, inclusief de impact van het type leiderschap. Kan dit onderzoek gegeneraliseerd worden, en toegepast op andere situaties? Wat beweegt een organisatie om van de ene naar de andere typologie te veranderen? Een comparatieve analyse ten opzichte van gebouwen in andere steden zou uitgevoerd kunnen worden, om tot een meer vruchtbare theorie over nieuwe ontwikkelingen te komen. Een andere comparatieve analyse tussen nieuwe en bestaande gebouwen in Amsterdam zou uitgevoerd kunnen worden, om de geldigheid van deze typologie voor alle culturele gebouwen te testen, ongeacht hun leeftijd. Het doel van dit onderzoek is om de ruimtelijke, sociale en culturele condities te herkennen die bijdragen aan de culturele ontwikkeling van steden. Deze inzichten zouden gebruikt kunnen worden om de interactie tussen stedelijke planning en cultuurbeleid verder te onderzoeken en wellicht nieuwe aanwijzingen geven die helpen de verschillen in timing en reikwijdte van deze beleidsterreinen te overstijgen.

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When I was still working in the commercial sector, I cherished a romantic ideal of the world of the theatre. It had always been my dream to someday work in this world. At the turn of the century, this dream came true with my job at the National Opera and Ballet. There, I did find a lot of passion for music, opera and dance. Yet, I missed engagement and collaboration with the world outside. I missed the 'third way', the way of the multicultural context. Very much in the spirit of the times, I wanted to do something meaningful, since watching from the side-line was no longer possible for me after Roel, my life partner of 20 years, passed away. Therefore, it felt only natural to engage in setting up a theatre in the Bijlmer. As the reader knows by now, ZO! wasn't realised at the time. But it did inspire me to start this research, in which I found passion, commitment and creativity.

The time is right for me to finish this thesis, and start new projects and realise new dreams. But not without thanking all those people who encouraged, stimulated, inspired and helped me. It may be that this research started with my job at ZO! Or maybe it started the year before, reading and discussing contemporary philosophers at Academia Vitae. Or before that, while discussing life with Till and Sophie; but then I might as well state that it started when I was a child, at home with my parents and siblings, teachers at school: stimulating curiosity, acquiring knowledge and posing questions. It started to become something more than a fleeting whim, by talking with Eric Corijn. I went regularly to Brussels to listen to him, to ask him more and more questions. He inspired me to read and to 'look awry'. He brought me to Hans Mommaas, with whom I spent many hours, discussing, listening and learning. Later Willem Salet joined us and we became a team. Sometimes we struggled to find the right line of argument, but it always remained constructive. Willem greatly added to structure and clarity. Meanwhile Nina and Piet were always supporting. Piet later on became one of my best interrogators and did the first review on the English language version. And of course, the regular talks with Arthur, always brought new insights and advice. Who else to mention? The colleagues I worked with in the field, who listened to me, talked to me, helped me, including all the people I interviewed. Without them I couldn't have done it. Robin for his help with the first designs of charts and mappings, Frank and Nicole for the editing, Ivo and Janneke for their uncompromising support, Judith for her valuable advice and coaching, especially towards the end. And Fulco, without whom the result wouldn't have been what it is now and without whom I wouldn't be so happy. All of you: I thank you so much!

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Interview questions and topic list

1. What is the impact of the artistic, social and economic aspects on the significance of cultural venues:

   How do the artistic, social and economic aspects of a cultural venue relate to each other?

   - Who decided to build a new venue? Based on which arguments?
   - Is it based on audience research? When/aim/outcome?
   - Is it based on experts' research? When/aim/outcome?
   - Is an artistic identity identified? How/which?
   - Is there a linkage between makers/artists, audience and financial stakeholders? How?

   Which of these artistic, social and economic aspects play a role at the choice of the specific location by respectively makers/artists, audience and municipality/financial stakeholders.

   - Who took the initiative to build? Why?
   - Who chose the location? Based on which criteria?
   - Who chose the architect? Based on which criteria?
   - Has the audience been involved at the choice of location/interior design/use? How?
   - Who made the choice for the artistic identity? How?
   - Who was principal? Were any other partners involved?

   How is the venue/area experienced in practice?

   - Is the investment profitable for the municipality/financial stakeholders?
   - Is the venue profitable from an economic point of view for the cultural manager?
   - Is the venue profitable from an artistic point of view? Why?
   - Is known why audience choose to visit this venue?
   - Is audience participating in the creating of the programme? If so, how?
   - Does it fulfil to the expectations of partners? Why or why not?
   - How is the venue being valued by experts/peer group/critics?
   - Is it a place where groups/makers like to perform, that attracts audiences and financial stakeholders? Why, or why not?
   - Is there any connectivity with the neighbourhood?
   - Is there any connectivity between venue, audience, makers/artists and virtual presence (website/blog/webcam/twitter etc.)?

2. What are signifying aspects?
   - What went badly/different than expected?
   - What aspects led to disappointments?
   - What was an unforeseen result/effect?
   - Can you identify any obstructing or stimulating aspects?
   - Does virtual presence/network have an influence?

3. Can any signifying correlation between those aspects been identified?
   - Is there any necessary correlation of specific conditions?
   - Is there any unwanted correlation/accumulation of specific effects?

4. Is there a signifying mismatch between aspects?
   - Is there any necessary correlation of specific conditions?
   - Is there any unwanted correlation/accumulation of specific effects?

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