3. Political Statements about Culture, Art and Society in the Netherlands: City Government

This chapter examines the policy documents of a selection of Dutch cities. The cities have been selected in such a way that they are spread evenly across the country. This means that at least two cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants (in 2005) have been selected from each region: one city where performing arts companies with a national subsidy are based, and one where there is not the case (with the exception of the western region). It can be expected that cultural policy of cities where nationally sponsored performing arts institutions produce the performances will differ from that of cities where performing arts institutions only visit on tour.

It should be noted that no cities in the province of Friesland have been selected, as this province is the only region in the Netherlands where the nation’s second language is an official language. The cultural policy of cities in Friesland can be expected to be geared more towards expression of the Frisian identity and to language-based art forms. The inclusion of Frisian cities in the research could therefore bias the findings. In the northern region, the exclusion of Friesland leaves only Zwolle as an alternative for a city where no performing arts companies are based, apart from Groningen, which is the largest northern city with performing arts companies.1 In the southern region, Breda has been chosen because the city is a major centre of vocational education in the region. Maastricht has been chosen as a city with performing arts companies. In the eastern region, Apeldoorn and Arnhem are both major centres for vocational education. In the research, Arnhem is the only city with performing arts companies and without a university. However, a university is located nearby, in Arnhem’s ‘twin city’ of Nijmegen. The largest Dutch cities are located in the western region (Rim City, Randstad). Amsterdam has been excluded from the research. The nation’s capital is the cultural capital with an unprecedented cultural scene. This influences the functioning of the performing arts in urban society. The cultural policies of Rotterdam and Utrecht have been researched. Table 3.1 lists the cities included in the research.

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1 Emmen (108,662 inhabitants on 1 January 2005) could have been chosen, but this municipality was formed by adding some of the surrounding rural villages to the municipality in 1992. Emmen therefore cannot be considered as a city of more than 100,000 inhabitants.
Part I: Functioning of the Performing Arts in Dutch Cultural Policy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Performing art companies are based in the city</th>
<th>West (Randstad)</th>
<th>North</th>
<th>‘region’</th>
<th>South</th>
<th>East</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rotterdam (596,407)</td>
<td>Groningen (180,604)</td>
<td>Maastricht (121,456)</td>
<td>Arnhem (141,321)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utrecht (275,258)</td>
<td>Zwolle (111,900)</td>
<td>Breda (168,054)</td>
<td>Apeldoorn (156,064)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Table 3.1 Cities in the research sample

The following sections will discuss the cultural policy documents of the selected cities from 1992 to 2005. Each city has its own ‘rhythm’ in producing cultural policy documents, although a tendency to follow the national four-year cycle is evident. The cities with performing art companies proved to have elaborate cultural policy documents. Therefore a section will be devoted to each of these cities. Zwolle, Breda and Apeldoorn yielded far less material for the present research. Their cultural policies also turned out to be comparable. Therefore one section will be devoted to these three cities. Each section is structured as follows. First, general remarks are made on the role of the city government and urbanity in relation to cultural policy. Then the intrinsic functions as found in the city policy documents will be discussed, followed by subsections on economic functions, city image, the social domain and city development. Each section closes with subsections on issues that are specific to the city, such as Rotterdam Cultural Capital of Europe and the cultural heritage for Maastricht for example. The policy documents will be referred to by the city name and year of publication of the document. The chapter closes with a summary (section 3.7.) which contains some general remarks that can be made on the basis of an analysis of the cultural policy of these cities.

3.1. Rotterdam

Rotterdam is the largest city in the research. It is exceptional in the Netherlands for two reasons: it is the largest harbour of Europe and one of the largest in the world. Its inner city was almost entirely destroyed during the German invasion of 1940. These two issues have coloured the city’s history markedly. The fact that the city is a large harbour lends the city an international orientation. Accordingly, Rotterdam is one of the most ethnically diverse cities in the Netherlands. Cultural policy has been greatly influenced by the post-war reconstruction of the inner city, as most cultural institutions had been destroyed in the bombardment of 1940. In 2001, Rotterdam was Cultural Capital of Europe.

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2 In 2002, 46% of the population of Rotterdam could be classified as immigrant groups (Bik and Stolk, 2002).
Since 1997 Rotterdam has used the same four-year cycle for evaluating and formulating cultural policy as the national government. The policy documents spanning four cycles have been studied (1997 to 2000, 2001 to 2004, and 2005 to 2008). However these documents do not contain detailed legitimization of cultural policy. The document of 1993, *De Kunst en de Stad (The Arts and the City)*, seems to be a common base for all cultural policy documents and has therefore been included in the research. In addition to these city documents, the programme and evaluation of the Cultural Capital of Europe project have been studied. These will be discussed in a separate section.

3.1.1. The Role of City Government

City governments have to certify their role in relation to the private production of culture, usually large scale production of mass culture. This is a recurring theme in various policy documents. The city expresses a concern that the interests of private sponsors differ from those of the government (Rotterdam, 1999, p. 4). Without subsidies, risk-free productions and prestigious events will prevail over regular cultural activities. Therefore city cultural policy is aimed at supporting ‘economically weak’ cultural activities (Rotterdam, 1993, p. 33).

For a flourishing and dynamic cultural climate, great diversity is essential. (...) We feel that Rotterdam gains benefit by an art policy that starts from a multiform cultural scene and a wide spectrum of audiences in the city. To some extent the market is self-regulating in this respect, and furthermore the government has to do its part. (...) In any event, the government has to make sure that the varicoloured aspects of the artistic landscape as well as the autonomy of art are guaranteed. (Rotterdam, 1999, p. 9)

Guaranteeing a diverse supply of cultural activities for different groups in society is a major concern for the municipality. It is not immediately clear what is meant by ‘diversity’. On the one hand, it can be understood as a diverse range of cultural activities in various art forms. The addition of ‘a broad spectrum of target audiences’ indicates that the passage is referring to ‘diversity’ in the sense of an assortment that either appeals to various groups in the city’s society or various specific productions for specific audience groups. Ethnic diversity can also be designated by the term ‘diversity’, as is the case in most cultural policy documents around the turn of the century (see *Cultuur als Confrontatie*, 2000, for example). In this case, however, it seems that ‘diversity’ is being used in a more general sense (encompassing ethnic diversity). In some cases, no government intervention is necessary, for the market can supply the activities needed. The municipality should safeguard the diversity of cultural activities and the autonomy of culture.

A second issue is the international context, which was also a concern in the national documents. The growing interlock of nations and economies influences the position of cities. This is especially important for Rotterdam, with its international connections through its harbour. This offers opportunities to absorb these international influences in the city’s cultural policy and to develop a distinct identity. For this reason, the city’s cultural policy should not only be aimed at realizing a basic supply for everybody, but should also specialize in certain areas in order to play a role in the international cultural field (Rotterdam, 1993, pp. 33-4). Rotterdam has chosen to specialize in festivals, international
activities and the applied arts, e.g., architecture and design (Rotterdam, 1994, p. 4). Cultural institutions should define their role and position in the international intercultural communities that large cities have become. Rotterdam envisages more direct international contact between cities in the cultural field (Rotterdam, 1994, p. 5), perhaps surpassing the national government.

A last general issue is very crucial to the present research: the relationship between the intrinsic functions of art and culture and other policy aims ‘outside’ cultural policy.

Art and cultural products have an intrinsic significance and represent a value in themselves. However, they can also contribute to the aims of other policy areas. In this context, examples are the contribution of the arts to a favourable business establishment climate, the contribution of art education to the socio-cultural training of young people, and the contribution of art to the quality of the spatial environment. It is at this interface of culture and other policy areas that the government and the market could come to terms over the support to art and cultural expressions. (Rotterdam, 1999, p. 10)

What is of interest is that the city policy document juxtaposes intrinsic functions with extrinsic functions. This quote suggests that both can be present at the same time but there is no indication that one is dependent on the other. The quote lists a few areas in which culture and art can have functions: developing a climate for attracting businesses (Table 2.5) and inhabitants to the city, the formation of the youth and the quality of the spatial environment (Table 2.5). Attracting inhabitants to the city is new to this research and should be added to Table 2.5. It is not immediately clear what is meant by ‘forming of youth’. This can be regarded as mental development (Table 2.2), but it can also be regarded as producing for specific audiences (Table 2.4).

In the 1999 policy document, the question is posed as to whether or not cultural institutions should develop specific activities to enrich the wellbeing of senior citizens or (mentally) challenged people by bringing art to care centres and homes for the elderly; perhaps they can also be applied to prevent the nuisance caused by recalcitrant youngsters.

The heart of the problem is whether or not experiencing art represents a social value per se. Wherever this value can make a positive contribution towards realizing aims of other policy areas, e.g., through cultural education and small-scale activities on a decentralized level, the art sector should not ignore questions from that direction, provided addressing them does not result in an adverse effect on the aims of the institutions themselves. In our view, a situation where instruments such as art policy and experiencing art are placed second to other priorities in municipal policies may never arise. (Rotterdam, 1999, p. 12)

This quote suggests that contributing to other than artistic aims (i.e., extrinsic functioning) should be encouraged, although not at the expense of the artistic goals of the cultural institutions. The cultural policy should never be instrumental for other city priorities. In the policy document of 2003, the city government seems to have fewer reservations about an instrumental use of cultural policy:

Nevertheless we are formulating some points of departure for the next four years that we consider vital to the further development of the artistic and cultural sector, for their significance to the city’s cultural climate and its development as regards economic and town planning
aspects, and – last but not least – the realization of the Council’s priorities. (Rotterdam, 2003, p. 2)

However, in this quote, the development of the cultural sector itself still is mentioned as the first priority. Cultural policy is linked to city development, which is an interesting trait in the cultural policy of Rotterdam. Urban development is expressed in terms of economic development, city planning and cultural climate. The quote is not clear, however, about what is meant by this and how the cultural policy can contribute to these various fields. Last but not least, the cultural policy is geared towards the priorities of the new board of the mayor and aldermen. It is noteworthy that, in Rotterdam, the political trend of radicalization with regard to immigrant issues in the Netherlands (which was also referred to in the last chapter) has been very prominent. The leader of the new political party proclaiming these issues, Pim Fortuyn, lived in Rotterdam and his party became the largest party in the city in the 2002 municipal elections. For the first time in the city’s history, the Social Democrats were forced out of office.

3.1.2. Intrinsic Functions

In comparison to the extrinsic functions of art and culture, very few remarks can be found on the intrinsic functions in the policy documents of Rotterdam. It seems that the city legislators regard the intrinsic functioning of art and culture as a given fact. The document of 1993 offers some intrinsic legitimization for cultural policy. The later documents are less ‘philosophical’ in their orientation. A first quote from this document points to the fact that there is vocational value to art and culture.

In these days, of all times, when the growing supply of easily digestible entertainment offers a tempting way of spending one’s leisure time, attention must once again be drawn to art education and the educational value of art and experiencing art. (Rotterdam, 1993, p. 16)

The quote is not clear on what this vocational value of art and aesthetic experience exactly is. However an explanation is offered on the same page:

Art contributes to the ability to make autonomous choices. Anyone who has learned to recognize and handle emotions evoked by art will be better able to live in individual freedom, to think and choose independently, and to arrive at a well-considered opinion. Experiencing or practising art gives meaning to one’s life, offers people something to hold on to in trying times, or simply allows of untroubled enjoyment. (Rotterdam, 1993, p. 16)

Art contributes – by experiencing emotions which are evoked by the art work – to the ability to make independent choices and to develop independent ways of thinking. This appears to be the principal legitimization of cultural policy. The document refers to the concept of ‘positive freedom’ as introduced by Blokland (1990). This is discussed in Chapter 9. The argument is very much the same as what was called ‘mental development of the spectators’ (Table 2.2). However, the argument here stresses the independence of individuals more than the national policy documents do. This quote also mentions the rendering of meaning as a function (rendering significance, Table 2.2) and entertainment or enjoyment. As was seen in

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3 The document of 1996 concludes that is a tradition in Rotterdam for large-scale policy documents describing the goals of the cultural policy to be produced only occasionally (see Rotterdam, 1996, p. 1).

Chapter 2, entertainment is a complex matter because it can mean both diversion and intellectual stimulation. Based upon this quote, a notion can be added to this issue: here, entertainment is contrasted with ‘offering a stronghold in difficult times’. The quote suggests that for some, art offers an escape from the events of everyday life, merely as a diversion, whereas for others it can offer something to hold on to in difficult circumstances (as a backbone). This last function is akin to what was called ‘finding a secure place in the world’ (Table 2.2).

The document of 1993 clearly shows that cultural policy is part of the city development in which the main aim is to bring about a diverse package of facilities in the city of high quality.

It is obvious that in an integral urban development (...) the art sector plays an important role. On the one hand, by providing a supply and a quality befitting a big city, on the other by asking questions and placing emphasis in a critical and contrary fashion, from an independent position, as is typical of art. (Rotterdam, 1993, p. 20)

This quote shows that the concern of the city council is to bring about a package of artistic facilities that is fitting for a city of the size and aspirations of Rotterdam, and to relate to the specific role the arts ought to play in the city. On the one hand, the development of the arts belongs to the development of the city, while, on the other, the arts should be independent of the city’s development and ought to reflect upon the city’s trajectory. This function of art in formulating critique on society was also encountered in the national policy documents (Table 2.4). However, here this function is geared towards formulating critique on city development. A last point can be made on the basis of the 1993 document. It is stated explicitly that the emphasis on city development and the attractiveness of the city to inhabitants, visitors and business enterprises does not mean that there should not be room for renewal and experiment in the arts (Rotterdam, 1993, p. 22). This function was also found in the national documents (Table 2.4, artistic development). The document of 2003 contains some remarks on the intrinsic functions of culture and art as well. The function of making independent choices in life is repeated, and is of special relevance to youngsters.

Young people (...) are the audience of the future and this argument is enough in itself to consider it vital that they are brought into contact with cultural values and traditions, and learn to understand what art can mean. And incidentally, for this group in all its diversity and with its variety of preferences, the same fact is true that art contributes to the ability to make choices independently, stimulates creative thought processes and leads to surprising insights. (Rotterdam, 2003, p. 5)

Note that in this quote no clear distinction is made between ‘cultural values and traditions’ and the functioning of art for youngsters. Stimulating creative thinking processes seems to be a function of art (see also Rotterdam, 2003, p. 3) that has not been encountered before. It is not clear what is meant by this exactly; developing unexpected insights can be categorized as mental development of the spectator (Table 2.2). This suggests that stimulating creative processes is merely a rephrasing of a function which has been encountered previously. It can

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5 It is noteworthy that the document refers to the art sector and not to the cultural sector. However, from the text it can not be deduced whether this is a precise use of terminology or whether ‘the art sector’ was a term interchangeable with ‘the cultural sector’ at that point in time.
also be interpreted as stimulating imagination or fantasy (Table 2.1). Furthermore, the document stresses that it is important that youngsters become acquainted with traditional artistic and cultural practices (and not only with popular culture) because traditional art and culture embody the history and development of the culture of today (Rotterdam, 2003, p. 5). A concern is expressed that youngsters do not identify with culture as it has developed, and will therefore be alienated from society. In More than the Sum (2003), cultural participation was also viewed as a means for personal development in order to stimulate participation in society. The same line of thinking is present in the earlier document of 1999.

A historical consciousness is (…) a prerequisite for a further realization of the development and creation of new ideas on the one hand, and for the recognition that these new developments deserve on the other. (Rotterdam, 1999, p. 8)

This quote is of interest because it reflects the notions found in Pantser of Ruggegraat (1995) on being able to recognize the (cultural) achievements of others (Table 2.3). Also it points out that new insights and ideas can only be developed on the basis of existing views (Table 2.2, developing new insights, and Table 2.4, expressing new ideas and views). The policy document explicitly mentions the cultural heritage of immigrants in Rotterdam (Rotterdam, 1999, p. 8) which should receive due attention, a theme that was also present in the national policy document of 2000, Cultuur als Confrontatie.

3.1.3. Economic Functions

There is a tendency to view art, if not as the motor, then as the fuel for an upturn in city economics (Rotterdam, 1993, p. 31). Economic legitimization for cultural policy is present in almost every document on the city’s cultural policy. In Chapter 2, a categorization of the functioning in the economic domain was made: attract visitors, create a business climate and stimulate a creative climate. These functions are also present in the cultural policy documents of Rotterdam (see e.g. Rotterdam, 2000b, p. 6, and 2003, p. 6). To these functions can be added: attract inhabitants with higher education (Rotterdam, 2003, p.6) and stimulate employment (Rotterdam, 2000c). In the policy documents of Rotterdam, the economic functioning is sometimes specifically related to art institutions but mostly to art and culture in general (see e.g. Rotterdam, 2000c, 2000b, pp. 6-7, and 2003, p. 7). On other occasions, art institutions are mentioned specifically (see e.g. Rotterdam, 1993, p. 18). With the possible exception of the quote from the 1999 document (p. 12), there seems to be no precision involved in the use of either specifically art or culture and art (or cultural institutions or climate). It seems that the functioning of the performing arts in the economic domain is therefore not dependent on the specific artistic qualities of the activities involved. This suggests that the economic functioning of art and culture is related to the diversity of the cultural supply in a city in general. This will be demonstrated below.

