4. Political Views on the Functioning of Performing Arts in Society

This chapter summarizes the findings from the preceding chapters. Thus this chapter concludes Part I of the research in which the Dutch policy documents have been studied in order to establish which functions of the performing arts in society are expected to occur as a result of art policy. In Chapter 1, a simple model to categorize the functions of the performing arts in urban society was developed. The functions have been categorized on the basis of two divisions:

- The functions are intrinsic or extrinsic. Intrinsic functions are linked to the specific cultural or artistic nature of productions. Extrinsic functions result from other qualities of the productions which are not necessarily artistic in their nature.

- The functions can either occur from the perspective of the artists or from the perspective of the audience. The functions from the perspective of the audience can be divided into functions that occur either on the level of audience members individually or on a collective level.

Because of the nature of the Dutch theatre system to which the national government is a major financial contributor, both the national and city cultural policies from the period 1992 to 2005 have been researched in order to establish which functions of the performing arts can be expected in urban society. All national policy documents from the period 1992 to 2005 containing legitimization of the cultural policy were researched in Chapter 2. In Chapter 3, the policy documents of eight Dutch cities, spread evenly over the country and comprising cities where performing-arts companies are based and cities where they are not, were researched. The discussion of the city policy documents led to additions to the functions identified in Chapter 2. Some of the functions were also clarified, specifically the added value of production facilities for Dutch cities, which is an important issue in the national policy documents.

This chapter discusses the research findings. The research thus far allows to draw conclusions based upon the comparison of Dutch city cultural policies and national cultural policy. Section 4.1 discusses some general issues based upon this comparison. They concern the lack of precision in the use of the terms ‘art’, ‘culture’ and ‘art and culture’ in the policy.

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1 Cultural expression refers to all forms of symbolic expression that represent shared values and beliefs in society. Artistic expression questions these norms and beliefs. All types of functioning related to these essential cultural and artistic nature of productions is considered as intrinsic.
documents, the issue of the autonomy of art, and the role of the city government in cultural policy. Section 4.2 is devoted to the discussion of the functions of performing arts in urban society, as they can be discerned from the state and city cultural policy documents. Section 4.3 contains an overview of the research questions that should be addressed in order to develop a framework to describe the functioning of the performing arts in urban society and thus evaluate the cultural policy of cities.

4.1. A Comparison of the National and City Cultural Policy Documents

4.1.1. Art and Culture

In the policy documents, the words ‘kunst’ (art), ‘kunst en cultuur’ (art and culture) and ‘cultuur’ (culture) are used interchangeably. Perhaps the most obvious example is the policy document of Groningen of 1995. This is the document that initiated the widening of the city’s cultural policy, and therefore of the meaning of the word ‘culture’ to other policy areas in this city. This is a trend in all of the national and city documents from around that time. This blending of terminology is most markedly present in the sections on the social domain.\(^2\) This poses a problem for the present research for it clouds a clear understanding of the functioning of performing arts in urban society and the relationship between intrinsic and extrinsic functions. This vagueness in terminology can be useful for policy makers, as they can stay away from discussions on the specific artistic functions in society. The broadening of the cultural policy to other policy areas therefore seems as much a question of strategy (defending the cultural policy against budget cuts by broadening its legitimization, as was predicted by the ‘attachment strategies’ described by Gray, 2007, and Belfiore, 2004) as of a conscious effort to reach social, economic or other city goals through public expenditures in artistic and cultural activities. However, by using this strategy, the policy makers parry the question as to what the specific contribution of cultural or artistic activities to these policy aims may be, inasmuch as it cannot be delivered by other activities such as sports, education or business enterprise. For the present research this poses two fundamental problems:

- The relationship between intrinsic and extrinsic functioning is obscured. As was discussed in the preceding chapter, this relationship should be clarified. The question concerns the extent to which extrinsic effects of performing arts are dependent on the cultural or artistic nature of the performing arts. This might be the case for some of

\(^2\) See for instance *Cultuur als Confrontatie* (2000, p. 3) where subsidised culture (‘gesubsidieerde cultuur’) is used while art institutions are being specifically referred to. In the sections on social policy issues in city documents, the term ‘culture’ can be found, see Rotterdam (1993, pp. 28-30), and Maastricht (1998 enclosure, p. 69) but also ‘art and culture’ (see Rotterdam, 2003, p. 7), and Utrecht (1999, p. 18), a section that starts with the term ‘art and culture’ and continues with ‘culture’. But ‘art’ and ‘culture’ are also used in the same section, see e.g. Groningen (1991a, pp.14-15), where art experience (‘kunstbeleving’) and cultural expressions (‘cultuuruitingen’) are used. Another example can be found in the 1995 Groningen document. The document refers to the ‘linking force’ of culture and art (pp. 8-9). Culture and art are instruments to transcend national borders in a world which is becoming a global village and borders between groups in society. The terms ‘art’ and ‘art and culture’ are used here interchangeably. On page 21 of the same document, the linking force is attributed to ‘culture’ alone. These sections all deal with the functions that are mentioned in Table 2.3.
4. Political Views on the Functioning of Performing Arts in Society

the extrinsic functions identified. The concept of artistic quality is related to this issue, as it is the cornerstone in allocating subsidies.

- The level of aggregation for measuring the effectiveness of the cultural policy is obscured. The functioning of art and culture can become apparent for individuals attending performances, for audiences as a whole but also for of the total cultural sector of a city and for the city as a whole. This question should be addressed for each function identified.

Part II of the research is devoted to such questions.

4.1.2. Autonomy of Art

The discussion of state policy documents prompted the issue of autonomy of art. It is important to note that, in city policy documents, the autonomy of art is rarely a point of discussion. This can be explained on the basis of the fact that, for the cities, legitimization of cultural policy based upon the extrinsic functions is apparently more important.\(^3\) In the city policy documents, the extrinsic functions of culture and art are elaborated to a far greater extent than in the state policy documents. This is consistent with the fact that city policy documents claim a strong link between cultural and art policy and city development. The state documents are geared towards the development of the cultural institutions themselves.\(^4\) However, in the city documents, intrinsic functions are also mentioned, specifically in the cities with longer traditions in publishing policy documents.

The autonomy of art can be expected to influence the functioning of the performing arts in society, as studied in the present research. It seems logical to presume that art production that thrives autonomously from other social activities will function differently from art production that tends to form a part of other social activities. This question is related to the perceived ‘artification’ of Dutch theatre (see *Investeren in Cultuur*, 1995, p. 22) and the subsequent advent of ‘cultural diversity’ as a policy aim, which is present in all the state policy documents as well as in the various city documents. But it also has a more fundamental meaning. It is related to the question as to whether politicians legitimize the art policy on the basis of the art world itself or whether they legitimize the policy on the basis of the effects outside the art world, i.e., whether they adhere to the autonomous tradition or the positive tradition as distinguished in the introduction. On the basis of the discussion of the policy documents of the state and those of eight cities, it can be argued that the legitimization of cultural policy lies outside the artworld itself. This can be deduced from the fact that

1. the extrinsic functions in the policy documents do not take precedence in the legitimization of the policy;
2. the intrinsic functions in the policy documents are related to what aesthetic activities ‘do’ for audience members and what this subsequently means in their lives (see section 4.2.1);

\(^3\) With the exception of Groningen, which legitimizes cultural policy extensively on the basis of intrinsic arguments compared to the other cities.
(3) A link is suggested in many of the documents between culture and art’s functioning as culture and art and extrinsic functions.

