

HOW TO MOVE THE YOUNG AUDIENCE FOR MODERN DANCE?

A research on the audience development of youth modern dance companies in the Netherlands, and implications of a taste formation theory approach

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HOW TO MOVE THE YOUNG AUDIENCE FOR MODERN DANCE?

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ABSTRACT

The appreciation of modern dance requires a developed taste. Youth modern dance companies apply different audience development strategies in order to cultivate the taste of the young audience. According to the theory on taste formation, both habit formation theory and learning by consuming theory imply a cultivation of taste, each with a different approach. Where habit formation indicates a routinized development, learning by consuming suggests that the marginal utility increases during the cultivation process. This research relates taste formation theory to the practical application of audience development.

Successful audience development consists of both the missionary approach, to reach a new audience, and the mainstream approach, to maintain the relationship with the existing audience. The missionary approach is aligned with habit formation and the mainstream approach with learning by consuming. This theoretical framework is applied to the Dutch youth modern dance sector with the following research question: *'How do Dutch youth dance companies implement audience development strategies? And how does their audience development strategy relate to taste formation theory?'*

With the use of semi-structured interviews, this research scrutinized the implementation of young audience development from the marketing, education and programming departments of four Dutch youth modern dance companies. The first main findings is that (1) the companies primarily apply the missionary approach. The programming, marketing and education activities aim at new audiences and in addition, the organizations are involved with short-term projects. The companies are prevented from long-term thinking and from applying a more mainstream approach by the cultural policy requirement to find new and diverse audiences. In addition, time; money; and manpower constraints determine the prevalence of the missionary approach. In relation with taste formation theory.

The second main finding is that (2) the activities of the youth modern dance centers imply habit formation. The companies should invest in engagement activities; the monitoring of the audience's experience and utility; and adapt to the changing wants and needs of the existing audience, in order to align the audience development strategies better with learning by consuming theory.

The third finding is that (3) a general, strategic organizational plan is missing that accordingly contributes to both theories on taste formation. A coherent long-term plan for the entire organization is required for effective audience development that entails both the mainstream and the missionary approach.

KEYWORDS: *Young audience development, youth modern dance companies, habit formation, learning by consuming, missionary approach, mainstream approach, total experience, marketing, education, programming*

1. Introduction

Arts and culture organizations compete amongst each other, and other leisure activities, for the attention of a young audience. This young audience is formed by youngsters between 12 and 18 years old, and by young adults, aged 18 to 25. Time and money constraints; an undeveloped taste; and the reliance on group behavior are a few characteristics of the first sub-group (Hayes & Slater, 2000). The second sub-group is characterized by a fast life style with an increasing search for new experiences (Sullivan & Katz-Gerro, 2007). Henceforth, how do arts organizations with a complex content appeal to this young audience? More specifically, this research looks at youth modern dance companies in the Netherlands. As the name already suggests, youth modern dance companies aim specifically at a young audience. Besides modern dance being a personal interest of the author, it is interesting to analyze audience development in this sector because dance has the lowest visitor rate compared to museums, cinemas or festivals (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap, 2016). Principally, this is due to the complex nature of the content, namely of modern dance performances. The young audience needs to develop a taste for modern dance in order to appreciate it (Towse, 2010). The purpose of this research is to identify how youth modern dance companies try to cultivate the taste of the young audience. In practice, the companies apply different audience development strategies. Effective audience development consists of both the missionary approach, aimed at new audiences, and the mainstream approach, aimed at the maintenance of the relationship with the existing audience. Arts organizations need to invest in both approaches in order to successfully develop their young audience (Rogers, 1998). According to Rogers (1998) and Hayes and Slater (2000), the responsibility for audience development is shared by the three departments: marketing; education; and programming.

Audience development is also a requirement in the current national arts plan 2017-2020 drawn by the Dutch Ministry of Culture. Cultural policy demands from subsidized arts organizations that they invest in audience participation and in finding new and diverse audiences (Bussemaker, 2016). The presumed focus on the missionary approach led to the following research question: *'How do Dutch youth dance companies implement audience development strategies? And how does their audience development strategy relate to taste formation theory?'*

This question is relevant as no former research conducted a comparative study on the audience development of youth modern dance companies in the Netherlands. Furthermore, the four companies are unaware of each other's young audience development practices. This research positions the companies within a national context and hopes to serve as an incentive for future collaboration to improve audience development. Lastly, young audience development remains a burning issue for arts organizations. By testing empirical practices in relation to theory on audience development and taste formation, this research offers a new perspective on how to make audience development more efficient in the long-run.

In order to answer the research question, an extensive literature review outlines the theoretical framework. The context is formed by the characteristics and motivations of the young audience, together with the economy's emphasis on experiences. The theoretical framework explains furthermore the theories on taste formation and audience development. Based on the theory, semi-structured interviews were conducted with four youth modern dance companies. Maas Theater en Dans, Danstheater AYA, De Dansers, and Project Sally form the four case studies of this research, as these companies are the only four youth modern dance companies subsidized by the Fonds Podium Kunsten (FPK) for the period 2017-2020. The purpose of the semi-structured interviews was threefold: (1) to examine current practice towards audience development, with a focus on the role and interdependence of the marketing, education, and programming departments; (2) its relationship between practice and existing literature on audience development and taste formation; and (3) to assess the effect of cultural policy and subsidy requirements on audience development practice. After the findings are related to theory, chapter seven follows with recommendations. The first section encloses recommendations on how the organizations' audience development strategies could be better aligned with taste formation theory. Practical recommendations follow in the second part. The four youth modern dance companies are individually recommended on how to strengthen their missionary approach and mainstream approach, in order to have an effective and sustainable audience development. The recommendations will contribute to a more efficient cultivation of the young audience' taste for modern dance.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1. Taste formation

Modern dance, like other performance arts, is an experience good which consumers first have to experience in order to know whether they like it or not (Caves, 2002). People come to understand and obtain greater pleasure from modern dance through experience. The consumers' taste is formed through exposure and experience. However, the development of a taste for modern dance is costly as it requires an investment of attendance time, money for ticket fees, and often previous practice (Towse, 2010). This is reflected in the niche audience of modern dance: generally consisting of well-educated people over their 40s with higher incomes. Furthermore, normally as many as 70 per cent of the modern dance audience is female, and most of them have personal dance experience (Harlow, 2014; Colbert, 2014). In order to attract a young audience consisting of youngsters (12 -18) and young adults (age 18 to 25), modern dance companies need to invest in taste formation. Cultural demand depends on the cultivation of taste, so when youngsters are exposed to, and experience modern dance, part of demand uncertainty is reduced. Moreover, the utility of consumption increases when the audience understands the product. The appreciation of modern dance thus depends on prior experiences.

2.1.1. Habit formation

Taste formation can be explained through three main theories: habit formation, learning by consuming, and rational addiction. First, Houthakker and Taylor (1970) explain the effect of past consumption on current and future consumption as simple habit formation. Individual's behavior is largely influenced by habitual sentiments and feelings which prevail throughout the community and by the habits of a particular class in that community to which they belong. With habit formation it is assumed that the stock of culture is analogous to the stock of habit. According to Becker and Stigler (1977) habit maximizes utility because making decisions is costly. Consumers need information in order to make a decision. The search for this information and its application in new situations is costly. Therefore, habits are often a more efficient way to deal with temporary changes in the environment.

A permanent change in the environment however, usually causes a greater change in the behavior of young than of old consumers (Becker & Stigler, 1977). The

common interpretation is that young persons are more easily persuaded away from their habit by the appeal of a new environment. Becker and Stigler (1977) interpret that the two generations respond differently. The older generation would find it more difficult to change or kick their habit. They have to disinvest their capital that they acquired in the old environment and invest in capital attuned to the new environment. Their incentive to do so may be quite weak because relatively few years remain for them to collect the returns on new investments, and much human capital can only be disinvested slowly. Young persons, on the other hand, are not so encumbered by accumulations of capital attuned to the old environment. Consequently, they are intrinsically more flexible to change in the environment. Young people have a greater incentive to invest in capital attuned to the new environment (Becker & Stigler, 1977). Despite the environmental changes, Houthakker and Taylor (1970) argue that arts managers should heavily invest in introducing the arts to young audiences with regularly scheduled target programs to get them into the habit of attending.

2.1.2. Learning by consuming

The second major theory of taste formation is learning by consuming. Opposed to the habit formation theory, the learning by consuming process is assumed to be equivalent to adjacent complementarity. This means that previous consumption increases the marginal utility of current consumption. With learning by consuming the consumption of the cultural good is positively auto-correlated with recent increases in time. Consumers learn their own subjective preferences through repeated consumption experiences. These experiences generate either positive or negative feedback (Ginsburgh & Throsby, 2014; Lévy-Garboua & Montmarquette, 1996). According to Abbé-Decarroux and Grin (1992), consumers already have well-defined utility functions, but poor knowledge of the product characteristics of different suppliers. Therefore, consumption happens rather randomly, based on the consumer's or other's prior positive or negative feedback. This has implications for the programming, which is usually restricted toward less esoteric and less risky programming (Ginsburgh & Throsby, 2014). With learning by consuming, expectations are revised upwards because consumers experienced repeated pleasant surprises when attending a performance (Lévy-Garboua & Montmarquette, 1996). Rather than merely deriving utility from consuming a flow of cultural goods, as with habit formation, the consumer also enjoys the process of being cultivated. The second difference is thus that with

learning by consuming the stock of culture has a positive value for the consumer. Arts appreciation develops more conscious compared to the more automatic behavior derived from habit formation.

2.1.3. Rational addiction

A third theory that explains how past consumption can positively influence present and future consumption is rational addiction. Rational addiction regards consumers who are willing to forgo current utility for future utility by investing in human capital (Stigler & Becker, 1977; Lévy-Garboua & Montmarquette, 1996; Ginsburgh & Throsby, 2014). In contrast to habit formation, this model requires the least of arts mangers, who only have to maintain high quality standards. Lévy-Garboua and Montmarquette (2003) contrasted the rational addiction perspective to their own learning by consuming approach. Where the latter describes rational expectations, the former theory describes forward-looking behavior. Key finding is that the 'relative shadow price' of arts appreciation will normally decline over time with the accumulation of arts-specific capital. An important implication of the rational addiction framework is that it is expected that with a declining relative shadow price of art appreciation over time its quantity will grow, however, this is only true when the rate of time preference does not exceed the interest rate. Therefore, more impatient consumers may actually reduce their consumption of arts appreciation over time even when the relative shadow price declines (Ginsburgh & Throsby, 2014). This may imply that the younger public, which is considered impatient, omnivore and voracious, might lose its interest over time (Sullivan & Katz-Gerro, 2007). The characteristics of the young audience will be examined in further detail in section 2.2. Another important implication of the rational addiction framework is that when consumption of art appreciation rises over time, there is no guarantee that the attendance at art events will also increase over time. This makes sense because with the cultivation of taste, increasing arts experience makes the time of attending more productive in generating art appreciation. After a while, less attendance can generate the same amount of appreciation.