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6 In the policy documents of Rotterdam, the word ‘traditioneel’ is used in relation to culture and art. This does not translate as ‘traditional’ exactly, for the term is contrasted with ‘popular’ (and not with ‘modern’). The term refers to cultural and artistic products by the ‘traditional’ and established – usually state-funded – cultural institutions. In this section, the term ‘traditional’ will be used in this institutional meaning.
Attracting visitors and city image

Cultural activities are key in attracting visitors to the city. The growth of the cultural infrastructure in Rotterdam has contributed to the attractiveness for tourism and recreation in the city. What is economically interesting is the direct and indirect expenditure of visitors to the city (Rotterdam, 2000c). It is essential to developing an attractive image for the city. Art and culture are important for this image (ibid.). Developing a city image is a very specific point in the policy documents of Rotterdam.

A flourishing art sector also has a considerable promotional value. A city that cherishes its arts and is proud of them will find that its prestige and allure will rise in other domains as well. (Rotterdam, 1993, p. 20)

One explanation for this importance seems to be the one-sided image of Rotterdam as a ‘working city’ (Rotterdam, 1996, pp. 1-2). Another explanation can be found in the international aspirations of the city. Cultural activities with international appeal are stimulated, such as festivals like The International Film Festival Rotterdam, The Rotterdam Philharmonic Gergiev Festival and Poetry International (Rotterdam, 2003, p. 4). However, gearing the cultural policy exclusively towards international activities tends to leave the city’s ‘own’ public unsatisfied. Therefore most of the budget should be spent on ‘regular’ activities (Rotterdam, 1996, p. 4) and other policy sectors should co-finance cultural activities for their promotional value. The cultural budget should be geared towards ‘intrinsic artistic value’ (ibid., p. 5). What is evident here is that the international image of Rotterdam is related to activities that are explicitly artistic in nature. This is repeated in the document of 2003:

(…) in our view it (…) concerns developments in art that constitute an intrinsic quality; a supply that may not appeal to a broad public, but does contribute – on the basis of its quality – to the artistic climate and Rotterdam’s position on the cultural map of this country and surrounding countries, e.g., an opera festival. (Rotterdam, 2003, p. 9)

This is of specific interest for the present research, as it suggests that the extrinsic functioning of culture and art (generating an attractive image) is dependent on the intrinsic qualities of art.

Business climate

(…) in a time when people and companies feel less tied to their place of residence or business, the attraction of adequate educational facilities, recreational amenities and, indeed, an increasingly good infrastructure of cultural facilities plays a decisive role when determining the location of a business. (Rotterdam, 1993, p. 18)

The policy document of 1993 states the importance of cultural facilities for attracting businesses to the city. The argument is repeated in the ensuing documents (see Rotterdam 2000b, pp. 6-7, and 2000c, for example). The document of 2003 points to the fact that cities are competing more intensely to attract businesses because corporations not only take into account ‘classic’ settlement factors such as mobility but also the cultural climate in a city, especially the performing arts (Rotterdam, 2003, p. 7). The policy document refers to the NYFER report published in 2002 (see Marlet, G.A. and I.M. Tames, 2002). The economic effect of culture here is indirect: by influencing the settlement decisions of corporations, a city can boost its employment and therefore expenditure in the city. As was seen in the
discussion of the national policy documents, the concept of creativity in relation to economics and culture is a more recent trend. However, Rotterdam already mentions this in the document of 1999:

Usually, the pursuit of an innovative climate in the city is central when it comes to the cooperation between the art sector and the economy: how, and to what extent, does the creative sector influence the economic processes in the city, not only as a stimulating factor determining the location of a business, but also as an inducement to innovative thought and production processes? (Rotterdam, 1999, p. 12)

Such creative thinking processes have already been mentioned and identified as intrinsic functions. A more detailed discussion should be held on the mutual relationship of intrinsic and extrinsic functions of the performing arts in the city in the economic domain. This is the topic of Chapter 8.

3.1.4. Social Domain

The issue of ethnic diversity was already prominent in the policy document of Rotterdam in 1993. It is noteworthy that the issue is being presented as part of the city development, in this case the demographic development of the city (Rotterdam, 1993, pp. 28-30, see also Rotterdam, 1999, p. 8). Cultural institutions should react to the growing diversity of the city.

In this context, one starting point in particular is of vital importance: the question should not/not only be answered from the assumption that there is ‘a problem’. The challenge to enrich our own culture with valuable elements from elsewhere should be at least as strong. This cultural integration will, in turn, create the prerequisites of further social integration of immigrants. After all, when people recognize their own cultural background and identity, they will find it easier to accept ‘different’ cultural values, and this will hopefully lead to an increasingly successful integration. (Rotterdam, 1993, pp. 28-30)

Three things are conspicuous in this quote. First, the issue of cultural diversity is formulated in terms of opportunity rather than threat. The enriching effect on the culture as a whole is put forward strongly (as was evident in Investeren in Cultuur, Ministerie WVC, 1992). Second, the issue of ethnic diversity is linked to the integration of newcomers in society. Through recognizing one’s own cultural background and identity, one can accept those of others more easily. This argument is also stated in most national documents (see Table 2.3). Third, it is noteworthy that the quote refers to the ‘cultural’ values of different cultures and not to the ‘artistic’ values. Apparently the assumption is that the artistic qualities are not at stake in the clash between different cultures, or are less relevant. This raises the question as to whether or not the functioning of cultural activities in the social domain is dependent on specific artistic qualities.

In the 1999 document, the problem of non-participation by ethnic groups in the activities of art institutions is linked to the Western orientation of the art institutions. Ethnic minorities experience art in different contexts, such as religion, weddings and feasts, whereas Western art seems to function separately from other social activities. However, according to the document, this difference of opinion on the functioning of art in society is not the most important explanation for non-participation. The most important factor is the difference in income and education between the groups (Rotterdam, 1999, p. 8). This may be true, but
such an assumption stimulates the question as to whether or not ethnic minorities will relate to the general cultural facilities just as easily as non-migrant citizens once they have ‘caught up’ in terms of education and income.

Apart from the issue of ethnic diversity, the policy documents contain more remarks on the relationship between culture and art and social policy issues. The 1999 document mentions that the importance of cultural facilities in boroughs will increase with regard to social-cultural policy because the line between cultural policy and social-cultural policy is blurring (Rotterdam, 1999, p. 14). However, the document offers no indication as to how culture and art can function in the social domain. The 2003 document is more enlightening in this respect:

In the social domain, art and culture can make a contribution towards enhancing the social cohesion in the city and encouraging the integration of communities of different ethnicities (...).
- They can present all possible aspects of the history of the city and its inhabitants, so that the present residents of Rotterdam can become acquainted with their own and each other’s history and culture, and consequently show more mutual understanding and sympathy.
- In the boroughs, they can contribute to an improved cultural climate (...) [and consequently] to integration.
- They can contribute to more lively public space. (Rotterdam, 2003, p. 7)

This quote suggests that the functioning of culture and art in the social domain is indirect. First, the awareness of one’s own history and that of one’s city can lead to mutual understanding. Second, activities in boroughs can lead to integration of different groups when they are geared to the needs and interests of groups in society. Third, the quality of the public space can be improved with culture and art and this can lead to involvement with one’s borough or street. This last form of functioning seems to be linked to the visual arts and architecture. The social goals are reached through identity building (both the city’s identity and the identity of groups), through developing a local (borough) cultural climate and through improving public space. Identity building is linked to cultural heritage in particular. For the present research, investigation must be carried out into whether or not extrinsic functioning in the social domain is dependent on intrinsic functions. The document suggests that functioning in the social domain is dependent on an intrinsic function such as identity building (Table 2.3). The question should also be posed as to whether this type of functioning of culture and art can be linked to individual cultural activities, or are a result of the total cultural infrastructure in a city as a whole. For the present research, it seems that not only different levels of aggregation on the side of the spectators are relevant but also different levels of aggregation on the side of the cultural activities themselves. Some functions can be linked to individual spectators visiting single performances, others are linked to the broader public and the total offer of cultural activities in a city. A last remark can be made about the quote. By using the term ‘art and culture’ (as opposed to art or culture individually) the writers of the policy document avoid the question as to whether or not specific artistic qualities are needed for their functioning in the social domain.
3. City Government

3.1.5. City development

Art policy is urban development policy, and a good art sector is of vital importance to the position of the city. A city such as Rotterdam, which is international in scope, should never fail to emphasize those very dimensions in its art policy. Likewise, it ought to ensure that art institutions can continue to play a role in the establishment policy of the city and that the arts are an essential factor in its social and demographic processes. (Rotterdam, 1999, p. 2) Cultural policy is city development policy (see also Rotterdam, 1993, p. 21, and 1996, pp. 2-3). In most documents on cultural policy in Rotterdam, the cultural policy is linked to the development of the city. This is logical since most cultural facilities in the city were destroyed in the bombardment of 1940. Until 1996, the focus was on the realization of cultural facilities that were lacking in the city. From 1996 onwards, a trend towards consolidation of the existing infrastructure is evident (see Rotterdam, 1996, p. 2). Nevertheless, new facilities have been added to the cultural infrastructure of the city since that date, such as the large theatre Het Nieuwe Luxor, The Dutch Architecture Institute and the National Institute for Photography and Film. The fact that Rotterdam was Cultural Capital of Europe in 2001 is viewed as confirming the cultural achievements of the city (Rotterdam, 1999, p. 17). For the present research, it is important to establish exactly what is meant by city development and the role of culture and art in city development. From the various documents it can be deduced that – apart from economic and social development – the term ‘city development’ also refers to spatial planning and the quality of life or the living climate.

Art develops the quality of life in the city (Rotterdam, 1993, p. 15). The cultural policy documents are not very specific on the way art relates to the quality of life. The most important aspect seems to be that a diversity of cultural and artistic facilities is needed in order to cater to various audiences in the city, (see e.g. Rotterdam, 1993 pp. 15, 22). Ten years later the cultural amenities still are an instrument to attract citizens:

We feel that the level (of facilities) that has been achieved so far should be raised wherever possible in order to make the city even more attractive to its present residents, but more particularly to the groups we seek to tempt to settle here. To achieve this, it is necessary that the art sector should continue to develop (both in terms of quantity and quality) and innovate. (Rotterdam, 2003, p. 8)

The document does not state which specific groups should be attracted to the city. It can be assumed that high-income and highly educated groups are being referred to.

It is not surprising that spatial planning is a recurring theme in city policy documents.

The role of the cultural sector in the processes regarding the city’s layout is twofold: autonomous and consequential. Autonomous, where art develops in an individual and independent manner and thus helps determine the allure of (part of) the city. Consequential, where the attractiveness of the city as a place of residence or business and as a tourist draw is increased in the wake of economic, urban planning and demographic developments. (Rotterdam, 1993, p. 30)

This quote clearly states the autonomous role of the arts sector in the development of the city. The autonomous development of the arts determines the outlook of the city. However,
the development of the arts sector should also follow the economic, spatial planning and demographic development of the city. From this quote it can be deduced that the arts play a role in the appearance of the city. This type of functioning points to the visual arts and architecture and does not seem very relevant for the performing arts. Furthermore cultural facilities such as a library, a centre for cultural activities and courses can influence the attractiveness and quality of life, and should therefore be included in spatial planning strategies in order to develop new boroughs (Rotterdam, 2003, p.8, see also Rotterdam, 1999, p.12). However, one aspect is specific to the performing arts: developing the liveliness of the city during after-office hours. The performing arts influence the amount of people on the streets in the evenings, which also has an economic impact, for the visitors to performing arts venues also visit restaurants, cafés and other outdoor recreational facilities (Rotterdam, 2003, p. 7). But the performing arts can also play a role in the attractiveness of the city during the holiday season. Theatres should adapt their programming in order to offer a recreational supply during the evenings in the summer (ibid.) Theatres should be planned in the centre of city to profit to the maximum from these effects, but also because city centres usually have good transport facilities to bring in public (and income) from outside the city centre itself (Langeveld & Kievits, 2005, p.5).

A last quote from the policy document of 2003 is of interest here:

Since the eighties, Rotterdam has been busy catching up with other Dutch and European cities when it comes to the domain of the arts. (...) This has certainly helped to increase Rotterdam’s attractiveness to young artists and art organizations, but also to enhance the city’s liveliness. (Rotterdam 2003, p. 8)

As encountered before, the role of the cultural sector in city development is linked to the sector as a whole, not to single institutions. This also holds true for the attractiveness and liveliness of a city. However, it also holds true for the attractiveness of a city to young artists and artists’ organizations. This aspect – young artists in the city – seems to be of specific interest for the liveliness of a city. This could be a partial answer to the question regarding the effect of production facilities in a city. It seems logical to hypothesize that the existence of production facilities in a city will attract young artists.

3.1.6. National versus Local Functions of Theatre Institutions

The policy document of Rotterdam of 2000 deals with the functioning of performing arts institutions in relation to national cultural policy. In 2000, three performing arts institutions in the city had received a negative assessment by the national Raad voor Cultuur but were appraised positively by the local advisory board. This led to a dilemma for the local policy makers for they had to decide whether or not to compensate the institutions for the decline in funding. The local policy makers turned to the local function of the institutions which, in their view, should be the basis for deciding whether or not to compensate (Rotterdam, 2000a, p. 3, and Rotterdam, 2000b, p. 4). Local functioning was explicitly elaborated only in the case of the theatre group Bonheur. The company had its own theatre venue in Rotterdam and organized festivals. This it was considered to have a specific function in Rotterdam which warranted the city to compensate the loss of state funding (Rotterdam, 2000a, p. 4). This line
of reasoning is of interest for the present research, as it suggests that resident companies function differently from ‘visiting’ companies, e.g., through exploitation of their own venue.

3.1.7. Rotterdam Cultural Capital of Europe

In 2001, Rotterdam was Cultural Capital of Europe. The dummy which was made for the programme of the event and the evaluation of the event contain remarks that are of interest for the present research. The event can be regarded as part of the cultural ‘renaissance’ of Rotterdam (Van Meggelen, 1999, p. IIc). However, the city council also formulated goals which were aimed at the future development of the city. Culture and art were regarded ‘as means to investigate the problems and possibilities of the development of the city’ (Van Meggelen, 1999, p. IIIb). This reflects the general view on cultural policy as part of the city development – both following the city’s development and criticizing it – as mentioned above. The city council also formulated starting points for the event:

- It should be a festival with activities geared to the city as a whole, thus to a broad, general public as well as to the lovers of art and culture.
- It should imply a structural strengthening of the infrastructure of art and culture in terms of participation, activities and facilities.
- The year should be a contribution to the improvement of the international cultural image of Rotterdam.
- In addition, the year should generate long-term economic spin-off, e.g., in the form of an increase in the number of tourists. (Van Meggelen, 1999, p. IIIe)

These starting points reflect the functioning of culture and arts for city image and the economic functions which have been mentioned above. In the evaluation document, Van Meggelen concludes that Rotterdam Cultural Capital indeed contributed to a more cultural image of Rotterdam, both for the self-image of the inhabitants and for the image that visitors have of the city (Van Meggelen, 2003, p. 478). Developing a city identity is therefore a function of culture and art, to develop an identity for the inhabitants and to develop an image to attract visitors. This should be added to Table 2.5. More importantly, the city council has expressed a concern that the event should cater to large audiences but also to the specialist audiences for cultural and artistic activities. Van Meggelen points to the fact that a heterogeneous city such as Rotterdam should be constantly looking for opportunities for cohesion:

A city that is heterogeneous to the core should ask itself time and again what its chances and opportunities are when it comes to cohesion, what its binding elements are and its centripetal forces, what it is that unites what is diverse. (…) On the one hand, culture articulates what is different, divergent, unusual; on the other, it creates a common space for that difference. Only when it does both does it come into its own. (Van Meggelen, 1999, p. IV c)

In this way, culture can function very specifically in the social domain, by expressing differences but also by offering a ‘free space’ to experience these differences. This quote suggests that the social functioning of art and culture is very much linked to the intrinsic functioning of culture and art as identified in Table 2.3. This is a matter for further research in Chapter 9. Offering a common free space for experiencing differences should be added to Table 2.3 as an elaboration of debate, clash of ideas.
3.2. Utrecht

The city of Utrecht lies at the heart of the Netherlands. The city is the major crossroads for the national railway and has large conference facilities. Although the city itself is relatively small (230,000 population) its centre function means that it caters to an area with more than a million inhabitants (Utrecht, 1995a). Utrecht is the smallest of the large cities in the Rim City (Randstad) but it has been nominated as one of the major growth centres of the country; from 230,000 population in 2002 the city will grow to 330,000 in 2015. Apart from a symphony orchestra, the city has not been a major centre for production in the field of the performing arts. However, down through the years it has hosted festivals of national importance (Festival Oude Muziek, Springdance, Festival aan de Werf, and the Nederlands Filmfestival) which have led to a growth in production facilities (ibid., p. 3). The city’s ambition has been to become a centre for (performing) arts production as well. The Raad voor Cultuur (Culture Council) has described the climate for the performing arts as vital, dynamic and of national importance (Utrecht, 2005, p. 11). In the view of the policy makers, this is fitting for one of the largest cities in the country and a population that comprises many young people, students and highly educated people belonging to the creative class (Utrecht, 2005, p. 2).

