CULTURAL POLICY IN NEW TOWNS

A COMPARATIVE STUDY BETWEEN TWO NEW TOWNS IN THE NETHERLANDS AND ENGLAND

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to gain insight in the development and impact of cultural policies in New Towns as Almere (NL) and Milton Keynes (UK). New Towns are a subcategory in the creative city discourse that is hardly researched. The core research question that is being asked is the following: What is the impact of cultural policy in New Towns?

The theoretical framework of creative cities is the starting point of this research. Creative city research has mainly focussed on large cities and metropolises and the theories generated from these studies do not apply to or work differently in New Towns. The framework of small creative cities, which is a quite new field of research, is added to the framework. Characteristics of small cities, such as a close interaction with inhabitants, strong influence of local politics and an insufficient vocabulary, can also be found in New Towns. Research into the evaluation of the impact of cultural policies is also added to the framework. The evaluation of cultural policies focuses on several types of goals, namely social, economic and cultural goals. However, no standard method has yet been developed to evaluate the impact of cultural policies.

To answer this question a cross-national comparative case study research has been conducted for the years 2008 and 2011. Four macro indicators were developed to measure the impact of the cultural policies: (1) concentration and distribution of cultural organisations, (2) impact of the budget, (3) audience development, and (4) the impact of the policy. Data was generated through the policy documents, local cultural budgets, local and national statistics, and interviews with local cultural officers.

Although the policy documents are very ambitious, when you measure quantitatively what the result are of these policies there is a difference between ambition and results. Both cities are working very hard on the cultural infrastructure and supporting the development of cultural products to be presented in this infrastructure. However, as one would expect in a New Town where there is no long history to build a cultural identity and a shared feeling of identity on, hardly any money is spend on projects that support these social goals. Making cultural policies in New Towns is about painting on a blank canvas and as a cultural officer being very hands.

KEY WORDS: CULTURAL POLICY – NEW TOWNS – CREATIVE CITIES – SMALL CITIES – URBAN DEVELOPMENT

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1. INTRODUCTION

Almere is the seventh largest city of The Netherlands when looked at inhabitants (Atlas voor Gemeenten 2011, p.36). However it is by many, including myself, not perceived as a "real" city. Being a young city Almere does not have a long history that has generated a clear city image. Especially for arts and culture, Almere is one of the last cities one would think of as an interesting place. However, because of the young age of the city, interesting things are going on in Almere and one thing drew my attention. I remember the buzz around the city of Almere placing an advertisement in the newspapers looking for people to start a new theatre group for youth theatre. From this bold action in 2005 the theatre production house for youth performances named Bonte Hond was founded. In the last seven years they have claimed their territory in the field of theatre and youth in Almere, the province of Flevoland and the whole of The Netherlands. This great example of actively creating culture has stuck with me during my studies.

The connection between cities, culture and economics has been a popular subject for some time now, both in theory and practice. Most part of my studies I have been very interested in this domain, so it was certain that I would write a thesis within the creative cities domain.

Since the 1980's culture has become more and more part of urban policy, researchers showed that culture has economic value, besides its more established cultural and social value (Jacobs, 1969; Landry, 2000; Florida, 2002; Bille and Schulze, 2006; Donegan, Drucker, Goldstein, Lowe & Malizia, 2008; Pratt, 2010). Focus points in research became the economic power that culture has and the positive contribution culture has on a city; the concept of creative cities was born. Cultural policy took a flight at the end of the 1990's when cities with old industries decreased and policymakers needed to look into how to broaden their economic base (Greffe & Pflieger, 2005; Banks & O'Conner, 2009).

Research into the concept of creative cities has however mainly been focused on metropolises like New York, London, Paris, Berlin, etc. and smaller, old industrial cities that needed to be regenerated. Only during the second half of the 2000's researchers started to focus on how the concept of creative cities works for smaller cities. The

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creative cities concept in relationship to New Towns has been researched even less. The focus within the New Towns research domain has mainly been on housing, transportation and the actual development of the city (Golany, 1978).

The New Town movement had its peak after World War Two when people became wealthier and developed other needs and wants. The old cities became overcrowded and urban problems like congestion, pollution and noise became very clear. People wanted larger houses in a green environment. From this idea New Towns were developed, first in Great Britain but later on in the whole of Europe and nowadays all over the world. These cities, within close range of a metropolis, were developed to relief the pressure of the metropolis.

I became interested in how culture is organised and works in New Towns such as Almere. I started to read more about Almere and how they were creating culture. After reading their cultural policy for the period 2009-2012 I became very enthusiastic about this ambitious city. I also became very curious on how their cultural policy was made and how it fitted into the broader picture of creative cities.

This thesis focuses on the analysis of the cultural policy in New Towns. To get a better understanding on how New Towns create their cultural policy, I will compare my findings in The Netherlands with a city in England. The United Kingdom has been on the forefront of the development of cultural policy since the beginning and cities across the UK have become iconic examples of creative cities. I have found an English city that is comparable to Almere, namely Milton Keynes in the South East of England. Milton Keynes is closely located to London, just as Almere is to Amsterdam. The general interest for this thesis is how cultural policies are developed in New Towns and what their impact is. This thesis gives me the opportunity to dive deep into this topic of cultural policies in New Towns.

The research question formulated for this thesis is the following: **What is the impact of cultural policy in New Towns?** This question will be answered by both a qualitative analysis of the cultural policies of Almere and Milton Keynes. Claims in the policy documents will be compared and more in depth knowledge will be generated through interviews with the local cultural officers. To make the policies and their impact more comparable, micro indicators will be developed to measure the impact of the

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policy. Four macro indicators regarding the local cultural organisations, the budget, the cultural participation and the impact of the cultural policy will be developed and compared between the two cities. These findings will be placed in the theoretical framework of the small creative cities and compared with the large and metropolitan creative cities theory.

In chapter 2 an overview will be given of the development of the creative cities concept. How this has mainly focused on large cities, capitals and metropolitan areas. From the end of the 2000's, under influence of critics on the creative city's checklist mentality, the discussion opens for other types of cities. The second chapter continues with the difficulties of defining small cities, a reflection on the development of cultural policies from the 70's and the difficulties of evaluating the impact of cultural policies. This chapter ends with some conclusions concerning the literature that has been discussed.

Chapter 3 is dedicated to the methodology used in this thesis. It starts with the selection criteria that were used when choosing the cities that are analysed. The chapter continues with a short description of the development of the two cities. This thesis makes a cross-national comparative analysis by using two case studies. The difficulties concerning this type of research are discussed next. The third chapter concludes with a description of how and where the data are collected and how the data have been analysed.

The results of the cross-national comparative case study analysis are presented in chapter 4. The results are presented per city and separately for the qualitative and quantitative analysis. Finally, the two cities will be compared.

In the fifth and final chapter conclusions will be drawn and an answer to the research question will be formulated. A discussion of the results will be presented and recommendations for future research will be given.

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2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter will give a descriptive overview of how the creative city concept and cultural policies have developed over time. First, the development and definition of the creative cities concept will be discussed. This concept strongly focuses on large cities and tends to disregard other types of cities. This will be discussed further in the second paragraph. In the third paragraph, the recent research into small creative cities will be presented and in paragraph four the difficulties of defining small cities will be discussed. The theory concerning small cities will be introduced because of the similarities between developing culture in small cities and New Towns. The role of cultural policy in creative cities will be discussed in the fifth paragraph. This chapter ends with a summary of the main points in the literature review.

2.1 INTRODUCTION CONCEPT OF CREATIVE CITIES

Jane Jacobs (1969) is the first academic who puts creativity at the core of a city's economic power. In a city different people live and meet and new ideas are born, developed, tested and introduced. This close proximity and interaction makes that creativity can flourish. However, the development of the creative cities concept does not flourish until the early 1990's when countries are becoming aware of the potential economic power of creativity and start researching it.

In the early 1990's Charles Landry and Franco Bianchini[1] are the main scholars working on the power of culture as a force to improve cities "through creative interventions and cultural activities" (Comunian, 2011, p. 1158). This concept however

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[1] For papers by Landry and Bianchini from the 1990's, see Bianchini, F. & Parkinson, M. (Eds.). (1993). *Cultural policy and urban regeneration: the West European experience.* Manchester: Manchester University Press. Bianchini, F. & Landry, C. (1994) The Creative City. Working Paper 3: Indicators of a creative city. A Methodology for Assessing Urban Viability and Vitality. *Comedia.* Landry, C. (1996). *The creative city in Britain and Germany.* London: Anglo-American Foundation for the Study of Industrial Society. --, (2000). *The creative city : a toolkit for urban innovators.* London: Earthscan.

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develops further when Landry and Richard Florida are working parallel on the creative city topic during the end of the 1990´s. Landry´s book *The Creative city: A toolkit for urban innovators* is published in 2000 and focuses on how cities can adapt to the changing world around them. It puts an emphasis on how the softer sides of cities and society should strongly influence how we build our cities, instead of merely focusing on the industrial power of a city.

Richard Florida puts the focus on people in his book *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It´s Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life* (2002). For a long time the traditional economic perspective has been that businesses attract people to a city. Florida turns this idea around and claims that the creative class attracts businesses. And to attract this creative class to a city, Florida develops three indicators that measure the likelihood that the creative class is present and flourishing in a specific city: the 3 T´s of Talent, Tolerance and Technology. However, many scholars have criticized Florida's work for many reasons ranging from it not being original ideas (Glaeser, 2005) to showing how more traditional demographic indicators are more influential than the 3 T´s (Donegan, et al., 2008). A more philosophical criticism is that of the circular nature of the theory: creative people look for places with a lot of creative people (MacGillis, 2009). Also Florida's methodology as well as his use of data raises questions. The 3 T's fail to really show how they are related to economic growth (Moss, 2009). Also the weighing of factors to generate the Creativity Index raises questions; when the same weight is given to the amount of patents signed as to the amount of creative class workers in the area (Moss, 2009). However, what both Landry as Florida did, is making both the academic world as well as policy makers aware of the economic power of creativity, arts and culture and how important these soft factors are in developing a city.

For a long time little attention has been paid by economist to the economic power of arts and culture (Greffe & Pflieger, 2005, p. 15). There were several arguments for this viewpoint. Some concerned the fact that the economic weight of cultural activities seemed minimal and was therefore not necessary to be researched, or that the strongly represented domain of cultural heritage idealised the past and limited a positive feel for

the future, or the lack of a utilitarian dimension to arts which made it a topic that was hard to grasp for research based on utilitarianism.

Overtime the attitudes towards arts and culture evolved when culture became appreciated for its job creation and the revenues made through tourism (Greffe & Pflieger, 2005, p. 16). Also the recognition of the value-added services which combined arts and utilitarian aspects, such as styling, fashion, architecture, arts and crafts, as well as the strong demand for cultural industry goods, like film and music, contributed to the recognition of arts and culture as an economic force.

That arts and culture contribute to city life on a local level was not something new. With the development of the creative cities concept and new tools to express this power in economic terms, these contributions can be made visible in quantifiable terms instead of being a mere gut feeling. David Throsby (2010, 131-132) states a number of contributions of culture to city life: (1) Cultural activities can contribute to social engagement and employment opportunities. Arts and culture are nowadays one of the tools to get disengaged social groups to participate in society. (2) A vibrant artistic scene makes a city a more attractive place to live for people and to invest in for companies. (3) A single iconic cultural institution has the potential to stimulate the economic growth of a whole city. These icons are used to revitalise a deprived neighbourhood in the hope of attracting tourists and becoming an important cultural symbol for the city and its citizens. (4) Organizing cultural festivals with national and international appeal are powerful tools to enhance the cultural identity of a city. (5) And lastly, arts and culture can benefit from co-location in an urban environment. These creative clusters become strong economic powers because of network and proximity advantages.

Greffe and Pflieger (2005) take a more economic perspective when defining how culture influences local development. It functions as a framework in which shared reference points encourage synergy among actors and the pursuit of common activities in a city (Greffe & Pflieger, 2005, p. 19). Culture creates an attractive setting for a city's inhabitants as well as visitors and tourists. Culture also works as a lever to create products that combine the aesthetic and utilitarian dimensions that might not have an artistic objective in the first place. So culture operates as a final consumption good when

it is consumed by inhabitants and tourists, but can also operate as an intermediate consumption good when it is a mean to a goal.

All these contributions of culture and arts to city life are part of the creative cities concept. Throsby describes this concept as "an urban complex where cultural activities of various sorts are an integral component of the city's economic and social functioning" (2010, p. 139). He further elaborates that these cities have strong social and cultural infrastructures, a high level of creative people are attractive to investors because of their arts and cultural facilities. This way of looking at cities shifts the perspective from industrial companies at the core of a city's economy to the people living in the city. This human capital replaces "location, natural resources and market access as the principal key to urban dynamism" (Throsby, 2010, p. 139).

2.2 LARGE CITY REGIONS

Hospers and Pen (2008, p. 262-264) underline in their article that if there is one thing that history teaches us, it is that there is no blue print for a creative city. It is impossible to force creativity or construct a creative city. However, they present three factors that increase the chances of an urban creative climate: concentration, diversity and instability. These factors are however not original ideas from Hospers and Pen. Schumpeter (1943) already presented these factors as conditions for the process of creative destruction, which can be summarized as something old disappearing and something new being invented. New combinations can be made, which result in innovation of a product, technology or process.

The first factor is concentration: a large number of people increase the chance of creative ideas emerging. It is however not a requirement for a city to have a large population, the density of interaction is more important. It is the interaction between citizens that increases the chance of creative ideas emerging. The second factor is diversity, in the broadest sense of the word: it is "not just variation between the citizens, their knowledge and skills and the activities they pursue, but also variation in the image the city projects as far as buildings are concerned" (Hospers & Pen, 2008, p. 263). A city with a diverse population will have access to a varied set of skills and ideas which will

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enhance the chance of developing creative ideas, solutions and innovations. A diverse set of public buildings within one location will enhance the moment to interact, but will also create a climate where there is always something to do or see which makes a place more livable. Instability is the third factor. History has taught us that in times of crisis and chaos cities become the most creative (Hospers & Pen, 2008, p. 264). If a city and its citizens are happy, there is no need to be creative and innovate. In circumstances of crisis new ideas will be developed and new innovative ideas will have the opportunity to be tested.

The first two factors, concentration and diversity, have the connotation that these requirements can only be met by large cities or metropolitan areas. This is a general criticism on the creative cities research until the mid 2000's. These cities can easily provide the necessary concentration and diversity of people in order to create an environment in which all conditions are met for creative ideas and innovations to emerge. Another criticism is that most early research seemed applicable to American cities only. European cities are differently organized, have a different history and the city's economy is build differently. From the 1990's onwards, research has been focusing more on creative cities in Europe next to the American creative cities (Bianchini & Parkinson, 1993; Landry, Bianchini, Ebert, Gnad & Kunzmann, 1996; Hauge, Malmberg & Power, 2008; O'Conner & Gu, 2010)[2].

Often the creative city concept is used for regeneration of old industrial cities, where the traditional industry is decreasing and a new economy has to be developed. A strong European concept that has supported this development is the European Capital of Culture election each year. At first, mainly capitals were selected, but over time more regional cities also acquired the status of Capital of Culture. The aims of cities wanting to become a European Capital of Culture (ECoC) can be divided into three groups (Hitters, 2007, p. 284-285). The first group of Capitals aims at showing cultural activities with short term benefits. Exemplary cities are Athens, Florence, Amsterdam and Berlin who have used the year to market the arts that were already present in their city to the rest of Europe. The second set of ECoC cities aimed at creating a new cultural identity for the city, of which Glasgow in Scotland is one of the best examples. During their year of Cultural Capital they

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[2] A selection of the cities that has been researched in 1990's and 2000 are Glasgow, Rotterdam, Bilbao, Milton Keynes, Bristol, Leicester, Karlsruhe, Dresden, Essen, Stockholm and Manchester.

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have invested in the cultural infrastructure of the city which has resulted in shaking of their image of being the second city of Scotland. The last group aims at improving the social-economic situation in their city and uses culture as one of their tools to reach this goal, of which Antwerp is a typical example. These social-economic goals make it hard for an ECoC organisation to present a program that is artistically interesting and socially functional at the same time (Hitters, 2007, p. 285). The long term benefits of being a Cultural Capital are ambiguous (Hitters, 2007, p. 300). Short term effects are quite easily measured and are mostly positive, however the long term effects are much more difficult to measure and are not always positive.

Creative Clusters, Cultural Clusters or Cultural Quarters all refer to another strong concept that a lot of cities use to put certain art disciplines on the map. In cultural quarters different levels of an art discipline (professional versus semi professional, new versus experienced and settled) interact and when there is a good synergy, new things can emerge from it. This clustering of different levels of an art discipline has many purposes. First, it reinforces a "city's identity, attractiveness and competitiveness" (Greffe & Pflieger, 2005, p. 138) by creating clear creative hotspots, both by art form and location. However, this is never a long term success and must constantly be renewed and updated. Secondly, it boosts cultural entrepreneurship by offering a range of new opportunities to get inspired and collaborate. Thirdly, it offers new uses for deteriorated sites such as old factories.

My research however focuses on how culture is developed in New Towns that cannot depend on a rich, cultural heritage and a shared sense of place among its inhabitants. A lot of the research that has been done on large cities and metropolitan areas is therefore not very insightful when taking a look at the cultural policies of a New Town. The factors of concentration, diversity and instability are not always present on the scale that is necessary to develop a creative city, which makes it harder to develop creative clusters. Becoming European Capital of Culture might be a challenge too big. Their cultural policies are strongly focused on building a cultural infrastructure from the ground up and creating a creative and cultural image for the city. Using the research into smaller creative cities will be helpful in understanding the dynamics in New Towns.

2.3   Shift in focus to small cities

Small cities have been ignored by urban theorist for many years (Bell & Jayne, 2009; Waitt & Gibson, 2009; Heur, 2010). The urban spectrum ranges from small cities through capitals and metropolises to world cities. The focus of urban research however has been mainly focused on the end of this spectrum, while most people in the world live in small and medium sized cities. To complicate this field of research even further, a disproportionate amount of studies has focused on a very small number of metropolises and world cities, such as London and New York (Bell & Jayne, 2009; Waitt & Gibson, 2009; Heur, 2010). This specific focus of urban studies on major cities limits the generalizability of the theories generated by this research.

This focus on major cities has influenced small city research. From 2000's onwards several researchers have undertaken research into small(er) creative cities. This research mainly consists of case studies for specific cities and mainly aims at understanding a specific phenomenon or development in a specific city (Clancy, 2004; Nelson, 2005; Lewis & Donald, 2010). In these case studies metropolis theories and observations are applied to small cities, to continuously conclude that small cities work differently and the metropolis principles do not apply or they apply in a different way. The metropolitan imaginaries and vocabulary do not seamlessly fit small cities and there is a limited alternative vocabulary to apply in these kinds of researches (Heur, 2010). A contribution to the development of a general concept of "small city" is by most scholars shunned (Bell & Jayne, 2009).

All these best practice case studies in major cities have strongly influenced policymakers (Heur, 2010). Policymakers tend to focus on applying these best practices on their own city, without making a good comparison between the best practice city characteristics and their own city's characteristics. To develop a successful cultural policy it is important to focus on a city's local specificities and its strengths and weaknesses. This "mimicry and boosterism" (Lewis & Donald, 2009, p. 31) is potentially disastrous for small cities with an accompanying small budget.

Bell and Jayne (2009) introduce three focus points that must be investigated to bring future small cities research to the next level and to start building a definition of small cities. The first focus point has to do with the size of cities. Urban hierarchies of size

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differ greatly over the world, so to make a hierarchy based on mere size would not be correct. Defining what a small city is should however be determined by looking at its function characteristics as politics, economics, social, cultural, spatial and historical function. The Athens of classical times shows that large cities and its characteristics as we know them now are not necessary to come to great new ideas (Hospers & Pen, 2008, p. 263). Understanding that smallness is bound up with particular ways of acting, self-image, structures of feeling, sense of place and aspirations, is the second issue that deserves more attention in this field of research. Lewis and Donald (2009) state it even more clearly: to construct the image of a creative, cosmopolitan city, neighbouring small towns and suburbs have to be devalued as non vibrant and homogenous cities. The third issue addresses the sense of size of small cities. "Cities are only as small as we think they are, or as other cities make them" (Bell & Jayne, 2009, p. 690). A shift in how we talk and think about cities is needed to do justice to the heterogeneous range of small cities that exist all around the world.

Lewis and Donald (2009) state that most creative city research has been focussed on the artists and the creative minds in a city, instead of the relationship between creative individuals and society. This close social interaction is what is distinctive for small cities and what should be used more as one of their assets. Lewis and Donald (2009) also address the strong focus in the creative city discourse on a city centre, a linear progression of urban development and the checklist mentality. Small cities usually do not have a large city centre in which creative clusters can be developed to increase the attractiveness of the city. Richard Florida's 3T´s model assumes a linear development from tolerance, to talent and technology. This tolerance is measured by the diversity in ethnic backgrounds of a city's inhabitants. For a small city it is impossible to fulfil this first criterion since most immigrants are located in the larger cities, which makes it very difficult to further develop creativity according to this line of thought. The checklist mentality that comes from Florida's theory, results in a strong division between cities who do have "it" and cities who do not. Once a city has "it" it will keep attracting creativity and creative people, but when a city cannot fulfil the basic requirements for creativity it is extremely hard to develop a creative city. And creative city policy makers just check the boxes whether a city has "it" or not. The indicators usually chosen to determine whether

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a city is creative or not, are very beneficial for large cities and disadvantageous to the smaller cities.

Not fitting the criteria for creative cities has resulted in a low level of self-esteem of small cities (Bell & Jayne, 2009). Just because they might not tick all the large creative city boxes, does not mean small cities do not have any assets that make them attractive as a city. And these assets are most often different to what we find attractive in a large city. It is also important to remember that small cities have culture that is strongly locally rooted and easily influenced by local politics (Bell & Jayne, 2006). To become successful in urban development it is important to make a connection with the pre-existing local identity and community (Comunian, 2011). Striving for a shared feeling of belonging, history and sense of place will have the strongest influence on a city's liveability.

2.4 DEFINING SMALL CITIES

As shortly mentioned before, when defining a small city it is insufficient to only look at the number of inhabitants of a city. Often cities with less than 500.000 inhabitants are considered small cities (Lewis & Donald, 2009, p. 30), while the fourth largest city of The Netherlands has approximately 400.000 inhabitants and is perceived as a large city in The Netherlands. As Bell and Jayne (2009) said it is much more useful to look at a city's function characteristics. What role does a specific city play within its region? What is the service area of a city? Small cities are important nodes in networks of material and people. They bridge the gap between villages and towns on the one hand, and large cities on the other hand.

This point of view is supported by the Central Place Theory by Walter Christaller (1996). His theory is based on the idea that villages, towns and cities are different levels of central places that offer a different range of service to the surrounding areas. Every good has a maximum distance that consumers are willing to travel to in order to buy it. This has resulted in a honeycomb structure by which villages, towns and cities should be spread over a certain area to ideally provide every inhabitant with the necessary products within their willingness-to-travel range of each product. But it also gives an indication

about how successful it is to start a business somewhere when your closest competitor/ substitute is located within the same willingness to travel distance.

For this research we will also not choose the cities by their mere numbers, but take a closer look at their function characteristics, their position in national networks of cities and their location within Christaller's honeycomb structure.

2.5 ROLE OF CULTURAL POLICIES IN CREATIVE CITIES

Under the wings of UNESCO the first mapping of cultural policy statements was done in the 1970´s (Throsby, 2010, p. 1-2). These documents did not make any references to the economics of culture, beyond statements about public funding. Commodifying culture and the economic power of culture had been known and has been used by city councils before the 1990´s, but it took until 1990´s before the first countries developed cultural policy documents with an economic focus (Garcia, 2004, p. 314). The Ministry of Economic Affairs and Energy of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia in Germany issued the first *Culture Industry Report* in 1992. Since 1998 the United Kingdom Department for Culture, Media and Sport issued *Creative Industries. Mapping Document,* a from then on standard work in this field. In the 2000´s almost every country in Europe[3] issued a study on the economic impact of the creative industries. For this shift to an economic focus in the policy documents, Throsby (2010) mentions two changes in society. Firstly, the concept of culture is expanded beyond solely the disciplines of high arts and heritage. This makes that the cultural and creative industries also become part of the policy. The economic force of these industries is much clearer than the force of the high arts and heritage. The second change is the globalisation that also finds its ways into arts and culture. Through the Internet the market for cultural products has become much bigger and communication with potential audiences and buyers has become easier. The cultural consumption has changed through the Internet, digital media and mobile phones.