The rational addiction framework found little support in empirical research (Ginsburgh & Throsby, 2014). This thesis adopts the frameworks of habit formation and learning by consuming when looking at taste formation among young adults. In these frameworks however, the reliance of expectations on past own experience introduces

a special sort of 'myopia'. This has to do with ignorance and uncertainty rather than with irrationality (Towse, 2010). To reduce this ignorance and uncertainty the consumer should repeatedly be exposed to and experience the arts. Nevertheless, an element of short-run uncertainty remains with live performances which quality can only be assessed during or after the own experience.

2.2. Characteristics and motives of the young audience

Modern dance companies need to know the characteristics of the young audience in order to form their taste. The first subgroup refers to 'young adults', who have an omnivore and voracious lifestyle, and therefore constantly seek for innovative, new experiences. This lifestyle is typical for 'Millennials', a term used to indicate the young adults born between the early 1980s and 2000s. Sullivan and Katz-Gerro (2007) argue that besides being cultural omnivores, Millennials are also voracious. Cultural omnivores appreciate and experience a variety of cultural tastes, from highbrow to lowbrow. They have a fluid and flexible lifestyle and their consumption patterns are individualized, elective and involve short-term commitments (Sullivan & Katz-Gerro, 2007).

In their article Sullivan and Katz-Gerro (2007) complement the concept of cultural omnivore with the concept of voraciousness, based on both the range and the frequency of cultural participation. Voraciousness is associated with high status individuals. This status is symbolic, as it is not about the availability of time and money. Voraciousness is associated with notions such as keeping busy, multitasking, being harried and embracing a diverse cultural consumption pattern (Sullivan & Katz-Gerro, 2007). An important element of the voracious behavior of Millennials is the increasing scarcity of time, leading to an increased intensity of activities. More activities are being done at the same time and individuals also spend shorter time spans on each activity (Sullivan & Katz-Gerro, 2007). To be harried is a new form of status distinction because of its growing association with higher-class groups (Sullivan & Katz-Gerro, 2007). The fast lifestyle of Millennials, in which diverse cultural activities are experienced with a high turnover, implies thus a new form of cultural capital.

Voracious consumers value experiences over goods. A survey study by Harris Group found that 72 percent of 500 American Millennials prefer experiences over material things. Millennials do not only highly value experiences, but they are increasingly spending time and money on them (Millennials. Fueling the economy,

2014). Attaining several (cultural) experiences signals 'being busy', and thus acquires social status. According to a Danish investigation in 2006, the consumption and exposure to experiences seem to be rising status symbols compared with the traditional power, fortune or education (Sundbo, 2009). However, the gained social status through experiences is flighty. Experiences considered of reputation may easily be changed if key actors or certain groups alter the fashion. Individuals consume an experience in order to conform to the people they wish to be associated with in order to be fashionable. This what Leibenstein (1950) calls the bandwagon effect. It refers to the extent to which individuals increase their consumption of an experience because others, to whom they want to belong, consume that same experience. However, the opposite effect can also arise when individuals want to dissociate themselves from the masses and decrease their consumption of an experience because others are also consuming that experience. This is called snob effects (Leibenstein, 1950). Accordingly, also these two effects influence the consumer's taste for goods, services and experiences.

The bandwagon effect is even more common among the second subgroup of the young audience, referred to as 'youngsters'. Social patterns from family, peers and friends are important. Youngsters try to belong to a social group in the process of forming an identity (Hayes & Slater, 2002). Because youngsters are still developing their own taste, they are highly influenceable. Youngsters experience several barriers for participation in arts organizations. A first barrier is social and relates to the bandwagon effect: when friends do not go the individual goes neither. A second social barrier is that youngsters consider the art organization as 'elitists' and therefore feel excluded. Another barrier is that youngsters have little room for expenditure. Also time is a barrier, contributed by a different priority for the use of leisure time (Harlow, 2014; Harland & Kinder, 2007).

2.3. Creating consumers' experiences

This section describes how the motives of the young audience are reflected in society. Shifting to the context in which the young audience behaves, it is noticed that the current economy thrives on experiences.

2.3.1. The experience economy

The young adults' preference for experiences supports the growth of an economy driven by the consumption of experiences. According to Pine and Gilmore (1999), we

arrived at the experience economy, as the economy has shifted through four stages of economic development: extraction of commodities, manufacture of goods, delivery of services and staging of experiences. Out of a business perspective they argue that businesses should apply the metaphor of the theater, where experiences occur when a company uses their services as the stage and their goods as props, to engage the customer in a personal way that creates a memorable event (Pine & Gilmore, 1999). Clearly, creating experiences is already at the essence of modern dance companies but Pine and Gilmore (1999) argue that within the experience economy, the customer experience should be at the center of the organization's strategic planning, marketing and operations.

Jakob (2012) defines an event as “the deliberate organization of a heightened emotional and aesthetic experience at a designated time and space” an event. Events are a central part of the experience economy and the term ‘eventification’ stands for the process with which the consumption of products and space is turned into an event (Jakob, 2012). Eventification arose in politics, businesses and cultural organizations and is subject to the attention economy, where the consumer's attention is a scarce resource. Cultural consumption relies on an accelerating logic of even more experiences because it is based on attention (Jakob, 2012). According to Jakob (2012), this means that organizations that create experiences through eventification will continuously and increasingly have to shift their focus away from the quality of the core product towards the enhanced experience of the events. The emphasis on experiences and events may eventually lead to omnipresence and repetition, making the content of the events homogeneous.

2.3.2. Experience definitions

To clarify the relation between experiencing a modern dance performance and the experience economy, different definitions of ‘experience’ need to be defined. Colbert (2014) provides a clear definition of the different experiences in arts organizations. He distinguishes ‘aesthetic experiences’, the interactions between a person's mind and art objects, and ‘service experiences’, which encompass a broad range of activities surrounding an aesthetic experience. The actual dance performance is the ‘core product’ of the modern dance company and enables aesthetic experiences. The ‘service products’ are the additional features or functionality and enable service experiences. Likewise, Kotler and Scheff (1996) use the term ‘augmented products’ to

indicate the commodities that have both primary physical attributes and non-physical attributes that are added to increase the core product's value. Both core product and service products are experience goods. Since we deal with experience goods, the service products have an impact on the appreciation of the core-product and contribute to the total experience. Pine and Gilmore (1999) describe that a total experience is provided when the two dimensions customer participation (passive and active) and environmental relationship (absorption and immersion) are combined with the four categories entertainment, educational, esthetic and escapist.

2.3.3. Experiential marketing

A practical implication of the experience economy is provided by Schmitt (1999). Out of a marketing perspective, he describes how organizations should adapt to the experience economy. Where traditional marketing takes rational decision making as point of departure, 'experiential marketing' emphasizes the experiences and emotional aspects of individuals (Schmitt, 1999). Also Kotler and Scheff (1996) promote a customer-value approach for marketing the arts, as long as it is aligned with the artistic mission. However, there is some evidence that when arts organizations are too customer focused the performance can decline (Boorsma, 2006; Caust, 2003). Caust (2003, p.58) warns that a customer-value approach "will lead to the production of safe, consumer-oriented arts products which, in the end, may not be what the audience either wants or needs". Schmitt (1999) argues that experiential marketing should focus on the consumer's experience by providing stimuli, the right environment and the right setting. This occurs by his so called 'experience providers' which include communications; visual and verbal identity and signage; product presence; co-branding; spatial environments; electronic media; and people. Also Kotler and Scheff (1996) stress that the customer-centered approach should not be applied to the artistic core product, but rather to the way the work is described, priced, packaged, enhanced and delivered.

Boorsma (2006) on the contrary, argues that marketing should focus on the support and reinforcement of the artistic function of the core product. In her view, consumers should be seen as co-producers in the total art process and marketing becomes responsible for enabling the co-creative role of the consumer. Boorsma (2006) reassesses the current view in which arts organizations need to compete by offering total experiences. In her view, arts organizations are not only engaged in

market exchange relationships with their audience, but also in artistic exchange relationships. In these relationships organizations stimulate exchange with the audience and seek artistic responses. Maintenance of the relationship in turn ensures the creation of customer value. This view on marketing requires a change in the organizational culture, where the roles of artists and arts consumers are equally respected in the total art process (Boorsma, 2006). Also Schmitt (1999) argues that his experiential marketing should be integrated in the entire organization. Experience providers should be managed coherently and consistently over time, should pay attention to detail, and should use each experience strategically to its full potential (Schmitt, 1999).

2.3.4. Implications for arts organizations

The experience economy and experiential marketing also resonates in the arts sector. Reasons for the increasing emphasis on service products within arts organizations are the ever-growing competition and the fight for the young audience's attention (Heinsius & Houben, 2002). The recent shift from artistic core products to the inclusion of supplementary services and experiential settings is a trend in the cultural industries. Heinsius and Houben (2002) noticed that arts organizations in the Netherlands have become more market orientated. Cultural organizations pay increasing attention to the business side of their practice, hereby breaking with former anti-commercial assumptions of being creative (McRobbie, 2002). According to Colbert (2014), cultural organizations have to offer high-quality service products to induce revisits, as the young audience is less involved with the core product and focused their intention to revisit primarily on the quality of the service products. Through service products, organizations can convert the core products into events and create a total experience. This complete package makes it more attractive for the young audience to (re)visit the organization (Heinsius & Houben, 2002).

2.4. Audience development

Performing arts organizations need to adapt to the young audience's motivations and preferences in order to build and maintain an audience. Audience development is one of the main tasks of arts management and performing arts organizations simply need an audience to exist. Audience development became a priority in arts institutions in the latter half of the 1990s and has remain important ever since. The reasons for this are

a complex combination of moral and philosophical arguments together with the market led approach of measuring arts subsidy in economic and social terms, e.g. audience numbers (Hayes & Slater, 2002). Although there is no universal definition of audience development, Rogers' definition is at present the most widely cited (Hayes and Slater, 2002): "quantitatively and qualitatively targeting new sectors in innovative ways to broaden the arts audience base, then nurturing new attenders, along with existing audiences, to encourage them to grow with the organization." (Rogers, 1998, p. 7). With audience development, arts organizations can achieve their artistic, social and financial objectives (Maitland, 1997; Rogers, 1998).

Hayes and Slater (2002) and Kawashima (2000) provide different approaches to audience development depending on the aim. Hayes and Slater (2002) state that when an organization aims at expanding the volume of the audience and adjust the socio-demographic profile by attracting new audiences the approach is 'missionary audience development'. When the aim is to deepen the experience for existing audiences the approach is 'mainstream audience development'. They argue that arts organizations are responsible to nurture both new and existing audience groups. In practice however, they found that the focus often lies in attracting new audiences. A possible reason for this are the subsidy requirements (Hayes & Slater, 2002). The emphasis on missionary audience development can result in the programming of popular work that is likely to appeal to the young audience. The impact and inherent risks of this strategy on other, existing audiences ought to be considered by arts organizations (Hayes & Slater, 2002).