Culture works like a magnet, both inside and outside the city borders. (...) Art and culture contribute to the attractive allure and strong economic position of our city, but also to the vitality of districts and neighbourhoods where people live together in a pleasant way. Thanks to the rich cultural scene – and other factors – Utrecht and Amsterdam are the two most attractive cities of the country. We are keen to maintain and strengthen that position and to ensure that it also gains in international prominence. (Utrecht, 2005, p. 2)

This quote seems to suggest that the city council legitimizes the cultural policy extrinsically. However, some remarks on the intrinsic functions of culture and art can be found in the city’s policy documents as well. But the discussion of the city’s cultural policy documents will start with the legitimization based on the recognition that art is part of the city, which is an important trait of the cultural policy of Utrecht.

The cultural policy of the city of Utrecht has been formulated on the basis of documents describing the ambitions of the city and of documents which are an elaboration of those ambitions. The ambition documents of 1995, describing the aspirations for the period 1997-2000, have been included in the research document entitled Cultureel Profiel en Schets van Ambitienniveau van de gemeente Utrecht (Cultural Profile and Sketch of the Cultural Ambitions, 1995a) and KunstACTIEplan 1997-2000 gemeente Utrecht (ArtACTIONplan 1997-2000, City of Utrecht, 1995b). The following document, Van ambitie tot actie (From Ambition towards Action,
3. City Government

1996) comprises the actual subsidy decisions. The next policy cycles for the years 2001-2004 and 2005-2008 started with cultural profiles for the city: Cultureel Profiel gemeente Utrecht (Cultural Profile city of Utrecht, 1999) and Cultuurbeeld 2003 Gemeente Utrecht, (Cultural Profile, 2003a). A policy document was also drafted for both policy cycles. Both have been included in the research (Utrecht, 2000, and Utrecht, 2003b). An ambition document entitled jonge Ruimte, cultuurprofiel midden Nederland (Young Space, cultural profile central region, published in 2003), drafted in co-operation with the provinces of Utrecht and Flevoland and the cities of Amersfoort and Almere, has also been included in the research. This document was the basis for the negotiations with the national government concerning the cultural policy. The last document is Cultuur is Kapitaal, cultuurvisie 2005-2008 (Culture is Capital, visionary document 2005-2008) published in 2005.

3.2.1. Intrinsic Functions
The policy documents contain surprisingly few remarks on the intrinsic functions of culture. It seems that the intrinsic functions of art and culture are treated as a given. However, the latest document of 2005 is titled Culture is Capital. This title not only refers to the economic and social functions of culture and art.

‘Culture is Capital’ also calls forth other associations: of art and culture as essential parts of every person’s life, and as indispensable sources of inspiration for the expression of individual emotions and the development of new insights. (Utrecht, 2005, p. 3)

Art and culture are considered as essential parts of human life. They are a source of inspiration for the expression of emotions and for the development of new insights. These functions refer to the concept of personal experience and personal development (Tables 2.1 and 2.2) and expression of ideas (in this case emotions, Table 2.4). On the one hand, the description here is very general and therefore the quote gives no new insights. On the other, the notion of culture as a source of inspiration is new to this research. Inspiration can be thought of as something that stimulates new insights and therefore can be placed under personal development. This means that this function can be added to Table 2.2, personal development (more precisely under the broadening of the mental scope of spectators). But then the question is why both are formulated in the quote above. It seems that culture as a source of inspiration is broader than the generation of new ideas and insights. Perhaps it can also mean that culture and art generate new feelings and emotions, and therefore the function of inspiration can be placed in Table 2.1, under personal experience. In either case, no new function for the present research has been identified.

3.2.2. Economic Functions
The document of 1999 lists the results from a study executed in 1994 which aimed at describing the economic impact of the arts and culture. The study shows the major effects as a result of direct employment in the arts, the sector is estimated to be equal to the building industry, catering and graphic industry in the city. The additional expenditures of visitors to cultural activities and tourists are also quantified. It is estimated that visitors spend half of the amount of money they spend in the cultural institutions in other facilities in the city. This
leads to considerable indirect employment effects (Utrecht, 1999, p. 22). Therefore, attracting visitors to cultural activities in the city is an important aspect of stimulating the city economy (see also Utrecht 2003, p. 22). The museum sector is very important in attracting visitors. However, the policy makers feel that the appeal of the museum quarter in the city can be enhanced by organizing other cultural activities in the quarter. The performing arts (music in churches and performances on city squares, for instance) are thought to be especially important for this (Utrecht, 1999, p. 16). A study referred to in the policy document of 2000 shows that the expenditures of visitors to dance and musical events are higher than to other events in Utrecht. It is not clear which events have been compared in the study, but once again this shows that, in the Netherlands, even though museums seem to be of greater relevance to attract visitors from outside the city, the performing arts also can be a very effective way to generate turnover in the city (Utrecht, 2000, p. 19). The historic (medieval) inner city is also a strong point in attracting visitors (Utrecht, 2005, p. 4).

Furthermore, the documents of 2000 and 2003 mention the importance of a cultural infrastructure in the city for the settlement decisions of companies (Utrecht, 2000, p. 19, and 2003a, p. 16). The 2003 document refers to a study by Nyfer, performed in Utrecht (Marlet and Tames, 2002). This study was aimed at validating the decision to renovate and enlarge the concert halls of Vredenburg and Tivoli in Utrecht. The study will be discussed in Chapter 8. The most recent document stresses the growing interest in the concept of the ‘creative city’.

A high degree of local cultural activity (is) increasingly important for the economy (...). This is connected with the dynamics of ‘the new economy’ and the development of ‘the electronic culture’. In the context of these developments, a rising demand for creative and knowledge-intensive contributions can be noticed. The cultural sector is expected to make a significant contribution in this respect, also in view of the increasing importance of the image-related value of products and services. (Utrecht, 2000, p. 18)

3.2.3. City Image

City image is a very important aspect of the cultural policy of Utrecht. The most obvious aspect is the ambition to promote the city as a city of art producers (Utrecht, 2000, p. 17). The document of 1999 concludes that

Increasingly, art and culture function as vital elements when it comes to city image, and this makes them more and more important for urban societies. Every city in Europe has a water supply, a waste-disposal service, a network of streets and squares and a bus company; but what makes one city different from another is the conscious creation of opportunities to meet and have a good time, and the presence of people, buildings and activities that add something to the commonplace occurrences of everyday life and work. This increases the importance of cultural expressions and activities that are original and unique. (Utrecht, 1999, p. 5)

Art and culture are means for cities to make a difference, to distinguish themselves from other cities in the international context, because art and culture offer authentic and unique activities. However, one might say that, just as every city has water services, every city has a city theatre and a concert hall. Nevertheless the programme of each theatre or concert hall may differ. Moreover specific festivals can give the city ‘colour’. In the Dutch case, the
performing arts offer little opportunity for distinction because of the touring system of theatre companies. The city’s museums seem to be more prone to distinction. Nevertheless a very distinct signature in theatre company productions can become a source of distinction. The question must be raised as to whether or not such ‘signatures’ are dependant on a city’s (historic) identity. It seems likely that, in a small country such as the Netherlands, this is not the case. City theatres and theatre companies can develop a ‘signature’ in their programming or productions. This need not be linked to the city’s particular history or cultural identity, it may merely be a trademark for the theatre or company. In the international context, performing arts such as music and dance perhaps offer most opportunities for distinction. Dutch orchestras and dance companies frequently tour abroad and can thus promote their city of origin. Text-based forms of performing arts, such as drama, are hindered by the fact that Dutch is not an international language.

Utrecht has an age-old image as a city of festivals. Subsidizing festivals such as *Huis aan de Werf* and *Springdance* is legitimized – among other things – by reference to their value for city promotion (Utrecht, 2000, p. 23). The city wants to promote itself as a cultural city in the international context. The ambition to become cultural Capital of Europe in 2013 is evidence of this (Utrecht, 2003a, p. 17). This is not possible without performing arts production facilities, for without art institutions a city is not urban. The cultural policy should be in accordance with a position as the fourth city of the country (Utrecht, 2000, p. 13, and Utrecht, 2003a, p. 11). This has implications for both the artistic quality and the diversity of the cultural sector.

(...) **artistic quality** and **multiformity** (remain) important starting points (...). Art and culture have their own artistic meaning. Therefore the artistic quality remains an important cornerstone of art policy and constitutes the basic principle when it comes to the spending of funds. In addition, the position of the city of Utrecht as the fourth city of this country makes great demands upon the diversity of the art supply. In our view, multiformity should be regarded as an independent quality of art and cultural policy. Indeed, by presenting multiformity – which, in Utrecht, implies a broad and particularly multi-cultural supply – as a sine qua non, the conditions are formulated for an art and cultural policy that represents a cross-section of contemporary developments and initiatives. (Utrecht, 2000, p. 13; see also Utrecht 1999, p. 12)

The policy document of 2003 states that because Utrecht is the fourth city in the country, a further strengthening of the production climate should have priority (Utrecht, 2003a, p. 11). These notions are relevant to the present research. They suggest that a city can choose to have a ‘full’ cultural ambition, including production facilities, and can cater to diverse audiences. This choice is dependent on city size (and the size of the area around the city to which it also has to offer facilities). A function of the performing arts – specifically production facilities – therefore seems to be to project an ‘urban’ image. This should be added to Table 2.5.

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9 In the case of Frisian theatre companies, of course, the Frisian language can be a source of distinction.
3.2.4. Social Domain

Art and culture are also important as means to enhance social cohesion and reflect and strengthen the individual identity of the local community. Artistic expressions show us where we come from, where we stand and where we are going. In a period when the relationship between the individual and his environment is increasingly standardized and anonymized, it is all the more important for people to come in contact with cultural expressions. Anyone who has to go without this contact will lose a major hold in our society. The significance of culture for encounters and involvement must be seen as being in line with this argument. Not only are cultural facilities the places *par excellence* where people can meet and exchange views, cultural activity also contributes to mutual contact and understanding. This is vital to a city like Utrecht, which is becoming more and more multi-cultural in its nature. (Utrecht, 1999, p. 18, see also Utrecht, 2000, pp. 13-14)

The quote above reflects the function of finding a mentally secure place in the world (Table 2.2). Apart from this, cultural activities are seen as a means for social contact, and cultural activities contribute to mutual understanding (Table 2.3). These are intrinsic functions that have been encountered previously. However, in this quote, they are related to the growing multi-ethnicity of the city. It seems that the intrinsic qualities of culture and art are important goals that belong to the field of social policy. This raises the question concerning the extent to which the extrinsic functioning of culture and art is dependent on the intrinsic qualities.

In the earlier policy documents of Utrecht, the social functioning of culture and art are related to activities in boroughs specifically. The city is striving to realize cultural buildings in the boroughs that will serve as meeting places for amateur and professional artists. These buildings include work and rehearsal spaces for artists (Utrecht, 1995a, p. 5). The document also stresses the importance of professional institutions presenting cultural activities in boroughs. This can broaden their audience base as well as improve the living climate in the borough (Utrecht, 1995b, p. 13).

The policy document of 1999 stresses the importance of cultural education. Cultural education should not be limited to schools. Activities in boroughs can strengthen social cohesion and participation, especially in more deprived areas (Utrecht, 1999, pp. 21-2). This argument is repeated in the 2003 policy document:

> Our society has become heterogeneous and shows a danger of crumbling. Culture and cultural participation are indispensable to effect social cohesion and create a sense of collectivism and togetherness on the basis of the very recognition of differences. Participation – essentially social cohesion – can be stimulated by a target-oriented cultural supply for various groups in society. (Utrecht, 2003b, p. 13)

Society is becoming more and more heterogeneous. Therefore, culture is an increasingly important means to bring about social cohesion. A new sense of community can arise by recognizing the differences between groups. This reflects the concepts listed under social interaction and debate in Table 2.3.

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However, this is uncommon for other parts of the Netherlands.
3.2.5. City Development

Utrecht is one of the fastest growing cities in the Netherlands. It is not surprising that the relationship between cultural policy and spatial planning is prominent in the cultural policy documents, especially those from more recent years.

In metropolitan (...) developments, efforts to effect social cohesion are highly important. In this context art and culture have their own, individual role. Wherever large numbers of new residents, without a local past, come to live and work, culture is an essential and positive binding element. (Utrecht, 2003b, p. 6; see also pp. 17-18).

In Utrecht, completely new districts – comparable in size to smaller Dutch cities – are currently being developed. Culture can be used as a means for social integration of the new inhabitants of the boroughs. They lack a shared history (either with the place of their homes or with each other). The growth of the city should be matched by a growth of breeding places for culture. This is of specific importance in the development of the inner city. Cultural facilities can get crowded out by other city functions, such as space for houses and commercial activities. New facilities and working spaces for young artists are of particular importance to the city. City development should incorporate such spaces (Utrecht, 2003b, pp. 20-1). However, the document offers no new insights into the functioning of the performing arts in this respect.

3.2.6. Added Value of Production Facilities

Because, from 1997 onward, it has been a major ambition to become a centre for cultural production, one could expect that the cultural policy documents of Utrecht will contain clues about what (performing-art) production facilities add to a city. A first quote connects the production infrastructure to the living climate.

The City Council wants Utrecht to be an attractive place to live, work and stay. In this context, art can make a valuable contribution. For this reason, it is important that a variety of art forms is shown in the city; likewise the city should offer opportunities to create art. (Utrecht, 1996, p. 1)

The quote suggests that a city with (professional) production facilities offers a better living climate and working climate. This means that the economic functioning of the arts is linked to production facilities as well as to reception facilities. However, the quote offers no explanation why this is the case.

The policy documents of 1999 and 2000 contain legitimization for the ambition to become a city of producers.

We consider it important that art is actually created in the city itself. This is vital to the continuity and liveliness of the art climate in the city and the development of an individual identity. An individual production climate is equally important with a view to the presence of vocational art education in the city. (Utrecht, 2000, p. 17; see also Utrecht, 1999, pp. 13-14)

This suggests that production facilities strengthen the cultural infrastructure in order to guarantee continuity and dynamics in the cultural climate. But production facilities are also important to develop a distinct identity. It is not clear whether or not the identity of the

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10 The dynamics of the cultural infrastructure is also mentioned in the policy document of 2005 (p. 7).
entire city is being referred to, but this does seem likely. The identity of individual cultural institutions is certainly not being referred to. The production facilities are also linked to the presence of vocational training in the arts. It can be assumed that the municipal government is concerned with the situation of young artists graduating from their art schools, hoping that they can find opportunities for work and development. This is especially true with regard to talented youth theatre makers. Because of the fact that the infrastructure for the production of youth theatre has grown substantially in Utrecht since the 1990s, the development of talent in this area is of specific interest to the city (see Utrecht, 2000, p. 24). The development of young talented performing artists can be added as a task to Table 2.4.

The policy document of 2000 also contains several arguments outside the art world itself in favour of developing the city as a city of producers.

A ‘creative city’ requires the permanent presence of both young and very experienced ‘producers’, individuals who can put their own stamp on the ways a city can be lived in and experienced. (Utrecht, 2000, p. 19)

The assumption seems to be that a city of the importance of Utrecht is not complete without art producers being active in the city. The concept of the creative city also stipulates the presence of art producers, both young and experienced. Once again this suggests that the economic functions of art and culture are dependent on the presence of producers in the city. The producers influence the living climate in the city. However, the policy document is not clear about the nature of the relationship between the presence of production facilities and the economic functioning or living climate. A last legitimization consists of the fact that Utrecht wants to be cultural Capital of Europe in 2013. This type of event is not possible without the presence of art producers in the city (Utrecht, 2000, p. 19). The presence of art producers thus has promotional value for the city, but it seems that the relationship between the presence of performing-art producers in the city and the economic functioning of the performing arts in that city is more complicated. This relationship will be discussed in the second part of this book (Chapter 8).