These changes in society have resulted in a strong economic focus in cultural policies from the 2000´s onwards (Garcia, 2004). Some might say cultural policy has become an arm of economic policy (Throsby, 2010). Throsby (2010) states that the logical

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[3] A list of these studies can be found in Vecco, M. (2009). Creative and cultural industries and cities. *International Journal of Sustainable Development* 12(2/3/4), p. 192-209.

sequence "beginning with art and proceeding through artistic creativity, creativity in general, innovation, technological progress, competitive advantage, and leading in due course to growth in incomes, exports, employment and other indicators of economic success" (p. 6) has made policy makers aware of the economic power of arts and culture. Policy documents written in this style mainly focus on four points (Kong, 2000. In Garcia, 2004, p. 315): investing in infrastructures for cultural production, investing in new high profile festivals in the inner city, the revival of urban public spaces, and a growth in public-private partnerships. Although this strong focus on the economy of culture in policy documents, it does not mean that the artistic side of arts and culture are forgotten and that there are no ambitions formulated for the development of arts in a city, region or nationally. Because of this duality of economics and arts, Throsby uses the definition of cultural policy by the *International Journal of Cultural Policy*:

Cultural Policy is understood as the promotion or prohibition of cultural practices and values by governments, corporations, other institutions and individuals. Such policies may be explicit in that their objectives are openly described as cultural, or implicit, in that their cultural objectives are concealed or described in other terms. (2010, p. 8)

Policymakers want to generate both economic and cultural value with their cultural policy. Throsby (2010) indentifies four sources of cultural value in a policy document. (1) The first value is concerned with producing and consuming culture. The arts and cultural products are judged by their artistic excellence, innovativeness and accessibility. (2) The second value concerns defining a cultural identity. Cultural products can be used to recognize and celebrate a national, regional or local identity. (3) Celebrating diversity is the third value that can be found in cultural policies. A good cultural life of people, either by visiting arts or through shared values, rituals and experiences, contributes to social cohesion. This is one of the most important social aspects of cultural policy. (4) Heritage and education are important focus points of cultural policies, because this ensures continuity within a community. Cultural policy wants to make a strong connection with the community through supporting awareness and knowledge of a shared past and building a future together. These four types of cultural values can be found in most cultural policies.

Greffe and Pflieger (2005) state that culture may create urban regeneration but can also support urban regeneration. With this in mind, they found two different roles for culture in urban strategies. Culture as an end in itself in urban strategies places culture at the sole core of the strategy (2005, p. 134). For instance when large industrial buildings are developed for cultural and recreational purposes and these are then used to boost the area. Because culture and arts always interact with their social surroundings, these strategies may not be sufficient for long. This scenario focuses on creating culture an sich. In the second scenario, culture is a dimension of the urban strategy (2005, p. 135). In these cases culture is part of a wider set of dimensions such as social, economic and environmental dimensions that together make up the urban strategy. So there can be an important role for culture in urban strategies and regeneration, however "The positive link between culture and local development is [thus] far from automatic, a fact that must temper the excessive expectations of some local policymakers" (Greffe & Pflieger, 2005, p. 19).

Especially Florida's approach to creative cities has become popular with policymakers and the audience in general. As stated before, Florida's approach has been heavily criticized among scholars. Part of the criticism is that his books focus on what a city should have to become a creative city (Comunian, 2011, p. 1157). This results in policymakers replicating ideas from Florida's example cities without considering a city's distinctive characteristics, history and circumstances. Comunian (2011) also states that these blue prints of creative cities are made up of a checklist of requirements that might generate an initial stimulus, but do not take into account how to sustain these cultural initiatives in the future.

Monitoring and evaluation of cultural policies is important in order to know whether objectives have been achieved, but also to improve future policies (Throsby, 2010). Evaluations are mainly focused on economic and physical impact assessments (Garcia, 2004, p. 325), but should also be focused on how well the economic and cultural goals have been reached. The economic impact of a policy can be measured, among other indicators, by "monetary values of output, levels of employment, number of consumers, and so on" (Throsby, 2010, p. 53). These values can be measured easily, however culture also generates economic value that is not easily measured as for instance option value

and bequest value. This value can be measured through the contingent valuation method. The cultural impact of the policy is harder to measure and value, because there are no units by which culture can be measured. So, the evaluation of cultural impact also relies for a large part on subjective judgements (by experts) (Throsby, 2010, p. 54). Certain parts of the cultural impact can be measured objectively, as for instance an increase in media exposure or an increase in cultural consumers. Artistic excellence and aesthetics are hard to value because they are subject to taste formation. This can be forestalled through consulting experts or consulting the audience at large.

2.6 CONCLUSION

The creative city concept has been relatively new and has taken a flight in the 2000's when the economic power of culture and arts became more know. Most of the research has been focused on large cities and metropolitan areas, which has resulted in a discourse with theories and concepts that only apply to world cities as London and New York. There is however a whole other range of cities that is stimulating and promoting their creativity. The discourse of large creative cities does however not seamlessly apply to these other cities.

The small cities discourse has been chosen as a framework besides the creative city concept to frame the development and impact of culture in New Towns. The strong local connection, a different sense of place and the function characteristics determine the potential, scope and success of investing in culture. Just as small cities have which to battle their image against metropolises, New Towns also experience difficulties with the perception of their city.

Cultural policy is a tool to stimulate culture in a city. For New Towns this policy is very important and has to be build from scratch. The first cultural policies did not have strong economic goals, but over time these goals became just as important in the policy documents as the artistic / aesthetic goals. We therefore comprise the definition of cultural policy by the International Journal of Cultural Policy that gives room to both types of goals: "Cultural Policy is understood as the promotion or prohibition of cultural

practices and values by governments, corporations, other institutions and individuals. Such policies may be explicit in that their objectives are openly described as cultural, or implicit, in that their cultural objectives are concealed or described in other terms." (Throsby, 2010, p. 8). Different values can be contributed to cultural policies (Throsby, 2010) and the policy may play different roles in the total urban strategy (Greffe & Pflieger, 2005).

With these three frame works in place, of creative cities, small cities and cultural policies, the development and impact of cultural policies in New Towns will be researched. This will give a new insight on the interaction between cities and arts and culture.

3. METHODOLOGY

The aim of this thesis is to gain insight in the development and impact of cultural policies in New Towns like Almere (NL) and Milton Keynes (UK). The core research question that is being asked is the following: **What is the impact of cultural policy in New Towns?**

To answer this question a cross-national comparative case study research will be done. The cities of Almere in The Netherland and Milton Keynes in England have been chosen as examples of these New Towns with great cultural ambitions. The discourse about creative cities and small cities has been chosen as a background to which these cultural policies will be analysed.

3.1 SELECTION CRITERIA OF THE CHOSEN CITIES

As stated in the introduction I became fascinated with the cultural policy of Almere because of the bold act of placing an advertisement in the newspaper offering a space for a new theatre group. This has stuck with me during my Bachelor and Master studies. When taking a closer look at the city of Almere I realised that there are special and interesting features to this city that cannot be seen on forehand.

Almere is a young city with great ambitions. However they suffer from a bad image in the media and among the Dutch people. The city is being perceived as ugly and criminal[4]. However, the population of the city keeps growing. The fact that Almere is investing so visibly in arts, is therefore not surprising. These investments in arts and culture aim at "reinforcing a city's identity, attractiveness and competitiveness" (Greffe & Pflieger, 2005, p. 138). With these characteristics in mind, I started looking for a New Town in the UK with a strong investment in culture, a bad reputation and a growing population.

I chose to look for a comparative city in the UK for two reasons. Firstly, because I have a personal fascination for the UK. Whenever I have time I go to the UK for a holiday and travel around the country. I feel very much at home in the UK, so if I could incorporate this enthusiasm in my thesis that would be a pro. The second reason is more

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[4] Source: http://www.gemeente.nu/web/Home-1/Artikel-Beleid/49803/Slecht-imago-dwarsboomt-plannen-gemeente-Almere.htm. Retrieved 20 June 2012.

professional. The cultural system in the UK is organised differently to all the other European countries. They are the only ones who have succeeded in decreasing the governmental subsidies, enhancing private investments (i.e. sponsoring and private foundations) and enhancing sales revenues without selling out artistically. In The Netherlands it is generally perceived that the Dutch cultural organisations will have to move to such a system to survive in the future. So choosing a UK city to investigate how they go about supporting arts and culture seemed quite a logical step.

When I was taking a closer look at the demographics of Almere I found that Almere has two twin cities in the UK, namely Lancaster and Milton Keynes. Since Milton Keynes is also a New Town with a comparable population, struggles with the same issues and also strongly invests in arts, I knew I found a comparable city. Milton Keynes is almost ten years older than Almere, so also in that respect it would be great to compare these two cities.

3.2   EMPIRICAL CONTEXT

3.2.1   MILTON KEYNES – A CAN DO CITY

Milton Keynes is a third generation New Town that was established in 1967 on the axes between London and Birmingham and Oxford and Cambridge (Clapson, 2004, p. 35-37). In the 1960's under the wings of the New Labour movement, the New Town plans were revived to relieve the housing congestion in London. With all the lessons learned from the first and second generations of New Towns, an ambitious plan for this New Town was developed named *Plan for Milton Keynes*. The changes in society, greater mobility due to the popularity and affordability of the car and communications through telephone and later internet, made that citizens had other needs than before (Clapson, 2004, p. 37).

Milton Keynes (MK) has been balancing the rural and urban principles. The layout of Milton Keynes has been inspired by the road grid layout of Los Angeles (see figure 1).

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Figure 1: City Map Milton Keynes

Housing grids were separated from dwelling and office grids and each grid was provided with its own shops. Green and blue areas, parks, walking paths and lakes, have been important aims of the *Plan for Milton Keynes*. A large shopping mall was build in Central Milton Keynes and the Open University found its home in MK. Pretty quickly Milton Keynes was being perceived a city instead of a town. Milton Keynes met the demand of many people looking for more spacious living, with good accessible road, a lot of green around and retail, leisure and employment opportunities around the corner (Clapson, 2004, 173).

In the 1970's iconic, modernistic buildings were build, like the shopping mall. However, in 1980's and 1990's under conservative government the focus was less on design and more on economic arguments. More cheaply build and not designed buildings were built in the city centre. In 1997 MK underwent a change of governance. Milton Keynes Borough Council became a unitary authority named Milton Keynes Council. This removed the

Count Council influence and opened the door for new investments. New iconic buildings were building and a theatre district was developed to add to the liveliness of Central Milton Keynes.

The recreation and sport strategy developed by the Milton Keynes Development Corporation focused on three points (Clapson, 2004, p. 148). (1) Enhancing existing recreation and sport facilities and introducing new apparatus across the city. (2) Encouraging more informal leisure in pubs, parks and meeting places. (3) Commercial providers of recreation and sports were expected to play a major role. The city centre had a bad recreation reputation. After shopping times there was nothing to do in the city centre. In 1990 the theatre district was opened and soon after more recreational activities became available, such as an indoor ski slope, a second cinema complex, more pubs and restaurants and keep fit clubs.

Milton Keynes has suffered from a bad image in the press and media, it was perceived as a soulless and desolate place (Clapson, 2004, p. 149). MK was a town that missed real rural features and as a city it missed the density and cultural activities to be a real city. All housing looked the same and boring. However most people living in MK were very happy with this rural-urban mix. The city council did not strongly impose social and cultural structures, but this did not mean there was nothing going on. There was strong bottom-up social and cultural activity (Clapson, 2004, p. 150), for example in the music scene. Also economically MK was pretty successful. MK has been the fastest-growing urban place in England in terms of population and job creation (Clapson, 2004, p. 13).

FACTS & FIGURES

Founding date	1967
Area[5]	308,60 km^2
Population (2011)	241.490
Projected population (2031)[6]	348.810

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[5] Source Wikipedia, retrieved 14 June 2012.
[6] Milton Keynes Population Bulletin 2007, retrieved August 5th 2012.

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3.2.2 Almere – It can be done in almere

In 1974 the first pole of the new to be developed city of Almere went into the ground.
Almere is located in the south western part of the new developed Provence of Flevoland
and is a 40 minute drive away from the city centre of Amsterdam. Almere was the second
city to be built on this new found land after Lelystad and a lot of the mistakes or old
principles of city making where revised between the founding of Lelystad and Almere.
Almere was built as an "overloop stad" (an overflow city), to provide affordable housing
for people from overcrowded Amsterdam. Almere has been made up out of six districts of
which Almere Haven is the oldest and of which Almere Pampus and Almere Hout are the
latest districts to be developed.

Figure 2: City Map Almere

The thriving force behind the development of this city are the *Projectbureau Almere* and
the *Rijksdienst voor de IJsselmeerpolders* (RIJP, National Department for the IJsselmeer
Polders). They had learned their lessons from Lelystad and other New Towns around the
world (Berg et al. 2007). Lelystad was build to please cars and car owners, while in Almere
every sort of transport got its own roads (e.g. separate lane for the busses and bikes)
(Brouwer, 1997, 189-190). Or, instead of making a finished blue print for a New Town
with no room left to adjust to recent changes, Almere purposely left a lot of room in the
development plan to be filled in over time with new ideas and insights.

Almere transformed from being directly governed by the national government to an independent municipality with their own mayor in 1984. One of the objectives of Almere was that the city should "both contribute to a healthy and natural environment as well as develop an urban culture"[7] (Berg, Franke & Reijndorp, 2007, p. 65). This however became the city's biggest difficulty. Almere, as an overflow city has been mainly used by its residents only for living, for leisure and work people went to Amsterdam. To shake this image of and offer more than a nice place to sleep, things had to change. In the 1990's Almere got its own train connection and motorway, and developed itself as a festival city with festivals like the Kamermuziekfestival (chamber music festival through the city of Almere), beach festival ZAND (at Almere Strand) and Almere Haven Festival (harbour festival in Almere Haven). Almere was no longer a full suburban town and not yet a real urban city. And they have been looking for this urban culture and city look and feel from then onwards. They developed theatres, expanded their central shopping centre, pompous architecture was being developed in neighbourhoods like Muziekwijk and Filmwijk, and they tried to attract an institute for higher education to the city. Rem Koolhaas, who developed the new city centre, explained his plans as follows: "The plan is to a certain degree an attack on everything Almere is: Almere is low, the plan is high; Almere is a grid, the plan is full of diagonals; Almere is low density, the plan is high density. More than anything [the plan] wants to be different than Almere" (Webb, 2010). However, it still doesn't have that city like feel they are looking for.

Social cohesion has been an important theme for the city council from the early days on. In the 1970's this was focussed at emancipating the working class, while nowadays it is more aimed at making the spatial structure contribute in a positive way to social connection in districts or neighbourhoods (Berg et al., 2007, p. 141). The policy documents have been organised by three geographical areas from the beginning. Ideas and plans were always developed for and tested by the residential, close to home area, the city area as a whole and a regional profile that had to be developed.

Traditionally a New Town's first focus is cultural policy on general wellbeing of its residents, through accessible activities focussing on social cohesion and education

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[7] Dutch original text: "zowel een bijdrage leveren aan een gezond natuurlijk milieu als de ontwikkeling van een stedelijke cultuur."

(Meggelen, unknown, p. 49). Until the 2000's this first phase could be seen in Almere's cultural policy. From then onwards, Almere focuses on the second phase which is concerned with creating an own cultural identity that is authentic, but can also rival with other city's cultural identities because of its artistic quality (Meggelen, unknown, p. 49).

FACTS & FIGURES

Founding date	1974
Area[8]	248,77 km^2
Population (2011)	190.766
Projected population (2030)[9]	350.000

3.3 CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY

The research discipline of comparative cultural policies is still young. UNESCO and the European Council were the first to commission these types of research (Belfiore, 2004, p. 4-5). The European Commission had a strong incentive for cross-national researches of cultural policies, to develop standards for several public policies. They were also interested in how different countries had dealt with certain repetitive problems. The biggest methodological difficulties of this type of research are the inconsistencies in the data collection and data (Belfiore, 2004, p. 6). The data is collected differently in every country and at a different moment in time. In every country a local collection of artistic disciplines are included in the data. Besides that, every policy is very much influenced by national politics and institutional and administrative differences between countries. Most studies occur with solely quantitative comparisons that try to produce statistics that explain differences of cultural spending between countries. Because of this criticism, my research approach will take into account both quantitative data like statistics as well as qualitative data such as interviews and policy documents.

A cultural policy can be described as "the variegated forms of institutional structures that have been set in place by national and local government to support, as well as regulate,

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[8] Source: Wikipedia, retrieved 14 June 2012.
[9] Source: Almere.nl, retrieved July 7th 2012.

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the heritage and the diverse creative and artistic endeavours that make up the creative sector" (Belfiore, 2004, p. 17). When looking at this definition, it is not strange that Belfiore (2004) advocates for a more in-depth study of the cultural, social and political history, together with an understanding of a country's legal and administrative system to comparatively discuss cultural policies in different countries.

Another pitfall many cross-national comparative studies fall into is ignoring the specificity of the social, cultural and political context of a country or city (Belfiore, 2004, p. 43). The aims of most of these researches are to find universal concepts, trends and solutions for all of the industrialized societies. As the small cities theory has also shown, a city's and country's specific history, traditions and attitude are strong influencers of the type and success of cultural policy. There are no universal blueprints that can be applied to every city or country. A city's or country's localities have to be included in the analysis of cultural policy to truly evaluate it.

Typical for case study research is the aim of gaining an in-depth insight into a specific phenomenon, community, organisation or person (Bryman, 2004, p. 48-49). My two cases are so called exemplifying cases (Bryman, 2004, p. 51), since they allow me to get in-depth knowledge on the topic of New Towns and how they develop cultural policy. Hantraits expresses the aim of this type of research as follows: "The aim may be to seek an explanation for similarities and differences or to gain a greater awareness and a deeper understanding of social reality in different national contexts" (Bryman, 2004, p.53). This nicely sums up the aims of this research.

3.4 DATA COLLECTION

3.4.1 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

This research is organised in two phases. Phase one starts with a thorough investigation of the cities' cultural policy/ art strategy. The policy documents of both cities are accessible through the municipality websites.[10] These documents were read and compared on a first group of topics, namely the organisational facts, vision and goals, and budget. To further elaborate on what I had read in the policy documents, as well as to fill

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[10] www.milton-keynes.gov.uk and www.gemeente.almere.nl

the gaps between the two policy documents and to generate the missing quantitative data, I organised an interview with the cultural officer of each city. The interview was an unstructured interview with a topic list which was provided to the cultural officers a few days before the interview. For the topic list see appendix A and for the transcripts of the interviews see appendix B and C.

In the United Kingdom a policy document is a political document on which politicians can be held accountable, while a strategy is a content driven document that sets out the goals and aims for the chosen period but does not have to be politically approved. There are hardly any cities in the UK with an actual cultural policy, but almost all have an Arts Strategy. However in the context of this thesis I prefer to use the term cultural policy for both countries, meaning a content driven document that sets out the goals and aims for the future of the cultural field of a city.

3.4.2 QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH

The second phase of this research focuses on gaining comparable, qualitative data to give a more objective judgment of the impact of the cultural policies. We have developed five micro indicators to evaluate the success of the cultural policies by using three sources by Bianchine and Landry (1994), Landry et al. (1996) and online source *The Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe*[11]. General social-demographic characteristics (e.g. number of inhabitants, average income, and age segregation) were added to the mix of micro indicators to create comparable data.

In the mid 1990's Comedia, founded by Charles Landry, was one of the first to develop the concept of creative cities via developing and exploring new concepts and testing the validity of these concepts by case studies. Two of their papers, of 1994 and 1996, gave many pointers to develop indicators to measure creative cities. Working Paper 3: Indicators of a Creative City (Bianchini & Landry, 1994) assesses a methodology to measure urban viability and vitality. These indicators have been developed from a variety of sources, namely the views of policy-makers, academics, public opinion as well as analysing a wide range of data and trends used in traditional quality of life studies.

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[11] Accessible through www.culturalpolicies.net

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Bianchini and Landry address (among other criteria) the necessity of a certain critical mass and level of diversity that is necessary to develop creative processes in a city (Bianchini & Landry, 1994, p. 26-28). Critical mass for a city means both the presence of infrastructure, financial and human capital, as well as a social and cultural critical mass. A cultural critical mass is described as having more than one type of attraction (i.e. museums, theatres, parks) and the different components of a city's creative milieu (i.e. the city's history, image, public places, calendar of activities) (Bianchini & Landry, 1994, p. 27). When a city does not have this critical mass, creative ways have to be found to make "more out of less" (Bianchini & Landry, 1994, p. 27) or by creating new critical mass.

Diversity is also defined economically, social and culturally by Bianchini and Landry (1994, p. 28). A diverse economic base will make your city's economy more adaptable to change. A social diverse base has to do with different levels of income, education and ethnicity in a city to make a lively civil society. Cultural diversity stimulates a rich definition of culture in all the chains of production: production, consumption and distribution of culture. Together this diversity will provide a city with a rich range of possibilities which can generate new ideas for urban problems. It makes a city more adaptable to change.

Bianchini and Landry (1994) also address the necessity of having an own identity as a city and being distinctive. This own identity has economic benefits, it increases the attractiveness of a city, but most importantly "it creates the preconditions for establishing civic pride, community spirit and the necessary caring for the urban environment" (Bianchini & Landry, 1994, p. 31). They state that it is easier for older cities to create this identity, they have layers of history to build their identity on. Identity building for New Towns is more difficult but not undoable. There is always some sort of history on which references can be drawn, but also dreaming about a collective future builds this identity and sets a city apart from other cities.

The 1996 paper by Landry, Bianchini, Ebert, Gnad and Kunzmann, in which they make a comparison between creative cities in England and Germany, addresses some more topics from which indicators can be generated. It is generally accepted that the history of a city strongly influences a city's capacity to become a creative city (Landry et al., 1996, p. 10-11). This has both to do with the passing on of creative skills as well as the image of a city

that is created over time. In New Towns there is however no long history to rely on. It is more like painting on a blank canvas to trigger creativity and giving the planners the chance to learn from mistakes in other New Towns. Although these New Towns do not have a shared history that goes back eras, they actively record history as it is being made.

Another generally accepted activity to boost creativity in a city are signature events and organisations (Landry et al., 1996, p. 15). Organising festivals make the arts more accessible and gives people with different perspectives a chance to meet and share ideas. They are also a strong promotional tool to generate national and international publicity for a city.

The third source for indicators is *The Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe* which was founded in 1998, initiated by the Council of Europe. The Compendium is a web based information and monitoring system of cultural policies and its research. They have mapped and keep updating the national cultural policies. The structure they have used to map these policies has generated certain indicators for me. It has made me look at how the decision making process is organised, what role the city council sees for itself concerning arts and how organisations and budget are divided among the disciplines.

These micro indicators have then been grouped by theme into five macro indicators: Concentration and Distribution of cultural organisations in the cities (e.g. total cultural organisations in the city, division of cultural organisations among districts), Use and Impact of the Budget (e.g. total cultural budget, grants and funds from outside the city council), Impact and Development of Audiences (e.g. average attendance), Positioning of the City (e.g. other cities located within a range of 20km) and last but not least the Impact of the Cultural Policy (e.g. percentage succeeded goals and new audiences reached). For the complete datasheet, see appendix E. Because of the lack of certain information or unavailability, a short list of indicators has been made that only includes the four macro indicators which generated comparable data. This short list will be in parts in chapter 4, the results, but is included in full in appendix D.

The input for the indicators comes from different sources in the two countries. Data is related to the year 2008 and 2011, unless stated otherwise. Generally social-economic information related to number of inhabitants, average income and age segregation came for Almere from the *Sociale Atlas 2011* and for Milton Keynes from the *Population Bulletin* and the *Quick Stats* document.