Kawashima (2000) differentiates four approaches to audience development: cultural inclusion; extended marketing; taste cultivation; and audience education. The first two approaches are quantitative and concerned with the non-existing audience and the latter two are qualitative and relate to the already existing audiences. Although Kawashima's four approaches have marked differences, in practice they are not mutually exclusive.

The 'lifelong learning' framework of Morison and Dalglish (1992) integrates the separate elements of audience development and was the first attempt to encompass all aspects of promotion, publicity, marketing, PR, communications and educational programs (p.3, 1992). The focus is on maximizing opportunities for audience involvement and learning in an attempt to develop mutual trust and loyal audiences. It

is fundamental for an arts organization to recognize the changing wants and needs of the audience in order to maintain the relationship. The challenge for the organization is to anticipate and respond to these changes in order to maximize the audience lifetime values (Morison & Dalglish, 1992).

Scholars consider artistic programming as a supplementing of audience development. According to Rogers (1998), audience development is effective when education; marketing; and programming are united. Audience development should combine the work of arts marketers, educationalists, managers, planners, programmers, and artists, who all collaborate to meet the organization's objectives. In practice however, collaboration between them is difficult due to the department's own timescales, pressures, issues and attitudes, as well as due to the organization's budget, structures and communication channels (Rogers 1998; Hayes & Slater, 2002). Moreover, according to the empirical research of Hayes and Slater (2002), many arts organizations seem to have undertaken a 'shot-gun' approach to audience development, meaning short-term projects with limited follow-up or evaluation and an undirected targeting of minority groups.

Likewise, Suonsyrjä (2007) conducted a qualitative research on how audience development is understood by arts managers in five Finish contemporary dance companies. With semi-structured interviews she analyzes the organization's strategies and their attitudes towards audience development. The most important finding of her study is that there are many separate activities and projects in the regional dance centers that belong to audience development. However, detailed plans, strategies and evaluations of the projects are missing (Suonsyrjä, 2007).

3. Framework of modern dance in the Netherlands

This chapter first provides a brief history of modern dance in the Netherlands, and clarifies the interchangeability of the definitions 'modern dance' and 'contemporary dance'. This is followed by a contextualization of the current situation. The emphasis is on four youth modern dance companies selected as the subjects of the empirical research.

3.1. Development of modern dance in the Netherlands

After the Second World War, Dutch modern dance developed in an internationally recognized performing art form in less than 25 years. Dutch modern dance was able to obtain an internationally leading role due to the Dutch governmental subsidy system and the work of modern dance pioneers Nel Roos (1914-1970), Hans Snoek (1910-2001), Sonia Gaskell (1904-1974), Françoise Adret (1920), and Mascha ter Weeme (1903-1995) (Moderne Dans, 2009). From the start, modern dance has been independent and entrepreneurial towards new developments due to the open and innovative climate in the Netherlands (Ministerie van Buitenlandse zaken, 2016).

In 1945, Hans Snoek established the first modern dance company, Scapino Ballet, laying the foundation for the development of youth dance (Van den Broek, 2014). Since the 1970s, several modern dance companies and institutions arose, some temporarily and some permanently. In these years many Dutch dancers studied in New York, where the modern dance developments from the initial pioneers transformed into contemporary dance (Gaskell (1904-1974), Françoise Adret (1920), and Mascha ter Weeme (1903-1995) (Moderne Dans, 2009). Contemporary dance combines modern dance elements with elements from the classical ballet. Also non-Western dance elements are incorporated together with other disciplines as poetry or visual art. Contemporary dance is perceived to be closely related to modern dance because of the technical similarities and the emphasis on emotional expression (www.wikipedia.org/moderndance). Consequently, in practice the two definitions are often used interchangeably. The four youth modern dance companies from the case study apply the term modern dance and therefore this thesis adopts this term.

The artistic growth and public attention decreased during the 1990s and Dutch modern dance reached an impasse. The audience started to lose a connection with the choreographers. In order to restore this connection, the Dutch government started to heavily subsidize the companies that reach a broad audience with their accessible

and more popular productions, such as Scapino Ballet and Introdans (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016).

3.2. Current situation of modern dance in the Netherlands

Since the 2000s however, the interest for Dutch modern dance is rising again. This is partly due to the commercialized offer and the popularity of television programs such as 'So You Think You Can Dance' (Fonds Podium Kunsten, 2017). The Netherlands currently contains multiple dance companies, autonomic choreographers and institutions that show the more historic as well as contemporary modern dance developments. After the subsidy cuts the modern dance sector proved its resilience. However, some adaptations are visible: The supply decreased and the programming budget is under pressure (Fonds Podium Kunsten, 2016). Notwithstanding, the Dutch dance sector is capable to make a profit due to its audience orientation and entrepreneurial attitude (Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken, 2016).

With regard to youth dance, four choreographers established their own company in the 1990s: Wies Bloemen formed 'Danstheater AYA' in Amsterdam, Wies Merkx started 'Merkx en Dansers' (currently 'De Dansers') in Utrecht, Arthur Rosenfeld initiated 'Meekers' (now fused into Maas Theater en Dans) in Rotterdam, and Jack Timmermans founded 'De Stilte' in Breda (Van den Broek, 2014).

Urban dance styles arrived in the late 1990s and became increasingly popular. The four established youth companies started seeking cross-overs. Out of the need for more cultural diversity new urban dance companies like ISH and DOX were founded (Broek, van den, 2014). The budget for the dance sector in 2017-2020 is five million a year (Fonds Podium Kunsten, 2016). Minister Bussemaker made 0,8 million euro extra available for youth dance, music, theater and film companies in these four years (Bussemaker, 2016, p.11). The mentioned youth dance companies all receive the four-year subsidy from The Fund Performing Arts. There were three criteria for the subsidy applications: quality; education and participation; and social relevance. With regards to the criteria education and participation, Bussemaker requests companies not to only find a bigger, but also a new and more diverse audience (Bussemaker, 2016, p.20). Supplementary to the six granted companies, also Project Sally from Maastricht (founded in 2006) and Plan-D/ Andreas Denk (2008) in Amsterdam are rewarded the four-years subsidy. Together, these eight dance companies form the core of Dutch youth modern dance.

The youth dance companies have a big share of the total amount of granted subsidies from the FPK as only 15 out of the 28 applications from all middle-sized to small-sized dance companies were allocated the four-years subsidy. The eight youth dance companies are rewarded subsidy because they contribute to a diversified offer in dance according to the FPK (Fonds Podium Kunsten, 2016). Furthermore, the youth dance companies and choreographers acquired national recognition and are increasingly connected with society. This subsequently creates new possibilities for theaters to attract different audiences to dance performances (Fonds Podium Kunsten, 2016). The structural cultural subsidy from the national government is only granted to four companies: Nationale Opera en Ballet, Nederlands Dans Theater, Introdans, and Scapino Ballet Rotterdam. Funding from the national government is meant to support cultural education, which is the argument behind the demand to engage audience development (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap, 2016).

4. Method

The extensive literature review forms the foundation for the empirical research. It provides the context of the research and offers the concepts that form the pillars of the semi-structured interviews.

4.1. Case selection

All eight subsidized youth dance companies have their own signature and target audience. The aim of this thesis is to see how modern dance companies try to cultivate the taste of youngsters and young adults for modern dance. Therefore, dance companies DOX and ISH are excluded from the empirical study as they offer street culture and urban dance styles. The popularity of the dance style among youngsters and young adults make DOX and ISH already more accessible for the target group. Notwithstanding, it is interesting to note that the modern dance companies from the case studies look for collaborations, cross-overs and an integration of elements from street culture and urban dance. Considering the target audience, De Stille and Plan-D/Andreas Denk are also excluded from the empirical research, as they specifically aim at children aged between 4 and 12.

Accordingly, this thesis conducts empirical research at four valid companies that create, produce and promote modern dance for youngsters and young adults. Maas Theater en Dans; Dansgezelschap AYA; De Dansers; and Project Sally are the four case studies of this research. A case study design is the most suitable for this research as it enables an intensive analyses of a single case (Bryman,2008).

Maas Theater en Dans and Project Sally received funding from the Fund Performing Arts in previous years whereas De Dansers receives the subsidy for the first time. Danstheater Ayla is a special case as the application was positively assessed but there was not sufficient budget to grant a subsidy. Later, the FPK decided to still grant the subsidy for 1 year, after receiving extra money from the ministry of Education, Culture and Science.

In 2016, AYA had three youth productions, Maas six, De Dansers four and Project Sally one. De Dansers performed the most, 225 times, therefore, they had the most total visitors but also the most free-visitors: 11,853. Which is greater than compared to AYA for example, with 7,934 free visitors. This has to do with the fact that 146 out of the 188 performances from AYA were school performances, which brought 17,302

visitors. After De Dansers, comes AYA with 25,236 total visitors, followed by Project Sally with 13,368 visitors. Maas has the smallest amount of visitors for their youth dance performances. AYA performed their most successful youth performance 51 times in 2016, with a visitor number of 7,866 people. Maas' most successful performance had 5,613 visitors and performed 24 times. 2,150 people went to the best visited performance of De Dansers, which was performed 19 times in the Netherlands. Project Sally's youth performance was played 12 times and had 2,303 visitors. The audience reach of the four companies is thus comparable, though AYA has a high visitor number because of their contacts with schools. The companies gather most visitors from the city and region where they are based. However, De Dansers also performs regularly in Germany. Because of the geographical dispersion, the companies do not compete for the same audiences.

Note that only the performances in the Netherlands are analyzed, which has implications for the companies who also perform abroad. Furthermore, the visitor numbers do not reflect the young audience but the general audience, as the companies do not monitor different age categories. For a detailed overview of the visitor data of 2016 see appendix A.

Table 1. Visitor numbers

	Maas	AYA	De Dansers	Project Sally
Core characteristic	XL- strategy Cross-overs	Schools as main contact point	Dance- concerts	Modern dance in interactive dialogue with the audience
Received subsidy	354,167	502,167 (for one year)	229,167	424,967
Youth productions 2016	6	3	4	1
Total visitors	11,509	25,236	26,813	13,368
Times of performing most successful performance	24	51	19	12
Visitors most successful performance	5,613	7,866	2,150	2,303

[source: own]

4.2. Case study descriptions

Each case study will be introduced and positioned individually.

4.2.1. Maas Theater en Dans

In 2013 Maas theater en Dans started out of a fusion of the former youth dance company Meekers and youth theaters Max and Siberia. Maas theater en Dans is the only organization in the Netherlands that combines theater and dance, the production, programming and education for youth as an integrated whole (Maas Theater en Dans, 2016). Where the other companies work with bookings agency Frontaal, Maas does their own acquisition. The fusion of one dance company with two theater companies led content-wise to cross-overs. Furthermore, the performances adopt elements of music, performance art, circus, mime and new media. The performances are created around universal themes, which reflect their mission to “stimulate children, youngsters and young adults to think about themselves, the other and the world we share together” (Maas Theater en Dans, 2016).