3.3. Maastricht

Maastricht is the most southern of the Dutch cities in the research. It is situated in the most international environment of the Netherlands, bordering directly on Belgium. Germany and Luxembourg are nearby. The city is the centre of a Euregion which includes centres such as Aachen (Germany), Leuven, Hasselt and Liege (Belgium). Maastricht has one of the nation’s most beautiful historic inner cities but also has a very conservative and traditional image. The city administration has tried to redirect this image towards a modern and international centre for services and trade (Maastricht, 1992, p. 6, and 2001, p. 23). This is a focal point in the city’s cultural policy.

The cultural policy document of the city of Maastricht, which was published in 1992, contains no legitimization of its cultural policy. The focus of the document is to provide a full
supply of professional artistic activities for the city and the (Eu)region. The document refers to an earlier document published in 1988, entitled Gemeentelijk beleid op het terrein van kunst en cultuur; Dank u wel, gewoon applaus is voldoende (Municipal policy for the arts and culture; Thank you, normal applause will suffice), for the legitimization of this policy. This earlier document has therefore been included in the research. Furthermore Cultuurprogramma 1999-2002 (Cultural Programma 1999-2002, published in 1998) and the Cultuurvisie 2002-2010 Onorthodox en Flexible (Vision on Culture 2002-2010, Unorthodox and Flexible, published in 2001) have also been studied.

3.3.1. Role of the City Government
The various policy documents of Maastricht describe the role of the city government in the cultural field. The concern of the city government is twofold. On the one hand, the creation of (semi-)professional high-quality cultural activities should be promoted; on the other, one should ensure that the public can experience this quality (Maastricht, 1988, p. 5). Amateur activities, cultural education and folk culture are viewed as activities with their own merits and as a base for professional artists (Maastricht, 1988, p. 5). The emphasis on folk culture is striking. Maastricht is the only city that mentions folk culture as meriting attention from the government.¹¹

Until 1998 much attention was devoted to realizing the infrastructure for cultural activities, such as the renovation of the concert hall (Theater aan het Vrijthof), the city theatre, a new museum for the visual arts as part of the development of a new city district, and the new library and historic museum (Centre Céramique). From 1998 onward, attention was also paid turned to the activities in these buildings. The intrinsic value of culture, its vocational value and economic value were taken as starting points for cultural policy (Maastricht, 1998 p. 6). Some performing arts production facilities have also been renovated and or added (for the orchestra in Theater aan het Vrijthof, an opera production unit is located in an old church, and a theatre company is located in an old factory next to the Centre Céramique).¹² Improving the production climate is a major goal of the cultural policy, besides enlarging the public for culture (Maastricht, 2001, p. 18). The document of 2001 concludes that the cultural policy of Maastricht has focused on the same issues as other Dutch cities:

¹¹ The term ‘folk culture’ here refers to traditional cultural activities such as folk dancing and traditional music. It does not refer to specific musical genres such as ‘folk music’. Note that since 2008 folk culture has become a focal point in the national cultural policy and cities are being urged through the Actieplan Cultuurbereik to develop policies for folk culture. Folk culture is nowadays defined as ‘the total of cultural expressions that is considered essential for specific groups, referring to tradition, past and national, regional or local identities. Folk culture is a dynamic concept as each generation makes its own choices’ (OCW/IPO/VNG administrative agreements on the topic of the Programme Fund for Cultural Participation, see http://www.minocw.nl/documenten/5716a.pdf, accessed on 24 July 2009). Folk culture is largely to do with immaterial heritage.

¹² Maastricht has known – as a consequence of the theatre academy in the city – an extensive history of small production units set up in the city, such as Het Vervolg (1982-1995), and facilities like the avant-garde production house Huis van Bourgondië. The facilities mentioned above are the city’s large-scale investments in the cultural infrastructure.
apart from the improvement of the production climate and the extension of the cultural range, attention was paid to the reinforcement of cultural identity, the stimulation of participation of (multi-)cultural forms of expression, the increase of the attractiveness of the city for businesses and tourists and the advancement of social cohesion. (Maastricht, 2001, p. 9)

As is evident in the other cities, the cultural policy of Maastricht should contribute to the general development of the city. The cultural climate in the city is an important prerequisite for the vitality of the city (Maastricht, 1998, p. 6). This way of formulating resembles the focus of Rotterdam on cultural policy as an integral part of city development policy. The city development has three dimensions: social development, economic development and physical development (spatial planning) (Maastricht, 2001, p. 10; see also p. 21). One specific point in the document of 2001 is the focus on the changing market circumstances for art and culture, recognizing that it is the role of the government to defend values that will not be realized in the free market (Maastricht, 2001, p. 8). The trends in the market for leisure activities are studied.

In the past ten years, there has been a tremendous expansion in the leisure industry. Television, cinema, newspapers, going out, sports, events, amusement and theme parks, winter, summer and in-between holidays, shopping, individual hobbies and mass(ive) ‘experience’ events (…)

As the majority of these products aims at the same consumer as culture and art do, both sides have to compete heavily to attract the attention of the same target group. Due to its sales techniques and stronger financial position, the leisure industry has gained a considerable advantage over the cultural sector in this competition. (Maastricht, 2001, p. 12)

The cultural sector should develop strategies in order to engage in the intensified battle for the attention of the public without disregarding ‘its natural goals: stimulating quality and experiment, supporting the identity of groups in the population; stimulating participation’ (Maastricht, 2001, p. 13). In the policy maker’s view, this can be done by developing product chains on a temporary basis, by enabling co-operation between cultural institutions and developing networks of culture consumers who seek cultural quality. Furthermore, alliances are necessary with institutions outside the cultural sector itself. As a consequence, the cultural sector can no longer be described in terms of fixed cultural institutions and organizations, the organizational structure of the sector will become more fluent. Artists and public will become increasingly oriented towards interactive processes as opposed to the fixed (and finished) products of artistic activities. Consumers need to be involved in the creation processes themselves (Maastricht, 2001, p. 14). The document at this point can be regarded as an appeal to the subsidized cultural institutions to adopt more flexible strategies. The role of the city government is to safeguard the diversity of cultural activities and to ensure that all inhabitants have access to these activities. This reasoning does not contain specific notions on the functioning of performing arts in society other than the realization that production facilities are specifically capable of engaging in these strategies. Theatre venues and concert halls concern themselves with the fixed end products rather than the creation process, and therefore are at a disadvantage.
3.3.2. Intrinsic Functions

Even though the city council seems to feel no specific urge to legitimize the cultural policy (Maastricht, 2001, p.8) the documents do contain specific remarks on the intrinsic functions of culture and art. An important quote comes from the document of 1998.

The development of artistic and creative skills not only generates qualities that enable man to lead a fulfilling life, but also to relate in a positive and open manner to what is already present within one’s own culture and that of others, including present-day art. Adequate education and guidance in this area can prevent discrimination of other cultures and take away the allegedly snobbish character that surrounds our historical and contemporary cultural heritage. (Maastricht, 1988, p. 9)

This quote suggests that mankind cannot function properly without artistic and creative training. However, it is not made clear why this is the case. The second point is that art and creativity contribute to an open attitude towards other cultures and thus contribute to prevent discrimination. This is akin to the notions found in the national policy documents, especially ‘recognizing the meaning and value of other cultures’ (Table 2.2) and ‘knowledge of one’s own culture is a prerequisite for an open attitude towards others’ (Table 2.3). But it is interesting that these notions are combined with contemporary art. This suggests that the contemporary art world is similar to an unknown culture to large parts of society. The contemporary art world is described as a ‘subculture’ within society, towards which an open attitude is needed. Therefore cultural and creative education is necessary.¹³

The 1998 document also contains a remark on autonomy.

Art and culture are autonomous AND have a social function. Aspects that could be considered here are, for example, the purely aesthetic design: the embellishment of one’s living surroundings, commenting and signalling, the formative element, the recreational and the promotional (aspect). (Maastricht, 1988, p. 10)

Here, both intrinsic and extrinsic functions are mentioned. The intrinsic functions are: formulating critique on society (Table 2.4), an educational value (Table 2.2: personal development), and commenting and signalling. This last function seems to be new to the present research, but it is not elaborated upon. It can be understood that it is referring to art as a means to signal and exemplify developments in society. This seems to be slightly different from formulating critique on society (Table 2.4). It seems that artists can use artistic events to signal certain developments in society to the public. This does not necessarily qualify as formulating critique. They can merely warn the public or try to explain what is happening in their view. But it can also be argued that signalling a development in society is only relevant when one is critical of this trend. Therefore this will not be considered as a separate function of art. Furthermore, art and culture can improve the living environment. This has been encountered before, but it is not clear whether or not the quote is referring solely to the use of the visual arts in city planning and architecture. It can also be argued that

¹³ Note that the term ‘creatieve vorming’ is being used. This term has been replaced by ‘cultural education’ in more recent documents. The change of terms is not without meaning. It reflects the shift in the view on mankind from the seventies (where education and social structures were viewed as hindering the natural creativity of people) towards a view in which artistic quality is predominant (see Chapter 2).
the influence on the social living environment is meant, by means of cultural activities in
boroughs for instance. This will be discussed in the following sections. Recreation is also
mentioned as a function. This was also present in the national documents and will be
discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

Furthermore the 1988 document states:

Art and culture derive their intrinsic value mainly from the importance that is attributed to the
characteristic way in which they give content to our society and the way we experience it. (…)
Art and culture make visible, audible, concrete and emotionally understandable in a way that is
completely different from our usual, cognitive approach, where matters are generally discussed
in mainly economic terms. (Maastricht, 1998, p. 6)

The quote suggests that art and culture influence society and the way we experience society
in a very specific manner. They allow us to express views and feelings (expressing ideas and
views authentically, Table 2.4) in a specific way. In art and culture, communication seems to
be above all on the emotional level, and the idiom used is not economic in its nature. The
specific nature of the aesthetic experience therefore should be researched in more detail. This
is the topic of Chapter 6. The policy document continues by enumerating the resulting
functions which have already been found in the national policy documents: personal
development, rendering meaning (Table 2.2), social interaction, tolerance, social cohesion
and identity (Table 2.3), in this case identity related to geography. What is of interest is the
notion that, because of the specific emotional manner in which culture and art function, they
are able to transcend social, economic and ethnic boundaries.

3.3.3. Economic Functioning
The policy documents of Maastricht devote much attention to the economic legitimization of
cultural policy. One explanation for this may be the fact that it is hard to convince people of
the intrinsic functions of culture and art, and the economic argument seems to be politically
more effective (Maastricht, 1988, enclosure II, p. 7). The policy document of 1988 refers to
research in cities such as New York, Amsterdam and Vienna that demonstrates the economic
impact of the cultural sector. A number of conclusions from a study of the economic impact
of the cultural sector in Amsterdam are mentioned. These conclusions include attracting
tourists and visitors to the city, which was encountered previously as a function of culture
and art in the economic domain; but they also include job creation outside the cultural sector,
the fact that the costs of subsidies are recovered through taxes, and the fact that the amount
of subsidies allocated by the municipal government is doubled by other governmental
bodies (Maastricht, 1988, p. 8). However, referring to studies in other cities of very different
size and international prestige, such as New York, Amsterdam and Vienna, cannot be
qualified as strong legitimization of the cultural policy in Maastricht itself. One can easily
argue that the effects for Maastricht will be of a very different scale than those for these cities.
However, the notion of job creation outside the cultural sector itself is relevant for this
research. The policy document offers several examples from the performing arts, specifically
music.
As pop music relies heavily on technology, it requires substantial investments in instruments, equipment and suitable accommodation. Recently, these investments were calculated to be around HFL 1.75 billion (€ 0.8 billion) per annum. Apart from this, the pop music industry collectively generates an annual turnover of HFL 0.5 billion (€ 0.2 billion) in box office receipts, record sales, royalties, etc. This is not surprising, bearing in mind that an estimated number of 420,000 people (i.e. 70,000 bands) are actively involved in making pop music. (Maastricht, 1988, enclosure II, p. 43)

This line of reasoning is akin to the concept of art worlds as advanced by Becker (1982), in which several circles of ‘supplying’ industries exist around a core of the artists themselves. These can be considered as indirect employment effects. The direct employment effects of culture and art fall in cell B of Table 1, the indirect employment effects can best be placed in cell F.

One further quote from the document of 1998 is of specific interest.

The Municipality of Maastricht bases the assessment of the intrinsic value on cultural infrastructure and cultural heritage, the educational value on cultural education and cultural heritage, and the economic value on cultural events and cultural heritage. (Maastricht, 1998, p. 8)

This quote seems to suggest that the intrinsic qualities of art and culture are not relevant for economic functioning. Only the event-oriented character and the specific historic qualities matter in the economic domain. It is not clear why. More importantly, this quote seems to contradict the document of 1992 which refers to the importance of a high-quality cultural infrastructure for attracting businesses to the city (Maastricht, 1992, p. 11). It is more than likely that ‘high-quality’ is referring to artistic quality and therefore a reference to intrinsic functioning is being made. The question as to whether or not the economic functioning depends on intrinsic qualities is therefore open to discussion.

3.3.4. City Image

The image of the city of Maastricht is a specific point in the documents on cultural policy. The city image is connected to the economic functioning of culture and art.

Apart from the fact that culture has an inherent intrinsic value as well as an educational one, it is also important for the economic development of a city. Here, it should be pointed out that the city’s ‘intangible product’, which is a mixture of history, cultural heritage and living culture, is a major factor in determining the city’s image. (Maastricht, 1998, p. 8)

Although the policy document states that the city administration should preserve and develop the city image and exploit it in economic terms, it is not clear how this can be done. The document states that the cultural institutions and artists located in the city should be promoted as well as the city itself as a cultural centre (Maastricht, 1988, p. 8). One specific aspect of the city image is that the policy makers state that Maastricht has a conservative image which should be remedied (Maastricht, 1992, p. 6)

Attracting businesses to the city

The policy document of 1992 describes the transition from an industrial economy towards a service-oriented one (Maastricht, 1992, p. 10). However, the city lacks a coherent and high-
quality cultural sector which proliferates itself, thus diminishing its image as an economically feasible site for business activities (Maastricht, 1992, p. 11; see also Maastricht, 1998, p. 14). Apparently, the cultural sector is important for attracting businesses, which is an argument often heard in other cities as well. Cultural activities can also be concentrated on places in the city where other developments are not optimal, in order to strengthen urban development (Maastricht, 1998, p. 29).

**Attracting visitors**
In order to attract visitors to the city (both tourists and convention visitors), the city actively promotes events that project a cultural image (ibid., p. 14).

For, apart from the artistic quality of art, there are also other factors to be considered. Art and culture work as a motive for tourists and businesses to visit or settle in a city, which has a direct effect on the local economy. In the past, several local councils have investigated the ‘revenues’ of culture for the city. Beside revenues, culture evidently also generates jobs. Here is an example of the proportions as they are found in Maastricht: the local council subsidizes a number of large-scale promotional events with a sum of € 200,000.00. The events generate a total turnover of around € 11,000,000.00 and provide jobs for 105 people. It need not be argued here that culture is an economic factor to be reckoned with. As this ‘side effect’ is not to be neglected, Maastricht intends to commit itself to it more strongly. (Maastricht, 2001, p. 17)

The economic impact here is regarded as a pure side-effect. Although the quote mentions artistic quality, it clearly does not suggest a link between artistic quality and economic impact.

### 3.3.5. Social Domain

In the policy document of 1988, attention is turned to the use of cultural expressions for the purpose of emancipation (Maastricht, 1998, enclosure II, p. 69). The document clearly regards this as an instrumental use of culture. Its example is the women’s movement which argued for the inclusion of feminist literature in library collections. Clearly this concerns the issue of representation. It is debatable whether emancipation itself is a function of culture or whether emancipation is a result of processes in society (mainly power struggles) and cultural activities only relate indirectly to these processes through their function of representing a minority culture and commenting on society, for instance. This does suggest a link between intrinsic and extrinsic functioning. This issue will be taken up in Chapter 9.

The same page of the document discusses the importance of culture for ethnic minorities. In the policy makers’ view, cultural activities are mostly of importance to preserve ethnically based cultural practices and to strengthen individual communities. This is of specific importance for immigrants who plan to return to their country of origin, but also those who plan to stay in the Netherlands can benefit from strong links to their ethnic community (Maastricht, 1988, enclosure II, p. 69). For this reason, ethnic cultural activities are referred to in welfare policy. This view on the function of cultural activities reflects functions such as mentally finding a secure place in the world (Table 2.2) and strengthening social structures (Table 2.3). The notion of an ethnic identity can be added to the historical identity as mentioned in Table 2.3. However, this is not a truly different concept because an ethnic
identity is built up through the historic trajectory of the specific ethnic group. Furthermore, the document of 1988 stresses the importance of cultural activities for youngsters in order to develop an open attitude towards other cultures (ibid., p. 70), which is also listed in Table 2.2 (recognize the meaning and value of other cultures).