Thus it would seem that the positive tradition prevails over the autonomous tradition.

But more is at stake regarding the subject of the autonomy of the arts. This regards the nature of the policy documents themselves. The question should be raised as to whether these documents reflect an ‘impartial’ view on the position of the arts in society or whether the interest of artists and cultural institutions have not been major building blocks for these documents. It does not seem unlikely that the views on the functioning of culture and art in society, as expressed in the policy documents, are the result of joint formulation by the artworld and politicians or public officials. The political views have been based upon existing views within cultural institutions, and the cultural institutions in turn have formulated their missions in anticipation of the stated policy goals. This intertwining of the cultural sector with government policy does not compromise the conclusions of this research. In Cultuur als Confrontatie (2000), politics seems to choose most explicitly in favour of legitimizing cultural policy on the basis of the functioning of cultural activities outside the world of cultural production itself. However, functions within the art world can also be found. These functions, such as the research of new forms of expression or the research of historic performance practices, are thought to be relevant too. This research will adopt this view. The functioning of performing arts outside the world of the performing arts is pivotal in the analysis. However, one should not turn a blind eye to the ‘internal functions’, for they can be regarded as a conditio sine qua non for cultural production to effectively function in society. These internal functions have been grouped in Table 2.4 and are considered as tasks. Note that the choice to legitimize the cultural policy outside the artworld itself presupposes that the functions for the artists themselves (cells ‘A’ and ‘B’ in Table 1.1) are not relevant to this research. However, the addition that these functions are a conditio sine qua non for cultural productions to effectively function in urban society proves the relevance of at least cell ‘A’, the intrinsic functions from the perspective of the artists. In the national policy documents, no functions were found that fall in cell ‘B’, the extrinsic functions from the perspective of the artists. However, in the city documents, the direct income effects of cultural production in the city are mentioned, albeit not prominently.

Summarizing, it can be said that the question of autonomy has more layers than was anticipated on the basis of the discussion of the autonomous and positive traditions discussed in the Introduction. The question relates to at least three levels: whether or not the arts can have other than aesthetic functions, whether or not the arts form a separate sphere within society, and whether or not arts policies contain goals that are relevant for the artists themselves. The first issue raises the question of what aesthetic functions actually are, indeed, of what art is. The second question relates to the organization of the artworld and its links to other social systems. These questions will be taken up in Chapters 5 and 6. The third

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4 It is predominantly cultural production facilities as the national government that mainly subsidizes production.
question can be resolved here: the functions for artists themselves in the policy documents do not boil down to more than that the subsidies are expected to generate direct income for artists.

4.1.3. Instrumentality of Dutch Cultural Policy
As stated above, the intrinsic legitimization of cultural policy seems to take precedence over extrinsic functions, although extrinsic functions were important in the earlier stages of the development of city cultural policies. The question should be raised as to what this finding means for the discussion of the instrumentality of cultural policy – and specifically art policy – as presented in the Introduction. It appears that, in the Netherlands, cultural policy, at least in the period researched, is not primarily extrinsically motivated. Thus one could say that the lamentations of instrumentality only apply in part to Dutch art policy. But such a conclusion is premature for two reasons:

- As will be summarized in section 4.2, Dutch cultural policy is mostly legitimized on the basis of the functions it produces for those who attend, such as the personal development they can gain from this experience. This prompts the question, already stated above, as to whether this development should be construed as an aesthetic consequence – thus falling within the autonomous tradition – or whether this is an instrumental goal of the policy. Here, an important fallacy of the autonomous tradition is encountered, because when one argues that the value of art is entirely aesthetic, one should define what aesthetic is. Thus one needs a definition of art. This issue will be taken up in Chapter 6.

- It might be that the legitimization of cultural and arts policies in the Netherlands, as present in the formally written policy documents, is primarily intrinsic, but – as discussed in the Introduction – there can be a difference between the formally stated goals and the goals that are pursued in reality. Thus it could be that, in policy execution, the extrinsic legitimization has far more relevance and that city administrations evaluate policies based upon these goals, thus making policy execution instrumental. This will be researched on the basis of the actual evaluation practices of the eight cities in the research sample in section 11.1.

4.1.4. The role of the City Government
In some of the city cultural policy documents, city officials try to pinpoint the role of the city government in the cultural field (see specifically the sections on the cultural policy documents of Rotterdam, Maastricht and Groningen). Two issues stand out in this effort.

First, the role of the city is defined in relation to private sponsors of cultural activities. The role of the city government is complementary to the activities of private sponsors, although the private sponsors have different interests (Rotterdam, 1993, pp. 4, 33): they only sponsor economically feasible activities. The government should safeguard the diversity of cultural

5 In fact this question comes down to whether or not the words ‘instrumental’ and ‘intrinsic’ can be used interchangeably.
Part I: Functioning of the Performing Arts in Dutch Cultural Policy

supply in a city (see e.g. Rotterdam, 1999, pp. 4, 9, Maastricht, 1988, p. 18). The word ‘diversity’ refers to a broad range of cultural activities in terms of the different art forms. But the supply in the city should also cater to different groups among the public by ensuring that there is a supply of cultural activities that attract a broad range of groups in society or by safeguarding ‘niche’ activities. Therefore, cultural policy for cities is about finding equilibrium between strengthening the production of cultural activities (and its quality) and ensuring that various groups in society have or can gain access to these activities (Maastricht, 2001, p. 18).6 Around the turn of the century, the advent of cultural diversity as a policy aim, adds the notion of ethnic diversity of the public to the role of the government. Some of the policy documents assume a different tone. The subsidized cultural institutions are criticized because they do not cater sufficiently to ethnically diverse audiences (see e.g. Cultuur als Confrontatie, Ministerie OCW, 2000) or to youngsters (see e.g. Groningen, 2000, ‘aanbiedingsbrief’). But the argument changes in the ensuing documents. Recognizing that the electronic media have brought about an unprecedented reach of cultural activities, the role of the government is once again to safeguard the diversity of the cultural activities being produced, as well as the access to these activities (see Groningen, 2005, p. 14). Therefore, more emphasis is placed on influencing the supply side of cultural policy. Even although the policy documents of Groningen and Maastricht contain an analysis of the changed market circumstances for cultural institutions, and the policy makers in Maastricht conclude that new strategies are necessary for cultural institutions (see Maastricht, 2001, pp. 12-14), neither city opts for new policy instruments. Subsidizing production and reception facilities is still the main focus of their policy. This question of policy instruments is challenging; however, it falls outside the scope of this research. Influencing the diversity of the supply of cultural amenities and access to these amenities (both in terms of physical and intellectual access) remain the most important policy instruments. Tasks such as producing for specific groups and cultural education are important for city cultural policy. However, they do not shed any specific light on the functioning of art and culture in society.