The variety in programming for children, families and youngsters leads to a diversified audience in age, interest and cultural background. Maas develops ‘XL performances’ aimed at the 12+ audience. The supporting marketing and education activities also work out of the XL strategy, in which youngsters and young adults are considered as one target group. The XL performances attract youngsters, who mainly visit Maas via their schools, but also young adults between 18 and 35 (Maas Theater en Dans, 2016).

4.2.2. Danstheater AYA

Under artistic leadership of Wies Bloemen Danstheater AYA developed over 27 years in an established youth dance company. The performances are a combination of modern dance, text, personal stories of the dancers and elements from youth culture (Danstheater AYA, 2016). With an energetic, cheeky and raw signature the performances try to evoke something with the young audience. With humor AYA starts a dialogue about current controversial topics and taboos (<https://www.aya.nl/aya/over-aya/>). The mission is “to show humans in all their honesty and vulnerability, thereto is dance the mean and language that appeals to youth.”

AYA is accessible for a broad and diverse young public, as it produces for an audience that experiences modern dance performances for the first time. AYA specifically targets schools: 65 percent of the total performances are school performances and 80 percent of the audience consists of youngsters who visit the performances with school (Danstheater AYA, 2016). The primary target group are thus youngsters between 12 and 18. However, AYA will try to reach the target group of young adults more explicitly in the coming four years (Danstheater AYA, 2016).

4.2.3. De Dansers

De Dansers is a company of dancers and musicians based in Utrecht. Since 2014, the young leaders of the group are choreographer and dancer Josephine van Rheenen, and composer and musician Guy Corneille. With a combination of modern dance and live music they create 'dance-concerts', a genre they initiated (De Dansers, 2016). De Dansers' signature is human, energetic and unpolished. This signature corresponds with their mission "let's hug" (<http://www.dedansers.com/over-ons/>). De Dansers wants to "let the audience experience living bodies and open and unrestrained togetherness". With their performances they place the corporal and connectivity as a counterbalance to the virtual, the superficial and individualism (De Dansers, 2016).

De Dansers is specialized for a young and unexperienced audience. The first target group consists therefor of children and families. In addition, De Dansers makes dance-concerts exclusively for (young) adults, mainly at festivals. The young audience and corresponding performances are 12+. Their primary target group consists of dance lovers, or people who are already interested in (youth) theater and live-music. For the secondary target groups De Dansers invests in educational work to create a context that deepens the impact of the performance.

4.2.4. Project Sally

Project Sally started as a project that worked in different cities in the Netherlands, but has now found its base in Maastricht. As established company Project Sally produces performances for the young audience and their families. Project Sally seeks for an intensive interaction and dialogue with their public, amateur artists, and schools. With high quality performances Project Sally wants to "amaze the young audience, make them dance and stimulate their imagination by introducing youngsters with creativity, the physical body with its extraordinary possibilities and expression, and the

experience of dance” (Project Sally, 2016, p.3). By producing virtuous and technically challenging performances Project Sally tries to accomplish this mission. The performances have their own signature: original stories and themes are placed in an autonomous world in which dance, musicality and design equally merge together as one experience. Project Sally works specifically out of modern dance, and fulfills a bridging function between complex modern dance and the young audience. Project Sally produces performances that are also attractive for adults, and not the other way around.

Also Project Sally aims at the young audience who has its first experience with modern dance. In addition, the company targets youngsters and young adults who are already interested in modern dance. The young audience and corresponding performances are categorized as 14+, because youngsters below this age will probably misunderstand the themes.

4.3. Design

The method of the case studies is semi-structured interviews with key figure(s) in the company. The interviewees provided an understanding of (1) the role of young audience development in the organization and in the departments marketing, education and programming; and (2) the current strategies and future objectives, and whether they have a ‘missionary’ or ‘mainstream’ approach, or a combination of the two. The research design is based on the empirical study of Suonsyrjä (2007) described above in the theoretical framework. The interviewees were selected based on their function.

For Danstheater AYA, interviews were conducted with Anne Vermeegen and Kim Tawjoeram, together responsible for marketing and education. For De Dansers, Ditty Maks (marketing and PR) and Danae Bos (production) were the interviewees. For Project Sally, the interview was conducted with production coordinator Sarah-Faye Lombré. Lastly, interviewee Danielle van den Berg from Maas Theater en Dans is part of the marketing team. More interviews with other departments could have been conducted but this was considered unnecessary as Danielle provided comprehensive information about the other departments and the functioning of the entire organization. All interviews were recorded and transcribed.

In addition to the qualitative semi-structured interviews, the empirical research involves content analysis of the subsidy applications from the four companies, annual reports and visitor data from the past four years. Documentation was provided by the interviewees from the four case studies. The geographical distribution of performances and visitors, as well as the budgets of the three departments, were the units of analysis in the annually reports.

4.4. Operationalization of concepts

The main concepts in the research are described below. The other occurring concepts are explained in the theoretical framework.

Young audience: composed of youngsters (12-18) and young adults (18-25). This categorization is based on both theory and the categorization of the four companies. The two subgroups are categorized as one because the four companies consider and approach the two subgroups the same.

Audience development: the missionary approach and mainstream approach in an organization's marketing; education; and programming department.

As described in the theoretical framework, the missionary approach is directed at the new audience, and correlates with audience diversifying. Audience deepening is relates with the mainstream approach, and focuses on the existing audience.

Young audience development: the audience development as described above directed at the young audience.

Marketing: the offline and online promotion, PR and communications. In this research in relation with young audience development.

Programming: the performances, side-programming and locations. Also the acquisition is part of this concept because it influences the programming. This research's focus is on the programming for the young audience.

Education: the extra activities with an educational function, together with the partnerships and collaborations with schools.

4.5. Data collection

The interviews were conducted according to an interview guide. A general version was sent to the interviewees for preparation. The researcher had an extensive version of the guide, edited with information found in the FPK plans. During the interviews the main topics were discussed, but the interview guide was not leading. The interviewees were free to go off at tangents because this provided insight into what they considered the most relevant aspects of the company. The interviews with De Dansers were conducted by telephone, as it was the only option after rescheduling by the interviewees. Also the interview with Project Sally was by telephone (located in Maastricht), as this saved time and travel costs. When these costs are taken into account, the method of semi-structured interviews by telephone can certainly be regarded as highly efficient according to Brymann (2008). The comprehensive information provided by the interviewees suggested that this method can generate the same detailed and considered replies as in qualitative face-to-face interviews. The interviews with the other dance companies were held at their locations. The interviewees gave detailed information, explanations and examples. All interviews took approximately 60 minutes.

4.6. Data analysis

The qualitative data provided by the interviews was analyzed in the framework of grounded theory. By means of a coding process, the rich and detailed data was structured in themes (Bryman, 2008). The first step in the coding practice was open coding in which sentences and parts of the texts were broken down and given themes. These themes were further categorized into concepts. In the following step related concepts were grouped together under a broader category and similar concepts were merged together. Patterns of interaction between concepts were sought with the help of the qualitative data analysis program Atlas.ti. After establishing the relevant links between concepts and the bigger categories, the most important and common concepts and categories were further structured in groups. These broader categories are at a higher level of abstraction as they extend the concepts (Bryman, 2008). Also between these groups relations, causes and consequences were sought, resulting in categories and core categories. Also some contrasts emerged between categories, for example between the categories objectives and strategies. The initial *hunches* about the relationships between the categories and concepts are presented as a visual

network in Appendix B. 'Young audience development' is selected as the core category in the final process of selective coding. This core category consists of the most data, and is frequently mentioned in all four case studies. The selected core category is the central issue in every case to which all the other categories are related (Bryman, 2008). The utility of the extended categories and core category was tested by going back to every single case to see if the data fitted the new categories. All relevant data could be placed within the new categories.

Atlas.ti makes the analyzing process structured and controllable. However, double coding could be applied to increase the reliability of the analysis.

The subsidy applications were coded in terms of certain subjects and themes (Bryman, 2008). Audience development is the main subject that was searched for. Marketing, education and programming are the important themes. The objectives and strategies related to audience development within the themes were the key elements in the document analysis. The division in subjects and themes enabled a categorization of the content and this could be systematically replicated in the other cases (Bryman, 2008).

The content of the yearly reports seemed to vary between the four companies but also internally over the four years. Data on budgets and geographical distribution of performances and visitors was incomplete and incomparable and is therefore excluded from the analysis.

5. Findings

This chapter discusses the five most important findings from the interviews. The five categories are: young audience development, marketing, education, programming, and internal and external organizational factors. Each section consists of sub-sections that outline the commonalities and differences between the four companies per concept. In addition, the findings are compared with the companies' written plans for the Fonds Podium Kunsten (FPK). For the extensive institutional narratives see appendix C.

5.1. Young audience development

Young audience development is the core-category around which all other categories are integrated.

(1) Relations with schools

Within this core-category, 'relations with schools' is a common concept as schools are the main target for the dance companies. The four companies' strategy is to get youngsters in a group by targeting high schools, as this is the most effective way to fill the theater space. The companies experience difficulty in individually reaching the young audience.

AYA invests in the intensification of the relation with visiting schools and also tries to connect with new schools. De Dansers and Project Sally mentioned partnering schools, which whom they maintain close contact. De Dansers wants to extend the partnerships but finds this difficult in practice as many schools are already involved with a cultural partner. At Maas, marketing, education and sales are strengthening their collaboration to reach new schools. Project Sally targets besides high schools, more specifically at dance pre-educations. Therefore, their target group consists partly of youngsters who are already interested in modern dance. With the school performances Project Sally targets a broader, new audience.

"Youngsters don't have money or find it totally uncool to go to the theater. So, our strategy is: we aim at secondary schools, and we want youngsters in as a group, so through Cultural Education teachers or through a first grade teacher." (Maas).

"The chance is just bigger that you target 30 youngsters via a school and that they visit you three years in a row than that you get two youngsters via social media." (AYA)

(2) Existing audience

The companies focus primarily on the new audience, which they try to reach by targeting schools. However, Project Sally also invests in the relation with the existing audience. The company wants to deepen the relationship through engagement activities and by starting a dialogue. The other companies maintain the relation with the existing audience primarily through their newsletters.