The document of 1998 also relates the social functioning of culture and art to amateur activities.

Many amateurs take great pleasure in performing non-professional art, as shown by the large number of clubs that cater for these activities. This goes to show how art serves as a strong social bonding agent in this particular context. (Maastricht, 1988, p. 12)

It is noteworthy that in this quote, art is specifically referred to. It is not clear why this is done; it seems that the word ‘culture’ could have been used just as easily. Once again this poses the question as to whether the functioning of art and culture in the social domain is related to specific intrinsic qualities or to artistic qualities (see also Maastricht, 1998, p. 25).14

3.3.6. The City as the Centre of the Region

As mentioned above, Maastricht is the centre of a region that comprises parts of Belgium and Germany. At various points in the document of 1988, it is stated that the cultural facilities, especially those for the performing arts, should correspond with this status. Performing arts facilities are also important for the conference facilities in the city, presumably because of the fact that performing arts venues are usually also employed as conference halls. Moreover, the performing arts provide evening activities that can serve as side-programme for conferences (see Maastricht, 1998, enclosure II, p. 21 and 24, enclosure III, p. 7). The presence of institutes for higher vocational training in the arts is also a factor in the centre function of the city. Their presence is also of economic significance, not in the least because they provide jobs for teachers and staff members (Maastricht, 1988, enclosure II, p. 52). The document of 2001 repeats the notion of Maastricht as a centre of the (Eu)region. The cultural policy is oriented towards the (Eu)region and therefore a dynamic cultural infrastructure is needed (Maastricht, 2001, p. 18). However, it is not clear how this relates to the functioning of the performing arts in the city.

3.3.7. Cultural Heritage

Maastricht has a very beautiful historic inner city. In the Netherlands, Maastricht is among the cities with the largest number of monuments. The city image is closely linked to its cultural heritage, which should function as a base for the living, modern culture (Maastricht, 1988, enclosure II, p. 43). The historic inner city is the ‘natural décor’ for cultural events (Maastricht, 1992, p. 16). An important aspect is also that a large number of the original population still lives in Maastricht and therefore the original culture (the folk culture which was mentioned above) is still present and should be taken into account (Maastricht, 2001, 14 Note that in the document of 2001 Maastricht (see e.g. pages 26 and 37) uses the word function to denote what in the previous chapter has been called ‘tasks’. The document distinguishes between
In the policy document of 1998, much attention is paid to the fact that cultural heritage is important for the identity of the inhabitants of Maastricht and their open attitude towards others.

The intrinsic value of cultural heritage has a distinct historical dimension. After all, it establishes to a considerable extent Maastricht’s cultural identity, as it has developed over the centuries. It is crucial that the city’s inhabitants feel that they are part of that heritage. The recognition of the value of one’s own personality being part of a greater cultural community that itself is recognized as valuable stimulates greater understanding of other cultures and greater tolerance toward them. In this respect, it can serve as an instrument to increase social cohesion in the city. Our cultural heritage is preserved by a careful transference in particular. (Maastricht, 1998, p. 11)

This quote reflects the functions of historical identity (Table 2.3; see also Maastricht, 1998, p. 36) and social cohesion (Table 2.3: establishing social structures).

### 3.4. Groningen

Groningen is the largest city in the north of the Netherlands. The city has approximately 180,000 inhabitants and is the youngest city in the Netherlands: a third of its population is aged between 15 and 30. The percentage of single households (58%) is also remarkable. The city’s student population of approximately 38,000 students is a major factor in the explanation of these peculiar demographics (Groningen, 2005, p. 63). The city is the seat of one of the oldest universities in the country, and has a large variety of faculties. Groningen is also the major centre for higher vocational education in the north of the country. Because of the fact that a conservatory of music and art academy are located in the city, a large number of musicians and visual artists make the city’s cultural climate special (Groningen, 2005, p. 111). The facilities for the performing arts in the city have been the focus of considerable debate as a result of the advent of a large-scale musical theatre venue (1600 seats) and renovations to the old city theatre hall (founded in 1883) and concert hall (see Groningen, 2005, p. 72).

As of 1988, the cultural policy in Groningen has been formulated in four-year cycles. The cultural policy documents from 1991, Het Pamflet, cultuurbeleid 1992-1995 (The Pamphlet, cultural policy 1992-1995), 1995, Alles voor de Kunst, cultuurbeleid 1996-1999 (All for the Arts, cultural policy 1996-1999), 2000, De Kunst van Groningen, cultuurbeleid 2000-2003 (The Art of Groningen, cultural policy 2000-2003) and 2005, In het oog in het hart, cultuurbeleid 2005-2008 (In sight, in mind, cultural policy 2005-2008) have been included in the present research, spanning four policy cycles. For each period, a discussion paper was drafted, preceding the actual policy document. These discussion papers have not been included in the research for they have been summarized in the actual policy documents.

production and distribution as specific tasks. As this does not lead to new insights, the issue will not be discussed in detail here.

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15 See also Maastricht, 1998, p. 36.
16 The cycle for the years 2000 to 2003 was extended for one year to include 2004 as well. Since then Groningen uses the same policy cycle as the national government.
3.4.1. The Role of the City Government
The document of 2000 contains a remark on the role of the city government which is of interest here.

What worries us is that, among the public (especially that of subsidized art), people of higher education are overrepresented. This is contrary to our conception of what the role of art should be in society. Art should not only be there for the art temples and the ‘happy few’. Art should be universal: accessible everywhere and to everyone. (Groningen, 2000a, presentation letter)

The quote is remarkable because the functioning of art in society is considered to be related to the diversity of the public of (subsidized) artistic activities. The quote seems to preclude indirect ways of functioning. However, from a policy point of view, it cannot be denied that the diversity of the audiences for artistic events is a determining factor in the functioning of art in society. Therefore a policy aim to reach diverse groups in society seems relevant. The document of 2005 also stresses this point (Groningen, 2005, p. 23), although in this document various functions on personal and societal level are distinguished. These functions will be discussed in the following subsections. By combining both documents one can conclude that art can have different functions for different groups in society.

One example of this can be found in the document of 2000. The document stresses the importance of youth culture, not only based on the recognition that youngsters are seldom present among the public attending subsidised cultural activities but also based on the same analysis of the cultural industries that appeared in the policy document of Maastricht (see Maastricht, 2001).

Among other things, this Culture Memo, (…) accentuates the need to create opportunities for young, new talents, expressly including immigrants. In the last few decades, youth culture has been seized by commerce. The original youngsters’ art forms, such as graffiti, rap and break dance are being increasingly exploited for commercial reasons. (…) Young talent is almost automatically forced to develop in the direction where commerce pulls strongest. That is rather unfortunate, the more so because it is from the youth culture that new developments in art are to be expected. (Groningen, 2000a, presentation letter)

The argument seems to be that youngsters are not able to develop their own ‘authentic’ forms of expression because of the pressure of commercial cultural productions. This is an extension of the argument in the policy document of Maastricht. The government should counterbalance the effects of commercial cultural producers and safeguard the possibility of authentic forms of expression. This is a function of art or culture in society. This function could be categorized in Table 2.4, under expressing ideas and perceptions. However, here the authenticity of the ways of expression is stressed, as was the case in Investeren in Cultuur (1992). This links the function to functions mentioned in Table 2.2 (mental development of the spectators, rendering significance, and in Table 2.3 (social interaction and debate). The link between the functions in these two tables should be described in more detail.

In the policy document of 2005, the policy makers in Groningen return to the developments in the cultural industry. Whereas the document of 2000 limits this analysis to the effects on youth culture, the 2005 document broadens the argument to the public as a whole. The document refers to the study by Van den Broek and De Haan (2000) which predicts that the
arts will become a niche activity for small audiences. This will restrict their functioning in society (Groningen, 2005, p. 13).\textsuperscript{17} The diversity of the repertoire of cultural symbols is under threat (Groningen, 2005, p. 14).

Therefore, art policy is - more than ever - a rectification of the way the market operates. It is the government’s task to create the (pre-)conditions for the development and distribution of a sufficiently diverse range of cultural values, and to safeguard accessibility of those cultural values to all layers in society. (Groningen, 2005, p. 14)

In conclusion, one can say that the documents of Groningen and Maastricht contain the same analysis of developments in the cultural industry and therefore offer new legitimization for the cultural policy of city governments. The document of Groningen elaborates on the functioning of performing arts in society with respect to the expression of ideas and views, by adding the concept of ‘authentic’ ways of expression, though it is not immediately clear what the term exactly means.

A last introductory remark should be made about the policy document of 2005. The following quote is of interest:

In our considerations, priority is given to artistic quality, as we believe that the so-called ‘external effects’ of art - in social and economic respect - can only be realized in the long term, if these cultural activities indeed have a strong content value. (Groningen, 2005, p. 23, italics QLvdH)

The quote suggests that there is a link between the intrinsic and extrinsic functioning of culture and art. This is a question that has been encountered before in the present research. However, the policy makers in Groningen overtly express this link. They believe that in the long run there will be no extrinsic effects without artistic quality. Therefore they base their decisions primarily on the artistic quality. This point will be elaborated below, in the discussion of the various functions present in the policy documents.

3.4.2. Intrinsic Functions

The policy document of 1991 contains only one remark on the intrinsic functions of culture and art.

We see culture as a phenomenon that poses challenges to people, that encourages and stimulates, or sometimes merely entertains or distracts them. Culture can work as a mirror, confronting people with themselves and with all sorts of questions about themselves or others. Culture can bring about debate, it can kick up dust and loosen tongues. (Groningen, 1991a, pp. 6-7)

This quote lists some functions of culture on the individual level: challenging people, stimulating them and diverting them. It is not clear what is meant by challenging exactly. One could argue that this is the same as surprising, impressing or even bewildering spectators (see Table 2.1: personal experience). But one could also argue that the beliefs and opinions of spectators are challenged (see Table 2.2: broadening the mental scope of

\textsuperscript{17} The question should be raised as to whether or not the policy makers present the argument of Van den Broek and De Haan correctly here. Their study contained three scenarios of which they presume that the niche scenario is the most likely, which is not the same as predicting that it will come true.
spectators). The same can be said about stimulating people. Diversion has been encountered as a function before (Table 2.1: entertainment, relaxation). The second sentence of the quote refers to culture as a mirror to confront spectators with questions about themselves and others. This can be understood as broadening the mental scope of spectators (Table 2.2) but it can also be understood as identity and social interaction (Table 2.3) because these questions are not only raised with regard to the spectators’ own position but also in relation to others. The last sentence of this quote refers to the function of debate (Table 2.3). Therefore it seems that this quote does not hold new functions of culture or art. A last remark on this quote should be made, however. It is noteworthy that the word ‘culture’ is used, as opposed to ‘culture and art’ or ‘art’. It is not clear whether the authors are specifically referring to art or to culture in general, or whether this may be an example of haphazard vocabulary.

The later documents contain many more remarks on the intrinsic functions of art. It seems that the city feels a specific need to legitimize the cultural policy intrinsically more than the other cities do. Of course, this is very interesting for the present research. A first quote is from the document of 1995.

People share art and culture, regard them as a means to reach one another, to communicate, to exchange information, to shock or to convey emotion. In this way, art and culture serve as a connection for people, not only amongst themselves but with their social environment as well. However, art is more than just a force that brings people together. Art is the representation of the ideas, the dreams, the fears and the imagination(s) of a society. Art is an intrinsic part of the heritage of collective thoughts of our society. (Groningen, 1995, p. 7)

This quote reflects several concepts that have been encountered before. First, culture and art are a means to express one’s opinions and to share them with others (Table 2.4: expressing ideas and perceptions). Cultural experiences can be moving (Table 2.1: being addressed at emotional level) and can be shocking (Table 2.1: being surprised). Second, culture and art can link people to their social environment (Table 2.3: social interaction). The arts are a more complex matter however. The arts are viewed as the embodiment of ideas, dreams, fears and imagination of society. This can be regarded as expressing ideas and views. However, the quote suggests that this function is not only at the personal level (of the artist) but also at the level of society as a whole. This is a broadening of the concept in Table 2.4. This broader concept is not entirely new to the present research because, when the arts are viewed as the embodiment of the views, hopes and ideas of a society, they can also be viewed as forming part of the cultural heritage of that society. This enables members of society to use aesthetic experiences to relate themselves to society (Table 2.2: finding a secure place in the world mentally, Table 2.3: relating oneself to history and relating oneself to others). This suggests that there is a link between the function in Table 2.4 (expressing ideas and perceptions) and the functions in Table 2.3 (identity and social interaction). This is not surprising because the identity of groups (or members of a group) is not only expressed in terms of specific use of (visual) language or style, but also by the ideas and history the group members share.

The 1995 document addresses the issue of globalization which limits the possibilities of generating a geographically based identity. Art is regarded as a linking force between people
and peoples (Groningen, 1995, p. 8), a function already mentioned in Table 2.3 (relating oneself to others, shared cultural experiences as starting points for interaction with others, open attitude towards others). It is debatable whether specifically the arts have this function or whether culture in general can also be effective. The document of 1995 itself is not clear on this matter as it attributes this type of functioning to art specifically on pages 8 and 21, but to art and culture on pages 9 and 81. The policy document seems to be very inconsistent as to which functions can be attributed to the arts specifically.

Another major theme in the document of 1995 is the question concerning whether or not advisory boards value ethnically based cultural activities differently from the way they evaluate Western cultural activities.

All too often, we notice that art experts and advisory bodies little value the (cultural) activities of immigrants, due to an (allegedly) low artistic content. In itself, this is hardly surprising. Many of the artistic utterances of immigrants are characterized by a non-Western interpretation of the cultural concept. Examples are carnival parades and salsa parties. Although these utterances may not fit in with our commonly accepted conception of art, the participants and visitors actually experience them as such. From our point of view, art policy should rather be in line with this experience than with an abstract and hardly verifiable definition of what should be considered art. Obviously, the utterances mentioned above expressly do fit within our broad conception of the cultural territory. (Groningen, 1995, p. 23, italics QLvdH)

The document suggests broadening the concept of culture that merits attention from the city government. However, the document does not suggest broadening the concept of art. Once again the terms ‘art’ and ‘culture’ are used quite indiscriminately. The quote suggests that the experience of cultural activities such as salsa parties and carnival parades by ethnic groups is artistic in their nature. The document contains no base for this claim but nonetheless a broader concept of culture is being advanced. It is not clear why the concept of art should not be broadened. Suffice it to conclude that, in the document, the city aims to broaden the cultural policy towards new groups and the cultural policy should be linked more to other sectors (see Groningen, 1995, pp. 25, 30). Therefore new cultural activities are eligible for funding by the city government. For the present research it is noteworthy that this does not seem to be based on a thorough analysis of the specific artistic functioning of cultural activities.

In the policy document of 2000, the notion of ethnicity is expanded in the cultural policy by adopting a policy programme which is aimed at developing opportunities for youngsters to develop their own authentic forms of expression. Youth culture is thought to incorporate the culture of ethnically diverse groups of youngsters. This programme (part of the city’s Actieprogramma Cultuurbereik and thus partly sponsored by the national government) has been adopted out of fear that youngsters will be left to the mercy of commercially exploited cultural facilities which will lead to dwindling chances for experimental art forms (Groningen, 2000a, presentation letter). Once again this points to the function of art as a means to express ideas and views (Table 2.4). However, the emphasis on youth culture sheds a slightly different light on this function. It is stated that the authentic art forms of youth culture are at stake. One can conclude that art can be regarded as a means for expressing
authenticity. Therefore art can be a form of expression of one’s (sub)culture and a point of reference (giving meaning to impressions and events in life, Table 2.2, and establishing social structures, Table 2.3). This – once again – leads to the conclusion that the function in Table 2.4 is linked to the functions listed in Tables 2.2 and 2.3.

Apart from the fear of commercial culture, the city has a second reason to support the cultural expression of youngsters, one which is of specific interest to the present research. Nowadays, young immigrants often live between two cultures. On the one hand, they feel akin to their parents’ culture, whereas, on the other, they are also part of the modern culture of Western youngsters. By enabling young artists to develop their talents, we intend to create opportunities to fill in the gap between the two cultures. At the same time, art gives them an opportunity to excel, show their power and skills and, last but not least, express their creativity. We are convinced that this policy, aimed at the potency of immigrant youngsters, will contribute to their emancipation. (Groningen, 2000a, presentation letter)

This quote comprises several interesting points. First, by actively developing new forms of expression the city hopes that youngsters from an ethnically diverse background will be able to fill the void between their ethnic culture and Western culture. This in fact means that developing their own cultural forms can help to find a secure place in the world mentally (Table 2.2). Second, art is an opportunity to develop one’s creativity. This is a new function which has been encountered in other city documents, as in those of Rotterdam and Maastricht for instance. Third, this quote suggests that there is a direct link between the intrinsic functions of art and extrinsic (political) goals such as emancipation. The reasoning seems to be that, by developing the artistic talents of youngsters and giving them opportunities to express themselves, their emancipation (or in more modern terms: integration in society) is stimulated. This at least suggests that there is an indirect link between artistic quality and extrinsic functions. But it also points to the fact that there might be a link between intrinsic and extrinsic functions of art and culture.