Information related to the cultural organisation in the cities both came from the cultural policy documents and the organisation's own websites. Data related to the audience indicators were generated for Almere by the nota *Vrije Tijd en Cultuur in Almere*, which provided me with very extensive information on all the cultural organisations and disciplines located in Almere and the cultural behaviour of Almere's citizens. For Milton Keynes, this information was generated by the *Active People Survey 2008*. Unfortunately this research has only been done in 2008 and no recent information is available. Input for the budget indicators came from the cultural policy and the budget schemes, which were provided to me after the interviews with the cultural officers. The impact of the cultural policy was measured by the ratio between the completed goals and the not yet completed goals, as well as the audience development of the different art disciplines between 2008 and 2011. For the audience development in Almere the nota *Vrije Tijd* was used, for Milton Keynes the *Active People Survey* was used for input. The types of cultural values and goals were mapped according to the theories of Throsby (2010) and Greffe and Pflieger (2005).

3.5   DATA ANALYSIS

3.5.1   QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

The policy documents of Milton Keynes and Almere were read and compared on three main topics: the organisation behind the policy, the aims and goals of the policy, and the budget. Quotes of these topics were copied in an excel sheet to create an overview of the content of the document. This subjective, textual interpretation of the texts gives a first impression of the similarities and differences between the policies of the cities.

The interviews held with the cultural officers were transcribed and are used to fill the gaps in information that were found in the policy documents. Besides that they generated missing information for the quantitative analysis.

3.5.2 Quantitative analysis

There is no standard well developed method to quantitatively evaluate cultural policies, so the following method has been developed in consultation with my thesis supervisor. The success of the method will be evaluated in the conclusions in chapter 5.

The micro indicators are grouped into five macro indicators. For each micro indicator per city the corresponding data is collected (when available) for the years 2008 and 2011, unless stated otherwise. Then, the difference between the data in 2008 and 2011 is calculated as a percentage of increase or decrease. All the percentages per macro indicators are than summed up and divided by the total number of micro indicators within this macro indicator, which generates an overall percentage of increase or decrease per macro indicator. Both the generated results from the micro indicators as the overall percentages of the macro indicators are compared between the two cities. So, for instance we can say there is an overall increase on the theme of distribution and concentration of cultural organisations, while the amount of cultural organisations per inhabitant has decreased between 2008 and 2011.

One has to take into account that because of adding those together positive and negative results will be neutralized, as well as large increases or decreases will be levelled by other moderate results.

4. RESULTS

4.1 ALMERE

This chapter shows the results of the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the cultural policy of Almere. The qualitative analysis looks at the statements in the cultural policy document and is supplemented with information from the interview. The quantitative analysis looks at the impact of the cultural policy for the years 2008 and 2011 and whether this matches with the written ambitions in the policy document.

4.1.1 QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS
4.1.1.1 ORGANISATIONAL FACTS

Almere's cultural policy named *Stad met verbeelding* (City with Imagination) has been written for the period 2009-2012. This period is equal to the grants and funds awarded by the other Dutch governments. The author of this document is the *Dienst Maatschappelijke Ontwikkeling* (DMO) (Social Development Department) who have a dedicated culture department. The culture department took off at the end of the 1990's with 10 employees as part of the department *Leisure Time and Sport*. Over time this has evolved into a smaller culture department which is formed by four people, who each are responsible for part of the cultural portfolio. They are in direct contact with the cultural organisations. Culture is being perceived as a means to goal in Almere, so the Culture department has to fight to develop the arts and culture artistically and content driven. The culture department is often asked to take part in a program of another department, to use culture as an instrument, but they only choose to participate when it is artistically interesting.

The department can operate quite freely from the council. They evaluate once a year, when progress and problems are discussed. However, councillors are not always aware that the cultural portfolio is an attractive portfolio for the media. So when a cultural organisation hits the local news, the councillors are woken up about the public profile of the portfolio.

The stakeholders of the cultural policy in Almere can be made visible in the following graph.

Figure 1. Stakeholders of Cultural Policy of Almere

In the KEA research (2006) the cultural and creative sector is delineated in a core and three circles around it. The core and first circle make up what is called the Cultural Industries. The second and third circles make up the creative industries. This division is not used in either the Milton Keynes or Almere cultural policy document. Both have made their own definition of which disciplines they include in the cultural policy.

Almere uses the model of the *Vereniging Nederlandsse Gemeente* (Association for Dutch Municipalities) which has been designed especially for local governments to map their cultural field. This model by Cor Wijnen divides the cultural field into six disciplines: Film, Media and Literature, Performing Arts, Amateur Arts and Arts Education, Visual Arts and Architecture, Festivals, and Cultural Heritage (Stad met verbeelding, 2008, p. 30).

4.1.1.2 VISION AND GOALS

The vision of the cultural policy of Almere on the period 2009-2012 is the following: "Het realiseren van een zo volledig mogelijk cultuuraanbod dat past bij de omvang van de stad. Met dit aanbod dragen wij bij aan de hechte, leefbare samenleving en versterken we de

identiteit van de stad" (Gemeente Almere, 2008, p. 17). Their aim is twofold. It aims on the one hand at offering a full pallet of cultural activities, suitable for the city of Almere. And on the other hand, with these cultural activities they want to contribute to a close, liveable society and enhance the identity of the city. Culture is thus supported for its artistic value as well as its social value.

Almere
Performing Arts
Festivals
Media and Literature
Visual Arts and Architecture
Film
Amateur Arts and Arts Education,
Cultural Heritage

Figure 2. Cultural Disciplines in Culture Policy of Almere

This vision has been translated into three geographical levels that each aim at a specific goal: (1) residential area, (2) the city area and (3) the regional profile. These three sub goals are specified by several pillars. Within the residential area the goals are bringing culture/arts closer to the people, enhancing the cultural infrastructure and enhancing the economic potential of culture. For instance, having an arts bus driving to every neighbourhood in order to make art accessible. On a city level, talent development and enhancing (top) culture/arts in Almere are the main focus points. On a regional level the focus lies on bringing landscape arts and architecture more to the forefront as unique selling points of Almere. Almere has also formulated how these levels should interact: "Dat leidt bij ons tot de conclusie dat het belangrijk is een laagdrempelig aanbod te hebben in de directe woonomgeving, aangevuld met een kwalitatief hoogwaardig cultureel aanbod in het centrum en op een beperkt aantal plaatsen in de rest van de stad" (Gemeente Almere, p. 15). Almere wants to offer easy accessible arts close to home, supplemented with a high quality level of cultural activities in the city centre and a limited number of other places in the city area.

The phase of strong governmental initiatives in culture is over, according to Sierts. Theatre groups Bonte Hond and Suburbia both came from a joined session between the three governmental levels, national, regional and local. All three levels supported the first

years of development, but over time these organisations became more financially independent. Almere is more in the phase of supporting initiatives and making connections, instead of building from scratch. They also try to support and stimulate the development of the organisations that are already present, into more independent organisations. These financially difficult times, makes that cultural organisations have to rethink their goals and objectives, their raison d'etre, which is a good development according to Sierts. It makes some cultural organisations flourish in their creativity and they make connections they did not think of before.

Sierts states that the cultural identity of Almere is not yet very strong, but is starting to develop. At unexpected moments, when for instance the museum de Paviljoens is not granted a national subsidy while getting a great review, people realize that culture is important for the city. Almere uses mainly architecture and landscape arts to distinguish its cultural identity.

4.1.1.3 BUDGET

There is quite a big difference between the openness about the budget between Almere and Milton Keynes. Almere has written down per organisation per year with which amount they are supporting these organisations. An average amount of € 15.500.000 is being made available by the Almere city council to support the arts. Most of this budget is being invested in the development and maintenance of cultural buildings, since you need a stage before you can present a theatre performance. Besides that, the city council likes to invest in iconic buildings, to produce a landmark for the city.

With the current economic situation, the city of Almere also has to cut back their budget. The Culture department has chosen to cut back on the organisations with a building and try to save as much money for projects and productions. However, these cut backs could not have come at a worser time. Sierts says that the cultural program is just getting up to speed and the first results are being booked, but this level of development cannot be maintained because of the cut backs. This means that the cultural development with municipality support will stagnate, while it just started to blossom.

4.1.2 Quantitative analysis

Per macro indicator the results will be discussed and made visual through maps, graphs and tables. In paragraph 4.3 the results of the two cities will be compared.

4.1.2.1 Concentration and Distribution of Cultural Organisations

The concentration and distribution of cultural organisations in Almere is evaluated by the total cultural organisations, the number of cultural organisation per 1000 inhabitants, the age of cultural organisations and how the organisations are located in Almere.

In Almere 33 cultural organisations can be found that are supported by municipality funds. Only these cultural organisations are part of the analysis, however there are of course other cultural organisations that have no (or not yet) municipal funding from the culture program. It is quite surprising to find that between two policy periods no more cultural organisations have been added to the policy portfolio. Some have gone out and some came in, but the total stayed at 33 organisations that are structurally supported by the city council. This might be explained by the fact that the cultural officers stimulate the organisations to become independent of council subsidies and help them to find other sources of income.

Since Almere is a young city, one would expect that the cultural organisations are also young of age. We can see that from the measurement in 2008 to the measurement in 2011 five organisations have moved from being 10 years or younger to being older than 10 years. This shows that at the end of 1990's and early 2000's there has been a strong investment in culture and quite a lot of new cultural organisations were established. In 2011 twelve of the 33 organisations are older than 10 years, compared to just 7 organisations in 2008. This has resulted in an increase of 71% in the older cultural organisations. A few of these organisations, such as Vis a Vis had their organisation first located somewhere else and have moved to Almere over time. The rest of the organisations are originated in Almere.

Concentration and Distribution of Cultural Organizations	Almere		
	2008	**2011**	**+/-**
cultural organisations	33	33	**0%**
total cultural organisations	33	33	
nr inhabitants	183.322	190.766	
amount of CO per 1000 inhabitants	**0,18**	**0,17**	**-4%**
cultural organisations older than 10 years	7	12	**71%**
			-
cultural organisations younger than 10 years	26	21	**19%**
total cultural organisations in city centre	20	20	**0%**
total cultural organisations in outer neighbourhoods	13	13	**0%**
cultural organisations in city centre	20	20	
inhabitants city centre	106.127	108.167	
nr of cultural organisation per 1000 inhabitants centre	**0,19**	**0,18**	**-2%**
cultural organisation in outer neighbourhoods	13	13	
inhabitants outer neighbourhoods	77.195	82.599	
nr of cultural organisation per 1000 inhabitants outer neighnourhoods	**0,17**	**0,16**	**-7%**
Total			**5%**

Figure 3. Concentration and Distribution of Cultural Organizations

When we look at how these organisations are spread among the city, we can easily see that there is a strong concentration of organisations in the district of Almere Stad which is the city centre. There is a second concentration in the district Almere Haven. This is the oldest part of Almere, so here was the first centre of the city were the first cultural organisations established. The Culture department also finds it important to have the professional organisations with a regional and national stature located in the city centre.

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Age of Cultural Organisations in Almere
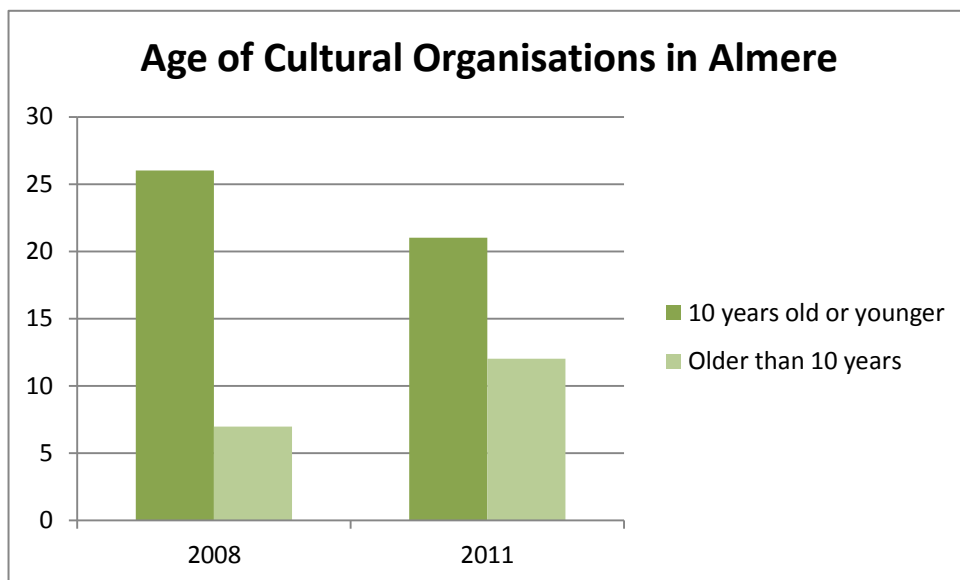
Figure 4. Age of Cultural Organisations in Almere

Because no new cultural organisations have been developed and the population has grown between 2008 and 2011 we see a small decline in the number of cultural organisations per 1000 inhabitants.

When all these micro indicators are combined, this results in an overall growth of 5% in the concentration and distribution of cultural organisation in Almere.
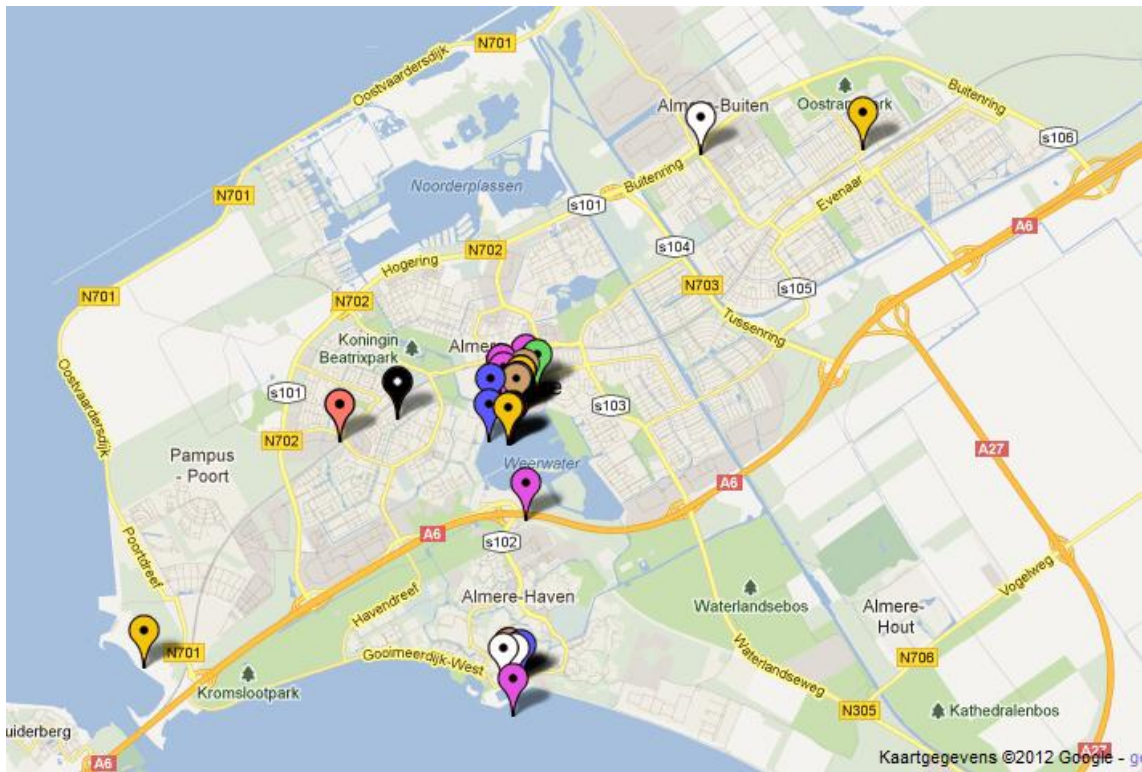
Figure 5. Distribution of Cultural Organisations in Almere

Legenda	
Green	Visual Arts
Orange	Performing Arts
Purple	Festivals
Red	Literature
Blue	Cultural Heritage
Black	Amateur Arts
Brown	Media/Film
White	Creative Industries
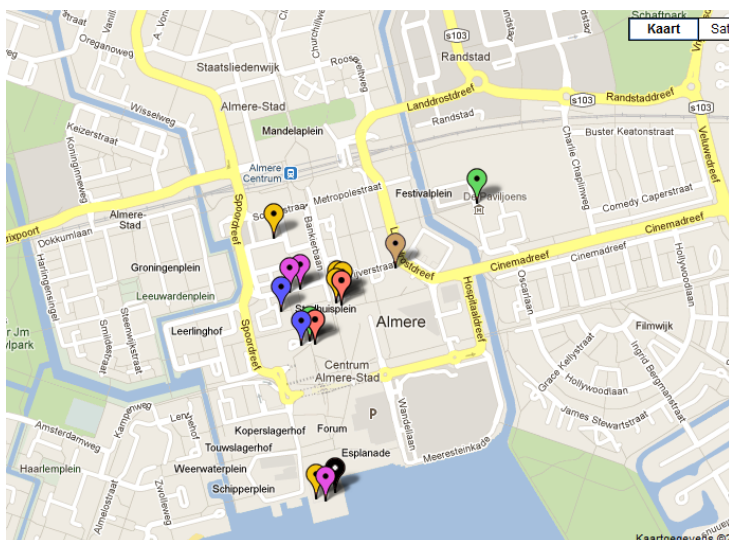
Figure 6. Distribution of Cultural Organisations in Almere city centre.

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The total budget for the cultural program of Almere has increased between 2008 and 2011 from € 14.678.800 to a budget of € 17.110.930. The part of this budget that has been provided by other than municipal funding (i.e. national or regional funding) has increased with 68% from € 150.000 to € 292.390. This means that between 2008 and 2011 the contribution from the national and regional funds has gone up from 1% of the total budget to 2%.

Use and Impact of the Budget			
	Almere		
	2008	**2011**	**+/-**
total cultural budget	€ 14.678.800	€ 17.110.930	17%
total cultural budget	€ 14.678.800	€ 17.110.930	
nr inhabitants	183.322	190.766	
Public investment in culture per inhabitant	**€ 80,07**	**€ 89,70**	12%
public investment in culture per inhabitant	€ 80,07	89,70	
average income 2005/2008	30.500	34.600	
percentage of average income spent on culture by muncipality	**0,263%**	**0,259%**	-1%
amount local grants and funds	€ 14.528.800	€ 16.818.000	
total cultural budget	€ 14.678.800	€ 17.110.930	
ratio local funds of total budget	**99%**	**98%**	-1%
amount regional and national grants and fund awarded to the city	€ 150.000	292.930	
total cultural budget	€ 14.678.800	17.110.930	
ratio regional and national funds of total budget	**1,0%**	**1,7%**	68%
Total			**19%**

Figure 7. Use and Impact of the Budget

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With the increase of the cultural budget, the cultural spending per inhabitant has increased from € 80,07 in 2008 tot € 89,70 in 2011. This is an increase of 12%. The average income of residents of Almere has increased between 2008 and 2011 with €4.100,-. This results in a small decrease in the amount spend per inhabitant on culture when compared to the average income. In 2008 0,263% of the average income was spend on culture, and in 2011 this has decreased to 0,259%.

When these micro indicators are combined, this results in an overall growth of 19% in the use and impact of the cultural budget in Almere between 2008 and 2011.

4.1.2.3 IMPACT AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE AUDIENCE

When we look at the general cultural participation in Almere we see a significant increase of inhabitants visiting a cultural activity at least five times a year. This has increased with 28% over time. This a striking development, since the cultural participation in The Netherlands in general has decreased over time.

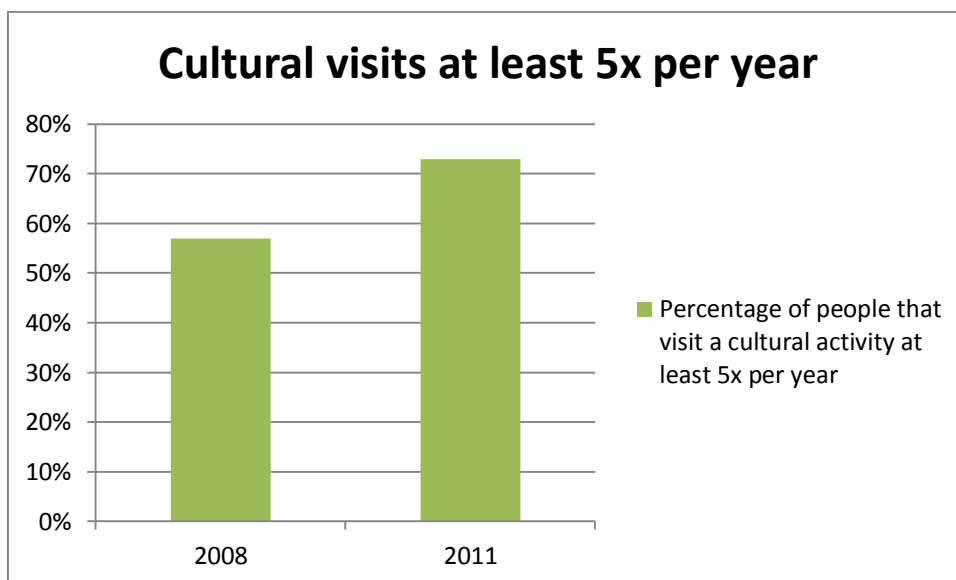

Figure 8. Cultural Participation in Almere

As we can see when we look at more than the general cultural participation, we can see that almost all categories that have been researched have increased from 2008 to 2011.

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Impact and Development of the Audience			
	Almere		
	2008	**2011**	**+/-**
percentage of people that go to culture at least 5x per year (in and outside own city)	57%	73%	28%
percentage of age group that visit arts at least 1x culture: age 18-24	98%	97%	-1%
percentage of age group that visit arts at least 1x culture: age 25-44	84%	95%	13%
percentage of age group that visit arts at least 1x culture: age 45-64	82%	93%	13%
percentage of age group that visit arts at least 1x culture: age 65+ (in and outside own city)	69%	78%	13%
cultural visits to organisations in their own city			
percentage of inhabitants that not visits cultural organisation	13%	15%	15%
percentage of inhabitants that incidentally visit culture (up to 5 times)	20%	34%	70%
percentage of inhabitants that frequent visit culture (more than 5 times)	67%	51%	24%
frequent cultural participation of inhabitants of centre	35,5%	51%	
frequent cultural participation for the city as a whole	67%	51%	
participation in centre related to average	**53%**	**100%**	89%
frequent cultural participation of inhabitants of outer neighbourhoods	37%	48%	
frequent cultural participation for the city as a whole	67%	51%	
participation in outer neighbourhoods related to average	**56%**	**95%**	71%
Total			**29%**

Figure 9. Impact and Development of the Audience

Only the percentage of people in the age group 18-24 years has decreased with 1%. We can also see that the cultural participation with local organisations and activities has increased more than the general cultural participation. Especially the group that visits cultural activities up to five times per year has increased with 70%.

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The total impact and development of the audience of Almere has increased with 29%. Much more could be said about these results, but because there is no comparable data, we leave the analysis to these few pointers.

4.1.2.4 IMPACT OF CULTURAL POLICY

The impact of the cultural policy is measured by the percentage of goals that have been reached within policy deadlines and by the audience development during the running of the policy.

When we analyse the formulated goals by classifying them on the values formulated by Throsby (2010) and the roles of culture in urban strategies formulated by Greffe and Pflieger (2005), this generates the following figure.

Cultural Goals of Almere 2008-2012				
		Culture as an end in itself	Culture as a dimension of urban strategy	
Producing and consuming culture	artistic excellence, innovativeness and accessibility	2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 28, 29, 30, 31		**15**
Cultural Identity	to recognize and celebrate a national, regional or local identity	11, 19, 33	7, 32	**5**
Diversity	shared values, rituals and experiences, contributes to social cohesion	9	10	**2**
Continuity	heritage and education	1, 4, 20, 22, 25, 26, 27	14, 21, 23, 24, 34	**12**
		26	**8**	

Figure 10. Classification of the cultural goals of Almere

We see that most of the goals that are formulated in the cultural policy of Almere can be classified as aiming at producing and consuming arts products and are focussed on

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culture as an end in itself which means that they aim at creating arts and culture for its artistic qualities and not for its social or economic qualities. Another thing that catches the eye is that approximately 75% of the goals can be classified as focussing on culture as an end in itself and do not integrate with other dimensions of the urban strategy. You would expect that in New Towns, where cultural identity is young and social cohesion is important to create, more goals would be aimed at these types of cultural value. Although heritage in Almere is still young, quite a lot of the goals are aimed at preserving the heritage that is there. And Almere also invests quite strongly in organisations and projects for youngsters, both with a cultural product as an end result as well as culture as part of a social strategy.