Second, in all city policy documents, attention is turned to the relationship between cultural policy and other policy areas, such as spatial planning, social and welfare policy. For the present research, this prompts the question concerning the dependence of extrinsic functions on intrinsic functions. The 1999 policy document of Rotterdam is very clear: cultural policy cannot be made instrumental to other policy areas (Rotterdam, 1999, p. 12). However, in the following 2003 policy document, cultural policy is linked more closely to city development. The policy documents of other cities also provide evidence that cultural policy should contribute to the city’s development and not only to the development of the cultural sector in the city (see e.g. Maastricht, 2001, pp. 10, 21). In Groningen, an overt belief in the interdependence of extrinsic and intrinsic functions is expressed (see Groningen, 2005, p. 23).

6 Note that the cultural policy documents of Breda and Zwolle mainly emphasize the reinforcement of the supply of cultural activities (and the quality of the supply). The equilibrium mentioned here
4. Political Views on the Functioning of Performing Arts in Society

4.2. Functions of the Performing Arts in Urban Society in Dutch Cultural Policy

Based upon the discussion of the city policy documents in Chapter 3, Tables 2.1 to 2.4 can be elaborated. The functions found in the city policy documents have been added to Tables 4.1 to 4.4. It is important to note that only new functions (and tasks) have been mentioned in the column for the city documents. When a cell is empty, it cannot be understood that the city documents do not contain remarks on this function (or task). Only when new functions or differently phrased functions have been found in the city documents are they mentioned in this column. The most important changes are discussed in the following sections.

4.2.1. Intrinsic Functions from the Perspective of the Audience

The intrinsic functions from the perspective of the audience that have been found in the policy documents are listed in Tables 4.1 to 4.3. These are all functions that are linked to the intrinsic cultural or artistic nature of the performing arts, possibly with the exception of the entertainment function and cultural education.

**Personal experience**

A first set of functions centres on personal experience. The effect of participating in aesthetic activities for spectators seems primarily to be of an emotional nature. In Table 4.1, all the functions are related to the specific feelings or arousal that attending the performing arts may give rise to.

The emotional aspect has been elaborated to the greatest extent in *Cultuur als Confrontatie* (2000). The experience of beauty, of something unique, of surprise and bewilderment, has been associated with aesthetic experience. The question can be raised as to whether or not this is specific to art, and what further effects such an experience may have upon individual spectators, other than the pleasure it causes. The city documents add the notion of experiencing an aesthetic form. It is an important notion that the experience of beauty seems to limit aesthetic experience to beautiful forms in an artwork. However, specific artworks may also be extremely ugly but nevertheless arouse a feeling within the spectator. Experiencing an aesthetic form therefore seems a more ‘neutral’ description of the notion found in the national policy documents.

Entertainment is also a function related to personal experience. In *Investeren in Cultuur* (1992) and *Cultuur als Confrontatie* (2000), the term ‘entertainment’ seems to be used in the meaning of ‘relaxation’ and is opposed to the artistic functioning of the performing arts. *Pantser of Ruggegraat* (1995) refers to a form of intellectual stimulation which, in turn, may have a relaxing effect. In the policy document of Rotterdam (1993), entertainment is contrasted with ‘offering a stronghold in difficult times’ (Rotterdam, 1993, p. 16). It seems that the term ‘entertainment’ is used in various senses. The nature of entertainment as a function of culture therefore seems to occur in the ‘later’ stages of the development of the cultural policy of cities, because there seems to be little attention for the reception side of cultural policy in the initial stages.
and art warrants further investigation to establish whether or not it can be considered an intrinsic or an extrinsic function.

Imagination and fantasy are concepts within the personal experience function. Pantser of Ruggegraat (1995) introduces the term ‘the power of imagination’, which seems to be a function on an emotional level for ‘it lifts one above the limitations of daily life’ (p. 4). Cultuur als Confrontatie (2000) mentions the concept of fantasy (p. 49), and the policy documents of Utrecht and Groningen mention ‘inspiration’ (see Utrecht, 2005, p. 3, and

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<td>Stimulating creative thinking</td>
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<td>Imagination / fantasy</td>
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Table 4.1 Categorization of the functioning of the performing arts in society: intrinsic functions from the perspective of the audience: Personal Experience

* In this column, the functions and tasks have only been mentioned when the city documents extend the meaning of the functions in the national policy documents, or when they are a new function or task. Empty cells in this column do not indicate that the city policy documents contain no remarks on the specific function. An empty cell only indicates that the city documents mention the same function as the national policy documents.
Groningen, 2000a, p.25). Furthermore, the documents also mention the stimulation of creative thinking (Rotterdam, 2000, p. 3). It is not clear how fantasy and inspiration exactly relate to the power of imagination. Therefore, the specific nature of the aesthetic experience should be investigated in order to indicate which functions exist for spectators and the way in which they are linked to the specific cultural or artistic nature of the performing arts. This should result in a more precise definition of art as well as of entertainment.

**Personal development**

A second set of functions can be regarded as personal development (Table 4.2). These functions centre on personal growth through exploration, reflection, curiosity, and learning alternatives visions on reality (in one's own or outside one's own culture). Personal development seems to be mental development of the spectator. The policy documents do not make it clear how personal development through the arts relates to personal experience. A simple reasoning could be that, in the case of culture and art, mental development is achieved through experiencing emotions, whereas in science, mental development is achieved through a rational process. But this would disregard the fact that developing new insights can also give rise to pleasure, i.e., can have an effect on emotional level. This would turn the argument around. Theories on the specific artistic nature of the aesthetic experience could shed light on this subject.

From the policy documents it can be deduced that mental development has at least three specific aspects. First, a form of intellectual pleasure can be involved by stimulation of the mind. This is most markedly present in *Pantser of Ruggegraat* (Ministerie OCW, 1995, see p. 4 for example). Mental development is a very important issue in the other national documents too. In *Meer dan de Som* (Ministerie OCW, 2003), mental development through artistic activities is viewed as a means to further participation in society (p. 16). The city documents add the notion of stimulating the ability to think creatively (Rotterdam, 2000, p. 3). Second, a function of cultural activities is to offer acquaintance with alternative visions of reality. This notion is present in all of the national documents. Culture and art can alter the way people look at things and bring perceived certainties up for discussion. Through learning or experiencing the worldview of others, one can broaden one's own mental scope. The city policy documents add the notion of developing the ability to make independent choices (see e.g. Rotterdam, 1993, p. 16, and Groningen, 2000a, p. 9, and 2005, p. 22). The concept of ‘positive freedom’ as introduced by Blokland (1990) is the topic of attention. Third, a very specific function has been mentioned in *Pantser of Ruggegraat* (1995), which can best be described as rendering significance or meaning to impressions and events in life. This function seems to relate to the functions mentioned under ‘identity’, for rendering meaning lends identity on a personal level. This personal identity, of course, plays a part in interaction with others.