A marked difference between the document of 2000 and 1995 is that the linking force of culture and art is presented as a linking force within subcultures, whereas in the preceding document the emphasis was on the ability to link people together between different subcultures. In the document of 2000, transcending the borders between subcultures seems to be regarded as a function of art specifically:

The first association with the word ‘subculture’ is often that of youngsters (skaters, hip-hoppers, or ‘counter-culturist’) or ethnic minorities (Antilleans, Malaccans). But likewise, (…) university scientists or the supporters of FC Groningen are part of a subculture. People within a subculture share the same frame of reference, which gives them a feeling of solidarity.

But the meaning of art goes further than that. Art stimulates people in their aesthetic perception, it stirs emotions and incites people to wonder. Sometimes people are bewildered or even shocked by art. Artistic expression is not restricted by the boundaries of a subculture. Art helps to be critical of one’s own life and that of others. It offers new viewpoints and new forms of

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18 It is remarkable that Western culture is presented as a ‘modern’ culture as opposed to the ethnic culture of the immigrants. One can extensively discuss whether or not ethnic cultures are just as modern as Western culture. This discussion falls outside the scope of the present research.
expression. In this way, art makes a contribution to the development of an open society.
(Groningen, 2000a, p. 9; italics QLvdH)

Due to its capacity to transcend the boundaries of subcultures, art is instrumental in
developing an open society. This notion has been encountered before, in state documents as
well as in documents of other cities. What stands out here is that this function is described as
being specifically artistic. The quote also contains several other functions of culture and art
which have been encountered before: strengthening social structures (Table 2.3), aesthetic
experience (Table 2.1: experiencing beauty, albeit that this section mentions that the function
can also be based on the experience of an aesthetic form which is not necessarily beautiful),
formulating critique on oneself and society (Table 2.4), and learning alternative visions on
reality (Table 2.2). Entertainment is also mentioned as a function (Table 2.1). Entertainment
can stem from experiencing something beautiful. This is a new insight for the present
research. However, entertainment is not linked to specific artistic functioning in this quote.
The main reason for the efforts to include youngsters and ethnic minorities in cultural policy
seems to be the notion that new forms of expression are being developed particularly in
youth subcultures, which are mainly linked to technological developments: computer
graphics, electronic music, sampled music. Art is presented and experienced in new ways,
such as DJ and VJ contests and dance parties (Groningen, 2000a, p. 25). It is debatable
whether or not all the forms described here can automatically be considered as art, as the
policy document suggests.

In the policy document of 2005 the city officials follow the development of the cultural policy
on national level. The extreme emphasis on cultural diversity (evident in both Cultuur als
Confrontatie, Ministerie van OCW, 2000, and De Kunst van Groningen, Groningen, 2000) has
been abandoned. The cultural policy is legitimized on the basis of the meaning of art for
individuals and groups in society (Groningen, 2005, p. 21).

The intrinsic value of art is largely determined by the role it can play in people’s lives. Art can
teach people to look at reality in a way that differs from what they are accustomed to, and
therefore lead to new perceptions. Art has an impact on an individual, emotional level. Thus,
people can get carried away by a work of art, be enchanted by a painting, or get goosepimples
from an artistic performance. No matter how confronting art expressions may be, they may lead
to new insights and experiences. (Groningen, 2005, pp. 21-2)

This quote contains some intrinsic functions that are attributed specifically to art. Art is a
means to alter the way we look at things (Table 2.2) and accordingly develop new insights.
This last remark is a broadening of the concept in Table 2.2. However, developing new
insights through experiencing new ways of looking at reality can still be summarized as
‘broadening the mental scope of spectators’, which is the heading in Table 2.2. The quote also
mentions that art functions on the personal emotional level. This is in agreement with the
fact that Table 2 starts with personal experience. The quote refers to examples of the
experience as elevating and enchanting or stimulating and shocking. These were also
formulated in Cultuur als Confrontatie (Ministerie van OCW, 2000). Experiencing art works
can lead to new insights and the processing of earlier experiences in life. This last function
has been listed in Table 2.2 as giving meaning to impressions and events in life. The quote here, however, suggests that this can be somewhat therapeutically.

The document of 2005 also discerns intrinsic functioning at collective level.

Art is a reflection of social phenomena, communicating on a rational level as well as an emotional one. It communicates surprising opinions on individuals and society, it brings the status quo up for discussion, and it can put the finger on the sore spot. It is unsettling, it removes the unambiguity of life and questions commonly accepted norms and values. In this way, art can contribute to social change. (Groningen, 2005, p. 22)

Art here is seen as a way to formulate critique on society. This function has been listed in Table 2.4. The document suggests that this function is not always recognized by the audience. This suggests that performances can fail artistically (in this respect). However, the quote also suggests that this function can operate unconsciously from the perspective of the audience: communication occurs on a cognitive and on an emotional level. The quote links this function to functions mentioned in Tables 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3 (experiencing new visions on reality and being addressed at emotional level: art can make one feel ill at ease). The quote confuses by stating that ‘art relieves the unambiguousness of existence’. It is assumed that, with this phrasing, the writers of the document refer to functions mentioned in Table 2.2 as rendering significance. As was mentioned above, the document of 2005 devotes little attention to the connecting power of culture and art in society. However, the advisory boards of the city have pointed to the connecting role artists can play in society (Groningen, 2005, p. 24). A last remark should be made about this document with regard to its notion that aesthetic experiences of children are determining factors in their emotional, social and artistic development (Groningen, 2005, p. 105). However, the document offers no clues as to how aesthetic experiences are instrumental in the development of children. Therefore the document confirms the function of personal development as mentioned in Table 2.2.

3.4.3. Economic Functions

All policy documents of the city of Groningen mention the economic functioning of the cultural sector. They refer to indirect expenditure by visitors to cultural events, such instance hotel reservations for instance. CD stores report increased sales of artists that have performed in the city (Groningen, 1995, p. 29). Visitors to the Groninger Museum spend millions in the city’s shops and visitors to the Noorderslag/Eurosonic festival spend some 1.5 million euros during one weekend in January (Groningen, 2005, p. 22). In 1997 the University of Groningen conducted research that showed a growth in expenditure of 30% in the cultural sector between 1987 and 1997. Public interest in cultural activities grew by 47%. The researchers conclude that the cultural sector is of growing importance for the city’s economy (see Julien, Ohlsen and De Vries, 1997). Cultural institutions should therefore contribute to stimulating tourism (Groningen, 2005, p. 35).

The document of 2005 mentions the existence of a diverse cultural infrastructure as an impetus for companies to set up branches in the city. The document refers to the study conducted by Marlet and Tames in Utrecht (2002). The document then continues:
The creative industry is becoming increasingly important for the liveliness and the economic flourishing of a city. Creative industry leads to innovation of economic products, due to the competition in ingenuity and design. From that point of view, creativity can be regarded as economic capital (Groningen, 2005, p. 22)

In other words, through the concept of the creative city, as introduced by Florida (2002), the economic functioning of culture in a city is linked to a core quality of the cultural sector: creativity. This suggests that there is a relationship between the intrinsic functioning of culture and art and extrinsic functioning in the economic domain. The policy document of 2000 also suggests that such a link exists.

Art can also be deployed as a means to achieve other goals, such as stimulating cultural tourism for example. Any town may be able to organize a large-scale festival, but ‘it takes an artist’ to make it a special event. The show called ‘A Star is Born’ would never have attracted so many tourists without the ‘artistic’ gift of its organizers.  

The quote suggests that without the specific artistic qualities of the festival, the economic effect (attracting visitors to the city) would not have occurred. This points to the fact that the artistic quality can be a mediating variable between the intrinsic and extrinsic functioning of culture and art.

3.4.4. City Image

The fact that Groningen is the largest city in a mainly agricultural part of the country has a marked impact on the city’s cultural policy. The remoteness of the city’s location prompts interest in developing an image of the city as interesting for visitors, but this image is also important to strengthen participation in cultural events by the city’s own population. All documents therefore contain remarks on the value of culture to develop the city image (see Groningen, 1991a, p. 29; Groningen, 1995, p. 33; Groningen, 2000a, p. 22; and Groningen, 2005, pp. 23, 26). Its functioning as a proper city with a thriving cultural scene is considered to be of the utmost importance (see e.g. Groningen, 1991, p. 6). This focus is akin to the focus of Rotterdam and Utrecht. Culture is considered to be part of what constitutes urbanity. The relative ‘splendid isolation’ of Groningen prompts a double-edged approach to cultural policy:

Owing to its infrastructure and its relatively isolated geographic location, Groningen has a unique opportunity as a breeding ground for art. On the one hand, its eccentric location lends it a certain ‘splendid isolation’. On the other hand, its infrastructure is remarkably complete, and in the way of culture practically everything seems to be possible, if not already present or available. This makes Groningen an ideal city for experiment, where talents are given an opportunity to find their own way. (Groningen, 1991a, pp. 26-7)

On the one hand, the city aims to offer a complete cultural scene to cater to the specific needs of a diverse public as there are few alternative venues in the region. On the other hand, the city promotes its remoteness as an impetus for artists to experiment with new forms. This vision of the city as a ‘breeding ground’ for experiment is akin to the approach found in Arnhem, where specific functions for the cultural sector are identified (see section 3.5). This approach towards the cultural policy leads to a critical appraisal of the policies of (nationally funded) production facilities. For instance, in the 1991 policy document, the city council criticizes the North Netherlands Theatre Company’s lack of willingness to experiment
3. City Government

(Groningen, 1991b, p. 13). As will be shown below, the city feels an urge to influence the policies of the performing arts producers which are located in the city.

The city’s cultural scene seems to be substantial for a city of the size of Groningen. This is due to the fact that the city has a central function in a very large region (Groningen, 2005, p. 63). The cultural climate in the city is an important part of the ‘city climate’ (Groningen, 2000a, *aanbiedingsbrief*). This large cultural scene enables the city to promote itself as an alternative to living in the western part of the country. The city certainly has a ‘city feel’ but does not suffer from the problems associated with living in large agglomerations (see, e.g. Groningen, 2000a, p. 5 and 2005, p. 15). Not surprisingly reinforcing diversity in the cultural sector is an important aim of the cultural policy of the city (Groningen, 2000a, *aanbiedingsbrief*, 2000a, p. 16, and 2005, p. 14). As in Utrecht, the cultural sector thus contributes to a specific urban image.

Furthermore, a cultural image of the city attracts visitors to the city. The cultural sector is of specific importance because Groningen cannot offer access to a beach, forest or mountains. The attractiveness of the city is largely dependent on the achievements of human labour, especially in the fields of culture and art (Groningen, 1995, p. 64).

In some cases, the cultural policy documents link the contribution to the city image directly to specific cultural institutions and list this as a legitimizing factor for subsidizing these institutions. The document of 1991 links promotion of the city to the programming of popular music and jazz in the city’s concert hall, and to the Jazz Marathon, an annual jazz festival covered by national media (see Groningen, 1991b, p. 30, and pp. 33-4). The same holds true for the *Noorderslag* pop music festival. The festival is a showcase for new bands but also promotes Groningen as a city where festivals like this are viable (see Groningen, 1991b, p. 35). The new Groninger Museum (opened in 1994) is a major factor in promoting the city’s ‘idiosyncrasy’ and cultural dynamic (Groningen, 1995, p. 40, and Groningen, 2000a, p. 19). Apart from the museum, several high-quality festivals and the historic inner city are major factors in developing the city’s cultural image (Groningen, 2000a, p. 22). Here, the artistic quality is once again linked to extrinsic functioning.

Based upon the study by Drenth, Hansen and Van Munster (2002), the notion of distinction is added to the development of a cultural image in the document of 2005. Culture is seen as a means to distinguish one city from another. The researchers advise choosing a specific city profile in cultural policy which can then be linked to strong points in the city’s cultural sector, as opposed to compensating weaknesses. Groningen has chosen the presence of many young cultural professionals as its characterizing profile (Groningen, 2005, p. 24).

For a lively cultural climate, we find it utterly important that opportunities are created for young talents and promising artists. Thus, we intend to give an impetus to the culture in the city, which will be conducive to our cultural image. (Groningen, 2005, p.26; see also pp. 111-12)
It is noteworthy that the writers of the policy document mention belief in the effects of offering development opportunities to young talents in the city (see also Groningen, 2005, p. 23). It seems that they lack irrefutable evidence on the functioning of art in this respect. The supposed effects are twofold: an impulse is generated for the culture in the city, presumably an artistic impulse, and the image of the city is strengthened. The document, once again, suggests a link between artistic quality of festivals and the extrinsic effects: promotion of the city is linked primarily to festivals that radiate quality and events for ‘connoisseurs’.

3.4.5. Social Domain
The policy document of 1991 links the city’s cultural policy to social regeneration.

Equally, if not even more important is our ambition for social renewal. We think it is of the greatest importance that attention be paid to the quality of social environment and the way it is experienced. The perception of art is a substantial part here. (Groningen, 1991a, pp. 14-15)

What stands out in this quote is the fact that artistic experiences are mentioned, not cultural experiences. This suggests that there is a link between specific artistic qualities of the experience and functioning in the social domain. However, the same page also states the following:

By intensifying contact with people in their own daily surroundings (e.g. with street art, activities in and from local public libraries, cultural projects in schools), we intend to stimulate the inhabitants to participate in cultural matters (and with that in society). (Groningen, 1991a, p. 15)

Here the term ‘participation in cultural activities’ is used. Therefore it seems to be a question of indiscriminate speech rather than a significant difference between ‘artistic’ and ‘cultural’ activities. The quotes suggest that, through experiencing culture in the direct living environment, participation in society can be stimulated and thus social exclusion can be prevented. The document of 2005 states overtly that art can be a means to realize societal goals.

Participation in art projects may induce people who run the risk of missing the boat to pick up their social lives again or boost their self-respect. (...) In short, participation in art projects as a meaningful and pleasant pastime. (Groningen, 2005, p. 22)

Preventing social exclusion and developing the self-esteem of participants can be found as functions here. The first should be added to Table 2.5 under ‘social cohesion’; the latter was also present in the document of 2000 in which, by enabling youngsters to develop their authentic cultural expression, their self-esteem can be boosted (Groningen, 2000a, aanbiedingsbrief). The quote from the 2005 document also suggests that rendering meaning (Table 2.2) is an important aspect of the functioning of culture and art in the social domain. It seems that specific intrinsic functions can be linked to specific extrinsic functions of culture and art.

3.4.6. Living Climate
In all the policy documents of the city of Groningen, cultural activities are related to the living climate in the city (see Groningen, 1991a, p.6; 1995, p. 28; and 2005, pp. 22, 127). The
city has a policy of introducing high-quality architecture to influence the living climate in the inner city and in the planning of new boroughs (Groningen, 2005, p. 23). Cultural activities are mainly located in the inner city and therefore cultural institutions contribute to a lively inner city. In the document of 1991, the writers express a concern that cultural activities should also take place in the boroughs. They should stimulate and generate enthusiasm with the aim of contributing to social regeneration (Groningen, 1991a, p. 41). However, the document is not clear as to how cultural activities contribute to social regeneration. The 2005 document mentions investing in cultural activities to counterbalance commercial activities in the inner city itself (Groningen, 2005, p. 15). This suggests that commercial activities are not necessarily geared towards including all members of urban society. Nevertheless, cultural – city sponsored – activities can be oriented toward all members of the city’s population. The concern seems to be that the activities in the inner city may become one-sided.

3.4.7. Added Value of Production Facilities

It can be deduced from the policy documents that the city of Groningen has expectations with regard to the role of the nationally subsidised institutions in the city. The city officials try to influence the policies of these companies (see e.g. Groningen, 1995, p. 15). This is most markedly present in the 1991 document: ‘We value a strong interaction between the North Netherlands Theatre Company (NNT) and the cultural infrastructure in our city’ (Groningen, 1991b, pp. 13-14). At that point in time, the NNT supported the Grand Theatre (a production house for avant-garde theatre) and workshops in the city theatre. These activities were abandoned in later years. The dance institutions are not exempt from this. The city’s policy document mentions the International Choreographers Competition which was organized biannually in the city from 1986 to 1996. The competition was also intended to influence the local (amateur) dance infrastructure, and the city suggested that the organization responsible for the Choreographers Competition should also organize a festival as a showcase for important dance productions in the Netherlands.