During the previous policy period there were no hard goals formulated, so we cannot compare the impact of the policy between 2008 and 2011. However, we can see that for the policy period 2009-2012 34 goals were formulated. Now, half way 2012 we can already see that 95% of the goals set in the policy have been reached. Some have been altered over time, or are so successful that they are continued in the next policy period.

Impact of Cultural Policy			
	Almere		
	2008	**2011**	**+/-**
total goals reached within policy deadlines	0	32	
total goals set in scheme	0	34	
percentage of goals reached within deadline	**0%**	**95%**	
total cultural consumers	57%	73%	

Figure 11. Impact of Cultural Policy

Overall, this results in a very positive growth figure for the impact of the cultural policy. This is however distorted by the fact that there were no goals clearly formulated for the previous policy period. But even without that we could say that the impact of the policy, when measured by cultural participation, has increased.

4.2   MILTON KEYNES

4.2.1 QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS
4.2.1.1 ORGANISATIONAL FACTS

Milton Keynes Art Strategy has been written for the period 2010-2014 and has the title Milton Keynes Arts Strategy 2010-2014 Refreshed Strategy. This strategy has been written by the Arts Team of Milton Keynes City Council. Arts development took off in the 1980's in England. Milton Keynes used artists in residencies to build new communities in this New Town. The Arts Team had been made redundant in 2000 and it took until 2006 for a new team to be installed. The Arts Council of England pressured the city council to reinstall the team and so by 2006 when Lucy Bedford came on post things really had be build from scratch again. The Arts Team consist of four people, who each are responsible for part of the portfolio of cultural organisations. They are the direct contact persons for the organisations in their portfolio. However, their role is both strategic and advisory, since they advise the city council for its decisions.

In the UK there is a specific policy to support Public Art, called Section 106. Whenever there is a new commercial building being build, a percentage of the building's costs have to be given to a public arts project. Milton Keynes is very active in detecting and securing this money. This has resulted in over 200 public art objects. Securing this money and developing a trajectory from it, is also a task of the cultural officer. Bedford states that this public art is very important for a New Town, to make it more sellable, to make a connection with the neighbourhood and to support a sense of pride on the city. Besides that the cultural officers are very busy with envisioning the future of the cultural sector of Milton Keynes in the years to come when it has to grow to the size of Bristol. They actively think "what does Bristol have that we do not, do we want to have it and how are we going to get it". The politicians are however the decision makers and the Arts Team provides specialist information for them to base their decisions on. Decisions like to make Milton Keynes a world class city by creating distinctive arts and heritage are things the whole council decides up to.

The stakeholders of the cultural policy in Milton Keynes can be summarized in the following graph.

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Figure 12. Stakeholders of Cultural Policy in Milton Keynes

In Milton Keynes the following creative practices or disciplines are included in the term arts: theatre, drama, dance, festival/carnival, music, literature, visual arts, photography, film & media, craft, design and public art (MK Arts Strategy, 2010, p. 3).

Milton Keynes
Performing Arts: theatre, drama, dance
Festival/carnival
Music
Literature
Visual arts
Photography
Film & Media
Crafts
Design
Public Art

Figure 13. Cultural Disciplines in Cultural Policy Milton Keynes

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4.2.1.2 VISION AND GOALS

Milton Keynes has formulated the following vision for the cultural policy document of the period 2010-2014: "Milton Keynes will flourish with artistic energy" (Milton Keynes Council Arts Team, 2010, p. 4). This vision underlines the aim of the council to build on the creative and culture initiatives that are already present in the city, mainly located in the centre, but it also aspires to increase the level of cultural organisations in the outer districts. Two pages later it is stated that the "arts are used as a conduit to bring in new audiences, break down barriers and create social cohesion" (Milton Keynes Council Arts Team, 2010, p. 6). So Milton Keynes also values the arts for its artistic value and its social value.

Milton Keynes Arts Team has formulated four keywords that guide their strategy, namely Experimentation, Engagement, Commitment and Assets (Milton Keynes Council Arts Team, 2010, p. 29). Offering exciting and thriving cultural activities and places is meant with the keyword Experimentation. However, they do strongly focus on the city centre through capital development and the enhancing of arts buildings. Persuading local and sub-regional users to use Milton Keynes' arts facilities more often, is mentioned with the Engagement Keyword. The Commitment theme is put in place to keep up to date with a changing and growing population in the city. Building on the Assets Milton Keynes already has, by planning and investing in the arts infrastructure to grow into the standard level of culture in a major cultural city.

When creating this engagement with the culture of a city's inhabitants, it is important to create a joined sense of pride, ownership. A lot of this pride is linked to the architecture and public arts. Public art is especially important for creating an inspiring city and a feeling of belonging to a community. This policy document is strongly focussing on celebrating and promoting what is already there.

4.2.1.3 BUDGET

Milton Keynes gives much more words to how their funding is organised and explains per partner what they bring into the cultural field. Most of the budget is allocated to maintenance of buildings and other core costs such as salaries. The salary for the arts

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development officer is also paid from this same budget. Besides the city council, the Milton Keynes Community Foundation, Arts Gateway MK and the Arts Council England give funds and grants to cultural initiatives, for both short and long term projects. Bedford states that Milton Keynes has the mentality to make things happen, even when there is no municipal money available. They always try to look for other ways to finance interesting projects. Sponsoring is hard to set up since most of the Milton Keynes' businesses are new and need all their revenue to grow their company (Milton Keynes Council Arts Team, 2010, p. 11). This makes it more difficult for cultural organisations to generate sponsoring, compared to other UK cities of the same size. They do put a lot of effort in generating this public-private relationship for cultural organisations. However they do not mention a total amount of funds made available to the arts every year and do not provide a divided overview per organisation or sector.

   With these difficult economic times cultural budgets are under pressure as well. This makes it hard to make choices, according to Bedford. They cannot take on any new organisations into their portfolio and have to see how to divide the money over the organisations already in the portfolio. There are some cultural organisations that would ultimately have to close if the money of the municipality would disappear completely. The Arts Team however does help cultural organisations to find money elsewhere, to be creative and to find partners.

4.2.2 QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

Per macro indicator the results will be discussed and made visual through maps, graphs and tables. In paragraph 4.3 of this chapter the results of the two cities will be compared.

4.2.2.1 CONCENTRATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF CULTURAL ORGANISATIONS

The concentration and distribution of cultural organisations in Milton Keynes is evaluated by the total cultural organisations, the number of cultural organisation per 1000 inhabitants, the age of cultural organisations and how the organisations are located in Milton Keynes.

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Concentration and Distribution of the Cultural organizations			
	Milton Keynes		
	2008	**2011**	**+/-**
cultural organisations	26	28	**8%**
total cultural organisations	26	28	
nr inhabitants	196.687	241.490	
amount CO per 1000 inhabitants	**0,13**	**0,12**	**-12%**
cultural organisations older than 10 years	13	18	**38%**
cultural organisations younger than 10 years	13	10	**-23%**
total cultural organisations in city centre	6	8	**33%**
total cultural organisations in outer neighbourhoods	20	20	**0**
cultural organisations city centre	6	8	
inhabitants city centre	1.450	2.100	
nr of cultural organisation per 1000 inhabitants centre	**4,14**	**3,81**	**-8%**
cultural organisation in outer neighbourhoods	20	20	
inhabitants outer neighbourhoods	195.237	239.390	
nr of cultural organisation per 1000 inhabitants outer neighnourhoods	**0,10**	**0,08**	**-18%**
Total			**2%**

Figure 14. Concentration and Distribution of the Cultural Organizations

In Milton Keynes 26 cultural organisations in 2008 and 28 organisations in 2011 were supported by municipality funds. Only these cultural organisations are part of the analysis, however there are of course other cultural organisations that have no (or not yet) municipal funding from the culture program. Although we see a small increase in cultural organisations being supported by the city council, this is far less than they are making you believe when you read their ambitious Arts Strategy.

Since Milton Keynes is also a young city, one would expect that the cultural organisations are also young of age.

Age of Cultural Organisations in Milton Keynes
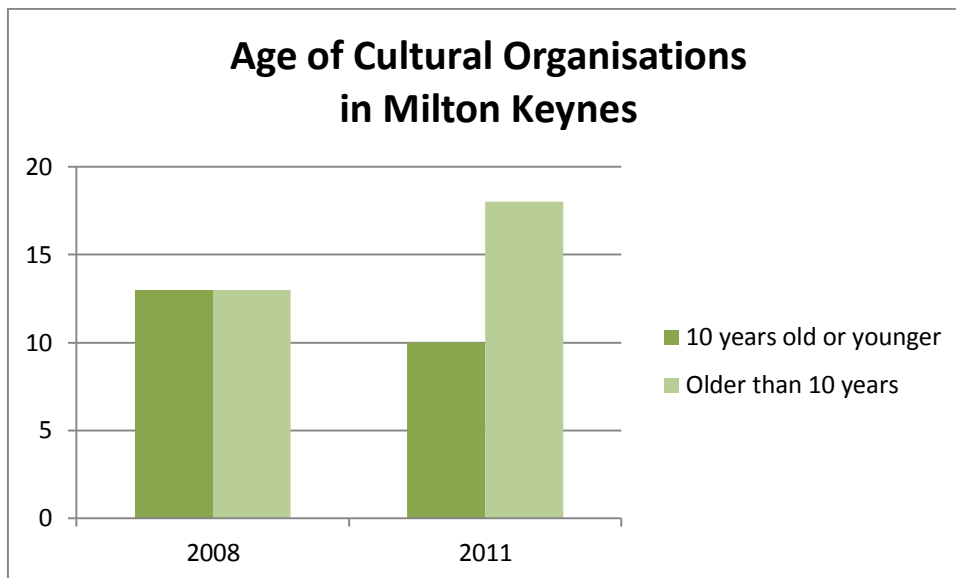
Figure 15. Age of Cultural Organisations in Milton Keynes

We can see that in 2008 there are the same amount of organisations that are 10 years and younger or older than 10 years. In 2011 the total cultural organisations has increased with two organisations and there are a lot of organisations beyond the 10 year boundary. This shows that at the end of 1990's and early 2000's there has been a strong investment in culture and quite a lot of new cultural organisations were established. In 2011 18 of the 28 organisations are older than 10 years, compared to just 13 organisations in 2008. This has resulted in an increase of 38% in the older cultural organisations.

When we look at how these organisations are spread among the city, we can easily see there is a strong concentration of organisations in Central Milton Keynes (see figures 16 and 17).
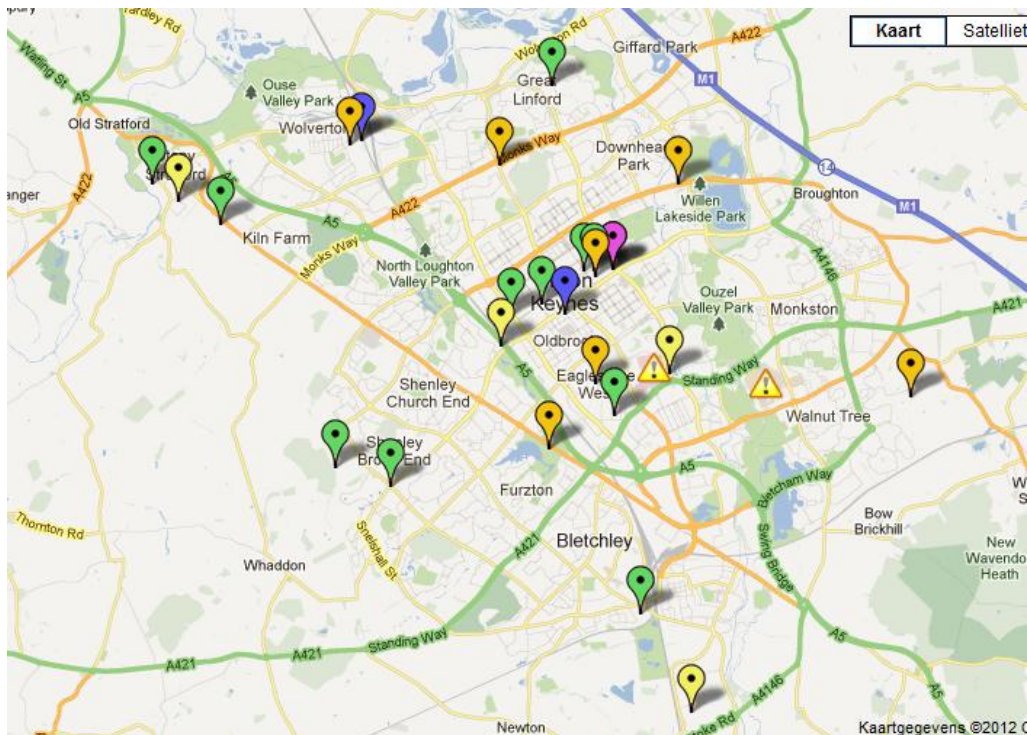
Figure 16. Distribution of Cultural Organisations in Milton Keynes

Even though two new cultural organisations were added to the portfolio of the municipality between 2008 and 2011, we see a small decline in the number of cultural organisations per 1000 inhabitants because the population has grown between 2008 and 2011.

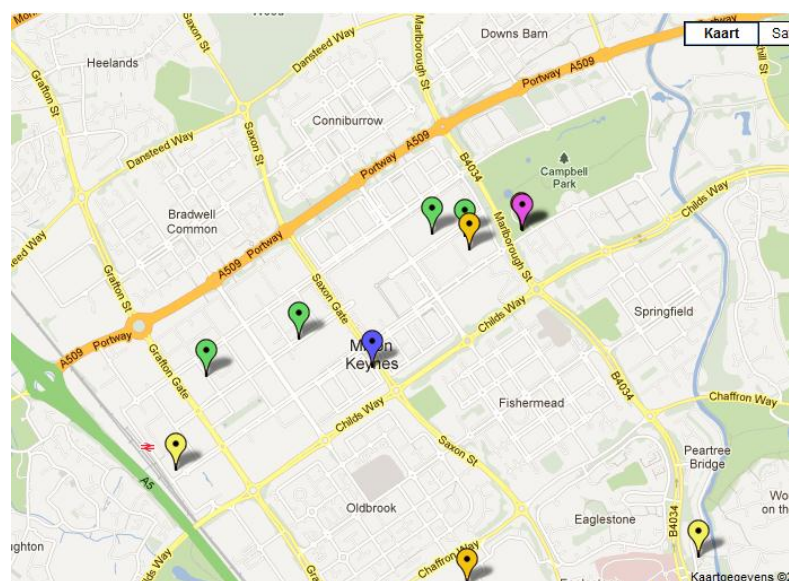| Legend	
Green	Visual Arts
Orange	Performing Arts
Purple	Festivals
Blue	Cultural Heritage
Yellow	Community Arts
Danger sign	Other

Figure 17. Distribution of Cultural Organisations in Milton Keynes Central

When all these micro indicators are combined, this results in an overall growth of 2% in the concentration and distribution of cultural organisation in Milton Keynes.

4.2.2.2 USE AND IMPACT OF THE BUDGET

The total budget for the cultural program of Milton Keynes has decreased with 15% between 2008 and 2011 from € 1.108.633 to a budget of € 937.670. The part of this budget that has been provided by other than municipal funding (i.e. national or regional funding) stayed consistent with an amount of approximately € 127.258 (£ 100.000).

Use and Impact of the Budget	Milton Keynes		
	2008	**2011**	**+/-**
total cultural budget	€ 1.135.891	€ 964.928	-15%
total cultural budget	€ 1.135.891	€ 964.928	
number of inhabitants	196.687	241.490	
public investment in culture per inhabitant	**€ 5,78**	**€ 4,00**	-31%
public investment in culture per inhabitant	€ 5,78	€ 4,00	
average income 2005/2008	€ 24.498	no data	
percentage of average income spent on culture by municipality	**0,024%**	**0%**	
amount local grants and funds	€ 1.008.622	€ 837.670	
total cultural budget	€ 1.135.891	€ 964.928	
ratio local funds of total budget	**89%**	**87%**	-2%
amount regional and national grants and fund awarded to the city	€ 127.258	€ 127.258	
total cultural budget	€ 1.135.891	€ 964.928	
ratio regional and national funds of total budget	**11%**	**13%**	18%
Total			**-8%**

Figure 18. Use and Impact of the Budget

The Arts Team annually applies for a grant from the Arts Council England for approximately £ 100.000. This means that in 2011 87% of the cultural budget comes from the municipality.

With a population of 241.490 in Milton Keynes in 2011, this results in an investment of public money in culture of € 4,- per inhabitant of the city. There were no consistent income data available to draw conclusions about the percentage of the average income that is spend by the municipality on culture.

When these micro indicators are combined, this results in an overall decline of 8% in the use and impact of the cultural budget in Milton Keynes between 2008 and 2011.

4.1.2.3 IMPACT AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE AUDIENCE

Audience participation is not very well researched in England. The most recent data come from the *Active People Survey 2008*. Unfortunately this survey has not been repeated yet and the municipality of Milton Keynes did not conduct any own research on this topic. This results in the following available data.

Impact and Development of the Audience	Milton Keynes		
	2008	**2011**	**+/-**
percentage of people that go to culture at least 1x per year (in and outside own city)	44%	n.d.	
percentage of age group that visit arts at least 1x culture: age 16-34	39%	n.d.	
percentage of age group that visit arts at least 1x culture: age 35-54	45%	n.d.	
percentage of age group that visit arts at least 1x culture: age 55+ (in and outside own city)	48%	n.d.	

Figure 19. Impact and Development of the Audience

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As is known about international comparative studies, there are always differences in the data gathering (Belfiore, 2004). The *Active People Survey* uses slightly different age categories than the Almere Monitor. I have grouped them to make them more comparable with the Dutch data. Unfortunately no conclusions can be drawn on the impact and development of the audience in Milton Keynes, because of a lack of data.

4.1.2.4 IMPACT OF CULTURAL POLICY

The impact of the cultural policy is measured by the percentage of goals that have been reached within policy deadlines and by the audience development during the running of the policy.

The cultural policy for Milton Keynes has been written for the period 2010-2014, so at the moment of evaluation we are half way through the policy period. This of course influences the impact of the policy. We can see that for the policy period 2010-2014 41 goals were formulated. There are no goals reached yet in 2011 and 2012. The first deadlines are planned in 2013 and 2014. However changes have been made to the goals, 10 goals were deleted and 11 new goals were introduced, so the total amount of goals has risen to 42 goals for 2014. The main aim of the revision each year is to make sure all the important projects are in there and are being supported.

When we analyse the formulated goals by classifying them by the values formulated by Throsby (2010) and the roles of culture in urban strategies formulated by Greffe and Pflieger (2005), this generates figure 20.

The reformulated list of goals can be classified as in figure 20. We see that most of the goals that are formulated in the cultural policy of Milton Keynes can be classified as aiming at producing and consuming arts products and are focussed on culture as an end in itself. Another thing that catches the eye, is that approximately 80% of the goals can be classified as focussing on culture as an end in itself and do not integrate it with other dimensions of the urban strategy. You would expect that in New Towns, where the cultural identity is young and social cohesion is important to create, that more goals

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would be aimed at these types of cultural value. Milton Keynes does not invest a lot in heritage and education, as can be drawn from the goals.

Because of the lack of data concerning audience development, previously no clear goals were formulated and because we are only halfway through the policy period, we cannot draw any comparable conclusions on the impact of the cultural policy of Milton Keynes in terms of percentage of growth or decline. They are however very conscience of their goals, because they update them every year and do this quite radically.

Cultural Goals of Milton Keynes 2011				
		culture as an end in itself	culture as a dimension of urban strategy	
Producing and Consuming culture	artistic excellence, innovativeness and accessibility	1.1 a, 1.1 b, 1.1 c, 1.1 d, 1.1 e, 1.2 a, 1.2 c, 1.2 d, 2.2 a, 2.2 c, 2.2 d, 2.2 f, 2.2 g, 2.2 h, 2.2 i, 2.3 b, 2.3 d, 2.3 h, 2.3 i, 3.1 a, 3.1 c, 3.1 d, 3.1 e, 3.1 f, 4.1 a, 4.1 d, 4.1 e, 4.1 f, 4.2 a, 4.2 b, 4.2 d, 4.2 e, 4.3 a, 4.3 b		**34**
Cultural Identity	to recognize and celebrate a national, regional or local identity	1.2 b, 2.3 f,	2.3 g,	**3**
Diversity	shared values, rituals and experiences, contributes to social cohesion		2.3 e	**1**
Continuity	heritage and education	2.1 b, 2.1 f	2.1 a, 2.1 e	**4**
		38	**4**	

Figure 20. Classification of the cultural goals of Milton Keynes

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4.3 ALMERE AND MILTON KEYNES COMPARED

The cities under investigation have been chosen because of their age difference, Milton Keynes is ten years older than Almere. For both New Towns one would expect that their main focus is on the social value of culture compared to the artistic value of culture. However, because of the age difference we expect Milton Keynes to be further developed and more focussed on the artistic value of culture than Almere. The rough economization of the Dutch cultural landscape is a development that has already taken place in the UK and has resulted in a new equilibrium. We expect this to have influenced the policies as well.

4.3.1 QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

4.3.1.1 ORGANISATIONAL FACTS

Both arts teams consist of four people and have a strategic and advisory role within the council. They are in direct contact with the cultural organisations and advise the councillors on their decision whom to support financially. There is however a difference in how they go about financing cultural organisations and projects. Almere operates from the perspective that they are willing to help organisations to get other money than city council subsidy. They help writing applications, make connections between organisations and try to support new initiatives with the money that is present. Milton Keynes' Arts Team is very active in generating other funds to realize projects that were not budgeted for in the arts strategy, but which they find important to support. They actively write applications, make connections with other departments within the city council and very actively use the Section 106 policy. This makes that their small arts budget can be enlarged and more projects can be realised.

When you compare the disciplines that are included in the cultural policies of Almere and Milton Keynes, we see the following differences in figure 21. Almere covers what Milton Keynes divides in Theatre, Dance, Drama, Music and Performing Arts with the single term Performing Arts. Almere combines Visual Arts and Architecture which also includes Public Arts, while Milton Keynes mentions these categories separately. Both cities mention their festival separately as a cultural domain.

Milton Keynes	Almere
Performing Arts: theatre, drama, dance	Performing Arts
Festival/carnival	Festivals
Music	
Literature	Media and Literature
Visual arts	Visual Arts and Architecture
Photography	
Film & Media	Film
Crafts	
Design	
Public Art	
	Amateur Arts and Arts Education,
	Cultural Heritage

Figure 21. Cultural Disciplines in Cultural Policies of Almere and Milton Keynes

Film, Media and Literature mentioned in both policies as cultural domains, although MK combines Film & Media while Almere combines Literature and Media. Although MK does not mention Amateur Arts and Arts Education in their first definition of arts, a few pages later six domains are stated to be the strongest domains in MK, where Community Arts is one of them. Domains that are only (separately) mentioned by MK are Photography, Design and Crafts, while Almere only mentions Cultural Heritage, in this case meaning archaeological finds, archives and a to be developed nature/culture museum. Milton Keynes does mention six disciplines that have been developed over time as their strongest disciplines, namely Visual Arts, Community Arts, Public Arts, Performing Arts, Creative Industries and Festivals. They are however open to new arts disciplines to be developed as a specialism.

4.3.1.2 VISION AND GOALS

Both cities value their arts and culture for both its artistic as its social value. The policies are focussing on two lines, namely creating and attracting world class artistic organisations and arts products while at the same time they are very much aware of the social role of culture, by providing culture within close reach through local arts centres and giving the city a cultural feel through iconic architecture, landscape art and public

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arts. Both cities also state that they want to build and keep on supporting what they already have, while stimulating others to develop new ideas.

Both cities try not to copy past cultural policies of other cities (Heur, 2010; Lewis & Donald, 2009), but look very closely at what fits their city. For instance, Milton Keynes has to grow to the size of Bristol. So the cultural officer looks at the cultural infrastructure of Bristol and evaluates what Bristol has that Milton Keynes does not and whether it would fit Milton Keynes to develop this. Both cities are very much aware of their difficult image. Although it is hard to turn this around, they both invest in creating a sense of pride among the inhabitants so they can spread the word.