“We do not solely offer like ‘he come visit us’, but we also let them experience us. How it is to dance with us and who our dancers are. We are really approachable. So we keep in contact with the youngsters when they are interested in us, and they are always free to come and take a look. At rehearsals for example.” (Project Sally)

(3) Audience research

Two organizations conduct audience research on the existing audience and their experiences. Maas conducts a survey research every two years. Their audience research could be improved but this requires more manpower and available time. Also project Sally finds it difficult to monitor the existing audience with regular surveys due to the lack of means. The organization is developing plans to intensify the audience research in the coming four years. The other two organizations are still developing their audience research. AYA considers their current monitoring system as ineffective. They first want to collect data on the audience experience. Also De Dansers wants to collect more detailed information about their audience, but they did not yet develop a concrete strategy. Audience research and a general audience development policy is still in the making. Although the marketing department is primarily responsible for this, most of the audience development activities are outsourced to the theaters.

“We are really working on the improvement of the customer attention. We also do customer research, and we hope we can get a lot out of that.” (Maas)

Plans Fonds Podium Kunsten

The focus on new audience development is reflected in the subsidy plans from the four companies. Maas outlines strategies to increase their audience base on a local and national level. Furthermore, the plan stresses that Maas constantly seeks for new

audiences together with the four theaters, and that Maas structurally and thematically collaborates with different partners (Maas Theater en Dans, 2016, p.13). De Dansers writes to focus on reaching new audiences through more systematic and more consistent policy (De Dansers, 2016, p.17). However, in practice this policy is not yet in development.

With regards to the existing audience, Maas wants to play longer series and perform at special locations and at schools who cannot afford a theater visit (Maas Theater en Dans, 2016, p.11). They consider this as audience deepening. AYA writes to know how to connect with the young audience both in the theaters and at schools (Danstheater Aya, 2016, p.11). The plan states that for many years the young audience knows how to find AYA. However, in practice the organization is investigating if AYA still has a strong position in the field. Both the importance of new audience development as well as existing audience development is reflected throughout the subsidy plan of Project Sally. For example, Project Sally writes that direct contact with the audience is important as this delivers feedback and connects old and new audiences with the company (Project Sally, 2016, p.23).

The plan from Project Sally states that the organization frequently conducts survey research, and that the results lead to more directed communication and accordingly more growth (Project Sally, 2016, p.23). In practice the survey results do not seem to generate specific actions. AYA writes to use different devices in order to monitor the audience. In practice, the written concrete strategies on how to professionalize monitoring are not yet executed. Lastly, Maas writes about audience research by stating that they annually set new targets and that they monitor in between. This is reflected in practice. However, specific characteristics of the target groups are not determined.

5.2. Marketing

(1) Image and brand awareness

All companies try to increase their brand awareness. For AYA it is even their second priority. AYA wants to strengthen its visibility and position in the field by adopting young makers. Also De Dansers is concerned with building trust in their brand, after the positioning of the new artistic direction and accordingly new company name. Project Sally on the other hand, has already built a reputation and established brand awareness because of their project-based history, for which they worked in different

places across the Netherlands. Project Sally is currently changing their image and house style, as the company has transferred from a 'project' into an established dance company. Also Maas worked on their image after the fusion. The current 'though' image aims at 20+, and is reflected in their house style, website and branding. The image of the Dansers on the contrary, is about the physical expression and emotional value. Likewise, De Dansers wants to be approachable for the audience.

"Especially in Utrecht we can do something to increase a more concrete brand visibility, in the coming two years." (De Dansers)

(2) Online marketing

De Dansers also tries to present a personal image of the company online, on Facebook and Instagram. De Dansers wants to strengthen their online position but the plans to develop an online strategy are not yet in place. Likewise, Project Sally wants to invest in social media, and they already started to strengthen it by just being active. However, a concrete plan on how to further structuralize the social media activities is still under development. Moreover, Project Sally seeks other channels besides social media. AYA is currently developing content for the online marketing, as a lot is left behind in the previous years. The online marketing strategy at Maas is the most developed. They constructed a XL website specifically for the young audience.

"We will reach our second goal (visibility) by creating content, we need to be present on social media platforms." (AYA)

"We decided to invest in social media because it is a really good medium, by which you can easily reach a lot of people." (Project Sally).

(3) Communication with different target groups

Maas started an XL department that only works with XL performances and communication for the young target group. In addition to the separate XL communication, Maas distinguishes between the national audience and the local audience. Maas approaches the local audience in a personal way. AYA directs the communication at the people capable to influence youngsters to visit AYA. In addition to the prior target group of youngsters between 12 and 18, AYA wants to target young

adults between 18-25. They want to start direct targeting at students in related studies. However, a concrete strategy still needs to be developed. De Dansers wants to establish two different communication channels: one for a younger public, and one for the older public. Now, the communication aims at people in their mid 20s begin 30s. However, most of the marketing and communication is outsourced to the theaters. De Dansers solely provides the package (photo's, videos, reviews) and can eventually support their marketing. Project Sally has no different communication channels for their youth performances. The organization communicates 14+ and everyone 'young at heart'.

(4) Activities

For each production Maas makes a customized marketing plan. Maas has a concrete retention strategy for the existing audience, which requires more attention in the future. With regards to the marketing strategy for new audiences Maas wants to intensify the partnerships and group marketing and also the internal collaboration with education and programming. Also Project Sally is actively looking for partners through which they can promote the company. AYA is focused on establishing relationships. AYA is currently building the basis of the marketing and their strategy is to create full content to gain visibility. De Dansers already created full content, and the marketing employee is currently analyzing how this content is perceived by different target groups. Furthermore, De Dansers seeks for more (media) partners who can bring the youth performances under the attention of the young audience.

Plans Fonds Podium Kunsten

Maas and De Dansers explicitly mention marketing in relation to audience development in their plans. Maas for example, writes that they constantly seek new forms to target the young audience. This is reflected in the different strategies and collaboration between departments, both mentioned in the interview as in the plan. In addition, Maas writes that they want to engage the young audience with the marketing, by providing paid assignments for example (Maas Theater en Dans, 2016, p.14). In practice, these plans are not yet executed.

In the plan of De Dansers it is written that the organization wants to invest the four-years subsidy in the expansion and maintenance of the relation with the audience, which is the responsibility of the marketing department (De Dansers, 2016, p.13). A

monitoring system is required to show the results of the investment to the fund. Another point about marketing is that the plan stresses the importance of finding specific target groups face-to-face. For instance, with pop-ups in side programs of festivals, live vlogs or work in progress presentations. Furthermore, De Dansers writes to collaborate with theaters to customize these marketing activities together (De Dansers, 2016, p.18). In practice however, the marketing seems rather to have a supporting role and most marketing activities are outsourced to the theaters.

Project Sally writes less explicit about marketing. However, they present a detailed overview of the marketing and communication activities, together with the participation and education activities (Project Sally, 2016, p.2). Furthermore, it is written that the organization wants to develop a new PR/ marketing plan with the help of external expertise (Project Sally, 2016, p.23). These plans were not brought up during the interview but seem logical considering that currently one person is responsible for the marketing and production.

AYA writes relatively little about marketing. They do write that PR-texts, vlogs and blogs will be adapted to the target group (Danstheater AYA, 2016, p.12). In practice however, content first needs to be created before adapting it to different target groups. Furthermore, vlogs and blogs seem more an activity for later.

5.3. Education

(1) Role of education in the organization

Education is a priority at Project Sally as this department offers the possibilities to realize the values of interactivity, open dialogue, participation and engagement. Their activities are intended to deepen the relationship with the audience and to incite revisits. Also at De Dansers, education receives more attention in the coming four years as the subsidies enabled the organization to hire an education employee. She recently started developing customized education programs for single productions. The current marketing and education team at AYA decided to dedicate their focus on marketing, and to continue with the education material that was developed before them. The development of learning material for new performances is outsourced to co-producers or external experts, as the current team is not specialized. At Maas, the education department has a close relation with the artistic department and is also involved with the creation of the side programming.

“There is development in our vision on education and in how much we can offer.” (De Dansers)

(2) Workshops

AYA always offers a workshop with every performance and delivers additional material when the school asks for it. Their workshops take place both at schools as in the theater and aim at classes rather than free visitors. Also De Dansers organizes workshops along with their school performances when a school demands it. De Dansers does not yet plan to develop education material for the free performances. Maas on the other hand, also organizes workshops for free performances, which are accessible for free visitors. Likewise, Project Sally always includes small workshops with their school performances and organizes workshops for pre-education students and other free visitors.

(3) Partner schools

Both De Dansers and Project Sally adopted high schools with whom they maintain a close relationship. De Dansers agreed on regular scheduled education projects and Project Sally develops projects at the partnering schools and asks for feedback. Furthermore, Project Sally works closely together with dance pre-educations. Also Maas maintains contact with several schools in Rotterdam and collaborates with related studies. AYA plans to map the schools with whom they have a good relationship, as they currently are not aware of these relationships. They want to build a network of cultural high school teachers to gain inside in current developments.

“That are schools that come back every time and with whom you have that extra piece of contact.” (Project Sally)

Plans Fonds Podium Kunsten

Specifically, the plans from Project Sally and Maas stress the importance of education for the organization. According to their plan, Maas is nationally seen as a forerunner in the field of education (Maas Theater en Dans, 2016, p.10). Maas writes to be a specialist in education that connects and deepens the relation with the audience (Maas Theater en Dans, 2016, p.10). In practice, this is reflected in the side programming activities, their presence at various schools and in their other activities and

partnerships. Project Sally writes in their plan that interaction and participation are necessary to increase the audience's experience and to deepen the understanding of dance (Project Sally, 2016, p.16). Furthermore, it is written that Project Sally aims to put as many interactivity as possible in their activities.

Likewise, AYA mentions to aim at active involvement of the audience in order to prepare them and to intensify the experience (Danstheater Aya, 2016, p.9). This is reflected in practice as AYA wants to create a total experience for the young audience. However, new education material to prepare the audience is not developed internally.

Where De Dansers writes to offer education material and a workshop for every performance (De Dansers, 2016, p.11), in practice this is still in development. Furthermore, the plan underlines that De Dansers delivers customized work when schools prefer additional material (De Dansers, 2016, p.11).

5.4. Programming

(1) Share of youth productions

Maas aims at a 50/50 division of theater and dance performances. In practice there are always a bit more theater performances because of the bigger supply and demand. All performances that are not for children are XL performances. The XL performances are mainly at their own stage, varying between 20 and 30 performances a year. Also De Dansers seeks for a balance between the amount of children performances and performances for youngsters and young adults. They outsourced the programming and acquisition to agency Frontaal. At Project Sally, the children performances are produced by artistic director Ernst and the youth performances by artistic director Wintjens. AYA's core business is youth productions, but they also create family productions. Both AYA and Maas work with guest-directors. AYA works with one young maker. At Maas, six choreographers create work under supervision of the artistic director.