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7 This - overtly instrumental use of cultural policy - suggests that the extrinsic functioning of culture and art in the social domain (see section 4.2.3, Table 4.5) is dependent on the intrinsic functions described here.
Table 4.3 Categorization of the functioning of the performing arts in society: intrinsic functions from the perspective of the audience: Identity and Social Interaction

* In this column, the functions and tasks have only been mentioned when the city documents extend the meaning of the functions in the national policy documents, or when they are a new function or task. Empty cells in this column do not indicate that the city policy documents contain no remarks on the specific function. An empty cell only indicates that the city documents mention the same function as the national policy documents.
Cultural education was mentioned in *Cultuur als Confrontatie* (2000). This seems to be out of place here because it is an activity of cultural institutions themselves, whereas all the other functions have been expressed as (mental) activities of audience members. But cultural education does not fit anywhere else in the tables. It can be regarded as a task within the artworld itself, but it is the only task encountered that focuses on the personal development of the audiences rather than of the artists. Therefore cultural education has been placed here. The question remains as to how personal development occurs through aesthetic activities and how this type of learning and this type of knowledge differs from other scientific or ‘logical’ learning and knowledge. This is the topic of Chapter 6.

*Identity and social interaction*

A third set of functions deals with identity and social interaction (Table 4.3). Whereas the previous functions (personal experience and personal development) are functions on the level of individual audience members, the concept of identity refers to both individual identity building and the collective level. Identity is an important element for the functioning of (performing) art because – as was shown in Chapter 1 – culture essentially lends identity to groups of people. Three issues stand out in the discussion of the cultural policy documents.

The expression of a specific historic or ethnic identity allowing the audience to relate oneself to a historic or group identity can be regarded as a function of performing arts in urban society. This is a function that has been identified as ‘social interaction’. The expression of identities allows the development of social structures and a sense of community, as well as enabling one to relate to others (in different group identities). Developing a sense of community in the city documents is related to the functioning of performing arts in city boroughs. The city documents also add developing self-esteem as a function. This is a rephrasing of ‘knowledge of one’s own culture as a prerequisite for an open attitude to others’ as found in *Pantser van Ruggegraat* (1995) and *Meer dan de Som* (2003). Under ‘debate’, the notion is added that cultural activities are a free space to experience the differences between social groups, which is also a rephrasing of the notions found in the last three national policy documents. Furthermore, the policy documents suggest that existing identities are being challenged, specifically in artistic performances, and thus can evolve.

It is noteworthy that, in *Cultuur als Confrontatie* (2000), the concept of identity has been mentioned in its ‘confrontational’ aspects. The *arts* (not culture) are seen as a means to stimulate debate, as a playground for (safe) confrontations of different identities. This

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8 It is noteworthy that the ethnic identity is an issue that is present in city policy documents and not in national policy documents. This is consistent with the fact that city policy documents devote more attention to the functioning of the arts in city boroughs and social policy aims, such as preventing segregation and social exclusion (see the discussion of extrinsic functions in 4.2.3). Specifically, the social policy issues relate to the intrinsic functions mentioned in Table 4.3. However, for the present research, the difference between group and ethnic identity is minor, because a certain historic identity
perception of art as a form of social debate is also present in other documents. In *Pantsen van Ruggegraat* (1995) and *Meer dan de Som* (2003) the confrontational aspects of identity are expressed differently than in the other two national documents. They are expressed from the level of an individual (determining what is of value, recognizing special circumstances, recognizing the meaning and value of other cultures, being aware of one’s own character, knowledge of one’s own culture). However, these individual qualities are used in the confrontation with others. Therefore these functions can be regarded as the same as those mentioned in the other two documents. It is therefore questionable whether or not social interaction and debate are separate functions. Both approaches are also present in the city policy documents. The city documents allow the conclusion that the arts are considered to be a free space for the expression of differences (see e.g. Van Meggelen, 1999, p. IVc). In the documents of Maastricht and Groningen, cultural policy has been related to the emancipation of women (Maastricht, see section 3.3.5) and youngsters (Groningen, see section 3.4.2). Representing the identity of such groups through cultural expression may lead to their emancipation in society. Here, an obvious link between intrinsic functions and social policy issues is suggested. Therefore emancipation should be included under intrinsic functions of culture and art (in Table 4.3) as well as under extrinsic functions (Table 4.5, under social policy issues).

Yet another distinction can be found in Table 4.3. On the one hand, the functions are described in terms of personal development (a means to determine what is of value, recognize the meaning and value of other cultures); on the other hand, the concept of identity is described on a higher level of aggregation: the elasticity of society, free space for the expression of differences. This suggests that personal development and identity are related functions but their effect can be measured on a different level of aggregation. The concept of personal and group identity has to be described in more detail, however, to be able to pinpoint the level of aggregation where these functions should be measured. This issue will be addressed in Chapters 6 and 9.

Finally it is important to note that the concept of identity in the policy documents is not related to regional (geographically determined) identity, either on the local or national level. It is not a goal of cultural policy to influence a specific regional identity. The cultural policy documents do not express ideas about how cultural institutions should relate to their specific regional environment, through a specific choice in repertoire, aesthetic forms, language or subject matter, for instance. However efforts to influence the city’s image through the cultural policy are extremely evident in some of the city policy documents (see below).

### 4.2.2 Intrinsic Functions from the Perspective of the Artists

Table 4.4 lists the functions and tasks found in the policy documents from the perspective of the performing artists.

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may also be based on ethnic nature as ethnic identities can be derived from language and skin colour but most certainly also from the common historic trajectory of a certain ethnic group.
Expressing ideas and perceptions
The first function is expressing ideas and views. This function seems to be the cornerstone of the artistic enterprise from a cultural policy point of view. This function is linked to the functions from the perspective of the spectators. It is the active counterpart of functions such as experiencing alternative visions on reality. Under ‘expressing ideas and views’, the city documents add the notion of criticizing the city’s development. The function of art seems to be twofold in city development. By developing the cultural infrastructure of the city, the city is also developed. But the cultural institutions may be critical of the city’s development, which is a specific artistic function (see e.g. Rotterdam, 1993, p. 30, quoted in section 3.1.5). The Groningen document of 2000 adds the notion of authentic forms of expression in relation to youth culture (see Groningen, 2000a, presentation letter). The assumption seems to be that groups in society have their own authentic ways of expressing themselves. Art and culture are means to do so. This function links Table 4.4 to Tables 4.2 and 4.3. Expressing ideas and views seems to be the only concept in Table 4.4 that refers to the relationship between the artworld and society and therefore will be regarded as a function in this research. This function is intrinsic because it is linked to the artistic nature of cultural activities.