4.3.1.3 BUDGET

The amount of money designated to culture differs greatly between the two cities, since Almere has a budget of approximately € 17.000.000 in 2011, while Milton Keynes has a budget of around € 964.000. Another difference is that Almere is very open about their budget, it is stated in the policy document segregated per cultural organisation. While Milton Keynes only mentions the total amount available.

Another thing that catches the eye is that both cities invest most of their budget in maintaining cultural buildings. The subsidies that go to cultural organisations are allocated to maintaince rather than programming. Just a very small part of the cultural budget is left for supporting projects.

4.3.2 QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

In this last part of the results, a comparison will be made of the quantitative result between Almere and Milton Keynes to gain a broader insight in the impact of cultural policies in New Towns.

4.3.2.1 CONCENTRATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF CULTURAL ORGANISATIONS

Almere scored a 5% growth for cultural concentration and distribution, while Milton Keynes scored only 2% growth. What were the main indicators that influence this score? The total number of cultural organisations included in the cultural policies of Almere and

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Milton Keynes are quite comparable, with respectively 33 and 28 organisations. However in recent years two new cultural organisations were added in the policy in Milton Keynes while there were no new organisations included in Almere.

Concentration and distribution of Cultural organizations	Almere			Milton Keynes		
	2008	**2011**	**+/-**	**2008**	**2011**	**+/-**
cultural organisations	33	33	**0%**	26	28	**8%**
total cultural organisations	33	33		26	28	
nr inhabitants	183.322	190.766		196.687	241.490	
amount CO per 1000 inhabitants	**0,18**	**0,17**	**-4%**	**0,13**	**0,12**	**-12%**
cultural organisations older than 10 years	7	12	**71%**	13	18	**38%**
cultural organisations younger than 10 years	26	21	**-19%**	13	10	**-23%**
total cultural organisations in city centre	20	20	**0%**	6	8	**33%**
total cultural organisations in outer neighbourhoods	13	13	**0%**	20	20	**0**
cultural organisations city centre	20	20		6	8	
inhabitants city centre	106.127	108.167		1.450	2.100	
nr of cultural organisation per 1000 inhabitants centre	**0,19**	**0,18**	**-2%**	**4,14**	**3,81**	**-8%**
cultural organisations in outer neighbourhoods	13	13		20	20	
inhabitants outer neighbourhoods	77.195	82.599		195.237	239.390	
nr of cultural organisation per 1000 inhabitants outer neighnourhoods	**0,17**	**0,16**	**-7%**	**0,10**	**0,08**	**-18%**
Total			**5%**			**2%**

Figure 22. Concentration and Distribution of the Cultural Organizations

When we analyse the amount of cultural organisations per 1000 inhabitants we get a better comparable result (see figure 22). In 2008 Almere scores 0,18 and in 2011 0,17. This decline originates in an increase in inhabitants from 183.322 to 190.766 inhabitants. This results in a decline of 4% in the period of 2008 to 2011. Milton Keynes scores respectively 0,13 and 0,12 cultural organisations per 1000 inhabitants in 2008 and 2011.

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These lower percentages are mainly caused by a higher absolute number of inhabitants. The population of Milton Keynes has grown much faster between 2008 and 2011 from 196.687 to 241.490 inhabitants in 2011. Because of this much stronger population growth in Milton Keynes their score declines with 12%.
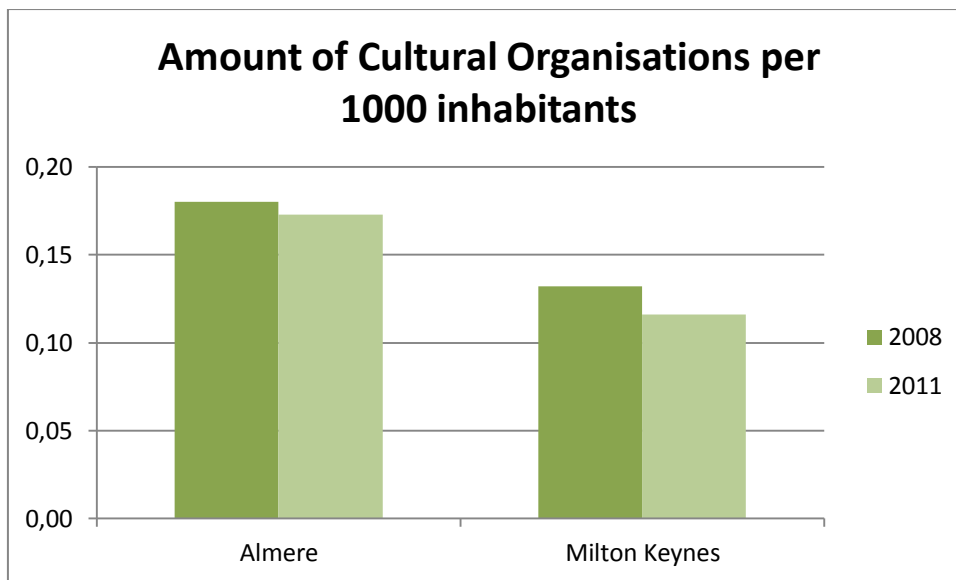
Amount of Cultural Organisations per 1000 inhabitants

Figure 23. Amount of Cultural Organisations per 1000 inhabitants

The change of maturity of the cultural organisations also influences the final score. In both cities the age of the cultural organisations is increasing and the amount of cultural organisations older than 10 years increases as well (see figure 24). In Almere this increase is much stronger with an increase of 71% from 7 to 12 organisations. So we can see that the investment in the cultural scene of Almere in the early 2000's results in a much faster maturing arts scene during the period 2008-2011 than in Milton Keynes. However when we look at the absolute numbers we see that in 2011 in Almere 12 organisations are older than 10 years, while 18 organisations in Milton Keynes are older than 10 years. The cultural scene in Milton Keynes is thus more mature as a whole and is not maturing as quickly anymore when we use 10 years as a benchmark. Milton Keynes has established cultural organizations in the 1990´s that are still active in these times.

Looking at the distribution of cultural organisations over the two New Towns, we see that both cities have a clustering of cultural organisations in the city centre. In line with Schumpeter (1943) and Hospers and Pen (2008), both cities find it important to build a

cultural climate and image in the city centre. The choice to concentrate most of the cultural organisations in the city centre, has to do with benefits that come from concentration of cultural organisations and activities. Also diversity (Schumpeter, 1943) is seen as a condition for creative cities. These New Towns use this condition by creating an architectural interesting city centre with iconic cultural buildings and public art.

The city centres are defined differently: the district Almere Stad is much larger than the parish Milton Keynes Central. Because of this difference in size a larger part of the cultural organisations in Almere (61%) is located in the city centre than in Milton Keynes (29%). However they both try to make culture as accessible as possible by supporting organisations outside the city centre. This spreading is better seen in Milton Keynes than in Almere, again because of a difference in defining districts.
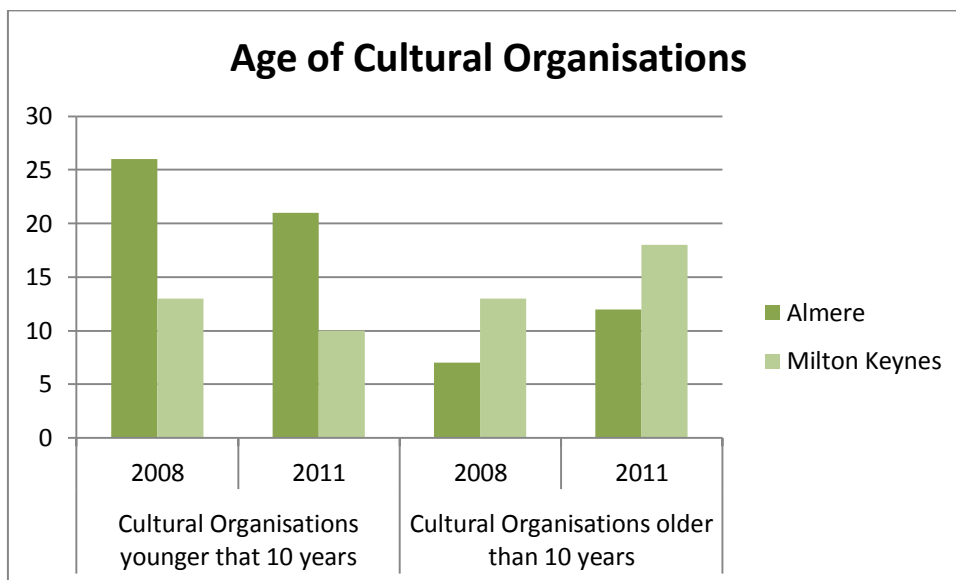
Age of Cultural Organisations

	Almere	Milton Keynes

Cultural Organisations younger that 10 years — 2008: Almere 26, Milton Keynes 13; 2011: Almere 21, Milton Keynes 10

Cultural Organisations older than 10 years — 2008: Almere 7, Milton Keynes 13; 2011: Almere 12, Milton Keynes 18

Figure 24. Age of Cultural Organisation

The clustering of cultural organisations as is proposed by the concepts of creative clusters or cultural quarters (Greffe & Pflieger, 2005) is not very present in these New Towns. Milton Keynes has developed a theatre district, but that is the only cluster by sector in both cities. To successfully develop a creative cluster, more concentration and diversity is necessary.

As said before, one would expect that in New Towns that have such ambitious cultural policies the overall growth of the concentration and distribution of cultural organisations

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would grow stronger. This grow is tempered by the fact that there are hardly any new organisations added to the policy portfolio. The fact that Almere has a higher growth percentage is in line with what we expected, that a younger city will have to invest more and therefore grows harder.

Almere strongly focuses in these difficult economic times on supporting organisations to find other sources of income so they are not dependant of council's subsidies and have a stronger financial base. As stated by Hospers and Pen (2008) these difficult economic times make that new creative solutions are being found to make projects happen.

4.3.2.2 USE AND IMPACT OF THE BUDGET

There is a great difference between the size of the budget of Almere and Milton Keynes. Almere has a budget of between 15 and 20 million euro's, while Milton Keynes has to cover its activities with a budget between 1.1 million and 960.000 euro's.

When we look at the budget development over time, we see that the budget of Almere has grown with 17% while the budget of Milton Keynes has decreased with 15%. This difference in budget development can be explained by the fact that the UK has just had their round of economising the cultural budget, while the Dutch budgets are going to be economised for the next policy term. So the budget of Almere will likely decrease over the next four years.

This increase in Almere and decrease in Milton Keynes translates directly into the cultural budget per inhabitant. Since the population size of Milton Keynes has grown harder than in Almere, we see that their cultural budget per inhabitant decreases harder than the overall budget. And also the growth of the Almere population tones down the cultural budget per inhabitant.

Use and Impact of the Budget	Almere			Milton Keynes		
	2008	**2011**	**+/-**	**2008**	**2011**	**+/-**
total cultural budget	€ 14.678.800	€ 17.110.930	17%	€ 1.135.891	€ 964.928	-15%
total cultural budget	€ 14.678.800	€ 17.110.930		€ 1.135.891	€ 964.928	
nr inhabitants	183.322	190.766		196.687	241.490	
Public investment in culture per inhabitant	**€ 80,07**	**€ 89,70**	12%	**€ 5,78**	**€ 4,00**	-31%
Public investment in culture per inhabitant	€ 80,07	89,70		€ 5,78	€ 4,00	
Average income 2005/2008	30.500	34.600		€ 24.498	no data	
Percentage of average income spent on culture by muncipality	**0,263%**	**0,259%**	-1%	**0,024%**	**0%**	
amount local grants and funds	€ 14.528.800	€ 16.818.000		€ 1.008.622	€ 837.670	
total cultural budget	€ 14.678.800	€ 17.110.930		€ 1.135.891	€ 964.928	
Ratio local funds of total budget	**99%**	**98%**	-1%	**89%**	**87%**	-2%
amount regional and national grants and fund awarded to the city	€ 150.000	292.930		€ 127.258	€ 127.258	
total cultural budget	€ 14.678.800	17.110.930		€ 1.135.891	€ 964.928	
Ratio regional and national funds of total budget	**1%**	**2%**	68%	**11%**	**13%**	18%
Total			**19%**			**-8%**

Figure 25. Use and Impact of the Budget

The cultural budget of the two arts teams consist of mainly local money, supplemented with some regional and national funds. Almere structurally gets money from the *Fonds Cultuur Participatie* (Fund for Cultural Participation) and Milton Keynes writes an application to the Arts Council of England each year. Local politics are very important and influential in small cities (Bell & Jayne, 2006) and are for both cities when concerning the budget. Certain organisations with a small audience and little impact, so get money under pressure of local authorities. In absolute sense Almere gets more money from third parties, while Milton Keynes generates a larger portion of their budget with money from third parties. However, they also need it more because of the size of their city council's budget

Because the budgets are so different in size, it is hard to compare them. We can say that Almere has increased their budget over time which results in a increase of 19% when taken all the indicators into consideration. Milton Keynes has had to decrease their budget with 15% and this has strongly influenced the performance of the indicators, which has resulted in a decrease in impact of the budget of 8%.

4.3.2.3 IMPACT AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE AUDIENCE

Unfortunately there is a great difference in available data for this indicator. Almere does a participation study every three to four years which generates a lot of useful information. Milton Keynes unfortunately did not conduct such a study and the general UK Active People Survey only covered three questions and has not been repeated after 2008. So this leaves us with a huge gap between the data of the two cities.

Almere has realized an increase in their cultural participation between 2008 and 2011. This increase of 28% is extra special because the general tendency in the Netherlands was a decrease in cultural participation.

What we can compare is the general participation in 2008. The data for Almere concern people that are marked as frequent visitors and visit cultural activities at least 5 times per year. The UK data concern people that visit arts at least 3 times per year. In Almere this percentage is 57% and for Milton Keynes 44% was considered a frequent visitor in 2008. These figures are quite comparable, although it is surprising that the cultural participation in a younger town is stronger than in the 10 year older town. The theory is that you have to build a connection with the local community before they become frequent visitors. Almere has outperformed the theory.

What we can compare is the participation per age group is hard to compare, since the data from Almere compel visiting a cultural activity at least once a year, while the data from Milton Keynes concern visits at least three times a year. Again, the participation level of Almere is higher than that of Milton Keynes.

In general we can say that this is a very important indicator to measure the impact of the cultural policy. However, because the lack of data in Milton Keynes and some differences

in the available data makes it hard to compare both cities. There is no doubt about the fact that Almere has a very high cultural participation and that it has increased between 2008 and 2011. Giving a judgment of the cultural participation in Milton Keynes is not doable with the available data.

4.3.2.4 IMPACT OF THE CULTURAL POLICY

The impact of the cultural policy is measured by the percentage of achieved goals and the development of the cultural consumers. Besides that the types of cultural goals have been compared.

Both policy documents have been developed in the mid 2008´s. Before these policy documents, both cities did not have such clear policy documents with clear cut goals. However the running period of the policies is different, which influences the status of the results of the policy. The policy of Almere runs from 2008 to 2012 and is at the time of research almost at its end. This means that the arts team is able to give an insight into how many goals have been reached. The policy of Milton Keynes runs from 2010 to 2014, which means that at the time of research the policy is only half way through its running period. This of course influences the percentage of achieved goals. No short term goals were part of the policy goals in Milton Keynes, so at the time of research no goals had been completed yet. Almere has completed 95% of its goals, which is very satisfactory for the arts team. Milton Keynes has however revised their list of goals between the start and half way, which has resulted in some shifting in goals.

According to Throsby (2010) monitoring and evaluating cultural policies is very important to keep evolving. Both cities are active in scoring how many goals have been reached, and are not afraid to change goals if that fits better or they are no longer relevant. The monetary value of the output and levels of employment are not yet part of the evaluation of the cultural policy. We only see this for the creative industry sector, that has gotten more attention lately and turns out to be very present in both cities. This can be mainly explained because of lower housing costs and a city council that is very willing to invest in new, inspiring ideas while still being closely located to the creative core of the

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Impact and development of the Audience	Almere			Milton Keynes		
	2008	2011	+/-	2008	2011	+/-
Percentage of people that go to culture at least 1x per year (in and outside own city)	57%	73%	28%	44%	No data	
Percentage of agegroup that visit arts at least 1x culture: age 18-24	98%	97%	-1%	39%	No data	
Percentage of agegroup that visit arts at least 1x culture: age 25-44	84%	95%	13%	45%	No data	
Percentage of agegroup that visit arts at least 1x culture: age 45-64	82%	93%	13%	48%	No data	
Percentage of agegroup that visit arts at least 1x culture: age 65+ (in and outside own city)	69%	78%	13%			
Cultural visits to organisations in the own city (Almere and MK)						
Percentage of inhabitants that not visits almere cultural organisation	13%	15%	15%			
Percetage of inhabitants that incidentally visit culture (upto 5 times)	20%	34%	70%			
Percentage of inhabitants that frequent visit culture (more than 5 times)	67%	51%	-24%			
frequent cultural participation of inhabitants of centre	35,5%	51%				
average cultural participation	67%	51%				
Participation in centre related to average	**53%**	**100%**	89%			
frequent cultural participation of inhabitants of outer neighbourhoods	37%	48%				
average cultural participation	67%	51%				
Participation in outer neighbourhoods related to average	**56%**	**95%**	71%			
Total			**29%**			

Figure 26. Impact and Development of the Audience

country, namely Amsterdam and London. But information of monetary value and employment for the whole cultural sector are not available.

As discussed in the subsection on audience development, it is hard to say something about the audience development in Milton Keynes because of a lack of data. For Almere we have seen a strong increase of 28% of cultural participants.

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When we compare the types of goals that both cities have formulated, the following things catch the eye. Both cities have formulated most of their goals with the aim of culture as an end in itself. These are goals that directly support projects with an artistic goal at the core. The projects and cultural organisations that are supported mainly have cultural objectives and are not part of any other urban strategy. They also both strongly focus on investing in producing and consuming arts. This can be explained because first the infrastructure has to be build, before a cultural scene generates its own cultural activities. A small part of the goals are aimed at creating and supporting the cultural identity. This is quite surprising because in New Towns the cultural identity is usually not very well developed and people do not feel a strong connection with the city and its image. We would have expected that more of these types of projects would be supported[12].

If you read the policy documents, the ambitions of the cities are very clear. The amount of goals, written down very specific and precise, underlines this ambition. And both cities choose for visible goals in the form of supporting the production and consumption of culture. Culture to support social cohesion is however less developed than expected from a New Town.

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[12] It might be possible that there are no more of these types of projects to support. This however has not been asked at the cultural officers.

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5. CONCLUSIONS

This thesis started from my personal interest in how cultural policies are developed in New Towns. The cities Almere and Milton Keynes were chosen as exemplary cities for third generation New Towns. The central research question that was posed was: What is the impact of cultural policy in New Towns? When we look at what the impact of cultural policy in New Towns is, this can both be described and measured.

The creative city concept has been mainly developed for large metropolitan cities. As stated in the literature review, there has been a change in the discourse that this concept should be developed more broadly. It should offer insights on the whole spectrum of villages, towns, cities and metropolises. New Towns such as Almere and Milton Keynes are a special category in this discourse. Because this category has hardly been researched I have chosen to also use the small creative cities concept as a context, because this is more applicable than the metropolitan approach.

Creative city theory is often applied to old industrial cities that need a new economic base. In New Towns, everything has to be build from scratch, from the buildings, to the productions, to the image of a city. This is the core of the cultural policies in these cities, building and developing arts from scratch. This makes that customized plans have to be developed to support the creation of a cultural infrastructure, everything from production to distribution and consumption has to be developed. This makes that the definitions and conditions that come with the creative city concept are (not yet) applicable to Almere and Milton Keynes. Throsby (2010, p. 139) uses the following definition of the creative city concept: "an urban complex where cultural activities of various sorts are an integral component of the city's economic and social functioning". For both cities it is too early to say that the cultural activities are an integral component of the city, it is not yet in the DNA of the city.

These New Towns are, just as small cities, very locally focused, because there is nothing yet to build on. We see that arts and culture are made easily accessible close to home, through spreading the cultural infrastructure over the different parts of the city and through architecture and landscape arts a local connection with the arts is being made.

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This close interaction between arts and inhabitants can both be seen in small cities and New Towns, and can be marked as one of their assets. As stated by Lewis and Donald (2009), it is very important to make a connection between your residents and the arts and culture you offer to make it successful and make the residents feel like it is part of their city and part of their shared values. Just as with the small cities, which lack an own creative vocabulary (Bell & Jayne, 2006), this is also very present in New Towns. Because the perception of the city is strongly influenced by the media coverage, which is always outdated because the city is constantly changing and developing, these cities have to develop their own vocabulary to get across what is so great about these cities.

What differs with the small city theory, is that Milton Keynes and Almere do have a city centre that is developed as such and can be used to attract visitors to the city. This fits in the conditions for a creative city, that a certain level of concentration is necessary for creativity to emerge (Schumpeter, 1943; Hospers & Pen, 2008). Also the idea of attracting a creative class (Florida, 2002) with a vibrant cultural atmosphere is not very present in these New Towns. However, in both cities it is measured that the creative industries are also a fast growing sector in these cities.

The difficulty of evaluating cultural policies is acknowledged in literature (Throsby, 2010; Garcia, 2004). A standardised method has not yet been developed. Every country, every city uses its own indicators to measure and evaluate the impact of the policy. Within this thesis I have chosen, in accordance with the suggestions made by Belfiore (2004) and Bell and Jayne (2009) to not make a merely quantitative comparison, but look at the information behind the figures through interviews with policymakers.

The cultural policies of the cities of Almere and Milton Keynes focus on three of the four values of culture identified by Throsby (2010), namely stimulating the production and consumption of culture, creating a cultural identity and celebrating diversity. Their biggest attention goes to providing the necessary infrastructure of venues and arts buildings to make production and consumption of arts possible. The pit of the matter of the budget is on developing and maintaining cultural properties. The consequence is, is that there is relatively little money left to effectively support the production of arts and culture. The second value of creating a cultural identity is very important in New Towns, because on the one hand it is executed by spreading cultural buildings over the city to

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make it very accessible to all the residents to participate in culture, but it is also very important for creating a positive image of the city to non residents. All sorts of people move to New Towns, because it is a city without a very clear image. This also means that there are not yet clear cut shared values, rituals and experiences. Culture is used by New Towns to create this shared feeling of being a resident of Almere or Milton Keynes. However, projects concerning the cultural identity and cultural diversity are far less represented than the projects that aim at producing and consuming arts.

Typical for policy making in New Towns is that it is very hands on. You literally start with a blank canvas that has to become a beautiful painting over time. Creating a cultural identity for the city starting from scratch, gives a lot of opportunities as well as insecurities. The hands on character can be found in the strong focus of city councillors on creating iconic buildings and acquire top class arts organisations, but can also be seen in the strong connection with local cultural organisations and artists. With the changing economic circumstances, it is extra hard for these New Towns to deal with these changes. They are in the middle of their build-up phase and it is very inefficient to stop this phase while it is so far in progress.

The policy documents of Almere and Milton Keynes are, as they are supposed to be, very ambitious, enthusiastic documents full of great dreams. Because of the blank canvas there are a lot of opportunities, but when we try to measure the impact and actual effect of these plans it generates a different picture. Both cities have generated a positive growth figure when it concerns concentration and distribution of the cultural organisations. However, hardly any new organisations have been added to the policy portfolio. These positive results are partly realized by the quick maturing of the cultural organisations: in the period of research a high percentage of the organisations exceeded the age of 10 years and therefore have found a stable position in the cultural field. This indicates that the basic infrastructure is getting into place.

When we focus on the budget we see two different pictures. Almere has a large budget and has increased this budget during the period of research. Milton Keynes has had to decrease their already relatively low budget, because of changes in the financing of culture, and this has resulted in a negative growth figure concerning the budget.

However, I expect that Almere will also have to decrease their budget for the next policy period because of the economic crisis.

The development of the audience was a very important indicator to me, because it gives an insight into the cultural commitment and interest of a city. Unfortunately, the data in the UK were very limited, which made it impossible to compare. Almere did achieve a positive growth figure concerning the audience, both cultural activities inside and outside the city were visited more in 2011 than in 2008.

The formulated goals also give some interesting information about the impact of the policy. Both cities did not formulate clear goals for the previous policy period, so there is no data to compare between 2008 and 2011. However we can see that they are actively updating the goals every year. The types of goals are mainly focused at supporting organisations and projects that produce culture and makes it available and consumable to the audience. Hardly any projects aim at creating a shared identity, social cohesion or uses culture as an instrument. Both cities strongly focus at putting the infrastructure in place and making sure this infrastructure is filled with cultural products and activities. These were quite surprising results.