(2) Co-productions and cross-overs

All four companies are involved with co-productions. AYA shifted towards co-productions to get new influences. Co-producing led to a more market-oriented approach and enabled AYA to explore new directions and ways of working. Some productions are crossovers with hip hop, breakdance or other urban dance styles. Also Maas engages with cross-over projects. The most common are cross-overs between

theater and dance but some performances include cross-overs between music and dance with hip hop artists and break dancers. The productions of De Dansers do not contain elements of urban dance styles. However, the modern dance is influenced by acrobatics and capoeira. Also some parkour elements are recognizable, especially when De Dansers performs at location. The performances of Project Sally are pure modern dance and do not contain cross-overs. Project Sally produces out of the knowledge that a big share of the young audience prefers modern dance over other styles like hip-hop or salsa.

“In principle is the young audience always our point of departure. So therefore we often program cross-overs with somewhat more popular dance.” (Maas)

(3) Side programming

Maas and AYA adapt to the demands of the market in the side programming activities. Side programming enables AYA to play with the balance between the artistic and the commercial. AYA wants to create a total experience by activating the audience. Likewise, Maas intends to extend the experience of the audience with the side programming activities. Their extra activities vary from introductions, after talks and workshops to DJs and dance parties. The ‘directing programmer’ and the education department organize the side programming. Maas constructed the new function of ‘directing programmer’ for the person that creates one artistic product, a total package, by connecting the performance to the side programming activities. Side programming seems to be effective as Maas receives positive feedback from their audience.

On the contrary, De Dansers and Project Sally focus on the performance rather than on the side activities. De Dansers even considers side programming a complicated issue, as it is hard to prove if people are either intending to buy a ticket or inform others because of a special experience with the side programming. De Dansers finds side programming only productive when it implies a collaboration between organizations by which both reach a greater audience. They consider just programming at the margins as in-effective. The side programming activities of De Dansers have rather an educational function than entertainment and need to add value. Furthermore, De Dansers does not actively engage with side programming due to the amount of performances a year and budget constrains. Other reasons why Project Sally does not focus on side-programming, are the small size of the team and because Project Sally

is a traveling company. They do not have their own house so it is not feasible to host activities with every performance. However with premieres, the company organizes extra side programming activities. With the regular programming Project Sally offers extra activities when the visiting school demands this and when there is space in the programming. These activities are intended to strengthen the impact of the performance and to build a relationship with the audience.

“For us it is just the most important that these youngsters have a really cool experience the moment they come into touch with AYA.” (AYA)

“In the first place we planned to get involved with side programming, however we took it off the agenda again because it is about a good performance and not about everything around it.” (De Dansers)

Plans Fonds Podium Kunsten

Both the plans of AYA and Maas stress participation in the programming activities. AYA states that through participation they want to strengthen the connection with the audience, and give the young audience a chance to experience how to develop their talent (Danstheater AYA, 2016, p.2). Maas writes that the deepening programs have a “do it yourself” approach (Maas Theater en Dans, 2016, p.3). In addition, the plan of Maas mentions that there is relatively a lot of space for experiments. Maas organizes festivals, develops short acts for the side programming, and explores new program formats like dance concerts and open stage (Maas Theater en Dans, 2016, p.10).

The plans of Project Sally and De Dansers stress the importance of playing at festivals. Project Sally writes that festivals are “a good place to develop more experimental choreographies, and to keep communicating with the young audience at the same time.” A festival also provides daring locations, a varied programming, and possibilities for co-productions (Project Sally, 2016, p. 15). De Dansers writes that their expertise is to play at location and festivals, where the performances come towards the audience (De Dansers, 2016, p.17). This coincides with their focus on the performance itself, rather than on the side program activities. De Dansers initially considered side programming useful by writing that it creates a context that increases the impact of a performance. Accordingly, this deepening will lead to a higher interest and an earlier activation (De Dansers, 2016, p.18). However, in practice De Dansers

stepped back from their plans for side programming. Lastly, all four subsidy plans mention co-productions and the benefits with regards to audience reach.

5.5. Internal and external organizational factors

(1) Team capacity

Looking at the organizational structure of the companies, three companies have a small team of employees. At Project Sally, one person is responsible for the production and marketing. At AYA, education and marketing are combined and the responsibility belongs to two people. Maas has the biggest team with four people at each department, supplemented by other staff members.

“We do everything with the two of us, so therefore we really have to make good choices and did we decided to focus on two pillars.” (AYA)

(2) Internal communication

Generally, the organizations work per production, by which every department is involved. Maas has frequent internal evaluations to constantly stay aware of where their success lays and how to improve. The evaluation of target groups happens mainly between marketing and programming. There are four important meetings between departments and furthermore, every department has internal meetings. Also Project Sally has weekly team meetings and employees are up to date about current developments because everything in the organization is connected. At De Dansers, the production department schedules a weekly meeting with marketing and publicity where possible. The production employee sees De Dansers as an open organization. The marketing employee however, experiences one to one contact but considers the internal communication between departments as insufficient. Hence, this is determined by how often employees are at the office.

“Good contact and a continuous exchange of information between departments is important at Maas.” (Maas)

(3) Partners

Communication and collaboration with partners is important for every company. De Dansers mentioned regular theaters who frequently book their performances. For

these theaters De Dansers is willing to do extra's regarding audience development. And the other way around, De Dansers has more possibilities at these theaters. Also AYA approaches theaters to see how they can cooperate in order to establish and maintain contacts with schools. Furthermore, AYA wants to establish relations with interesting network partners who have to become aware of AYA's existence. This network will provide feedback about AYA's position in the field. AYA wants to involve the environment, to gain insight on what happens regionally and nationally, and to depict interesting youth centers that are connected to a theater. Maas established strong connections in the city with different partners. The company has access to different (young) target groups through their relationship with partners who organize their own evening at Maas and bring their own support group. Project Sally makes connections in the Euregion (The Netherlands, Germany and Belgium), because of their location on a three-country point. Both Project Sally and De Dansers are regularly booked at festivals. Playing at festivals results in new networks and accordingly new projects. At festivals, the companies have access to new audiences, who generally have an open mindset for new experiences.

"We have important partners as schools, who may come six times a year [...] but also really small forms of partnering, and that requires a lot of time to maintain and required a lot of building time. But now after four years we are pretty far with that and especially in Rotterdam we have a big network." (Maas)

(4) Constraints regards audience development

All companies experience time constraints in their audience development. For Maas and Project Sally, the lack of time is also the main reason for the limited audience research. The tight budgets are also an important constrain. AYA takes the FPK requirements on audience development into account in their activities, as their budget simply depends mainly on the subsidy. De Dansers notices that the departments' relation with audience development could be optimized when a greater budget would be available. The organizations mentioned the lack of manpower as another constrain, which derives from the constrained budgets.

"In the past we were not involved with audience research and concrete audience development because of the lack on human and financial capital. When after four years

they close the subsidy-tap, then it becomes difficult as everything you have build up will disappear. Just too little money and too little time. That's where it is about." (De Dansers)

Plans Fonds Podium Kunsten

The four companies each describe their unique position in the dance sector. Maas positions herself with regards to audience development, by writing that their "audience reach of approximately 60.000 visitors at performances and 40.000 participants of education projects a year is high in relation with other companies" (Maas Theater en Dans, 2016, p.11). Furthermore, Maas states that "by the merge of the three companies and the accompanied combination of networks, Maas grew rapidly in the last four years, against the general national trend" (Maas Theater en Dans, 2016, p 11).

With regards to partners, Maas writes to focus on the maintenance of the many relations and partnerships. The plans of the other companies depict that these organizations are still focused on the development of relationships and networks. For example, AYA writes that within co-productions, the sales and marketing departments exchange contacts and make use of each other's networks (Danstheater AYA, 2016, p.8). De Dansers writes that it is important to have a strong and intact network of professionals, as this network brings along the members' support, contacts and it legitimizes the company's existence (De Dansers, 2016, p.15). This corresponds with practice, as one interviewee stressed that the artistic directors are actively networking. They choose to invest in the field of professionals and experts to position De Dansers, rather than to engage with side programming with unsure values as return. Finally, Project Sally writes that they want to strengthen their networks. The plan is to establish partnerships to set-up a Dutch Network, after Project Sally has received a clearer image of the dance sector in the new arts plan 2017- 2020 (Project Sally, 2016, p.17). Although Project Sally should now be aware of the current dance field, concrete strategies to start this network are not yet developed. Strategies to intensify the network in the Euregion are defined in more detail.

5.6. The prevalence of the missionary approach

The subsidy plans and practical implications indicate that audience development has a central role in the four youth dance companies. Within audience development, the three departments focus on finding new audiences.

The marketing department tries to increase the brand awareness and (online) visibility. Three companies are still in the developing stage of marketing in relation to young audience development. Generally, the marketing departments have a modest role in audience development, as they do what is expected. The marketing departments are a follower rather than a fore-runner when it comes to innovative ways to reach the young audience. Furthermore, besides the newsletters, the marketing department is not active in the maintenance of the relation with the existing audience.

The education activities initially have a deepening function and intend to provide context. Although this supposes a mainstream approach, in practice the education departments apply a missionary approach as the activities aim at the new audience. One company however also organizes activities for the existing audience. The role of education in audience development is claimed to be substantial. In practice however, the role of education in audience development seems less substantial as the deepening activities are short-term and focused on the new audience rather than on the development of the returning visitor.

Lastly, programming focusses on finding new audiences. This is reflected in the cross-over projects, through which the companies appeal to different target groups; in the co-productions, through which the companies have access to other audiences; and in the performing at festivals; through which the companies reach a big audience of probably future attenders. Also the extra activities that incite participation, deepening and an extension of the experience aim at the new audience. The activities are short-term and have no follow-up and are therefore not intended for the returning, existing audience. The programming departments do not apply the mainstream approach, except for one department, who organizes deepening projects for the existing audience. The role of programming in audience development seems to be the most limited.

This answer on the first part of the research question implies that the companies want to satisfy the cultural policy requirement to find new audiences. The three departments apply a missionary approach in short-term activities and projects. Noteworthy is that the ministry does not require tracking of repeat visits, which should

be a key indicator of success. In addition to the fund requirements, time and money constraints and the lack of manpower prevent the organizations from long-term thinking and from applying a more mainstream approach. The organizations have to make choices in their audience development. Also the insecurity of ongoing funding results in short-terminism.

Finally, the main characteristics are summarized in the table below:

Table 2. Characteristics

	Maas	AYA	De Dansers	Project Sally
Young audience development	-Conducting audience research - Collaborating with partners to find new audiences	-Schools as main target and contact point - Targeting new audiences through co-productions and the adoption of young makers	Developing audience research and audience development policy	Targeting young audience already interested in modern dance - Targeting existing audience with deepening projects
Marketing	Specific XL tools and communication	Creating specific content for target groups (primarily online)	-Improving the online marketing - Supporting role because outsourced to theaters	Changing the image and website
Education	Workshops for free performances and school performances	-Always providing a workshop for visiting schools -Establishing a network of cultural teachers	Developing customized education programs for school performances	Collaborating with dance pre-education -Interactive workshops
Programming	Directing programmer provides a total experience by combining performance with side programming	Providing a 'cool' and total experience for the young audience	Providing extra material with an educational function when a school prefers it	-Only side programming with premieres -Extra activities are educational
Internal and external organizational factors	-Strong local network -Maintenance of relations with different partners	Establishing network of interesting partners	Establishing and maintaining network of professionals	Establishing and maintaining connections in the Euregion (i.e. by performing at festivals)

[source: own]

6. Discussion

The previous section discussed five topics from the interviews and their relation with the initial plans for the Fund Performing Arts. 'Audience development' is the core category because it was the main topic during the interviews and because it covers the other categories. In referring back to the literature, audience development became a priority partly because of the market led approach of measuring arts subsidy (Hayes & Slater, 2002). Audience development is also a priority in the Dutch cultural policy. Furthermore, Minister Bussemaker expects that the subsidized companies seek for new and broader audiences (Bussemaker, 2016).