We think that such a festival could have a strong influence on the dance culture in Groningen. Apart from that, it will put extra emphasis on the increasing role Groningen has acquired in the international world of dance. (Groningen, 1991b, p. 28, see also p. 26)

This quote suggests that next to the influence on the local (amateur) infrastructure, the production facilities in the city can be used to boost the city’s image. However, such a festival has never been held. Furthermore, the city’s orchestra is advised in the document to co-operate with other cultural institutions in the city (Groningen, 1991b, p. 31). It is not clear what the nature or goal of this co-operation should be. The 2000 document concludes that the presence of state-subsidized production facilities contributes to the city’s identity (Groningen, 2000a, p. 21, and 2000b, p. 19). It is not clear what is meant exactly by the city’s ‘identity’. It can be assumed that the presence of professional production facilities adds to the city’s image but also to the city’s self-image.
3.5. Arnhem

Arnhem may not be the largest municipality in the eastern part of the country, but in conjunction with its ‘twin city’ of Nijmegen, it forms a major city agglomeration and centre for the cultural infrastructure. A dance company, theatre company and symphony orchestra are based in the city. This legitimizes its inclusion in the present research. Furthermore, Arnhem is the seat of an art and a dance academy. A university, however, is located in Nijmegen, but Arnhem does have a large student population for it is a major centre of vocational education. Almost 30% of the population is under 25 years of age (Arnhem, 2001, p. 15). Along with Nijmegen, Arnhem services an area of up to 600,000 inhabitants, a number that will grow towards 800,000 in 2015 (Arnhem, 2001, p. 15). This forms a specific challenge to cultural policy. The city does not focus on achieving a full range of cultural facilities; instead the facilities are split up between Arnhem en Nijmegen. City planning is important for the cultural policy.

In 1992 the city published a cultural policy document titled Meanders, meer cultuur en anders (Meanders, more culture and different). The primary policy aim of this document was to strengthen the position of Arnhem as an important cultural city in the Netherlands in the light of growing competition from other cities (Arnhem, 1992, p. 10). In 2001, a new policy document was drafted, Cultuurmenu 2001 2005 2014 (Cultural Menu 2001 2005 2014) which can be seen as a visionary document. The document contains a multiple-choice menu for the cultural policy, with different levels of ambition. City politics chose the ‘medium’ variant, which was elaborated in a policy document, surprisingly titled Cultuurvisie Arnhem 2001 2005 2015 (Vision on Culture 2001 2005 2015) and published in 2002. All three documents contain an integral vision of cultural policy. In the future, separate policy documents on the various cultural sectors will be drafted. The document on amateur activities has been included in the present research.

The 1992 document contains surprisingly little intrinsic legitimization of the cultural policy. The fact that the city needs to invest in the cultural sector goes without saying, because the city is faced with the competition from other cities with regard to its position as a cultural centre (Arnhem, 1992, p. 10). This links cultural policy directly to city development; the function of culture is regarded in this light (Arnhem, 1992, p. 13). The intrinsic functioning of culture and art seem to be taken for granted and are not elaborated upon. The documents of 2001 and 2002 do not differ from this approach, although they contain more references to the functioning of the (performing) arts in society. The documents introduce the term ‘cultural planning’, referring to the juxtaposition of cultural and artistic interests and the development of the city and society: ‘The deliberate use of culture as an impulse for quality and (quality) awareness in urban and social development’ (Arnhem, 2001, p. 13)

What is interesting for the present research is that culture is seen as a means to further the quality of the city’s development. Investments in the cultural infrastructure and activities are
weighed with regard to societal development and to city development (Arnhem, 2002, p. 11). Even more so, it is the policy makers' view that the intrinsic value of culture and art can be augmented by an integral policy approach (Arnhem, 2001, p. 13). One remarkable feature of the policy documents of 2001 and 2002 is the use of the term ‘function’. In order to introduce more flexibility to the system of subsidies, the city tries to link the subsidies to the functions that need to be performed by institutions in the cultural sector (Arnhem, 2001, p. 24) rather than offering lump-sum funding to cultural institutions. In the field of the performing arts, this means that the upkeep of a theatre and the programming in that theatre can be two distinct functions and therefore can be subsidized individually. In order to enhance the dynamic in the cultural field, the city’s cultural policy should be aimed at facilitating the functions that need to be performed rather than facilitating the institutions performing them (Arnhem, 2001, p. 34; see also Arnhem, 2002, p. 16). The functions should also be the basis for evaluating the performance of institutions (Arnhem, 2002, p. 6). The documents identify ten functions:

- Education and advancement of expertise
- Development and experiment
- Production and co-production
- Distribution
- Conservation and management
- Production and presentation
- Promotion and marketing
- Information and education
- Advice and guidance

Because of the fact that the city’s policy makers define the term ‘function’ as a function to be performed within the cultural sector, these functions can all be categorized as ‘tasks’ in the terminology of the present research, with the exception of research and development. With this ‘task’, the city denotes experiment in artistic forms, which is a function already identified in Table 2.4. For the present research, the other ‘tasks’ do not yield new insights as to how the arts function in society. Suffice it to remark that a coherent system of cultural production and distribution facilities comprises all these tasks within the city. This can be a distinct interpretation as to what is meant by the value of arts institutions collectively when located in the same city. It seems that the approach in Arnhem does not differ from that in Investeren in Cultuur (1992). The approach involves tasks which should be present in the cultural sector in order for the sector to develop (artistically and institutionally) as any given sector should and to be able to cater to the general public. The approach in Arnhem involves linking the allocation of subsidies to the various tasks that cultural organizations perform and not to the organization itself, and hence to its continuing survival. For the present research, it is of interest to see whether or not this has any bearing on how Arnhem evaluates the cultural policy and/or the performance of single institutions. This is discussed in Chapter 11. Moreover, it leads to the question as to whether or not all tasks should be present in every city. For instance, the preservation function in performing arts which, in the Netherlands, only seems to occur in the theatre museum in Amsterdam, suggests that this is not the case. One can also think of the experiment function, which, in the case of the performing arts, need
not be present in every city to the same extent and may be based upon the characteristics of local audiences. One of the advantages of the Dutch touring system is that experiment can be brought to a city as well as performances of classical repertoire.

3.5.1. Intrinsic Functions
Because cultural policy is linked to city development so closely in all policy documents, the documents contain little intrinsic legitimization of cultural policy. However, the intrinsic functioning is seen as just as important as the ‘instrumental’ use of cultural policy, for culture is an important part of our life (Arnhem, 1992, p. 73). Art is a means to challenge existing norms and values in society, just as science is (Arnhem, 1992, p. 14). This definition of art is akin to the definitions found in Pantser of Ruggegraat (Ministerie van OCW, 1995). However, the same page of the document presents another definition of art which is of interest for defining the functioning of art in society:

We see art as a form of communication that can lead to recognition and identification as well as confusion and uncertainty. (Arnhem, 1992, p. 14)

Artistic activities can lead to recognition and identification – confirming existing norms and values within a group, i.e., asserting a certain identity (Table 2.3) – or to confusion and uncertainty – bringing perceived certainties up for discussion (Table 2.2).

The most important legitimization of cultural policy that can be found in the documents of 2001 and 2002 seems to be the input of quality in the city’s development. The documents contain little explanation what is exactly meant by ‘quality’. However, a second definition of the term ‘cultural planning’ contains some specific insights into this:

the systematic deployment of culture and cultural history as an impulse for originality, quality-awareness and quality in urban and social development. (...) Vernacular architecture has a social and a physical component. (Arnhem, 2002, p. 3, see also p. 14)

Originality and quality seem to be the contribution of culture to the city’s development. This can be linked to some of the functions of art and culture that were encountered previously: most importantly, authentic ways of expression (Table 2.4), but also fantasy and imagination (Table 2.1), stimulation of the mind (Table 2.2) and developing new insights (Table 2.2). Quality itself is a more complex matter. The quote mentions both an understanding of what quality is (‘kwaliteitsbesef’) and quality itself. Quality itself can be related to the two areas in which cultural planning is evident: societal and physical. The aim seems to be that the social development of the city is such that one can speak of social quality. Quality of life is probably being referred to here. The physical development of the city can be quality development through architectural quality or quality in city planning itself. However, an understanding of quality is of greater interest for the present research. The document seems to imply that cultural planning can lead to a general appreciation of quality in life and culture. This can be linked to recognizing special circumstances and recognizing the meaning and value of other cultures (Table 2.2). The two components of cultural planning imply that the cultural policy should be linked to social, welfare and educational policies. The physical
component presupposes a link between cultural policy and city planning and economic policy.

3.5.2. Economic Functions
In the economic domain, the main focus of the Arnhem cultural policy documents is on the attractiveness of the city to visitors and inhabitants (Arnhem, 1992, p. 22; Arnhem, 2001, pp. 15, 16; Arnhem, 2002, p. 4) and the city’s image (Arnhem, 1992, p. 73). The documents do not make clear how culture and/or art contribute to these goals. Art and culture in the city are also necessary to attract businesses to the city (Arnhem, 2002, p. 4). An important aspect is that Arnhem aims to use the vocational training in culture (a dance academy, theatre academy and art academy are located in the city) to improve the city’s attractiveness (Arnhem, 2002, p. 8). The documents are not clear on how this is done. The 1992 document also mentions direct employment effects, but the writers of the document lack substantial evidence to use this as firm legitimization of cultural policy (Arnhem, 1992, p. 22). A far more interesting remark is the assertion that cultural policy can have influence on the quality of industrial design and thus influence the city’s economy (Arnhem, 1992, p. 22). This is not a type of functioning that can be linked to the performing arts but it can be interpreted as a forebode of the concept of the creative city (see Meer dan de Som, 2003, Maastricht, 2001, and Groningen, 2005).

3.5.3. Social Domain
Because city development also means societal development in the policy makers’ view, a link is suggested between culture and the social domain. However, this link is not elaborated upon. The 1992 document mentions the activities of the STAP theatre group, a group that develops community theatre (Arnhem, 1992, p. 69). However, the document offers no insight into the functioning of this form of theatre other than the fact that audience members are recruited in their own living environment and are addressed in their own language. This can be regarded as a form of identity-reinforcement (Table 2.3). Furthermore, this document links the visual arts to regeneration of city boroughs (Arnhem, 1992, p. 69). In the more recent documents, the line of reasoning is that a strong cultural sector contributes to the living climate, welfare and social cohesion (Arnhem, 2001, p. 15, and 2002, p.4). These functions have already been mentioned in Table 2.5. The amateur activities in particular can contribute to the living climate in boroughs (Arnhem, 2003, p. 4). The 2001 document also mentions the question of ethnic diversity.

There is no need to develop a separate culture policy for each ethnic or age group. However, we do seek to develop a varied range (of cultural activities) that caters for everybody and stimulates cultural (sub-)groups to take note of each other’s culture. Hence, the ‘intercultural’ approach prevails over the ‘multicultural’ one. (Arnhem, 2001, p. 15)

The aim of cultural policy is not to offer specific cultural activities for each subgroup (‘multicultural’) but to encourage subgroups to become acquainted with each other. The 2003 document adds that different groups in society should come into contact with each other and this should lead to mutual understanding (Arnhem, 2003, p. 4). These notions refer to the functions identified in Table 2.3. However, they raise the question as to whether or not
establishing contact between social subgroups, in other words, transcending the boundaries and cultural codes of subgroups (or linking them in the terms of the policy document of Groningen), is a specific artistic function.

3.5.4. City Development

In 1992 the cities of Arnhem and Nijmegen were identified as growth centres in national spatial planning policy (Arnhem, 1992, p. 13). Just as in Utrecht and Rotterdam, city growth seems to be a major impetus to the cultural policy. Investing in cultural facilities goes without saying, because other cities are competing with Arnhem in terms of its historical cultural position (Arnhem, 1992, p. 10). Linking cultural policy to city planning has led to many remarks in the policy documents concerning the relationship between city development and culture and art. For the present research, it is of particular interest to determine what culture and art specifically contribute to city development. The 2001 document contains an important remark in this respect.

Vernacular architecture implies that culture is deployed as a source of inspiration, a treasure chest of suggestions and ideas and a critical guardian of the quality of our living environment. (Arnhem, 2001, p. 13)

Culture performs various functions in the development of the living environment. Culture is used for inspiration and as an ‘idea bank’. This can be interpreted in two ways. Either cultural activities can stimulate one’s fantasy (Table 2.1) or they can be a source of new ideas for participants (Table 2.2: broadening the mental scope of spectators). Culture is also considered to be a critical guardian of quality in the living environment. This formulation suggests that culture adds quality to life in a city. This interpretation is supported by the 2002 document:

Given the ambitions stated in Arnhem op weg naar 2015 (Arnhem on its way to 2015), culture is a powerful means to improve the city’s quality, its community, its urban space and its value of perception. (Arnhem, 2002, p. 14)

This quote also suggests that culture influences the societal and physical quality of the city. Furthermore, it adds to the experiential value of the city’s physical appearance. This is a function that should be linked to architecture and the visual arts. However, one can also interpret the quote from the 2001 document in such a way that the artistic function of formulating critique on society (Table 2.4) is being referred to, as was suggested in the Rotterdam documents as well.

It is important to note that cultural planning is not only linked to the physical development of the city but also to societal development. Investments in the cultural infrastructure should be weighed with respect to both city development and societal development. This stimulates the social climate in the city and the attractiveness of the city. Developing a new pop-music stage can be regarded as an impulse for the pop-music culture and youth culture in the city (societal development) and can boost the city’s image (city development) (Arnhem, 2002, p. 4). In this line of reasoning, the interpretation of societal development is conspicuous. The development of pop-music culture in the city itself, which is a cultural quality aim, is
regarded as societal development. However, in the terms of this research, societal
development belongs to extrinsic functioning and not to intrinsic. This once again suggests
the existence of a relationship between intrinsic and extrinsic functioning, where cultural (or
artistic) quality is a mediating variable. And this seems to be the specific contribution of
culture to the city development: to imbue it with quality.

3.6. Breda, Apeldoorn and Zwolle

The cities with no performing-arts companies have published fewer and less elaborate
cultural policy documents than the other cities in the research. This is a consequence of the
fact that they lack professional performing artists. City size appears to be irrelevant as
Apeldoorn and Breda are larger than some of the cities with professional performing-arts
producers. The cultural policy of these cities seems to be primarily based on extrinsic
motivation. The realization of cultural facilities (be it production or consumption facilities) is
regarded as belonging to a city of the size of Breda, Zwolle and Apeldoorn. The general view
seems to be that a city of over 100,000 inhabitants should offer a full range of cultural events
to its inhabitants and to its visitors. It follows that the city government will then subsidize
the arts (see e.g. Zwolle, 2004, p. 2). New theatre venues are a specific focal point for the
cultural policy of these cities. In Breda, a complex containing a theatre, concert halls and a
 cinema opened in 1995 (Chassé Theater); in Apeldoorn the existing city theatre (Orpheus)
was remodelled to house large-scale productions (2004); and in Zwolle a new theatre for
large productions and concerts opened in 2006 (Spiegeltheater).