5.1 EVALUATION OF THE METHOD

Doing research on the impact of cultural policies was harder than expected. A generally accepted method to do this research, which generates results that are more than a description of the achievements and comparable between countries, has not yet been developed. The cultural policies of cities are very well accessible online and the policy makers were also very approachable and willing to help. However, making a quantitative comparison of the policies which would measure the impact of the policy, was difficult because it was hard to find comparable data in both countries. Almere is much more open and explicit in their policies than Milton Keynes. Also the differences in data and data gathering between the countries made it harder to compare the data, as well as the fact that the policy of Almere ended in 2012 so the results could be very well measured, while the Milton Keynes policy was in the middle of its running period so there were hardly any results yet to share. Because of these differences in data the research has been more limited than anticipated.

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Together with my thesis supervisor we developed micro and macro indicators by which the impact of the policy was measured. Some indicators were dropped because of the lack of (comparable) data. Future research should for instance, also focus on the monetary value created by the cultural sector in a city and the jobs it creates in the city, to fully grasp the impact of the cultural policy.

5.2 LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

Besides the lack of an standard method to evaluate the impact of cultural policies, there were other limitations to this research. This research was limited by the fact that only two case studies were done. In depth knowledge about these two cities has been gathered, but generating comparable and generelizable results is hard. This was even further complicated by the fact that the two cities were in two different countries, which makes that the general frameworks, such as the role of national, regional and local governments, and funding, are organised differently.

Also the data generates some difficulties. Every country has its own types of research and data gathering, and does this is different time frames. This made it hard to find comparable data that was gathered within the same time frame under the same conditions. In the future, this could be obeviated by using less national data such as from the central bureau of statistics and gather more data by your self. This is however more time consuming.

Another important limitation is that within this master thesis there was no time to combine these results with the results of "old" cities that do have a rich cultural history to build their policies on. Future research should try to combine the results of "old" and new cities, to give extra meaning to the results generated by this research.

5.3 FUTURE RESEARCH

The creative city concept is widely researched, but has not yet given attentention to the subcategory of New Towns. This master thesis research has initiated separate focus on this specific group within the creative city league. It is a very underdeveloped discipline, but very interesting because history is being made as we speak. Future research will

deepen the knowledge on the relationship between arts and cities from a new perspective, which will contribute to and broaden the creative cities concept.

The combination of quantitative and qualitative data to evaluate the impact of cultural policies seems the only right method to do justice to the complex ambitions and results from these policies. However, the set of micro and macro indicators should be developed further and supplemented with a focus on job creation, the presence/ absence of a creative class and the contributions the cultural sector generates to the local economy.

This research should be seen as the starting point of a new subcategory within the creative city discourse and a new method to evaluate the impact of cultural policies.

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7. APPENDICES

A. TOPIC LIST FOR INTERVIEWS

To: Arts Development Officers of Milton Keynes and Almere

Questions

1. Tasks of cultural officer

2. Tasks of city council concerning culture and arts

3. What are the main goals of cultural policy/ arts strategy

4. How successful has the cultural policy been?

5. Changes in arts strategy → when, why and how?

6. Are there extern experts that evaluate the cultural policy?

7. Indicators to measure cultural policy

Facts and figures

1. Total cultural organisations

2. Cultural organisations divided by art form (performing arts, visual arts, public arts, etc)

3. Division cultural organisation in city centre and parishes.

4. Total cultural budget

5. Cultural budget divided by art form (performing arts, visual arts, public arts, etc)

6. Local grants and funds

7. Other (national) grants and funds

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B.   INTERVIEW POLICYMAKER MILTON KEYNES

Interview with Lucy Bedford
Arts Development Officer of Milton Keynes
Date & Time: May 25th 2012 – 16.00h
Location: Skype

LB: Well I have got your list of question and wonder whether it is worth me giving a little bit of an overview of how Milton Keynes works and how we got to where we are.

Milton Keynes when it was designated as a new town the people who were given the brief to develop the city was called the Development Corporation and they were very pioneering. A group of, to be quite honest I think about, five men all who had very kind of maverick approach to getting on and trying thing. They kind of really pushed the boundaries and did just not go for usual architects, they did not go just for usual kind of community development. They really wanted to try something new all the way, so that is what kind of men gave us the foundation of Milton Keynes.

One of the things they did was, all the new states that were being build they have put an artist in residence in the area. So instead of going for traditional community development with a work ago and working with the community, they invested in artists who would go and work in those areas and use arts as a mechanisms to develop a community. One of the most obvious things, one of the most known about things that came out of that are our rather infamous concrete cows.

LP: Yes I have heard about them.

LB: So the concrete cows were actually a community project with one of the artist in residence. Once you try to bring a group of local residents together in the estate, and that [the cows] is one of the pieces that came out of that. They kind of tried the very localized community arts route as a kind of basis for the cultural development of the city and used it to see how it impacted on social inclusion. And you are talking about back in the 70's, so doing arts development is quite new still. In the 1980's we really took off doing arts development in the UK.

Milton Keynes is quite reactive to the people that live here. So we have a very, very popular theatre, programmed by Ambassadors theatres who program a number of theatres around the UK including some of them in London. The theatre was build, because basically the public demanded it and Milton Keynes responded to that. So the public campaigned for a theatre

and the local authority went along with the arts council and then secured the funding to make that happen. In terms of kind of place making is, with Milton Keynes being a new town and new at making culture, Milton Keynes has a massive public art collection. Every time there is a new development in Milton Keynes, a new school, a new shopping complex, works like that, money is allocated to public arts. And this is a historic thing of public art getting being build on since the 70's. We have a absolutely massive collection of over 200 pieces in the public domain. As far as about place making, about people feeling connected to where they live, about creating an inspiring city and the kind of community belonging agenda which is very popular at the moment.

The local authority, I cannot tell you which year I am sure it is on the internet, the Development Corporation ceased to be at one point and then the local authority took over the reign. And then it gets run by politicians and it gets a bit different because they have their own ideas and policies. So the local authority has been kind of sporadic about doing the cultural and arts development side of things and has at occasion made our team redundant. And I came to post in 2006 as cultural development officer. And then as things do with politicians, the word culture went a little bit out of fashion and I became an arts development officer. Within the local authority we kind of interchange the terms of cultural officer and arts roles quite frequently. Always understanding it includes arts, public arts and heritage, and then sometimes, depending on the brand of the conversation including sports and libraries kind of fall into that as well.

Is it best if I go on to look at the question you want me to look at?

One of the things you want to know is the tasks of a cultural officer. In terms of our team there is a cultural services manager, and she is my manager and that is Marie Claire Bershaw. And she manages arts heritage, libraries and public arts, and then there is a heritage officer, a public arts officer and an arts officer. And I am the arts officer. You probably want me to talk about my role because Marie's role as cultural service manager is one that is very much about managing people and processes while mine is more responsive to the city.

LP: So you are more in contact with the cultural organisations and the artists?

LB: Yes, definitely. On a day to day basis. That is exactly how it is. And my role, it is a strategic role, it is an advisory role. And, I mentioned earlier, the money to do public art it is Section 106. Are you familiar with Section 106?

LP: No.

LB: So, as I mentioned, every time a school, a commercial development is build, the developer has to put a certain amount of money aside for roads, waste, utility and public arts. There are a number of things they are mend to support and it is a percentage of the build costs that is going

to public arts, which in some cases can be quite significant. You know, we can get to up to 300.000 sometimes. Quite often it gets negotiated down to 100.000 per public art. So my job is to be aware of when a development is going on, that they are meeting their obligations to support us through developing public art and then negotiating that money. Finding an artist, according them, managing the process by when they are creating that public art with the community. And all of our public arts has to be people based and site based, so responding to the area it is going into.

I am responsible for some casual type businesses, so I am managing a grant portfolio. We give grants to 10 of our larger cultural organisations. You have a question about the cultural budget, so I will come on to that. I administer that, I go to board meetings, I advice them, I help try to look at their business planning, the quite usual stuff across the UK I guess, not new town specific. My role is a lot about looking at Milton Keynes, obviously as a new town off course, and as it grows it is very easy to get the houses put in and forget about the cultural element of it. That is my job to sit and look at gaps, well, what we are missing out on. Milton Keynes is supposed to be by 2031 be the same size as Bristol. So what has Bristol got that we haven't and we will need. I kind of look at these things, look out if there are any interest groups out there and who wants to take certain things forward. I work with them to develop that piece of work, if that is possible. So it can be about capital programs which take a huge amount of time to get new arts buildings opening, or about enhancing buildings. So Milton Keynes Gallery when it was build it was kind a fit for purpose of the population, but as MK is growing, or the amount of people the gallery is been able to retain audiences. So now we are to expand that and offer more of a visitor attraction rather than a 20min pop in. Is there anything else about my role that you want me to cover?

LP: Are you giving advice about who is getting the funds and how many or are you the decision maker?

LB: The decision makers are the politicians. We are the specialist officers, so I will be asked my opinion on where I think it should go and I will write a report to the politicians and they will make the final decision. It is kind of a mixture, if you like. But as everything in the UK, there is massive pressure on the budgets of the local authorities and the arts/ cultural budgets are being scrutinised more so then, well along with others. So our arts budgets are declining. In some ways it makes the decision for who to fund harder, but in some ways easier. Because you have a portfolio of organisation that if you stop funding them they would ultimately close. So it has to be careful job to reduce funding and we cannot introduce any new organisation into our funding portfolio. We kind of have to manage the ones we have carefully to make sure they can retain their organisation. But then I support other organisation in applying to the Arts Council, being

creative about how they get funding, work with different departments of the council. I guess that is a common thing around the UK, that organisations have to be wiser now than they ever were.

LP: It sounds the same as here. One more question about the Section 106. Is this something general to the UK as well, or something specific to MK?

LB: It is a UK wide policy, however MK is known as one of the best local authorities of bringing it down. So, what happened when a developer says I want to build a development on that grass area there. The local authority will say, that will cost you, lets pick a figure, that will cost you 100.000 pounds. So then the developer says I have only got 40.000 and where can we go? Then the local authority says, okay I tell you what, leave the public arts that will save you 2000, don't do the carbon program that will save you 5000. And so, in many places local authorities allows developers to negotiate out of them. And it is all about trying to make a development sustainable. Especially now we are in a recession, developers say they cannot afford to build so these things are taken out. However, MK understands the absolute value in doing the public arts. It makes a place more sellable, it makes people feel connected to where they live, and it is about pride as well. So when we look at some of our neighbour local authorities, they are not developing public arts programs at all. And I think it is because MK was being built at the same time this policy was coming in, so there are a lot of new officers trying to learn and grasped it, instead of going with a historic that other areas would have had. Or may have missed that opportunity.

LP: Well, then lets continue. What does the city council see as its role for culture and arts? Because in Holland it is really distant, you are only the financer and maybe setting some general guidelines and that is it. But I sort of tasted in the paper that you are more hands on, is that correct?

LB: Uhm. Yeah. There is some pressure to be less hands on, or to be more hands off. In some ways we understand we should be more hands off to move forward, but in many occasions the local authority is the only one who can take things forward and in some ways coheres partnerships and make things develop and save money and gets the best of the public. I think local authorities as a general thing that across the UK are quite into the arts, they got arts officers, they are quite hands on. In some local authorities they actually have officers who go out and do workshops in the community, which is certainly something we do not do. And because we have a number of organisations already here doing that work, we don't want to duplicate.

We do take a very proactive role. I am trying to decide whether it is me, being a busy bossy and trying to make changes, or whether it is the whole local authority. The local authority comes up with key strategic documents, council plans, capital programs and they always look to

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balance culture in it. They always look at what the locale authority could be doing, along with others, making sure everybody is being supported by our programs. Yeah, I think we are very proactive and I think that probably is the case across the UK generally as well.

LP: What would you say are the main goals of the cultural policy? And is it divided by the city centre and the other neighbourhoods?

LB: We tend to more prioritise for the more central section of MK. Because we have a lot of people working, and such a massive businesses due to the shopping centre we have got. But the main goal, in terms of policy, has to be about capital development and enhancement of arts buildings offering experiences to people who come to MK. And in fact, only about three year ago, there wasn't anywhere else than MK Art Gallery, who only work with international artists, to exhibit art work. And now there is absolutely loads. It is about understanding where weaknesses are and trying to develop them. Not so much about the money, not just about funding but also about planning. [...] For instance, up in the north of MK there isn't any art spaces for people, so there is aspirations to get an arts centre there. And then that is a negotiation with Tesco, one of our supermarkets, who are likely to fund that. [...] One of the great things that MK does that others don't do, when they realize they haven't got the money they don't just say, ok can't do it, end off. They say, we can't do it, how else can we make it happen. We always try to look at those other things to make it happen instead.

As a whole local authority we have got a corporate plan, and one of the main goals of that is to make MK a world class city by creating distinctive arts and heritage and that is something the whole council decides up to. And that is about trying to attract audiences from elsewhere, so be it through having visitor destinations, arts centres or having festivals. MK is on the upside of that kind of stuff. So it definitely is about the professional side of the arts instead of the amateur side. And it is tight to outward visitors coming in and link it on to inward investment as a result of that.

LB: So I guess the next question is about the success of the policy. In the UK government system, a policy is normally a legal document and a strategy is something that is signed up to as a political statement or an organisational statement. A strategy is like 'We need to get to point Z and we will be doing these things on our way'. Whereas a policy is quite often a central government directive where they will say 'Okay, every local authority area must have a primary and secondary school within a 20 minute walk of every young person'. And that is policy, so something that you have to do.

So you use the word policy, but notoriously across the UK there aren't any arts policies. And that is an issue, because when a local authority says we have to cut budgets and we cut the

arts budget, and it would be a policy, that is not something you get around easily. So in terms of policy, the only policy we have is the public policy section 106. Other than that we have the art/cultural strategy which has gone past its passage review date, and it hasn't got a lead officer on it so it kind of moved on and what was written didn't really happen. And when it was written we didn't have the heritage, we didn't have the public art or the art strategy. With those three in the art strategy it kind of comprised the cultural strategy without having a separate document.

So if you look at policy, it has been incredibly successful. And I highly believe MK wouldn't be where it is if that policy had not been in place. And other than that it is about art strategy, and again art strategy is useful, having something for a politician to sign on to makes it that you can use it against them further down the line. So you create an endowment for arts. And down the line you want to explore this further and if comments start like 'So, that sounds a bit risky', you can get back on the strategy they have signed for. And we have found this very useful for getting by an uprising profile of MK. You know art officers can change their minds. You need to keep yourself on that strategic level, so you're not cornered by one politician and you get support when needed.

LB: The next question you where asking was about the changes made in our strategy, what exactly do you want to know?

LP: Last time you told me about all the changes made to the arts and cultural strategy, and that it has changed your role in the whole. The question is actually, what happened?

LB: Well, they appointed a cultural strategy manager and myself as cultural development officer. The cultural strategy manager had a very specific role, which was to write MK a cultural strategy. So she was kind of busy with that. And my role as cultural development officer perhaps didn't have a clear enough brief attached to it. So my role covered arts, heritage, open spaces, faith, public arts, anything that may remind one or they think is cultural. And in those eighteen months I was in that role, I went to a lot of meetings, I listened to a lot of people, and didn't actually achieve a lot. Because everything was about attending interface meetings and I would take the information to the ethnicity officers at the council, or going to a meeting about the heritage program and taking back the information to the heritage officer. All I was kind of doing was sign posting internally in the council and I wasn't a specialist in anything. And the local authority didn't really understand what the word 'cultural' meant. So I think that if it would happen again, it would be a lot clearer. But the council hadn't been doing arts development at all. It made the team redundant in 2000 and I came in to office in 2006. And the one area I kept picking up arts things, because there was a lot to pass on to, and because it is my background and it is my passion

anyways, so I was kind of drawn into things. So we kind of sat in with the review and said that if this is going to work, there needs to be an arts officer working in a cultural team rather than being a cultural officer. So that is the way we changed things around. So my first job within my new role as arts officer was to write an arts strategy, and it was to pull out some of the key things of the cultural strategy which will then be messed. Because the cultural strategy manager wrote the strategy and then left almost immediately. Whenever you are writing a strategic document or a business plan or any kind of policy, it needs ownership if you want it to go anywhere. And in this case the owner just left before anyone else bought in to it to see what was right and wrong with that document. But it did enable us to get an arts strategy, heritage and public arts strategy, before MK council said they didn't need. So that made them realise the benefit there.

LP: Okay, so the change came from the organisation itself, and not because of political pressure to make it more efficient?

LB: One of the interesting things is, and I said in 2000 they made the arts team redundant, when I came on board in 2006 is what arts council would term an intervention. And they teamed up to the theatre and gallery company in MK and pressured MK council to a point where cultural officers and art council put in a third of their salary, the theatre and gallery put in a third and then MK council put in a third. And in that year and a half I have worked there, the council saw the value and then invested 100% of the salary going forwards. So it was a huge success, thanks to a kind of national pressure on MK council to do that.

LP: Are there any political changes that are influencing the policy for the next term, because I think you will be writing a new art strategy, or not?

LB: We review the art strategy annually, and I think this art strategy is due for 2014. It is the cultural strategy that expires in 2012 and it isn't going to be rewritten. We have changed politicians and we are a conservative local authority now. We are a whole cabinet now, although don't really have overall power with the Lib-Dems and Labour beneath them. Our current cabinet are very supportive of the arts, as is the senior team of councillors. The next strategy will be more aspirational, push more boundaries. Sometimes you have to take things very gently to get the right partners on board and if you scare them off too much they will run to the hills. That is when we will push it a little further. We revise the action plan every year, but it is sort of light touch, to see whether there isn't anything big happening that isn't reflected in the plans. For instance, there is an international arts festival that kind a came from nowhere, Arts Council again intervened. Gave us three months of getting the money. That wasn't in the strategy. It is kind of difficult to say you are prioritizing pieces of work that is not part of a document that

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demonstrates what you are planning to do for the next couple of years. So we review it annually and make sure the key projects are in there. It is quite interesting because I keep bringing up this Arts Council. Are you fairly familiar with the Arts Council?

They get their funded by central government and lottery money and they have three main strands of funds that they give out. They have what is called 'managed funds' which are kind of a little bit secretive in that you cannot apply for them as such. They are strategic funds that the senior have so they can prioritise pieces of work and that is how my post originally was funded and the festival we just started in 2010. They have grants for the arts for which you can apply for up to 100.000 GBP through an open application process. Then they have national portfolio organisations, organisations they feel are meeting their core values and they will give three year funding grand to them and then on a quite significant level in the regions of 100.000's up to the national ones getting millions, for core costs of course to do their program, but they can also use it to pay salaries and building costs. The Arts Council has a role across the UK to make sure the arts are growing and developing and making sure the UK is equally being serviced with arts. Milton Keynes was a so called cold spot in their terminology and they invested in managed funds for my post, and that was about 100.000 GBP over three years and that was 2 salaries they were funding. They invested in MK and gave us 85.000 GBP to what they called increase engagement in the arts, it was a national directive. They enabled us to try new things, like putting artists in unusual spaces and letting the public know more about our arts and produce publicity. They did the same with managed funds for the international festival and put in half a million in the first year towards the festival. It is called IF international festival of Milton Keynes and it started in 2010 and is happening again this year in July. So they are very interested in Milton Keynes as a new town and making sure it succeeds.

LP: You just mentioned it. You have this annual document in which you revise your strategy. What are the indicators to measure the progress? Are there specific things you focus on?

LB: We always do sort of open consultations, so we will pull together all our stakeholders. MK is very much a partnership town, so we work together a lot with other people, other organisations, artists, that kind of thing. So we pull together all who are contributing to the plan in some way and we will jointly refine what needs to be in there. We will also ask the public, have some sessions where anybody can drop in who lives in MK, works in MK or an artists, a politician, and find out what they think we should be prioritizing. And if there are any areas that need to better, we talk to the Arts Council and see what their priorities are and then we as officers look at how to reflect all that back into the document.

LP: Is the Arts Council the only expert opinion you ask?

LB: On a national context, I think the arts council are probably the only organisations. I know you have a question about the total cultural organisations. We have a huge amount of cultural organisations in here. We are strategic directors with a wealth of knowledge and we work with them. As a team it is our job to experience things outside MK, festivals, venues and activities elsewhere. So we can see what else we think we should be doing, because you can be insular and only look at what you have and how to build on that.

It is a bit cheesy, but MK has this catch phrase which says that MK is a can do city and the people that live here are can do people. They say I can do that, I want to do that, and they are always willing to try new things and push boundaries. So that is kind of the culture here that we are looking on to the next thing and keep moving upwards. We are a city, well we technically not yet a city, but we want to be a city that can compete with its neighbours and that kind of things. So it is important that we grow.

LP: How is it with the visiting numbers? Are all inhabitants of MK participating in cultural activities?

LB: It is quite interesting. When people moved to MK you had an artists in residence and you had quite a lot of arts organisations based all in different states of MK. There is an expectation of the public that continues happening new arts, new opportunities. The MK theatre is the most successful theatre outside London. When the theatre was build in 1999 it was anticipated that it would make a loss for the first 10 years, but is was profitable within three years because it is so well used. That is also because people from neighbouring cities come to MK for the theatre. But yeah, MK inhabitants do have a desire for the arts. One of the issues we have, to get into London from MK is a 33 minute train ride that takes you right into Euston in central London. So you get a lot of people who have their cultural experiences in London and not in MK. So there are a lot of people who work and have their socialize in London, but live in MK, come back to MK, sleep and leave again. It is our job to get them to join in and see the value of the community around them and that is the real difficult bit. So that is why we do tend to lose our visitors to elsewhere. So that kind of things like the international festival will hopefully start to close that. MK does not have anything on a high level of artistic experiences but have a lot of piecemeal experiences, nothing quite so tense as an international festival and all the fringe activities associated to that. You asked me some questions about facts and figures.

So we have this gap between professional organisations, and I use that term in regard to those that have a strategic director mostly, and amateur/voluntary organisations. You can look

them up on the www.aha-mk.org website, there are 27 members and they are sort of the big players of the city.

[irrelevant information about how to find data]

We used to have our own extensive database, but as happens with many places you have to deal with data protection and we found it difficult to updating the information so people who would leave have the wrong information. So there is now this organisation called Arts Gateway and they have a newsletter and people self subscribe to that, and we put all the information we need to get out into that and most cultural organisations are subscribed, so that is how we kind of maintain that list of who is who.

[irrelevant information about how to find data]

Division between arts organisations in the city centre and the other neighbourhoods. Again, there is a map in the arts strategy and we have a huge concentration in central MK, a concentration in the north and a very empty southern part of the city. And I cannot even tell you why. I think there is a lack of venues in the south, where we have more venues in the north. So when you have organisations in the south, they tend to migrate to the north where the venues are. We have got organisations that are associated with schools, we have got there buildings in schools, which help the situation. There is an actual divide. There is not actual complained about it. I have had some bits of confrontation in that, whether people are missing it, but that isn't the perception that has become. So we are not going to go put arts venues where there is no desire for them. If there would come back there is a desire for it, we would look at how to realize that.

[irrelevant information about how to find data]

What you will find in the budget is that it includes maintenance costs, so the costs of the building that the arts organisation is in, like our arts centre, we have a maintenance budget and I manage that as well. So what might look like quite a handsome arts budget, might actually go to fixing broken toilets.

LP: Do you only finance the building of an arts organisation or do you also finance the program?

LB: So MK Gallery, they get, we own the building and maintain the building in its entirety and they don't pay any rent and they get 250.000 GBP a year. They are completely unique in their level of invest in MK. The next layer down, we have an arts centre called Arts Works and they get a grant of 18.000 GBP and we maintain the site up to the value of 12.000 GBP a year. That is what I have to spend on it, whilst at the gallery we have nearly 90.000 GBP to spend a year. So you can see the massive gaps between the levels of investment there. There are just 3 buildings that the council

owns and maintains, which is ArtWorks, Interaction and the Galleries. So all of those get the building for free and we maintain them. [...] We find the extra money when there is key priority for that come up. And our grants go down to as little as 800 GBP, one of our organisations gets 800 GBP a year. There has been a reduction on these grants over the years and have decreased quite dramatically.