Artistic development
Artistic development as a function involves finding new metaphors to express ideas and views. This is specifically related to artistic activities. *Cultuur als Confrontatie* (2000) suggests that some cultural institutions should gear themselves to experiment with cultural forms. Others should aim at dispersing these new metaphors. In the terminology of the present research, this is a task within the system of production, distribution and reception of the performing arts. The question as to whether individual institutions can limit themselves to either the development or the dispersion of new metaphors as a strategy will not be elaborated upon here. For the present research, it is more important that, in the other national policy documents, the view seems to be that developing new ways of expression is a function of art in society itself, for it enables people to communicate with each other in new ways and to express new circumstances. In this view, the development of new ways of expression is also a function in the terms of the present research and is linked closely to the previous function, expressing ideas and views. Because new ways of expression can be (or some would argue should be) developed from older forms, the research of authentic performance practices is listed here. The city cultural policy documents add that performing new repertoire (texts or musical scores) is important as well (see e.g. Maastricht, 2001, p. 37).

Tasks
Producing for specific audiences, producing with amateurs, and the development of young artists are specific tasks mentioned in the policy documents (see e.g. Groningen, 2005). International activities can be listed here as well, because this can be regarded as producing for a specific audience, namely, the international market. It seems obvious that from the perspective of the national government the international productions are relevant. However, in some of the cities, the international dimension is relevant as well. For instance, Rotterdam
### Table 4.4. Categorization of functions and tasks of the performing arts in society: intrinsic functions and tasks from the perspective of the artists (and cultural industry)

* In this column, the functions and tasks have only been mentioned when the city documents extend the meaning of the functions in the national policy documents, or when they are a new function or task. Empty cells in this column do not indicate that the city policy documents contain no remarks on the specific function. An empty cell only indicates that the city documents mention the same function as the national policy documents.

** City development has three aspects: physical (spatial planning), economic and social.

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Expressing ideas and views</td>
<td>Express ideas and views authentically</td>
<td>Formulating critique of society (art specifically)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Criticizing city development”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artistic development</td>
<td>Developing new forms of expression (fringe activities specifically)</td>
<td>Renewing the cultural system itself (art specifically)</td>
<td>Experiment and research / laboratory</td>
<td></td>
<td>Performing new texts / scores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Producing for specific audiences</td>
<td>Producing for specific audiences, e.g. theatre for toddlers and youth theatre</td>
<td>Reaching new audiences Producing for target groups</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Tasks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>International activities</td>
<td></td>
<td>Performing repertoire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Producing with amateurs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Co-operation with amateurs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Developing /training professional performing artists</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Developing young performing artists Advising and coaching</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
aims specifically at functioning as an artistic city in an international context (see e.g. Rotterdam, 1993, pp. 33-4, and 1994, pp. 4-5). The same goal is present in the documents of Utrecht (2000, p. 23) and Breda (2004a). Because all of the cities describe an aim to reach various groups in society (e.g. Groningen, 2005, p. 14; Utrecht, 2000, p. 13; Rotterdam, 1999, p. 9) it seems that the task of reaching specific groups in society is relevant for this research, even though it cannot be described as a function. However, this is a matter for debate. It seems obvious that reaching specific audiences is relevant when the cultural policy of a city states that this type of task is a specific policy goal. For instance, a city that aims, with theatrical activities, at reaching all toddlers should incorporate this task when evaluating the outcome of the cultural policy. However, it seems likely that this city has other aims in formulating such a policy. One should wonder why that city chooses to reach all toddlers. The answer to this question is that the city expects that the effects of theatrical participation for the toddlers themselves, as described in Tables 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3, are important for all toddlers. The same holds for producing with amateurs, although it can also be a policy aim to further the quality of amateur productions by co-operation with professional artists. This can also be considered as an aim which lies within the artworld (and therefore is still a task). This argument also holds for producing with young professional artists.

Even though the tasks mentioned in Table 4.4 seem to be related to the ‘internal’ development of the cultural system first and foremost, and are therefore intrinsic in nature, they can relate to the specific extrinsic functions listed in Table 4.5, such as economic functions (producing specifically for international visitors to the city) or social policy aims (producing for specific groups that are in danger of social exclusion). This means that these tasks are relevant for developing a framework to describe the functioning of performing arts in urban society, although their relevance is of a different order than the functions in this table. Their relevance depends on the stated goals of a city’s cultural policy.

Table 4.4 leads to two questions which are of importance for the present research. The first is whether or not the full ‘scope’ of functions and tasks listed here should be present in the city itself. Do the performing arts function differently in a city where there is a stage specifically geared to productions that can be characterized as ‘experimental’ than in a city where such a stage does not exist? The second question is whether or not the performing-arts activities in a city should be so diverse as to cater to all different groups of the city’s population. In other words: do the performing arts function differently in a city where there are no productions for toddlers at all? Theoretically these questions are very interesting. However, they are only of importance for the present research when a city’s policy states that all kinds of performing arts activities should be present in the city and when the aim of the cultural policy is to reach all different groups in the city’s society. In other words, these are primarily political questions.

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9 Breda aims at adding nationally subsidized production facilities to the city as a result of the advent of a station on the high-speed railway linking Amsterdam to Paris and thus connecting Breda to an
4.2.3. Extrinsic Functions

The national policy documents were not particularly precise on the extrinsic functions of culture and art. They mention:

- The added value of production facilities
- Economic functions (attracting visitors, developing a business and creative climate)
- Social policy issues (social inclusion and tolerance)
- Other issues (spatial planning, political issues and image building)

The city documents add city image and spatial planning as extrinsic functions.

**Added value of production facilities**

In the national policy documents, the assumption is made that the presence of (large) performing-arts production facilities is of value to a city. However, this value has not been explained clearly in the documents. It can be assumed that the presence of performing-arts production facilities in a city:

- Has a value for the (regional) public in that city
- Has a value for other cultural institutions in that city
- Influences the functioning of plays or concerts in the ‘home’ town of the theatre company or orchestra
- Frames the productions of ‘visiting’ companies, bands or orchestras in a different way so that they function differently (see section 2.5.3).

Based upon the discussion of the policy documents of the cities this issue can be considered in more detail. Most notable is the assumption in the city policy documents that professional production facilities lend ‘urbanity’ to the city. Therefore they are considered to be a completion of a local cultural infrastructure (see e.g. the policy documents of Utrecht, 1999 and 2000; Breda, 2003; and to a lesser extent Zwolle, 2004). A cultural city is a city of producers, where art is produced in the city itself. This is not a very precise description of the importance of professional production facilities. The documents contain various remarks that can be regarded as an elaboration of this notion. They can be grouped into five categories:

1. **Effects of cultural institutions amongst one another:** artists influence each other; this can lead to artistic development. When more artists are located in a city, the artistic development can be accelerated. This notion is present in some of the city policy documents (see e.g. Apeldoorn, 2005, p.6). This notion is also present in the national policy documents where cities are regarded as ‘breeding grounds’ for culture (see *Investeren in Cultuur*, 1992, pp. 41, 52, and *Pantser of Ruggegraat*, 1995, pp. 6-7). The discussion of the changing market circumstances for the cultural sector in the policy document of Maastricht (2001, pp. 12-14) leads to the conclusion that cultural institutions should jointly develop new strategies in order to develop effective international network of large European cities. This is a perfect example of the link between city development and cultural policy.
4. Political Views on the Functioning of Performing Arts in Society

strategies in the present economic climate (see sections 3.3.1 and 3.4.1). This presupposes the existence of both production and distribution facilities in the city.