Of these three cities, Breda was the first to publish a cultural policy document in 1996,
Cultuur is Meer, Beleidsnota Kunst en Cultuur, gemeente Breda (Culture is More, Cultural policy
of the city of Breda). The policy document was reassessed in 2003 (Herrijking ‘Cultuur is
Meer’, Enrichment of ‘Culture is More’). Furthermore the Stadsvisie (City Vision) of 1999 and
the programme of the board of Mayor and Aldermen of 2002 have also been studied, as well
as the plan for the regeneration of the zone between the railway station and the inner city
and the Aanvraag Actieplan Cultuurbereik 2005-2008 (Request for state funding in the action
plan for cultural participation), both published in 2004. Zwolle has published two documents
on the cultural policy, Zwolle, op naar cultuurstad van formaat, Culturele toekomstplannen tot
2005 (Zwolle on the road to become a cultural city) in 1999 and a concept policy document
De basis op orde, Zwolle als creatieve stad de verlegenheid voorbij, concept cultuurnota 2005-2008 (A
sound basis, Zwolle as creative city shedding its timidity, concept cultural policy document)
in 2004. Both have been studied, as well as a leaflet published to inform the city on the
progress of the building of the new theatre, Theaternieuws (Theatre News), published in 2003,
and the subsidy plan for the performing arts, published in 2005. Apeldoorn published a
cultural policy document in 2005: Cultuur in Bedrijf, cultuurvisie Apeldoorn 2004/2014 (Culture
at Work: vision on culture for Apeldoorn 2004/2014).
Breda focuses on realizing production facilities in the city with national subsidies (see Breda, 1996, p. 27, and Breda, 2003, p. 5). Since 1991, Zwolle has embarked on a cultural-growth model subsidizing festivals to boost the city’s image and building a new theatre in order to offer the full range of productions available in the Netherlands. Zwolle also aims at furthering performing-arts production in the city itself and, for this reason, introduced a subsidy scheme for performing-arts productions in 2005. Before this date, there were only subsidies for programming performances and concerts; now the city endeavours to stimulate performing-arts productions (though not striving to obtain a nationally subsidized performing arts company). The aim of this scheme is described as follows:

This arrangement may also have a positive effect on the quality of what is on offer. By creating opportunities for theatre makers to develop performances in our city, the cultural supply will become more attractive, as will the cultural climate. This means that the public in Zwolle will be given a wider choice and that artists will be drawn to - and will settle in - the city, which will also have a positive effect on the world of amateur art. (Zwolle, 2005, p. 4)

The city aims at developing the supply of cultural events and, in doing so, it aspires to develop the cultural climate and offer a wider variety of performances and concerts to its public. It can be assumed that the city council expects that visits to the performing arts will rise as a result of a wider range of choice for the public. However, this does not offer a new insight into the type of functioning that is expected for this broader audience. The general assumption seems to be that, in a city where there is no production, the performing arts function differently, as was encountered in the national policy documents. However, the policy documents of Zwolle and Breda do not specify how the performing arts will function differently, other than affecting the quality of the cultural scene of the city, including the quality of amateur productions (Zwolle, 2005, pp. 3, 4; Breda, 2003, p.5). Several remarks on this issue can be found in the cultural policy documents. They are discussed below.

3.6.1. Intrinsic Functions

In these times of a rapidly growing multicultural society and a continuous stream of social changes, art and culture are vital necessities. In a society where everyday security is gradually disappearing and where technology rages on at unbridled speed, cultural and artistic stability is an absolutely vital necessity. (Breda, 1996, p. 1)

This quote from the policy document of Breda stresses the importance of art and culture in a constantly-changing society. This reflects the notion of finding a secure place in the world which was present in Pantser of Ruggegraat (1995, Table 2.2). The document continues:

Cultural resilience and content make man strong and flexible. At the point where culture changes into (the practice of) art, imagination comes into power. Man’s creative powers enable him to escape from the daily rut and the often relentless rhythm of daily life. (Breda, 1996, p. 1)

Art specifically offers an opportunity to imagination and creativity and through creativity one can transcend the routine of everyday life. This notion was present for art specifically in Pantser of Ruggegraat (1995, Table 2.1). Being culturally active is considered to be especially important to youngsters:

It is crucial that all children and youngsters in Breda are introduced to the various forms of culture this city has to offer. Being active in ‘culture’ is a stimulus for a child’s development in
areas other than only the physical (sports) and the cognitive (academic learning). It evokes curiosity and wonder, qualities that are needed to survive in our constantly changing society. (Breda, 2003, p. 6)

This quote is of particular interest because a distinction is made between the physical, the cognitive and cultural development of children. Cultural activities stimulate curiosity and surprise, qualities which are necessary in a society which changes constantly. This suggests that culture and art are indeed a means to acquire knowledge, but in a very different way than ‘regular’ learning. Culture and art function through experience. The policy document of Breda seems to concur with the items listed under ‘personal experience’ which were found in Cultuur als Confrontatie (2000, see Table 2.1).

The Apeldoorn document refers to the concept of identity.

Cultural participation is important to the private individual as well as society. Culture stimulates man’s creative powers. Getting acquainted with art and culture broadens the mind. Culture inspires. It makes people aware of what was, what is, and what could be. Moreover, there is a (distinct) social dimension to participation in culture, in the sense that it allows various sections of the population to manifest themselves, and it connects people with different cultural backgrounds. (Apeldoorn, 2005, p. 14)

Cultural activities – apart from stimulating the mind and creativity (Table 2.2) – offer the opportunity to relate oneself to history (see also Breda, 1996, p. 21). But identity is not only related to history, but may stem from current events or the contrast between historic artefacts and current activities (see Apeldoorn, 2005, p. 6). The linking force of culture is also mentioned. Culture can bring people with different backgrounds together (see Table 2.3 under ‘social interaction’).

Apeldoorn adopts an integral approach to cultural policy, for culture seems to be linked to many policy areas, such as social policy, city identity and spatial planning. However, the policy document mainly demonstrates the links with urban spatial development. Apeldoorn is concerned with preserving its cultural and natural heritage.

A familiar environment that invites one to participate. Art and culture generate movement and radiation, have an engaging effect, and contribute to the quality of life and social cohesion. Culture brings people together, gives them inspiring and sometimes emotional thoughts, enables people to be active and creative, and bridges cultural differences. An attractive cultural climate is an excellent promotion of our city and, moreover, has a positive economic effect. (Apeldoorn, 2005, p. 6)

The quote mentions some intrinsic functions of culture and art. It suggests that inhabitants of Apeldoorn should be able to derive identity from their immediate living environment. What is of specific interest here is that the document suggests that a culturally interesting environment also stimulates participation in society. Meer dan de Som (2003, see Table 2.2) also mentioned the notion of personal development as a means to further social participation; the policy document of Apeldoorn suggest that a strong sense of identity also furthers social participation. Furthermore, the quote also suggests that culture can be a source of inspiration, a function which can be listed under personal development (Table 2.2), and social barriers can be crossed (Table 2.3). A last remark on this quote is that culture is
important to offer inhabitants the quality of living environment they ask for nowadays. Apeldoorn focuses on a specific unique living environment with its location near the national natural park and spacious layout. Culture is also important for city promotion.

3.6.2. Economic Functions
Breda actively promotes a cultural image of the city. Cultural heritage, the visual arts and festivals are important means in doing so. The city has chosen graphic design as an area of excellence (Breda, 1996, pp. 13, 34, and 2003, pp. 2, 4). However facilities in other cultural disciplines have also been realized (such as the new theatre and concert hall, Chassé) in order to reflect the ambitions of Breda as an important centre (Breda, 1996, p. 2). The historic inner city of Breda is important in developing this type of cultural image. However, the cultural activities in the city are equally important, and with these, the city should strive to distinguish itself from others (c.f. Groningen). It is the cultural programme of the city that generates an interesting living and working climate. Thus culture generates economic spin-off. Moreover through a more cultural image the city will be able to attract more artists.

This process is crucial for the development of Breda as a cultural city. (...) Attractiveness, variegation and economic (surplus) value lead to a strong cultural consciousness, the latter being a goal in itself because it strengthens people in finding their identity. (Breda, 1996, p. 6)

A strong cultural self-image is important for people to cope with life and to develop their identity. These are intrinsic functions of culture which have been mentioned above.

In the documents of Zwolle a same line of reasoning is present. The documents of 1999 and 2004 stress the importance of festivals (see Zwolle, 1999, p. 11, and 2004, p. 21). A large-scale festival in the city is important for the cultural climate and will attract tourists (Zwolle, 2004, p. 22). As was seen in other cities, a cultural image is important in attracting visitors to the city. Attracting tourists is an aim of the cultural policy in all three cities. However, attracting tourists is linked to cultural heritage (the historic inner cities of Zwolle and Breda), natural heritage (Apeldoorn), museums (Zwolle, Breda and Apeldoorn) and festivals (Zwolle and Breda). This leads to the question as to the specific nature of the performing arts in attracting tourists.

3.6.3. Social Domain
The three cities’ documents mention functions of the performing arts that fall into the social domain. This stimulates concern about offering a wide variety of cultural activities to include specific ethnic groups or youngsters for instance (see e.g. Breda, 1999, p. 1; Zwolle, 2004b, p. 25; and Apeldoorn, 2005, p. 7). Social inclusion and cohesion are aims of the cultural policy of these cities. However, the cultural policy documents contain no remarks on how art and culture function in the social domain. Amateur activities are considered to be important in the social domain (see Zwolle, 2004, p. 33; Apeldoorn, 2005, p. 14). The Apeldoorn document also emphasizes the fact that cultural activities, either active or passive, are typically social activities, (Apeldoorn, 2005, p. 7).
3. City Government

3.6.4. City Development

As mentioned above, the growth of the cities is an important legitimization for cultural policy as growth stimulates the need for cultural facilities:

Growth requires a high level of services, such as a varied supply of public cultural activities. Zwolle is already an effervescent city in this respect, but craves more: a new podium facility, coupled with ambitious plans for the layout of exhibitions in museums, a new festival, and the promotion of amateur art. (Zwolle, 1999, p. 2; see also Zwolle, 1999, p. 10)

Investing in cultural facilities is a way to develop the city physically. The director of the city theatre in Zwolle expects that the new theatre will add to the attractions of the inner city:

Zwolle’s booming expansion obliges the city to make bigger investments in art and cultural services. The new theatre will be an important step in catching up with modernity. I am convinced that it will be the showpiece of Zwolle’s inner city, and an excellent crowd-puller to fill in the remaining part of the Noordereiland area. (Zwolle, 2003, p. 4)

The theatre aims at attracting more visitors to the inner city. At the same time, it is the trigger for the physical development of the inner city. Breda provides another interesting example. The construction of a high speed train service (HSL) from Amsterdam to Paris offers the city the opportunity to develop the area between the railway and the inner city (Spoorzone). The development project has had a cultural dimension from the outset.

The Spoorzone (Railway zone) is an outstanding example of a location where Breda’s creative industry could replace the old (disappearing) activity. (...) In collaboration with the business community, the possibilities for the development, accommodation and exploitation of a House of Arts are being investigated. Here, cross-pollination should take place between professional artists and the upper layer of amateurs in the area of the performing arts, but without neglecting other disciplines. The House of Arts should be conducive to the artistic production climate of the city and initiate co-operation and multidisciplinary projects toward this goal. (Breda, 2004b, p. 5)

Because of the fact that the development of the HSL reduces the travel time to the major Western-European centres (Brussels, London, Paris), the development project is aimed at adding an international top-level to the city, not only as a physical development but most importantly to the ‘programme’ of the city. Therefore culture is important (see also Breda, 2004a). The mission to add production facilities of national importance (with national subsidies) can be understood in this light. Because of changing circumstances – the growing connections with the major European cities – Breda has had to redefine its international position. Apparently culture and art are important means to do this. Culture and art (and specifically production facilities) are part of this new self-definition of the city. Culture and art are important components of a city’s self-image especially in the international context. Though Apeldoorn seems to be the least ambitious of the three cities, it also exhibits an example of city development through cultural institutions. A cultural quarter has been created in the inner city where a combined library, museum and city archive (CODA), a refurbished industrial building with room for cultural entrepreneurs, a new facility for amateurs, and a cinema are located close to one another in a cultural district. This is a means to promote the city as the cultural centre for the region and thus attract visitors (Table 2.5). Also the cultural facilities are a means to improve the liveliness of the inner city (Apeldoorn, 2005, p. 25).
3.6.5. The Added Value of Production Facilities

The policy documents of Zwolle (1999) and Breda (1996) and to a lesser extent Apeldoorn (2005) display the aim of attracting professional artists to the city. The documents Zwolle and Apeldoorn provide notions on the added value of performing-arts production facilities.

In the near future, we intend to put more emphasis on the makers of art, i.e., the artists, especially those who work in Zwolle. (...) The thought behind this is that we want to bond Artez (the local vocational training for artists, QLvdH) graduates and other young artists to the city, as artists are important for a society. With their unique view on society, they provoke discussion and debate, which will keep us keen and alert. They are the thorn in the flesh of modern time(s), the ‘jesters’ of the 21st century. But above all, they are professionals who can make a (valuable) contribution to our city as a centre of creativity. (Zwolle, 2004, p. 11)

The motivation for the city of Zwolle seems to be intrinsic in nature. Artists are viewed as commentators on society, they provoke debate. This reflects the function of expressing ideas and perceptions that was encountered in the national documents (Table 2.4). However, the motivation for Zwolle is also extrinsic in its nature. Artists form part of the concept of the creative city and therefore are important to the economic development of the city. This concept has already been encountered in the national document Meer dan de Som (2003, see Table 2.5) and other city documents. It is discussed in more detail in Chapter 8.

The policy document of Apeldoorn contains the following remark:

Apeldoorn lacks an institution for performing arts of any stature. Its urban culture sector is too small: apart from the basic cultural services (e.g., a theatre, a centre for cultural education, a public library and a museum) – and with the exception of the Ereprijs Orchestra – there are no other professional cultural organizations. Yet, such institutions are important to the town, as they generate jobs, are a source of cultural entrepreneurship and new initiatives, and contribute substantially to the stature, the representation and the cultural image of the town. (Apeldoorn, 2005, p. 6)

It seems that the added value of production facilities is primarily extrinsic. The direct employment effects and city image are mentioned. These are extrinsic functions of culture and art. The concepts of cultural entrepreneurship and stimulating new initiatives are also mentioned. It is not clear what this means exactly. It seems that the policy makers assume that artists are attracted to places where other artists already are active. They stimulate each other and thus foster new (artistic) developments and hence reinforce extrinsic functioning such as the image of the city.

3.7. Summary

This section summarizes the general findings of this chapter. These findings are based upon a comparison of the cultural policy documents of eight Dutch cities from the period 1992-2005. Chapter 4 is devoted to a comparison of the city and state documents. A first conclusion is extremely obvious from the preceding discussion of the city’s cultural policy documents. The legitimization of cultural policy in different cities in the Netherlands is largely similar. There are no differences between the legitimization of the cultural policies of the cities based upon the region where the city is located. The cities do not differ in the
desired functions of the (performing) arts and cultural sector in the city. The fact that, in the policy documents, city officials refer to the same publications, such as publications by the Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau (e.g. Van den Broek and De Haan, 2000), Nyfer (Marlet and Tames, 2002, and Florida, 2002), underlines this conclusion. Moreover, the cities base their policies on research findings in other cities, (e.g. the economic legitimization in the policy document of Maastricht (1988) refers to studies in Amsterdam, London and Vienna). Indeed there are differences between the cultural policies of these eight cities, but they are not based on regional differences in culture.\textsuperscript{19} Furthermore the same topics are present in the city documents around the same time. Issues such as cultural diversity, in around 2000, and the creative class argument, in around 2003, occur in almost all cities. Here the city policy documents closely follow the topics of the national policy documents, with the exception of Rotterdam where such themes occurred earlier. It seems that in Dutch cultural policy the national and local authorities are subject to the same ‘trends’.

The differences that do exist between the cities derive from the city’s history or tradition. Cultural policy seems to occur at different ‘stages’ which depend on city growth and thus on the growth of the city’s cultural infrastructure. Cities with more elaborate cultural infrastructures publish elaborate cultural policy documents, mostly in a four-year cycle (Rotterdam, Utrecht, Groningen). Maastricht and Arnhem also publish fairly elaborate documents, but not in a four-year cycle.\textsuperscript{20} The cities in the research with no professional production facilities (Breda, Apeldoorn, Zwolle) have published far fewer documents. However, Breda and Zwolle seem to be catching on as ‘cultural cities’. In Breda, cultural policy has been accelerated by the advent of the high-speed railway linking the city to an international transport network. In Zwolle, the development seems to be dependent on the physical development of the inner city. The examples of Rotterdam and more specifically Utrecht also show that cultural policy is accelerated when city growth accelerates. The cultural position of Groningen and Maastricht – both cities that have not experienced accelerated growth – seems to be dependent on the historical position of the city in its surroundings.

This leads to a second conclusion. Cultural policy is linked to urban planning policy. A thriving cultural infrastructure is a prerequisite for ‘urbaniity’ of the cities and therefore the cultural policy is linked to city development. City development has three main aspects: spatial planning, economic development and social development. In almost all policy documents, the cultural policy is linked to all three of these areas. This is important to know when evaluating cultural policy. However, it also poses a significant problem because, when the measurement for policy evaluation is derived from the city’s development, one has to argue a causal relationship between the cultural policy and the city development in all three areas.

\textsuperscript{19} It is important to note that this conclusion does not exclude the possibility of regional cultural differences such as dialect and the historical development of a city. These regional differences, however, find no translation in the legitimization of cultural policy (with the exception of the province of Friesland which has been excluded from the research).

\textsuperscript{20} Officials in Maastricht have confirmed that the city will adhere to the four-year rhythm as of 2005.
areas. The discussion of the documents shows that cultural policy usually follows city planning policy; i.e., the causal relationship is the other way around. This is logical because a cultural infrastructure in a city comprises the buildings where activities can take place, in some cases – specifically the performing arts – large buildings with considerable traffic infrastructure to facilitate the attraction of audiences. Urbanity and professional cultural (production) facilities go hand in hand.