In terms of budget, it is all allocated by the time we get it. It is about 1,6 million it think. So then 200.000 is for maintenance, 400.000 is for grants and 400.000 for salaries and overhead costs. By the time you have paid everything the council has committed to we don't have any money for programming at all. So we put all our money in from external sources, so I write a very nice polity application to the Arts Council each year to get a bid for my program from them. We work with partners who put in bids as well. A very small example. We found out that we weren't able to market the arts at conferences and stuff like that, so we commissioned a small film. As a local authority there are not a lot of places you can get funding from, because most trust and foundations wont fund local authorities. So one of the partner organisations we work with, the AHA, wrote a bid to secure the money so we could commission the film. So it benefited the whole community of MK and not at all the local authority. It is about increasing their prominence in the community. So we kind of work in that way. The Section 106 is another key thing that comes in from where we commission artist from. We draw that down and will pay artists fees from that as well. And we also talk a lot to colleagues from across the local authorities trying to pull in money from their budgets. We have just commissioned an artist to create some designs for of upcoming festival season and our colleagues of economic development paid for that. So we are quite creative with our budget.

LP: Are there, besides the arts council any other funds supporting the arts organisations in the city?

LB: Heritage lottery, they support both heritage organisations and arts organisations that do a heritage based project and they both fund the local authority itself and the local sector. There are a lot of national trusts that anyone can apply for, there are awards, lottery community funds, Loyds DSB and Santander are two big banks who have a grants program. And in MK we have a community foundation who secure money from private investor organisations and MK based organisation can apply to them. The only thing is, the biggest amount you get is about 5000 GBP. It's on quite a small scale but very important to the sector.

You asked a question about cultural budget divided by art form, but it isn't divided by art form. I would love to have the luxury to say we divide it by art form, but it is pre prescribed and by

the time I came in most of the money had been committed to certain organisations. So, the amount we are now agreeing with the galleries, we are agreeing for 10 years. You cannot influence that part of the money at all. So no, there is no division by art form.

One of the things where MK differs, in term of local investment, is that in more established areas. You build a culture of giving with businesses that are in the area for many many years and want to give something back to the community. The city is growing and all the organisations here are growing as well. So they are often small, new and taking risks and cannot give money away with sponsorship deals. So we struggle with sponsors, more than a lot other local authorities. And it is the same with trusts. What often happens, you get some wealthy passionate person dies and in their legacy leave a trust behind. And MK is now in its second generation of people living here and that is not enough to get people to buy in to this legacy. They still got a home base (somewhere else). [...] There still has to get that true ownership of MK before you can start building on these trusts, sponsorships and private donations. We recognize that. That is probably why the Arts Council keeps investing in MK so heavily.

LP: Would you say the arts strategy is one way to make this connection for people with the city? And makes this shared identity that you have to build as a new city?

LB: I think, I mean, as you probably know, one of the things that is what we have to preach to our partners that invest in arts, that arts do that building of social cohesion, sense of pride, ownership. If you get people out attending, they start thinking oh look at what we have done in our town, rather than going in their houses. Without a doubt we have put that kind of stuff into this strategy and have been able to make happen. It is building our audiences, building our passion for MK. A lot of the passion for MK is linked to the architectural development of MK. We have some very iconic buildings and people like MK for its iconic buildings and structures. And we kind of keep building the unique bits of MK back into our arts program. So take in what is already a passion in terms of our iconic structures and architectural forms and using that to sell the arts. So that is strategy we use now to buy into and celebrate MK.

LP: What would you say is your relationship with the cities and towns around you? Are you a regional centre?

LB: We would love to be a regional centre, but I don't think I can be so bold to say we are. Just on the geography, you have central MK which is the business and shopping centre of MK and doesn't have many residential people living there. Surrounding that you have estates were people live and there is a community centre, a shop and a school in each one. And kind of the further you go out, you have the market towns. MK is actual 2/3 rural, what most people don't realize. That is

because of these areas that are earmarked for development and the old market towns that have stayed. Once you push more out, you have got Bedford, Luton, Northampton.

MK is recognized by them for its economy. MK is one of 6 towns that are likely to kick out of recession first. And in terms of working across the regions, there are a lot of eyes on us. MK is part of the new alliance of the South East Midlands Local Economic Partnership and that is a collective group that is looking at how they can develop collectively and learn from each other and take on each other's strands. The strand they are looking at in MK is the economic strand, economic energy and its ability to grow and the rate it is growing at. Centre of excellence? Possibly not, but it is at least something we're aspiring to. Arts Council often refers to MK as best practice in terms of its partnership working, that is one thing the Arts Council has been incredibly proud of the last couple of years.

Interview with Jacobien Sierts

Beleidsadviseur Cultuur in Almere

Date & Time: June 5th 2012 – 13.30h

Location: City Hall Almere

JS: Mijn collega Janica Kleiman is hier gestart met mijn collega Julius Riemersma. Zij hebben dit in het begin, zij waren een soort van duo met zijn tweeën. Daarvoor is er ooit wel een soort van ambtenaar geweest in de periode jaren '80-'90. En zij konden in het begin alles met zijn tweeën afgaan, maar opeens kwam er een stroomversnelling in. De hele afdeling werd toen Vrije Tijd en Sport. Sinds 2009 zijn we als Kunst en Cultuur weer ondergebracht bij Sociaal Krachtige Samenleving en is Sport verzelfstandigd. En tijdens die loskoppeling zaten we ook van, moeten we niet bij Onderwijs of Economie, maar toch maar voor Sociaal Krachtige Samenleving gekozen. Meer omdat andere mensen een bepaald gevoeld hadden bij de betreffende manager destijds. En je merkt, cultuur is altijd een soort instrument, mensen zien het als instrument om andere dingen te bewerkstelligen. Je wordt veel gevraagd, ook bij kleine dingen die voor andere mensen heel relevant zijn, om bij aan te sluiten. Doordat we nu weer een klein team zijn, we zijn van iets van 10 naar weer 4 gegaan, die heel erg prioriteiten proberen te stellen en kiezen wij op het moment heel duidelijk voor dingen die echt inhoudelijk met cultuur ontwikkeling bezig zijn, wat relevant is om cultuur goed neer te zetten. Dat is even een beeld van de afdeling, hoe cultuur is ontstaan.

Het budget is nu 15 miljoen, even zonder de bezuinigen, zoals het nog in de oude cultuurnota staat. Het meeste geld in vastgoed, dus in gebouwen, en eigenlijk heel weinig in inhoud.

LP: Dat is eigenlijk overal zo.

JS: Ja, nou, in deze stad is het wel stevig hoor, omdat je natuurlijk wel eerst de podia nodig hebt om uiteindelijk weer dingen te kunnen produceren. Alleen het college heeft hier ook echt de behoefte aan iets groots neer te zetten, iets zichtbaars. Daar is een hele sterke behoefte naar bij het college in deze stad. Een museum. Ik weet niet of je het een beetje gevolgd hebt, maar men had toen oren naar de collectie van Dirk Scheringa.

LP: Nee, heb ik totaal gemist.

JS: Dat moet je maar eens nalezen op internet. Het was allemaal geheim. We hebben hier een fantastisch museum, de Paviljoens, dat deed men een beetje af dat kende men eigenlijk niet, maar Dirk Scheringa, nou, die collectie moesten we hier hebben. Daar werd dan niet bij nagedacht

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dat als je een collectie hebt dat je die moet onderhouden, moet kunnen uitbouwen en dat ging er heel moeilijk in. Daar is allemaal gedoe om geweest. Zoals om de Kunstlinie, heel mooi gebouw de Schouwburg. Prachtige Japanse architect die het heeft gebouwd en dat geeft toch een bepaalde uitstraling. Dus men is heel erg bezig met hele grote dingen, het is een soort van bevestiging om een icoon te creëren, terwijl ik denk dat andere steden is dat pas op lange termijn ontwikkeld. En je merkt in deze nieuwe stad, het is omdat bestuurders iets willen, heel geforceerd. En je ziet het niet alleen hier mee, maar je hebt het ook met het Metropole Orkest gehad die men hier naartoe wilde halen. Groots, die halen we hier naartoe maar ja wat betekent dat. Er wordt niet bij stilgestaan wat je dan nodig hebt. Een concert programmering hoe gaan we dat doen, ze moeten dan ook hier een bepaald iets bewerkstelligen. Dat is ook uiteindelijk afgeketst. Terwijl aan de andere kant waren we bezig met bezuinigen, dat is een groot economisch vraagstuk. Dus dat is een beetje een beeld.

We zijn nu bezig met bezuinigen. Sinds vorig jaar alles geïnventariseerd en scenario's uitgezet. We hebben gekozen voor elk organisatie met podium minder geld. Dus daar zijn echt keuzes in gemaakt. En nu moet er nog een tweede slag gemaakt worden, van € 500.000 en aan de andere kant hebben we €500.000 voor onze cofinanciering van het Rijk. Het is een periode van keuzes maken, wat ga je doen. En dat is in een startende stad, zoals nu, is dat stevig.

LP: Want je hebt eigenlijk al dat geld nodig om überhaupt die start goed af te kunnen maken.

JS: Wat je nu krijgt, stel dat je straks op een gezelschap moet gaan bezuinigen, dan heb je wel heel veel podia maar je hebt niks te leveren. Of nieuwe cultuur educatie met kwaliteit vraagt professionele instellingen om projecten te organiseren en die heb je straks niet. Het hangt allemaal met elkaar samen. Berdien Sternberg was de wethouder die is opgestapt in april, en daar hebben we nu een nieuwe wethouder voor, Ed Anker. Dat is even een beeld van de ontwikkeling. Wel heel erg ambitieus, zijn druk bezig met het ontwikkelen van een cultuur visie voor de komende 18 jaar. Veel nadruk op de creatieve industries, dus de zzp-ers en creatieve bedrijfjes. Daar merk je dat er hier heel veel zijn. En met subsidies proberen wij nu ook organisaties die bepaalde creatieve ideeën hebben, bij te staan bij hun aanzet tot verdere ontwikkeling. En je ziet ook, sommigen zeggen dan ook we hebben geen subsidie meer nodig, we kunnen het zelf ook. Dat is stimulerend.

LP: Wordt het cultuurbeleid hier echt gemaakt door de gemeente en opgelegd, of wordt het ook heel erg gedragen door de mensen? Zijn er ook veel eigen initiatieven zijn van de mensen die hier wonen?

JS: Bij de laatste cultuurnota 2009 zijn we in dialoog getreden met de stad, met de directeuren van instellingen en hebben gevraagd wat is de behoefte, ook in relatie tot het rijksbeleid. Dus je kijkt gewoon heel erg sterk naar de wensen en de behoeften vanuit de bevolking, de instellingen en van daaruit hebben we wel ons beleid afgestemd. Natuurlijk heb je een eigen visie van waar de stad naar toe moet ten aanzien van rijksbeleid en ontwikkeling in de stad. Dus je maakt daar wel een goed evenwicht en balans in. Want als je niet luistert naar je bevolking, dan stem je je beleid ook niet af op wat er leeft en dan kan je ook niks resulteren of behalen. Dat werkt gewoon niet. Dus terugkomend op jouw vraag, het is niet opgelegd. We sturen wel, als we zien dat er ergens kansen en mogelijkheden zitten dan proberen wij dingen te sturen, maar in principe moeten organisaties het zelf doen. Daar zijn ze professioneel genoeg voor. En de ene heeft wat meer ruimte om te sturen dan de ander. Maar het cultuurbeleid is in principe samen opgesteld met de instellingen in deze betreffende sector.

LP: Zijn er dan nog wensen die jullie hebben? We willen graag zo'n soort museum?

JS: Vanuit het bestuur is het sterk natuurlijk altijd een museum gedachte geweest, (een orkest gedachte). Ik zou dat omschrijven als idealen. Natuurlijk, het is een nieuwe stad en men wil zichtbare dingen hebben. En de wijk gedachtes die zijn ook wel sterk aanwezig, dus heel erg dichtbij en laagdrempelig. En dan weer de professionele instellingen, zoals Bonte Hond, daarvan duurt het even voordat men het besef heeft dat het echt van belang is.

LP: En met men bedoel je dan…?

JS: Het bestuur, het college. Maar ook bevolking an sich hoor. Dat heeft zijn tijd nodig. Dat is niet erg en die tijd moet je ook geven om iets op te kunnen bouwen. En Bonte Hond is heel jong en heeft een behoorlijk slag gemaakt. Maar natuurlijk, er blijven altijd, het zou niet goed zijn als een stad geen ambities heeft. Maar het bestuur heeft wel ambities, die zijn nu wat getemperd door de tijd en de middelen, maar ik denk dat als de middelen weer optimaal zijn dat men absoluut ambities heeft op cultuur gebied.

LP: Weer volle vaart erin?

JS: Ja, ik denk dat daar bij bepaalde bestuurders wel, wel weer vol in willen gaan.

LP: Als je kijkt naar cultuur om een identiteit te creëren. Hoe is dat wel of niet hier aanwezig in Almere? Dat je cultuur gebruikt om een gevoel te creëren van dit is Almere en ik ben iemand uit Almere en dat is dan zo en zo.

JS: Almere is een jonge stad, ontwikkeling, we hebben een aantal professionele instellingen die van belang zijn voor deze stad. Het zijn een soort motoren die mensen aantrekken, weer

inspiratie zijn voor andere instellingen, die zichtbaarheid geven, afspiegeling. Ja wel dat het hier mogelijk is, zoals de creatieve industrie, dat merk je heel erg sterk, en dat straal je wel naar buiten af dat hier er wel veel mogelijk is. Als je een goed plan hebt, dan kan je hier wel terecht. Samenwerking is hier ook nog heel sterk. Die culturele identiteit ontwikkeld zich nu heel langzaam, zie je dat wat scherper worden in de loop der jaren. Maar ik vind het nog altijd last, wat is identiteit? Dan kijk ik meer naar de zichtbaarheid van Almere, van een jonge stad die in ontwikkeling is, die werkt aan zijn gebouwen, waarbij de podia goed op orde zijn. Dat alles aanwezig is. Dat er bepaalde dingen zijn waarmee de stad zich onderscheid, zoals architectuur, landschap art. Dat zijn hele sterke punten, waarmee Almere wil laten zien dit is onze identiteit. Het wordt ook wel meer opgepakt, zoals landschap art. Ja heel bijzonder voor hier. En zoals de Paviljoens, mogelijk in de bis, een positief advies maar geen middelen krijgt. Dan merk je opeens van dat is toch wel een belangrijk iets dat we hier hebben, alsof men ineens wakker wordt geschud. En dan denk je, oh dus dat is een stukje identiteit van Almere. Dan kan men er opeens mee spelen, dat is heel grappig om te zien. Eerst moet men wakker geschud worden door de buitenwereld. Maar ik heb het idee dat die identiteit als cultuurstad wel meer toeneemt. Dat dat zich nu wel veel meer vormt. Men heeft ook wel behoefte aan een sterke identiteit. Landschap art, musea, bepaalde podiumkunsten, creatieve industrie, architectuur, dat rijtje dat wil men wel verder brengen. Zeker op architectuur, met INTI als New Town stad.

LP: Dan, wat zijn jouw taken en hoe ziet het bestuur zijn rol?

JS: We zijn met 4 personen hier bij cultuur. We hebben wel ondersteuning van een subsidiebureau, want we werken heel veel met subsidies. We hebben dus een aantal instellingen, die noemen wij de partners, die krijgen een vaste subsidie vanuit de gemeente. Dat zijn Corrosia!, Schouwburg, Bonte Hond, Suburbia, Vis a Vis, de bibliotheek, Casla architectuurcentrum, de Paviljoens. Dat zijn allemaal vaste partners, die zie je ook terug in de cultuur nota. Dat is verdeeld over portefeuilles. Iedereen heeft een eigen portefeuille en is accounthouder van die instellingen. Je bent contactpersoon, gaat naar openingen, tentoonstellingen toe en volgt ze en geeft als er iets is advies aan de bestuurder. En 1x per jaar is er bestuurlijk overleg met de wethouder, daar wordt dan de ontwikkeling, de jaarrekening en stand van zaken besproken. De visie en de toekomst, als er problemen zijn worden die besproken.

En het bestuur, dat moet je zo zien, als het van belang is dan bemoeit men zich ermee. Meestal wordt er wel verkeken op een cultuur portefeuille, verkijkt men zich erop, want met cultuur sta je heel vaak in de media. Dat onderschat men wel eens. Vaak is het zo, we doen het er wel even bij, maar dan merk je toch vaak dat er meer van wordt gevraagd, dat het een complex dossier is, een complexe portefeuille. Je bent met het rijk, met de provincie, je moet afstemmen

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met de landsregio's. Het is heel erg afstemmen, het is niet alleen lokaal. Je bent continu bezig met de wisselwerking op landelijk niveau en provinciaal niveau. Het bestuur is er pas als het echt van belang is, of als het lokaal van belang is zoals een lokale omroep. Dan wordt dan in de raad ineens heel erg van belang, ondanks een heel klein budget, maar het ligt waarschijnlijk dan heel dicht bij. Het is dan een heel belangrijk item en zodra het meer landelijk is dan lijkt het wel alsof men daar minder oren naar heeft. Ja, zodra het lokaal is ondanks een heel klein budget, kan het helemaal uitgekauwd worden en helemaal van belang zijn. Zodra het om grote budgetten gaat, die je van het rijk krijgt, wat heel belangrijk is om die relatie goed te houden, dan heeft men er eigenlijk helemaal geen interesse in. Dus dat is wel een rare, maar het is ook wel te verklaren. Iets wat heel dichtbij ligt is vaak belangrijker.

LP: Ja, maar aan de andere kant zijn juist de grote instellingen je gezicht naar buiten.

JS: Ja, een bibliotheek is bijvoorbeeld vaak wel belangrijk en een schouwburg nu, daar speelt heel wat, en in de hele ontwikkeling is het ineens van belang. Dus het is net het moment, ik noem het altijd men leeft op het moment, als er iets is dan pakken we het op. Of een instelling moet zó iets willen, dat het bestuurlijk van belang wordt. Er kan zelfs over een kunstwerk ophef ontstaan, puur als voorbeeld. Dus het is net wat er op dat moment van belang is, ook in relatie tot ontwikkelingen. Zo'n lokale omroep bijvoorbeeld, is typisch iets waarvan je denkt waar gaat dit over, maar dan heeft net de raad zich ermee bemoeid, en dan moet dus ook de wethouder weer verantwoording afleggen over iets. En dan zit er dus een collega heel wat uren aan te werken. Het college heeft natuurlijk een beleid dat ze moet uitvoeren, en mijn collega Janica is bezig met de ontwikkeling van een cultuur visie 2.0. En dat moet ook beoordeeld en geaccordeerd worden door het college, dus dat is een heel proces. En continue lobby'en en de wethouder goed informeren, want die moet het verhaal goed kunnen houden om draagvlak te krijgen van andere wethouders. En de visie is er nu door, die is goedgekeurd. En daar staan weer dingen in zoals bijvoorbeeld we gaan voor behoud van de instellingen, en nu kom je op een snijdvlak waar je moet bezuinigen en wie gaan we dan behouden en hoe? Dus ja, op dat soort momenten dient het college van zich te laten horen, die zijn van de bestuurlijke besluiten, wij adviseren daar alleen maar.

LP: Maar verder kunnen jullie dus wel heel zelfstandig opereren?

JS: Ja, maar altijd binnen de beleidskaders die we hebben. Als voorbeeld een leuk verhaal over Corrosia! Die zeiden dat ze zich even alleen maar op hun inhoud wilden richten en even niet op de prestatienormen. Dus hebben wij dat een jaar losgelaten, zodat zij zich konden richten op die inhoud, en na een jaar schoten de bezoekersaantallen omhoog. Dus het gaat er ook over om het

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vertrouwen te hebben, want je doet zoiets alleen bij een organisatie waarbij het ook kan. En als je het dan los laat dan merk je ook dat ze een enorme ontwikkeling doormaken.

Dat is dus een voorbeeld van waar onze ruimte zit, en meld je dat? Nou ja, je bespreekt alleen de hoofdlijnen. Corrosia! is nu bezig met een verhuizing, tijdelijk, omdat het gebouw wordt verbouwd. Daar zijn dus mensen van vastgoed mee bezig en dat is dus weer een belangrijk item omdat het met vastgoed te maken heeft, wat weer een andere portefeuille is van de wethouder. Dus dat is dan heel erg precair. En daar zijn wethouders dus mee bezig.

LP: We hadden het er al even over hoe actief zo'n beleidsmakende nieuwe stad is, heb je daar misschien nog wat meer voorbeelden van?

JS: Nou, ik denk dat de instellingen zelf heel erg het initiatief nemen, en als gemeente kun je alleen maar sturen op die dingen waar je potentie in ziet, waar je mogelijkheden in ziet. Dat hoeven maar hele kleine budgetjes te zijn. Projecten waarvan je denkt "He, daar zit wat", of die je kunt koppelen aan een andere instelling, en dat er dan iets uit voortkomt. Dat is heel mooi om te zien, zeker als dat ook iets blijvends is. Of wanneer je iets ziet in een instelling waarvan je denkt "nou, die zou nog wel eens groot kunnen worden", je weet dan misschien niet wanneer, maar dat je weet dit is een project om te ondersteunen. En dan zie je die soms als een speer gaan. Dat is zo leuk aan een nieuwe stad, want die geven kleur aan zo'n stad.

LP: Zijn er nog meer initiatieven die jullie echt hebben genomen?

JS: Het is altijd een wisselwerking. Een voorbeeld als Bonte Hond, als je dat bedoelt, is echt vanuit het rijk, de provincie en de gemeente geïnitieerd. Bonte Hond kan daar zelf ook heel leuk over vertellen. Ga je daar ook naartoe?

LP: Nee, maar ik ken wel iemand die…

JS: Ooh, je moet er wel echt naartoe. Ze zitten hier tegenover en ze zijn aanwezig, dus ik zou naar binnen lopen en een afspraak maken. Je krijgt dan namelijk veel meer een beeld van hoe zij dat hebben ervaren. Dat is ook leuk om te horen van Noelle Fisscher over die hele ontwikkeling. Dus ja, als je onderzoek wilt doen, moet je ook naar ze toe. Bij Bonte Hond is het dus een gezamenlijk initiatief geweest. Nieuwe stad, dus er moet iets komen met iets van een theater/productiehuis. En opeens is het van gigantisch goede kwaliteit, maar het duurt heel lang voordat men het ziet. Terwijl als je ziet wat Bonte Hond doet, innovatief, bezig zijn met het aantrekken van jonge makers en zo'n enorme motor is. Dat is wel een heel mooi voorbeeld van ontwikkeling, waarbij het dus wel begonnen is met een overheidsdraagvlak, maar dan is natuurlijk nog niet gezegd of het een succes wordt. Surburbia is daardoor ook ontstaan, dat is een theatergroep, die is ook uit die sessie ontstaan. Vanuit het idee dat Almere ook iets moet hebben. Paviljoens volgens mij ook.

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LP: Dus die fase hebben jullie eigenlijk al gehad?

JS: Ja, het is nu echt van hoe ontwikkeld het zich. Het stagneert nu een beetje, maar het is ook wel eens goed om het kaf van het koren te scheiden, zeker ook hier. En je ziet mensen met ideeën en creativiteit, die komen er wel, die vinden hun weg wel in middelen of via een samenwerking. Corrosia! is bijvoorbeeld heel goed in zulke samenwerkingen, als zij iets zien in een project, dan staan ze er altijd voor open om er iets mee te doen. Dus als gemeente zie je wel eens potentie in dingen, maar je weet nooit echt wordt het iets, maar op basis van kennis die wij met z'n vieren hier hebben,maken wij de keuzes. In die zin werken wij ook nog best wel individualistisch hoor, als je een projectplan krijgt of iets hoort of jij daar iets mee kunt, ga jij het gesprek aan om te zien of je er wel of niet iets in ziet. Dus dat kun je vrij snel op basis van die kennis en ervaring inzien. En de ene is net iets anders dan de andere, nou ja, zo werkt het. Het is een kick altijd als het wel werkt, dat is leuk, ook al duurt het soms wat langer, maar het is leuk om te zien en dan mensen te koppelen. En dat zijn dus wel de sturende elementen vanuit ons, vanuit cultuur. De ene op architectuur, de andere op kunst, de andere meer podiumkunsten, Janneke is meer strategisch dus die kijkt meer naar het gehele beleid. Dus daar hebben wij wel invloed op ja, die ruimte is er ook gelukkig. Je voelt je soms een soort makelaar, je hoort iets en denkt dan "Heb je wel eens aan die gedacht?" en dan bam.