6.1. New audiences versus the existing audience

All four companies focus on reaching new audiences and are in the search for new channels. Moreover, each company experiences the difficulty of acquiring new audiences. Their young target group seems to be indifferent or even hostile towards visiting dance performances. According to Hayes and Slater (2002), these two categories are the traditional targets of missionary audience development activities.

The findings show that Maas, De Dansers and AYA emphasize on finding new audiences rather than intensifying the relation with the existing audience. The companies mentioned to focus on both target groups, yet two companies explicitly have different strategies and objectives. All companies do however maintain relations with partnering schools, but this is to secure returning school classes rather than deepening the relation with the specific audience members in the long-run. This corresponds with the finding of Hayes and Slater (2002) that in practice the focus is on acquiring new audiences while in theory audience development should be a balance of missionary and mainstream approaches. The emphasis on finding new audiences could possibly be a response to the new provided government subsidies (Hayes & Slater, 2002). This is reflected in practice as the current cultural policy, with its emphasis on cultural participation, demands cultural institutions to find new audiences. Another reason why the organizations do not focus on the mainstream approach is that the development of high levels of loyalty among existing audiences to increase receipts and other forms of fundraising, does not hold for the companies. The organizations know that their young audience lack money, so their revenue streams do not depend on them. Instead, the companies' visions on audience deepening is to

educate the audience into cultural consumers. Currently, all four companies try to maintain a relation with the existing audience through news-letter subscriptions.

Project Sally seems to consciously invest in activities that intensify and deepen the relation with the audience. Nevertheless, these activities are short-term and do not incite a maintenance of a long-term relationship. Project Sally's focus on the maximization of opportunities for audience involvement and learning reflects the 'strategy to encourage lifelong learning' of Morison and Dalgleish (1992). However, in their approach the company should anticipate and respond to the changing wants and needs of their audience. Although Project Sally and the other companies, are aware of what interests' youth, the companies currently do not have a clear idea of their existing audience and their preferences. Therefore, the organizations are incapable to adapt to changes and shifts in these preferences.

While searching for new audiences, all four companies encounter time, budget or manpower constraints, as found by Rogers (1998). Projects with a missionary approach are often expensive and absorb inordinate staff time when well executed (Hayes & Slater, 2002). The companies are mainly involved with short-term projects with limited follow-up or evaluation. Moreover, the companies generally do not specify the target minority groups. Only AYA mentioned they want to specifically target at students in related studies. This finding is supported by Hayes and Slater, who found no recognition of the size and dynamics of minority groups in their qualitative research (2002).

The four organizations all collaborate with partners in different ways to extend their audiences. Also Hayes and Slater state that audience development strategies do not occur in isolation and that the difficulty also depends on the target group's relation with other arts institutions (2002). In practice, co-productions actually reduce the difficulty as the co-producers both have access to each others audiences. Looking at the audience, young adults with a voracious and omnivore lifestyle would not withhold to visit a youth dance company when they are already in a relation with other arts institutions, rather the contrary. Even the other way around, youngsters who do not have a relation with any arts institution, could still be pursued to visit one of the youth dance companies by their friends or family. As shown in the theoretical framework, social patterns are important for youngsters. The level of difficulty in audience development is also related to competition according to Hayes and Slater (2002). In practice, the dance companies notice that there is more demand for other cultural or

leisure activities. Within the dance sector however, one company noticed that structurally funded companies have more means for audience development. With regards to youth dance, the companies do not experience competition because of the geographical dispersal.

6.2. Audience development in marketing, education and programming

6.2.1. The role of audience development in the organization

Audience development is present in the companies' three departments marketing, education and programming. In one company audience development is the point of departure for every activity, where in another company every department could intensify the audience development. Rogers (1998) claimed that audience development is effective when the three departments are united. The findings from the case studies depict that the three departments consult and collaborate in every company. Three of the four organizations have a small team of office staff. Therefore, the employees are aware of each others activities and work closely together. The bigger company tries to manage that with four different meetings and several internal meetings. Correspondingly, the empirical research of Hayes and Slater (2002) shows that in practice the collaboration between departments is informal and mainly project based. Despite the consultations, each department approaches audience development out of their objectives and expertise and with their own existing tools, and subsequently communicates it with the rest of the company. That is why marketing focusses on promotion tools and channels; education on schools and interactive projects with the young audience; and programming on supportive activities and the performances. Programming seems to be the least involved with audience development, as two companies explicitly stressed that it is about the performance and not about everything around it. Moreover, programming seems to be sort of a gatekeeper for in how far the audience development activities can take place.

All four companies stressed that steps need to be taken to strengthen their audience development. Audience development is seen as a shared responsibility, but exact roles and tasks are not defined on an organizational level. The four companies miss a general strategic plan. Rogers' (1998) holistic approach where marketing, education and programming provide their interdisciplinary skills to achieve short, medium and long-term objectives in audience development, is thus not reflected in practice as there is no overall strategy. The case studies depicted long-term objectives,

but no specific long-term plans. This might be due to the insecurity of on-going funding as this encourages short termism and a project-based approach. The projects are conducted on a tactical basis rather than on a strategic basis.

6.2.2. Audience development activities

Generally, the companies' activities consist of education projects and participation activities complemented by targeted communication, increasingly on social platforms, from the marketing department. These activities are essential according to Hayes and Slater to attract the indifferent and hostile target groups, the traditional targets in the missionary approach (2002). The activities show that Kawashima's (2000) four approaches to audience development in practice indeed blend between the quantitative 'cultural inclusion' and 'extended marketing' part of the missionary approach, and the qualitative 'taste cultivation' and 'audience education' part of the mainstream approach.

With regards to programming, two companies program work that is likely popular among the indifferent and hostile target groups. This could be risky for the existing audience, as they can feel surpassed by the organization with whom they have built a relation of trust (Hayes & Slater, 2002). Furthermore, the empirical research of Hayes and Slater (2002) found that organizations involved with cross-overs often fail, because it is the product that attracts the audience and not the experience itself. However, in this empirical research, the organizations involved with cross-overs notice that the experience increases for the young audience, as they can personally better relate. Moreover, the four companies mentioned that the performances will always be artistically driven and an expression of the company's signature. Therefore, the warning of Caust (2003) that a customer-value approach leads to the production of safe, consumer-oriented arts products that nobody wants or needs is not reflected in the case studies.

The companies are more customer oriented in the other activities. This corresponds with Schmitt's theory on experiential marketing, where the consumer's experience is provided by stimuli, and the right environment and setting (1999). However, Schmitt's condition that experience providers should be managed coherently, consistently over time and by paying attention to detail is not observed in practice. Again, this is because there is no general strategic organizational plan. One company could be placed in the marketing theory of Boorsma (2006), where the

audience is considered a co-producer in the total art process, because their audience participates and engages with the total art process. Furthermore, the audience is involved in artistic exchange relationships, as their feedback is incorporated in the artistic core product. Two organizations principally apply the customer-value approach in the side programming. At one company, a directing programmer turns the experience of a performance into an event. The performance is the point of departure, around which a total package is created. Therefore, the focus does not shift away from the quality of the core products towards the enhanced experience of events as warned by Jakob (2012). Moreover, as two organizations stressed to emphasize on the performance, the shift from artistic core products to supplementary services and experiential settings, noticed by Heinsius and Houben (2002) in all cultural industries, does only partly hold for the case studies. Nevertheless, all four companies want to extend the audience's experience, and use service products to create a total experience. The companies provide active participation with their (education) activities, according to the framework of Pine and Gilmore (1999). The education activities lead to immersion and the performances at least to absorption. These dimensions are combined with the categories education and esthetic and in some cases with entertainment and escapist. Therefore, the companies provide a total experience when placed in the theory of Pine and Gilmore (1999).

6.3. Audience development in relation to taste formation theory

Placing the findings in the theory on taste formation, it seems that the companies invest particularly in habit formation. All companies stated that their audience consists mainly of youngsters who attend a dance performance for the first time. The organizations invest in introducing dance to the young audience with regularly scheduled target programs to get them into the habit of attending (Houthakker & Taylor, 1970). All four companies target schools and do school performances. Youngsters are influenced by the habits of the group to which they belong, as they do not yet have developed the habit of attending. As scholars, they go because their school goes. The companies invest in partnering schools to have scheduled returning visits. Through partnerships, attending a dance performance could become a habit for youngsters, leading to return visits as a free visitor in the future.

Also the programming and marketing activities reflect habit formation. Programming tries to consistently return to theaters with new performances, in order

that the audience keeps recognizing the company's existence. As regards to marketing, the companies are strengthening their online presence to get noticed and to stay in the attention of the young audience. Likewise, the improvement of brand awareness will contribute to the company's incorporation into the audience's habit.

The education activities relate to the theory of learning by consuming, as they intend to provide more context and an extension of the experience. The companies hope to incite a better understanding of modern dance, which will contribute to an increased marginal utility for future attendance for the audience. Only the question remains if the audience returns to the specific companies, as the organizations currently do not collect the data that can show this. Another question that remains is if the experiences from the revisiting audiences increase. The newsletter descriptions depict that there is a sort of fan base, who most likely revisits the company, but the companies are currently not monitoring this and neither the audience's experiences. Also the annually returning high schools do not ensure a fixed, returning visitor base, as it is the teacher who revisits with different students each year. Related educations and partnering schools on the other hand, are in closer contact with the companies and revisit a few times a year. The companies can start the process of learning by consuming with these students, as they also enjoy the process of being cultivated. Because these students are already interested in modern dance, they consider the learning process as a positive value.

The companies invest in the creation of a total experience in the hope the young audience sticks with their company and not with another cultural supplier. Abbé-Decarroux and Grin (1992) stressed that the young audience is unaware of the product characteristics of other cultural suppliers and therefore relies on their personal prior positive or negative feedback. When the audience had a pleasant experience at the youth dance company, it will expect this with future attendance. According to Abbé-Decarroux and Grin (1992) this results in less esoteric and less risky programming. The programming of two companies could be considered less esoteric and risky, but these companies also state to produce for the young audience who has their first experience with modern dance and furthermore, that they use themes and styles where youngsters can relate to. The content of one company is more complex, and aims primarily at an audience already interested in modern dance. The marginal utility of this audience increases because of previous participation and involvement. As this

company is most involved with audience deepening, this company relates to the theory of learning by consuming.