2. Attracting young artist and young artists' organizations: attracting new artists to the city is important for the continuity and dynamics of the cultural infrastructure. This notion is present in the policy documents of Breda (1996), Utrecht (2000) and Zwolle (2005). Breda and Zwolle seem to focus on developing the cultural infrastructure specifically through young artists. This strategy is somewhat problematic, for it presupposes that cultural innovation is linked exclusively to young cultural professionals. However, older and ‘accredited’ artists and art organizations can also foster artistic development. In the policy documents of Utrecht and Zwolle, the direct employment for the alumni coming from the vocational training facilities in the cities is mentioned as a bonus of the production facilities in the city, see Utrecht (2000, p. 17) and Zwolle (2004, p. 11).

3. City image and city identity: production facilities are part of the ‘urbanity’ of a city and therefore contribute to the identity of a city as a ‘city’. The city’s image is also influenced. Utrecht and Groningen actively influence their city’s image as a production city, while Apeldoorn also has aspirations in this respect. This leads to an important question. The city’s image or identity can be linked to the fact that the city is a city of art (or performing-art) producers. But the question must be raised as to whether the identity is a specific local identity linked to the specific history of the city or linked to the artists who work in the city, i.e., a specific artistic profile of the artists or art organizations. The latter seems to be the case, for the city documents presented no evidence of efforts to influence the content of the art produced in the city (apart from Maastricht, see below).

4. Economic functioning: the policy documents of Rotterdam and Utrecht mention the influence of art producers on the living climate and working climate in the city, see e.g. Rotterdam (1993, p. 10), Utrecht (1996, p. 1). However, this claim is not specified. It is not clear how production facilities influence the living and working environment, as opposed to reception facilities. In the more recent policy documents of most of the cities in the research, the concept of the creative class is introduced, on the basis of the ideas in Florida’s book (2002). The creative class is in part made up specifically of art producers. This type of economic functioning therefore presupposes the existence of production facilities in the city and is linked specifically to the performing arts (see e.g. Marlet and Van Woerkens, 2004, and Van den Berg, 2006). This should be added to Table 4.5, under ‘economic functions’.

5. Strengthening the local amateur artists: in the policy documents of Zwolle and Breda, the influence of professional artists on amateur artists is specifically mentioned (see Breda, 2004b, p. 5). The assumption is that working with professional artists can stimulate amateurs. This has already been identified as a task (Table 4.4).

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10 For instance the production houses in the Dutch theatre system, such as the Grand Theatre (Groningen), Lantaren/Venster (Rotterdam) and Plaza Futura (Eindhoven), are a source of artistic innovation even though they have existed for more than 25 years in some cases.
The first two categories are issues that are ‘internal’ to the cultural infrastructure of the city. They concern the systemic resilience of the cultural sector. Artistic development has already been identified as a function. The development and training of young professional artists can be added as a task to Table 4.4. Developing joint marketing strategies is not a function of the performing arts in society, but rather a task to be performed by cultural institutions and therefore it will be disregarded. It is important to note that the existence of producers in the city is important for the continuity and lifelines of the cultural sector itself and for the effectiveness of the cultural institutions in ‘marketing’ their products to the general public. When the cultural scene is larger, artistic development can also be larger. This is consistent with the view that artists and cultural institutions thrive specifically in cities. However, it is debatable whether or not the dynamics of a city’s cultural infrastructure is relevant as a measure of the evaluation of the city’s cultural policy, even though it can be a stated goal in the cultural policy. Such a goal should be considered as a prerequisite for the functioning of the performing arts in society. This topic will be covered in Chapter 11, where the evaluation of the systemic resilience of the cultural sector will be discussed.

The significance of performing-art producers for the city’s image and identity (or self-image) are included in Tables 4.3 and 4.5: on the one hand, people derive a sense of identity from the cultural activities they visit (Table 4.3); on the other, the city’s image is important in the economic functioning of the city (Table 4.5). The strengthening of amateur artists is included as a task in Table 4.4. Thus the added value of production facilities in a city is not a specific function in the terms of this research. The added value of production facilities can be expressed in the other functions and tasks that have been identified and therefore need not be discussed separately.

Economic functions

In the state policy documents, the economic functioning of the (performing) arts is not elaborated upon, although the assumption is made that cultural activities have an economic effect in a city or region. The city policy documents contain more details on this subject.

First, the arts play a role in attracting businesses to cities. The assumption is that cities offering a vibrant cultural scene are attractive to businesses. Both the national and city policy documents are vague in describing this type of functioning. The argument is linked to companies that rely mainly on knowledge workers. In the more recent policy documents, the argument is linked to the concept of the creative city as advanced by Florida (2002). In Meer dan de Som (2003), the cultural scene of a city is linked to creativity as a source of economic success and to developing entrepreneurial spirit. The concept of the creative class is relevant as well. Research should be carried out on the influence of the performing arts in a city upon the business and creative climate. This subject will be discussed in Chapter 8.

The direct and indirect employment effects represent a second economic legitimation of cultural policy. The direct employment effects occur on the basis of the sheer volume of jobs
in the cultural institutions in a city (see e.g. Arnhem, 1992, p. 22). Some cities also mention the importance of cultural institutions to create jobs for the alumni of the vocational training facilities in the city (see Utrecht, 2000, p. 4, and Zwolle, 2004, p. 4). Direct employment is the only function that can be categorized in cell (B) of Table 1 because this function occurs for the artists themselves. Indirect employment effects occur in two ways. The cultural institutions acquire materials from businesses around them. Painters need paint and canvas, performing artists require lighting equipment and sound equipment and technicians to operate them, they require costumes, make-up, etc… The policy document of Maastricht contains a detailed description of the indirect employment effects generated by pop musicians (Maastricht, 1988, enclosure II, p. 43).

The expenditure of art visitors in the city generate indirect employment as well. In the policy documents, this function is generally linked to cultural heritage but it should also be studied in relation to the performing arts. The theatre culture in London certainly attracts visitors from abroad. However, touring theatre companies and ensembles are the rule in the Netherlands, which means that many mainstream productions can be viewed in almost all Dutch cities and the theatre public is not obliged to travel to another city. But many productions are not widely spread over the country. The (commercially produced) musicals are limited to a few venues in the country. This is why the city documents articulate a concern for the theatre infrastructure that can facilitate such large-scale productions. International productions also visit a few cities, as do international pop stars. Investments in theatre facilities have been made in most of the cities examined: Rotterdam (New Luxor Theatre), Groningen (Martiniplaza), Maastricht (City Theatre and Theater aan het Vrijthof), Breda (Chassétheater), Zwolle (Spiegeltheater) and Apeldoorn (renovation of Orpheus). In some of the cities, the concert halls also have been or will be renovated. The city documents present examples of performing-arts activities that generate large numbers of visitors to a city, such as the Gergiev festival in Rotterdam, Jazz Marathon, Eurosonic and Noorderslag in Groningen, and Spring Dance, Festival of Ancient Music and Festival aan de Werf in Utrecht.\footnote{For instance, the visitors of the Noorderslag/Eurosonic festival in Groningen generated 1.5 million euros in turnover in hotels, cafes, restaurants and shops in the city (Groningen, 2005, p. 22).} The value of the performing arts in attracting visitors to a city is therefore a relevant topic to study in more detail, although the capacity to do so is linked to the uniqueness of the performing-arts production in question.