LP: Jullie hebben jullie cultuurbeleid aan de hand van drie lagen gemaakt, waarom is dat eigenlijk zo?

JS: Wij hadden ooit een vrijetijdsvisie ontwikkeld, vlak nadat ik hier kwam, en die is toen in drie lagen opgedeeld, en daar is destijds de cultuurnota uit ontstaan. Dus die is daar van afgeleid. En daarin werd dus ook eigen woonomgeving, stadsniveau en regionaal niveau op aangegeven en dat hanteren we eigenlijk nog steeds. En dat werd ook gehanteerd in het fonds cultuurparticipatie middelen. Dus die driedeling konden we goed gebruiken. Het helpt ook met het structureren van wijkniveau, stadsniveau en regioniveau. En je vroeg waarom hè? Ja, de vrijetijdsvisie (die wordt nooit meer gebruikt) was een soort overall beeld van sport, cultuur, vrije tijd en recreatie en daar is dus de cultuurnota van afgeleid. Dus exact waarom weet ik eigenlijk niet, maar het is waarschijnlijk door die structurele manier van indelen.

LP: En wat zijn dan die ambities op die niveaus?

JS: Op wijkniveau is het voornamelijk mensen in contact weten te brengen met kunst en cultuur, zoals dat ook is beschreven door het fonds cultuurparticipatie. Dat doen we door middel van wijkprojecten. De kunstbus bijvoorbeeld die in een wijk kan gaan staan, of bij een brede school waar kinderen kennis kunnen maken met bijvoorbeeld djembe spelen of iets met theater, zingen,

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viool, etc. En vervolgens daar continuïteit aan te brengen door zo'n kind naar een muziekschool te brengen, of een dansschool. En de armere gezinnen konden dan gemakkelijk aanvraag doen bij het jeugdcultuurfonds, zodat je een soort cirkel maakt.

Op stadsniveau waren het bijvoorbeeld instellingen Vis a Vis, Bonte Hond, de Pavilioens, Corrosia!, die allemaal op dat niveau opereren.

En het regionale niveau was dan Landschapskunst en de Paviljoens volgens mij ook.

Het is dus heel erg ingedeeld zodat je weet op regionaal niveau, op stadsniveau, kan ik hier iets mee, wat doen ze. Eigenlijk een soort onbewuste manier van indelen, het biedt structuur, maar ook weer mogelijkheden omdat je ziet wie je aan elkaar kunt matchen. En het hele fonds cultuurparticipatie sloot daar heel mooi op aan, dus je kon ook goed die middelen verdelen over de projecten. Het ligt er natuurlijk aan welke projecten je binnen krijgt, maar je kon mooi zien van dit is een wijkproject, dit is regionaal of dit is echt op stadsniveau. Het is natuurlijk nooit vanzelfsprekend, er is destijds wel over nagedacht, maar puur vanuit de structurele manier.

LP: Ja, en het past dus ook nog steeds, want je kunt het wel van tevoren allemaal zo bedenken, maar als dat vier/vijf jaar later nog steeds zo werkt…

JS: Ik denk ook dat het blijft werken. Een wijk is toch altijd, als ik mijn collega's op wijk niveau spreek hebben zij toch een hele andere invalshoek met cultuur, vaak vanuit de sociaal welzijns gedachte. Waar we toch altijd voorzicht mee zijn, want we vinden cultuur is niet een middel, maar cultuur is ook gewoon cultuur. En daar hebben we soms discussies over. Maar je moet altijd een goede balans zien te vinden tussen cultuur en welzijn. Dat proberen we ook, want soms vinden ze op wijk niveau een project fantastisch en hebben wij zoiets van dit is meer welzijn. Ik kan wel een cultuur component inzetten, maar dat is niet van dusdanige professionaliteit, die mensen verdienen het ook om echt goed begeleid te worden. Daar kijken we wel naar, ja.

LP: Nu deze nota periode bijna voorbij is, wat zou je zeggen: is hij geslaagd?

JS: We hebben bijna alle punten gerealiseerd, alle maatregelen die genoemd staan in de nota. We houden dit ook altijd exact bij, zodat de wethouder precies weet wat de stand van zaken is, in rood of groen. Er zijn wat dingen, zoals onderzoeken waar geen geld voor was, die zijn naar voren geschoven en worden onderdeel van de cultuurnotitie. Dus dan merk je ook dat je dingen realiseert. Zoals hele grote dingen die afhankelijk zijn van grote hoeveelheden geld, zijn nog niet gerealiseerd of moeten nog komen als het economisch weer beter gaat. Maar we zijn wel erg content met wat we gedaan hebben, ja. Dat je toch dingen kunt realiseren. Ook met dingen die al afgehandeld zijn, maar die goed lopen, die plaatsten we weer op de agenda en daar moet dan toch weer geld voor komen. Dan is het in het schema toch nog rood, omdat het zo goed loopt

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moeten we hier weer wat mee doen. En je kunt wel een cultuurnota hebben, maar de meeste dingen gebeuren toch nog ad hoc daarom heen. En dat hoort ook zo. En dat moet zo blijven. Je kunt niet alles van tevoren vast leggen. Zeker bij deze stad moet je lekker flexibel blijven.

LP: Hebben jullie dan nog wel die financiële ruimte om zo flexibel te blijven?

JS: Je moet veel meer keuzes maken, veel meer prioriteiten stellen. Zeker nu de flexibele ruimte drastisch minder wordt. Dan hebben we nog amateurkunst projectsubsidies, dat blijft als enig potje overeind. En we pogen het belang van die potjes over te brengen, om kleine initiatieven te ondersteunen en om die reuring te creëren, om dat creatieve in de stad te behouden. Het is wel van belang dat die potjes blijven, voor je creatieve innovatie. Anders ga je stilstaan. Je krijgt niks meer in je stad, je communiceert niet meer, je ondersteunt het niet meer vanuit de gemeente, je hebt geen zicht meer op wat er gebeurt. Dus ik hoop dat het blijft. Je moet veel scherpere keuzes maken, in alles.

LP: De afgelopen jaren waren jullie wel zo vrij?

JS: Je hebt een vast budget en naar de instellingen gaan ook vaste bedragen. De ene organisatie mocht een meerjaren plan inleveren, zoals Bonte Hond en worden dan voor 4 jaar ondersteund. Ze moeten wel elk jaar een tussenrapportage maken. Andere instellingen moeten wel elk jaar op nieuwe aanvragen. Maar je merkt gewoon dat, als je elkaar vertrouwd, dat je voor de continuïteit voor vier jaar een toezegging kunt doen. En per jaar dan afspreekt wat gaan we doen en wat gaan we bereiken en dingen bijstellen. Voor mijn gevoel zou het zo moeten, omdat je dan een goede ontwikkeling kunt maken. Het is echt heel strak kijken, waar zit je potentie en hoe zet je je middelen in.

Ook bij instellingen is dat zo. En dat is wel goed aan deze ontwikkelingen. Men gaat weer nadenken wat het doel is en waar men naar toe wil. En dat vind ik wel een goede ontwikkeling, even los van de bezuinigingsperikelen. Dat mensen terug gaan naar de basis, wat willen we nou eigenlijk. Je ziet bepaalde instellingen ook helemaal floreren in hun creativiteit. En durven partnerschappen aan te gaan die ze voorheen niet aan wilde gaan. Je moet nu wel.

LP: Hoe is de spreiding van de culturele instellingen over het centrum en de buitenwijken?

JS: Bij de podiumkunsten instellingen zitten de professionals allemaal in het centrum, zoals de schouwburg. Corossia! zit in Haven en heeft daar een specifieke functie. Vis a Vis zit met hun landje bij Muiderzand. Zij zitten echt niet in het centrum en dat is ook wel wat we vaker horen, dat Vis a Vis en Almere bij elkaar horen. Suburbia en Bonte Hond zitten hiernaast in de broedplaats, naast het ckv gebouw en bibliotheek naast het stadhuis. [de voetnoot] is een tijdelijke broedplaats tot 2014 en daar zitten allemaal kleine creatieve bedrijfjes. Dat is een soort

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van reuring die daar zit geconcentreerd. Maar de meeste zitten eigenlijk wel in de stad. In de wijk is het toch vaak met projectsamenwerking. Almere Buiten en Almere Haven zijn wel wijken waar dingen gebeuren op cultuur gebied. In Almere Haven heb je ook een broedplaats en galeries. Maar de instellingen met regionale, stedelijke uitstraling zitten in de stad. En dat vinden we ook van belang. We vinden ook dat als iets een regionale, stads uitstraling heeft, dan moet het ook in de stad zitten. Dat is bij Corossia! even anders, maar dat heeft met de geschiedenis te maken. Sommigen zouden Corossia! ook liever in het centrum zien, maar de vraag is of ze daar zouden overleven. Maar misschien ooit in de toekomst. Maar het is een politieke kwestie, emotioneel ook, want men wil dat er iets in Haven blijft. Almere Haven en Buiten springen er dus uit als wijken die wel erg met cultuur bezig zijn. En het centrum natuurlijk.

Almere is een fascinerende stad, zo noem ik het altijd dan maar. Dan moeten er in die nieuwe wijken allemaal voorzieningen komen, scholen, en dan o ja moet cultuur er ook nog even bij. Zo gaat het vaak. Het is echt een soort maken.

LP: Je had het al even over dat overzicht dat naar de wethouder gaat, maar hoe meten jullie verder het succes van het cultuurbeleid?

JS: Een keer in de twee, drie jaar hebben we een participatieonderzoek. Daarin meten wij zeg maar wat de bevolking vind, waar de bevolking naar toe gaat binnen en buiten Almere. Wij hadden dit jaar een stijging van 10,5% van bezoeken aan culturele instellingen. Wij dachten hoe kan dit, overal in Nederland gaat het naar beneden. Ze hebben het zelfs nog een keer nagerekend, maar het blijft. Inwoners van Almere bezoeken meer, even los van of het in Almere of daarbuiten is. Dus dat was wel een tegenstelling ten opzichte van de landelijke ontwikkeling. Die monitor is ontzettend belangrijke informatie voor ons. Die hebben we nodig om verder beleid te ontwikkelen, waar we onze argumentatie uit halen voor wel of niet investeren, wat van belang is en waar mensen hun waardering voor uitspreken. We hadden een jongeren en ouderen panel en met hen blijven we de vragenlijst ontwikkelen en scherper maken. We wilden ook graag een benchmark doen met andere steden en daarop liepen we vast, omdat vragen niet overeenkomen of steden helemaal geen onderzoek doen. Toen zijn we ook en dialoog gestart, om ook met meer landelijke cijfers zoals van het cultureel planbureau te kunnen gaan vergelijken. Daar zijn we nu dus mee bezig omdat te ontwikkelen.

LP: Hoe verkrijgen jullie je informatie? Krijgt iedereen een enquête in de bus?

JS: Onderzoek en Statistiek doet de verspreiding van de enquêtes, zij hebben een lijst met respondenten. Daar heb ik ook goed naar gekeken want je wilt een goede afspiegeling van de samenleving. Dan is nog maar de vraag wat je terug krijgt natuurlijk. Er was wel een hoge

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respondentie dit jaar. Die monitor is dus voor ons belangrijk om te kijken waar ligt de interesse van de stad, een soort vertrekpunt is het. Het is een test, een evaluatie.

Verder doen wij deelonderzoekjes op gebieden, zoals Theater de Roestbak/ Corossia!, die draait nu zoveel jaar na de verzelfstandiging van de Schouwburg. Wat heeft dat opgeleverd? Dat soort onderzoekjes doen we dan ook niet zelf en nemen we een bureau voor in de hand. Maar ik begeleid dat wel strak want ik wil weten dat de vraag goed is, dat het goed strak blijft. Dat doen we dus ook, van die nul metingen, kijken wat het opgeleverd heeft.

LP: Zijn er dan ook experts die geconsulteerd worden? Directeuren van de instellingen ed?

JS: Die worden natuurlijk betrokken. Mijn collega Janica Kleiman heeft helemaal de creatieve industrie in kaart gebracht en dat blijkt een hele grote sector hier te zijn met allemaal kleine bedrijfjes. Toen hebben we dus eens een andere weg ingeslagen en niet gekeken naar de grote instellingen. Veel aantrekkingskracht ivm ruimte en creatief klimaat. Er zitten hier bijvoorbeeld veel muzikanten, die niet in het gooi of in Amsterdam terecht kunnen. Nieuw land, nieuwe mogelijkheden.

LP: En het publiek? Waar gaat de Almeerder naar toe? Nog veel naar Amsterdam?

JS: Toch nog wel veel naar Amsterdam, omdat men toch nog wat mist hier in het aanbod. Terwijl de Schouwburg populair en commercieel programmeert. Ik denk dat het ook met sfeer te maken heeft. Amsterdam ligt om de hoek, ik ga net zo makkelijk daar naar toe.

LP: Hoe is jullie plek als Almere in de provincie, en met Amsterdam om de hoek. Hoe werk dat?

JS: Voor de provincie is het vaak, Almere doet maar niet mee want die hebben eigen middelen. Het is een verhouding waar nog niet helemaal goed de balans in gevonden is. De provincie heeft een heel groot achterland, waar ze heel goed voor zorgen, en Almere hangt er dan vaak een beetje bij. Als een apart iets in het geheel van Flevoland. Er wordt wel met elkaar afgestemd, maar het is niet echt samen optrekken. De provincie richt zich toch vaak eerst op de andere dorpen en steden en Almere redt zich wel. Ook met middelen, wij krijgen vaak direct middelen van het rijk en gaat dat niet meer via de provincie. Terwijl ze juist Almere heel erg nodig hebben om de rest mee te krijgen, naar dat achterland toe. Ja, en Amsterdam is Amsterdam. Met het knooppuntsteden beleid valt Almere dus buiten de boot. Net als met Bonte Hond, die is uit de BIS (basis infrastructuur) gezet omdat Almere niet onderdeel is van de knooppuntsteden. Ja, waar gaat het dan om? Artistieke kwaliteit of weegt een knooppuntstad zwaarder dan de artistieke kwaliteit van een instelling? Dat is dan ook wel heel zuur. En voor Bonte Hond was het ook wel een hard klap. Maar daar moet je niet te lang bij stilstaan, je moet door. Het gaat om de inhoud. Maar je merkt dat je met Amsterdam, Utrecht, Amersfoort altijd in een concurrentie positie zit. Ik

vind het verschrikkelijk om uit te spreken, want je moet je op je zelf richten. Maar in convenanten ben je toch afhankelijk van elkaar. Het is een haat liefde verhouding. Terwijl er ook veel toeristen hier logeren omdat het hier goedkoper is dan in Amsterdam. Het is de zogenaamde backyard van Amsterdam. En het liefst wil Amsterdam niet met Almere geassocieerd worden. Maar we hebben een eigen visie, gaan voor de eigen ontwikkeling.

Het imago van Almere is heel moeilijk om vanaf te komen.

LP: Waarom is dat zo ontstaan?

JS: Vanuit het verleden denk ik. Ik woon er zelf ook niet, maar ik vertel altijd wel, het is een stad in opbouw en dat is heel fascinerend om mee bezig te zijn. Je bent echt aan het maken, beleid aan het maken, dingen opzetten. Je bent echt aan het bouwen. Je steentje bijdragen aan iets wat misschien pas over zoveel jaar inbedding krijgt. Zeker in deze tijd is het extra spannend, wat blijft er over, wat krijgt nog doorgang. Imago, ja dat weten we, het is de lelijkste stad. Maar sommigen hebben al een oordeel zonder er ooit zelf geweest te zijn. Het gaat erom wat je maakt en produceert.

LP: En hoe ziet de bevolking er hier uit?

JS: Een jonge bevolking. Veel forenzen, een ouder gezinnen en gezinnen met 2 kinderen. Veel jongeren. Maar dat weet ik niet zo uit mijn hoofd. En een groeiende bevolking.

LP: We hadden het al even over het FCP. Zijn er nog meer organisaties waar jullie een goede band mee hebben en die organisaties in Almere graag steunen?

JS: Vanuit de landelijke regeling krijgen wij als gemeente geld, maar het FCP heeft ook regelingen waar instellingen aan kunnen vragen. Je hebt ook Fonds Podiumkunsten, waar je ook mee afstemt. Het zijn gemeente, provincie en rijk die Bonte Hond, Suburbia en Vis a Vis in stand houden. Met bepaalde fondsen, zoals VSB, hebben we goede afstemming. Op het gebied talentontwikkeling doen we mee aan landelijk en internationaal onderzoek. Het is heel belangrijk dat die fondsen je weten te vinden. Het is altijd een wisselwerking en maar opbouwen, opbouwen, opbouwen. Het is nooit in een keer. En ik vind dat de instellingen ook zijn gegroeid om zelf veel meer subsidies aan te vragen en gewoon door te zeggen leg het eens voor, ga er eens naar toe, daar leer je van. Het gaat helemaal niet om hoeveel geld je kunt krijgen, maar om hoe jouw aanvraag in elkaar zit en wat je daarvan kunt leren. Dan merk je dat mensen dat wel oppakken en dat is heel erg leuk om te zien. Het is ook een verplichting van de instellingen zelf om als je iets willen realiseren, dat ze dan zelf middelen moeten vinden. Het is ook onderdeel van de toekenning van de subsidie dat ze ook andere middelen weten binnen te halen. Het komt bijna niet meer voor dat iets alleen gefinancierd wordt door gemeentelijke gelden. Sommigen

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instellingen hebben ook in eens subsidie van landelijke fondsen, op eens is de weg bekend en kunnen ze door. Dan zijn ze je dankbaar. Het zijn hele kleine dingetjes om organisaties verder te helpen. We fungeren ook als adviseur, van denk eens hier aan. Niet alleen in de stad maar ook landelijk.

LP: Hoe zie je de toekomst?

JS: Wel positief. Als men zich op een aantal punten goed gaat ontwikkelen, dan kan het een belangrijke culturele stad worden. Een belangrijke plek om te zijn, op architectuurgebied, landschapskunst tot bepaalde podiumkunsten. Ik denk dat het wel een belangrijke plek kan worden. Als je goede producten hebt, trekt dat ook weer mensen aan. Ik denk dat je daar ook naar moet streven, reuring in de stad van goede kwaliteit.

D. DATA SHEET: MACRO AND MICRO INDICATORS SHORTLIST

This data sheet will be provided with this thesis by separate excel file either send by email or accessible through the provided CD/ USB stick.

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E. Full List of Micro Indicators

Concentration and Distribution
total cultural organisations 2008
nr inhabitants 2008
amount CO per 1000 inhabitants

total cultural organisations 2011
nr inhabitants 2011
amount CO per 1000 inhabitants

nr visual arts organisations
nr inhabitants
Visual arts organisations per inhabitant

nr performing arts organisations
nr inhabitants
Performing arts organisation per inhabitant

nr literature organisations
nr inhabitants
Literature organisation per inhabitant

nr festivals organisations
nr inhabitants
Festival organisation per inhabitant

nr amateur art organisations
nr inhabitants
Amateur arts organisation per inhabitant

nr community art organizations
nr inhabitants
Community art organisation per inhabitant

nr public art organisations
nr inhabitants
Public arts organisation per inhabitant

nr cultural heritage organisations
nr inhabitants
Cultural heritage organisation per inhabitant

nr film organisations
nr inhabitants
Film organisation per inhabitant

nr creative industries
nr inhabitants
Creative industries per inhabitant

other cultural organisations
nr inhabitants
Other cultural organisatiosn per inhabitant

cultural organisations older than 10 years
total cultural organisations
Old or young cultural scene

cultural organisations younger than 10 years
total cultural organisations
Old or young cultural scene

total amateur arts organisations
total cultural organisations
Ratio amateur/professional arts organisations

total professional arts organisations
total cultural organisations
Ratio amateur/professional arts organisations

cultural organisations city centre
inhabitants city centre
Nr of cultural organisation per inhabitant centre

cultural organisation in outer neighborhoods
inhabitants outer neighborhoods
Nr of cultural organisation per inhabitant outer neighborhoods

total cultural organisations in city centre
total cultural organisations
Coverage of cultural organisations in city centre

total cultural organisations in outer neighborhoods
total cultural organisations
Coverage of cultural organisations in outer neighborhoods

Budget
total cultural budget 2011
nr inhabitants 2011
Public investment in culture per inhabitant

Public investment in culture per inhabitant
Average income 2008
Percentage of average income spent on culture by municipality

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amount local grants and funds
total cultural budget 2011
Ratio local funds of total budget

amount regional and national grants and fund
awarded to the city
total cultural budget 2011
Ratio regional and national funds of total budget

budget visual arts
total cultural budget 2011
Percentage of total cult budget that goes to
visual arts

budget performing arts
total cultural budget 2011
Percentage of total cult budget that goes to
performing arts

budget literature
total cultural budget 2011
Percentage of total cult budget that goes to
literature

budget festivals
total cultural budget 2011
Percentage of total cult budget that goes to
festivals

budget amateur arts
total cultural budget 2011
Percentage of total cult budget that goes to
amateur arts

budget public arts
total cultural budget 2011
Percentage of total cult budget that goes to
public arts

cultural heritage
total cultural budget 2011
Percentage of total cult budget that goes to
cultural heritage

film
total cultural budget 2011
Percentage of total cult budget that goes to film

creative industries
total cultural budget 2011
Percentage of total cult budget that goes to film

Education
total cultural budget 2011
Percentage of total cult budget that goes to film

Audience Development
Percentage of people that go to culture at least
1x per year

Percentage of age group that visit arts at least 1x
culture: age 18-24
Percentage of age group that visit arts at least 1x
culture: age 25-44
Percentage of age group that visit arts at least 1x
culture: age 45-64
Percentage of age group that visit arts at least 1x
culture: age 65+

Cultural visits in Almere
Percentage of inhabitants that not visits Almere
cultural organisation
Percentage of inhabitants that incidentally visit
culture in Almere (up to 5 times)
Percentage of inhabitants that frequent visit
culture in Almere (more than 5 times)
People that visit culture frequently (more than 5
times) in Almere from Poort/pampus
People that visit culture frequently (more than 5
times) in Almere from Stad
People that visit culture frequently (more than 5
times) in Almere from Buiten
People that visit culture frequently (more than 5
times) in Almere from Haven/Hout

cultural participation of inhabitants of centre
average cultural participation
Participation in centre related to average

cultural participation of inhabitants of outer
neighborhoods
average cultural participation
Participation in outer neighborhoods related to
average

Percentage of people with dutch nationality
visiting culture in Almere
Percentage of people with non-dutch nationality
visiting culture in Almere

Positioning
Nr of cities of same size within 15 km
nr of cities of bigger size within 15km
Nr of villages of smaller size within 15km

tourist spending 2009
nr inhabitants
Tourist spending per inhabitant

percentage of ground that is developed (housing)
percentage of ground that is nature/water

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Policy Impact

total goals reached within policy deadlines
total goals set in scheme
Percentage of goals reached within deadline

Cultural consumers of visual arts previous to policy
Cultural consumers of visual arts 2011
Increase or decrease of cultural consumer of visual arts

Cultural consumers of performing arts previous to policy
Cultural consumers of performing arts 2011
Increase or decrease of cultural consumer of performing arts

Cultural consumers of literature previous to policy (library)
Cultural consumers of literature 2011
Increase or decrease of cultural consumer of literature (library)

Cultural consumers of festivals previous to policy
Cultural consumers of festivals 2011
Increase or decrease of cultural consumer of festivals

Cultural consumers of amateur (doing cultural activity in leisure time)previous to policy
Cultural consumers of amateur 2011
Increase or decrease of cultural consumer of amateur

Cultural consumers of public art previous to policy
Cultural consumers of public art 2011
Increase or decrease of cultural consumer of public arts

Cultural consumers of heritage previous to policy
Cultural consumers of heritage 2011
Increase or decrease of cultural consumer of cultural heritage

Cultural consumers of film previous to policy
Cultural consumers of film 2011
Increase or decrease of cultural consumer of film

Total cultural consumers previous to policy
Total cultural consumers in 2011
Increase or decrease of total cultural consumers

Other

total cultural organisations
level of education

total cultural budget
level of education

average cultural participation
level of education

level of education in city centre
total level of education

level of education in outer neighborhoods
total level of education

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