\textit{City image}

In almost all the city documents, the city image is an important issue. As mentioned above, the city image is linked to the concept of urbanity. A thriving cultural sector is considered to be indispensable for a real city. The cultural policy documents of the cities show little evidence of conscious efforts to influence the content of a city’s cultural production. Nevertheless, cities try actively to influence their image with cultural activities. Maastricht and Rotterdam show efforts to ‘redirect’ a perceived negative image, Maastricht as a conservative image (see Maastricht, 1992, p. 6), Rotterdam as a working city with no leisure facilities (Rotterdam, 1996, pp. 1-2). Groningen aims at projecting an image of a culturally
### Part I: Functioning of the Performing Arts in Dutch Cultural Policy

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attracting visitors</td>
<td>Tourism</td>
<td>Attracting tourists</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Attracting visitors is linked mostly to museums and the visual arts. For the performing arts, it is linked to uniqueness of the performances.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business climate</td>
<td>Attracting businesses</td>
<td>Added value for attracting businesses</td>
<td></td>
<td>Climate for attracting businesses, specifically by providing viable living conditions for knowledge workers</td>
<td>Developing a climate for the creative class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creative climate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Contribution to the creative and innovative abilities of society</td>
<td>Developing entrepreneurial spirit</td>
<td>Creativity as a source of income and economic development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct and indirect employment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Stimulating direct and indirect employment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City image</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Image building (National) prestige</td>
<td>Developing a self-image for the city</td>
<td>Developing an external image</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. Political Views on the Functioning of Performing Arts in Society

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Cohesion</th>
<th>Scene for shared experience</th>
<th>Bringing people together despite their differences</th>
<th>Preventing social exclusion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Attracting inhabitants (high education and spending power)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Tolerance      | Encouraging an open living climate to accommodate different ways of cultural expression (tolerance) | Civilization                |
|                |                                               |                               |

| Emancipation   |                                               | Emancipation of minority groups |
|                |                                               |                               |

| Spatial Planning | Spatial planning | Developing a positive living environment |
| Spatial Planning | Spatial Planning | Liveliness of the city (specifically during holidays and after office hours) |
| Spatial Planning | Spatial Planning | Adding quality to the living environment |

Table 4.5 Categorization of functions and tasks of the performing arts in society: (extrinsic) functions for cities

* In this column of all the tables, the functions and tasks have only been mentioned when the city documents extend the meaning of the functions in the national policy documents, or when they are a new function or task. Empty cells in this column do not indicate that the city policy documents contain no remarks on the specific function. An empty cell only indicates that the city documents mention the same function as the national policy documents.

vibrant city with much room for experiment (Groningen, 1991a, pp. 26-7) and in later years actively promotes the city as a city of young artists (Groningen, 2005, p. 24). But also the smaller cities in the research devote attention to the city’s image. Breda and Zwolle try to influence their city’s image through cultural activities (see, e.g. Breda, 1996, p. 6). This suggests that research into the city’s image could be a measure for the effectiveness of a city’s cultural policy.
Social policy issues
Social policy issues are more prominent in the cultural policy documents of cities than in the national policy documents. The national documents contain the notions of social cohesion and tolerance. The city documents add the prevention of social exclusion and emancipation of minorities as functions. The first is merely the counterpart of social cohesion and therefore not a new function. The second should be added. In the city documents, social policy issues are mainly linked to the living climate in boroughs. The policy documents of Rotterdam also mention attracting inhabitants to the city or to specific areas in the city. It is assumed that high income groups are referred to in this context. As was concluded previously, the functioning of the performing arts in the social domain seems to be linked to the intrinsic functions in Table 4.3. However there is debate about whether or not this is really the case, as has already been mentioned in the Introduction. It is therefore important to research the functioning of the performing arts in the social domain in more detail. The key question is whether or not the intrinsic nature of performing arts is a necessary condition for its functioning in the social domain.

It is of interest that the city’s image is not only an external image. The city’s image also influences the self-image of the city’s inhabitants. In this respect, the city image refers to the identity-building function of the performing arts, as was found in Table 4.3.

Spatial planning
The city documents do contain elaborations for the spatial planning function, which was only mentioned briefly in the national policy documents. The influence of art on spatial planning is mainly related to the quality of city planning (see e.g. Arnhem, 2001, p. 13), the quality of architecture (see Groningen, 2005, p. 23) and art objects in the public space. These issues relate to the visual arts and not to the performing arts, and can therefore be disregarded in the present research. The spatial planning issues that do relate to the performing arts concern the living environment (especially of city boroughs) and the liveliness of the city, especially during holidays and after office hours. The performing arts can foster activities in city boroughs and thus improve the quality of life there. But this also holds true for other cultural activities in boroughs, such as painting classes, libraries, etc. The performing arts do not add specifically to the liveliness of a city borough because of the specific characteristics of the performing arts, other than that they may occur outside on the street and they mostly occur after office hours. This last argument is of specific importance with regard to influencing the liveliness of city centres (see e.g. Rotterdam, 2003, p. 7). However, this is a contribution which is not dependent on the intrinsic nature of the performing arts. Because of the clarity of this functioning, it need not be discussed further. The contribution of the performing arts to the liveliness of city boroughs is linked to social policy issues, as presented in the policy document of Rotterdam for instance (2003, p. 3) where the development of cultural activities in city boroughs is directly linked to intrinsic functions of art such as promoting identity, developing the ability of citizens to make independent choices, and promoting mutual understanding between different groups in
society. This suggests that there is a relationship between intrinsic functions, such as personal development and extrinsic social policy issues, but not spatial planning issues. The functioning of the performing arts in the domain of spatial planning therefore need not be discussed separately.

Other issues
From the list of other issues mentioned in the national policy documents, only the political issues have not been discussed above. Political issues were mentioned in Cultuur als Confrontatie (2000) but do not occur in any of the city policy documents studied. The issue has therefore been disregarded in the present research.

Table 4.5 lists the extrinsic functions of the performing arts. For some of the functions in this table, it is obvious that they are linked to intrinsic functions, especially the social policy issues which have been related to the intrinsic functions described in Table 4.3. For all of the extrinsic functions, examination should be performed to establish the extent to which they are dependent on the intrinsic functions, as some of the city policy documents suggest this relationship, although the relationship between intrinsic and extrinsic functioning seems to be based on artistic quality (see e.g. Groningen, 2005, p. 23). In other words: can the economic and social functioning of the performing arts occur without the intrinsic functioning of the performing arts? This will be researched in Chapters 8 (economic functioning and city image) and 9 (social policy).

4.2.4. Functions of the Performing Arts in Urban Society
The functions of the performing arts in urban society can be categorized on the basis of the discussion of the national cultural policy documents and those of eight Dutch cities from the period 1992-2005. The extensive elaboration can be found in Tables 4.1 to 4.5. Table 4.6 shows the aggregated results.

The discussion of the city documents leads to three additions to the table as compared to Table 1.1. In cell (A), the tasks found in the policy documents have been added for they are important for the present research as long as they are part of the stated aims of the cultural policy of a city. The cell therefore is divided into functions and tasks. These tasks concern the dynamics of the cultural sector in a city. This issue will be discussed in Chapter 11, where the cultural systemic resilience is a point in policy evaluation. Cell (B) is no longer empty, for several of the city documents mention the direct employment effects of the cultural sector in the city. It is logical that the cities mention this function for the municipal government is responsible for executing the social welfare policies in the Netherlands, they finance unemployment benefit. However, in the cultural policy documents, the direct employment effects are not very prominent as a legitimization for cultural policy. The emphasis is usually on the indirect employment effects. These have been included in cell (F) under ‘economic functions’.

The third addition is the elaboration of the functions in cell (F). The added value
Table 4.6. Categorization of functions of the performing arts in society based on the national and city policy documents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Functioning from the perspective of</th>
<th>Intrinsic Functioning</th>
<th>Extrinsic Functioning</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Artists</strong></td>
<td>Functions:</td>
<td>Direct employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Expressing ideas and perceptions</td>
<td>(B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Artistic development</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(A)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tasks:</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Producing for specific audiences</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Producing with amateurs</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Development/training</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of (young)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>professional artists</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(A)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Audience members individually</strong></td>
<td>Personal Experience</td>
<td>Personal Experience</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Personal Development</td>
<td>(relaxation)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>(D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(C)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Audience collectively</strong></td>
<td>Identity and</td>
<td>Economic functions</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Debate</td>
<td>City Image</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(E)</td>
<td>Social Policy Issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(F)</td>
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</table>

of ‘production facilities’ has been eliminated for this can be expressed in terms of the other functions in the table. Furthermore the other issues no longer present a relevant category.

Two general issues should be addressed before turning to a more detailed discussion of each cell. The first issue concerns the critical role of the arts in society. At several points in the policy documents, the function of the arts has been described as ‘to criticize developments in society’ (see e.g. Groningen, 2000a, p. 9, and 2005, p. 22) or ‘the development of the city’ (see e.g. Rotterdam, 1993, p. 20). At first glance this critical function of the performing arts does not have a place in the table, which seems incorrect. However, the critical function of the
performing arts in society is actually placed in the Table at two points: in cell ‘A’ (‘expressing ideas and views’; here it is an active function of artists formulating critique on society through their work) and in cell ‘C’ (‘challenging existing beliefs of spectators’, which ultimately is what critique is about). The second issue has already been alluded to in the Introduction and during the discussion of the policy documents. All functions of the performing arts in society have been formulated in a positive manner. This of course entails from the fact that the functions in Table 4.6 have been taken from policy documents which aim to influence the cultural sector and functioning of the arts in society in a positive way. However, the more unnerving effects of art can be perceived as not only positive. The table also leaves room for these unnerving aspects: challenging existing ideas and views (mental development) or clashes between groups on society (debate). As has been shown, the Dutch policy documents, and certainly the more recent ones, do recognize this unsettling effect of cultural activities. The more politically incorrect aspects of cultural policy should also be taken into account. Policy aims such as discriminating against specific groups in society can lead to policy measures which oppress their (authentic) expressions, or a cultural policy can be used to enforce a certain worldview (as was the case with socialist-realism). However, in an open Western democratic society such as the Netherlands such issues are not at stake.

4.3. Questions for Further Research
In this section, attention is turned to the questions which have risen concerning the functioning of the performing arts in society. These questions will be described for each cell of Table 4.6. For all functions identified, the description should be precise enough to determine the relationship between different functions. This is necessary in order to develop the framework for the functioning of the performing arts in urban society. Moreover, the descriptions should make clear how the function can be measured. This involves determining which variables are relevant, how they can be measured, and at what level of aggregation they should be measured.

Cell A, Expressing ideas and views and artistic development
This cell centres on the artistic quality of the performing arts. However, the concept of quality is problematic. It should be determined how artistic quality can be defined and measured from the perspective of a city. The most important question in this respect is whether artistic quality is an absolute measurement, i.e., is it a purely professional standard, or whether it is relative, i.e., should it be defined in relation to the public in the city in question? A second question pertains to the concept of authenticity. The arts are viewed as a means to express ideas and perceptions in an authentic manner. Both issues relate to the autonomy of art in society. This is the topic of Chapter 5.

Cell B, Direct employment
The direct employment effects of culture and art in a city have been mentioned as a function, in relation to job creation for the alumni of vocational training in the arts for instance. Direct employment has also been mentioned in the policy documents, in relation to the concept of
the creative industry (Florida, 2002). It seems obvious that, in economic theory, measurement criteria have been developed for direct employment effects. This will be discussed in Chapter 8.

**Cell C, Personal Experience, Personal Development and Identity**
The functions in this cell have not been described in detail. However, this will be necessary in order to develop measurement criteria for the evaluation of cultural policy. Key questions deal with the way in which personal experience, personal development and identity relate to one another, and what is specifically artistic about aesthetic experiences (in relation to cultural experiences). In other words, when can an experience be described as artistic, and thus the performance that generates the experience be defined as art, and when can the ensuing functioning in urban society be described as art-based? A further question regards the role of imagination and fantasy in aesthetic experience. These have been described as important in artistic and/or cultural experiences, but the description needs to be refined. These questions can only be addressed on the basis of a thorough analysis of the aesthetic experience. This is the subject of Chapter 6.

**Cell D, Personal experience (relaxation)**
The only function in this cell is relaxation. Art and culture can serve as a means to pass time, to unwind, as entertainment. But a form of intellectual entertainment is also mentioned in the policy documents. It is not immediately clear whether this is an extrinsic or intrinsic function of culture and art. This issue will be discussed in Chapter 6 as well.

**Cell E, Identity and Debate**
Identity seems to be the link between the personal level and the collective one. Especially the performing arts can serve as a means to share experiences. These experiences can be a point of reference for a personal identity but may also lead to group identities. Art can therefore be regarded as an expression of identity. Here, there is a link between cells A and E. This link should be described in more detail. This will be done on the basis of the description of aesthetic experience (Chapter 6) and its relation to social policy issues. This is the topic of Chapter 9.

**Cell F, Economic functions, City Image and Social Policy Issues**
This is the most elaborate of all cells because it contains functions in very different areas. These should be researched individually. However, one common question arises for each area: are these extrinsic functions related to intrinsic functions, and if so, how? Chapter 8 deals with the issues of economic functioning and city image. Chapter 9 deals with the social policy issues.