The four youth dance companies aim at developing both taste formation strategies. Nevertheless, habit formation is more prevalent in the activities. The companies regularly schedule their performances, especially on a local level. The companies also invest in brand awareness and visibility. Although the extra (educational) activities are meant to teach and cultivate the audience, it is unclear if this audience returns, and accordingly if their marginal utility increases. Another indicator of the prevalence of habit formation is that the companies collaborate with high school teachers to get new students each year, rather than that they deepen the relation with individual students in the long-run.

6.4. Limitations

The research is constrained by two limitations. The first one involves the data collection as the available data on visitor numbers, geographical distribution and budget per department varied widely between companies and even between years within a company. Moreover, the data on visitor numbers was insufficient in the sense that there was no data on different age categories and returning visitors. A second limitation is found in the qualitative research. As is the case with semi-structured interviews, the interviewee determined the direction of the interview with topics she considered most important. Hereby, important topics discussed in the other interviews were left out. In the process of data collection, each interview contributed to more topics and related questions, with the result that the last interview covered most topics. In future research, follow-up interviews with the first companies could be conducted to complete the information, to approach the discussed topics from new angles, and to make the cases even more comparable. Due to time constraints and out of the idea that the companies described young audience development out of their perspectives and priorities, it is decided to work with the acquired data. A last limitation with regards to qualitative interviews is the risk of the probably positive self-positioning of the organization.

7. Recommendations

Some recommendations follow on how the companies could enhance their audience development, now that the empirical findings are analyzed in relation with the theoretical framework. The first section recommends how the audience development strategies could be more integrated with taste formation theory. The second section provides practical recommendations on how to improve the company's current audience development according to the theory and best practices in the other case studies.

7.1. Theory recommendations

Both habit formation and learning by consuming should be reflected in the practical application of audience development, as habit formation relates to the missionary approach to reach new audiences, and learning by consuming to the mainstream approach to deepen the relation with the existing audience.

The four companies need to invest in a returning audience and in the monitoring of this audience and their experiences, to better engage with both habit formation and learning by consuming.

The companies already seem to focus on habit formation, but could align their practices more with the theory. The companies should strengthen the relation with partnering schools and establish more partnerships, in order to get students in more frequently. The companies should invest in the returning of a single group in addition to the relations with single teachers that bring a new class every year. As many schools are already involved in cultural partnerships, new partnerships could be also sought in i.e.: sport clubs, cultural centers, or scouting clubs. In every partnership it is important that the same group of youngsters returns on a regular basis. The companies should, besides being visible and present, also invest in activities and experiences to maintain the audience, as youngsters did not yet develop strong habits and are easily persuaded away by the appeal of a new environment. Furthermore, as the young audience relies on habits from their social environment, the companies should focus on groups of youngsters. For example, by offering group discounts and packages or 'friend' memberships.

In order to align the audience development practices better with the theory of learning by consuming, the companies should invest in the maintenance of the relation with the existing audience. When the audience had a positive experience it is likely to return and moreover, expects a positive experience in the future. Therefore, it is important to keep renewing the extra activities and to let the audience not only participate, but also engage. The young audience will feel personally more connected with the organization through engagement projects. Engagement creates the sense that the young audience is heard, as they see their own thoughts and ideas reflected in the company. Also the cultivation process for modern dance becomes more enjoyable by increased levels of engagement, which accordingly increases the possibility on revisits. In addition, the engagement activities provide the companies insight of the (changing) wants and needs of the audience, to which they accordingly can adapt in order to maintain the audience.

In addition to the engagement activities, the companies should invest in more detailed monitoring to increase the efficiency of the audience development strategies. They should monitor repeating visitors, to see if habits are formed, by analyzing box office data and patterns of attendance. This will also indicate the audience preferences to which the companies can adapt. The companies should also monitor the audience experience, to see if the marginal utility of the audience increases and if they enjoy the learning process.

7.2. Practical recommendations

This section starts with some general recommendations for the companies on how to improve their audience development. Followed by three recommendations for the marketing; education; and programming departments of each case specifically.

7.2.1. General recommendations

As audience research requires time, the youth dance companies should collaborate with each other and other related institutions, in order to divide work and exchange information. In addition to monitoring, it is in the first place important that the companies become more cautious in the selection of their new audience. Both number and characteristics should be defined beforehand. As Hayes and Slater already indicated, a more selective strategy will enable long-term follow up to educate new audiences to become independent attenders capable of being incorporated into the mainstream

audience (2002). The companies can prioritize and adopt selective strategies when they sub-categorize the new audience. The categorization could be the following:

The 'flutter' group consists partly of voracious and omnivore consumers. It is unlikely that the programming of a single organization could satisfy this group's wants and needs, as they seek for ever increasing experiences. This group wants to broaden their knowledge and range of experiences.

This group requires enticement, and this could be achieved by creating excitement, added value, and repackaging to reflect their motivations and behavior. Compounding education programs are not advised due to the unstable behavior of this group. Once the contact has been established direct methods of follow-up by email or social media could be effective to incite revisits. When this is successful the group of switchers can be assimilated into the mainstream audience.

The 'attenders elsewhere' group is likely to have varying degrees of loyalty to other arts organizations. In order to access this group, the companies should focus on those who show lower levels of loyalty, as they will be more likely to switch.

This group requires a long-term strategy for establishing loyal behavior and attitudes. The companies should however be aware that this strategy can create tensions with competitors. A strategy could be to let the existing audiences persuade similar groups, that attend other arts organizations, to visit the dance company. Programming should analyze the successful elements of other organizations to find the best possibilities for persuasion. The marketing department could focus on strengthening the brand awareness with coherent values. The education department could provide series or a trial with a broad range of activities that are aligned with the new audience's preferences. For this group it is important to create a sense of community, which could be enforced by engagement activities.

The 'indifferents' and 'hostiles' group. The indifferents are disinterested in the arts and do not have the desire to attend. The 'hostiles' even have a negative attitude towards the arts. Both groups experience emotional and social barriers to participation. The target group is influenced by reference groups from their social surroundings, as they did not yet develop an arts and culture framework themselves.

The companies should therefore target these reference groups. The recommended strategies focus on conversion and reversion. Extensive education activities and other extra activities are essential to attract these groups. The task of marketing is to change the beliefs and perceptions of these groups by customized communication, a strong online-presence and brand visibility, offering deals or discounts, and promoting a total package. In the service products and activities, the companies can work with themes or styles that would probably appeal directly to the target group. Nevertheless, it is difficult to become aware of the preferences of this target group. More insight could be provided by government reports, academic research or by exchanging information with other cultural organizations.

The four companies should also improve the relationship with the existing audience for an effective audience development. The organizations should better anticipate and respond to the changing wants and needs of their audience in order to maintain them. Sub-categorizing the existing audience could be useful to adapt more specifically to shifts and changes.

One group could be defined as 'soft loyal attenders', considering their time and budget constraints. This group is likely to increase its attendance and has a greater tendency to participate and support the organization. This group could potentially be approached to work as volunteers, which further increases their involvement with the company.

For this group the companies need a long-term strategy that focuses on enrichment and deepening. With a customized approach the companies need to create a sense of personal belonging. Engagement activities will reinforce shared values and make the audience feel part of a like-minded community. All three departments can involve with engagement activities. For example, the marketing department could create user-generated content or invite the audience for online discussion; the education department could work with feedback activities, or apply co-creation; programming could adopt engagement in the side activities, for example by inviting the audience to make suggestions for a certain theme or style. Youth clubs are an example on how engagement could be increased in the overall organization. This concept is successfully applied in the museum sector and could also be adopted in the dance sector. The organization appoints a selective group of the young audience to work as ambassadors. The members organize their own events and programs and in return

they bring their personal network (Cultuurmarketing, 2015). This is an effective way to reach more audiences as the members know exactly what their peers want and need. Simultaneously, the organization deepens the relation with the youth club members. However, finding the 'right' members requires time and effort, as experienced already by one company. The establishment of a youth club could be outsourced to interns, as they are already in closer contact with potential members.

7.2.2. Case specific recommendations

Now follow short recommendations for each department on how to improve audience development. The recommendations are based on best practices of the other companies.

7.2.2.1. Maas Theater en Dans

Marketing: most developed compared to the other companies. Could engage the audience as co-creator for specific content or even outsource parts to loyal audience members, who thereby function as sort of ambassador.

Education: should take an example of Project Sally, to engage the audience with the process of creating, and to establish feedback activities.

Programming: most developed because of the directing programmer. Also here the audience could be more engaged through co-creation. More monitoring should be done to detect the experiences and preferences of the audience, to which Maas can accordingly adapt in future programming.

7.2.2.2. Danstheater AYA

Marketing: as their basis marketing is now being established, AYA could take an example of the marketing strategy of Maas. AYA could also distinguish the national audience from the local audience and accordingly approach the local audience with customized communication. AYA could take an example on the content of De Dansers, to assure that the content is aligned with the organization's mission and brand.

Education: is a high priority at AYA and to keep it up to date and valuable for the young audience, AYA should anticipate on the audience's feedback. AYA should also look at

the activities of Project Sally to increase engagement, in addition to the current participation.

Programming: AYA is exploring new ideas for the side programming to increase the experience of the audience. However, they should stay in line with the artistic core product and mission of the organization. AYA should therefore make sure that the activities also contain an educational aspect, as in the activities of Project Sally and De Dansers.

7.2.2.3. De Dansers

Marketing: should use the same communication channels as Maas to distribute content. Like customized emails for the existing audience and AdWords campaigns for the new audience. Marketing could also strengthen audience development by using the networks of partners for promotion. De Dansers could, just like Project Sally, use their local network consisting of arts organizations, festivals and schools. De Dansers could also focus on the social networks of the dancers or co-producers.

Education: De Dansers is currently developing customized education programs for each performance. In this they should focus on engagement besides participation. De Dansers should anticipate on the audience's feedback to test if the programs work and to improve them.

Programming: to increase engagement in the educative side-activities, De Dansers could extend the after talks from the performers with a discussion part or Q&A with the audience. In case there is room for extra side programming, De Dansers should include a feedback activity through which the attenders feel engaged and De Dansers can anticipate on the feedback.

7.2.2.4. Project Sally

Marketing: could take an example of the separate XL tools from Maas. Project Sally should distinguish the communication for young, from the communication for youngsters and young at heart. Project Sally should create a separate website and social media platforms for the young audience (consisting of young and young at heart).

Education: is also a high priority at Project Sally and the best developed with regards to existing audience development. To intensify education in the missionary approach, Project Sally could develop small education activities on festival locations. For example, they could apply their concept where the audience is invited on stage to ask questions. They could further extend this by inciting an open conversation where the performers also ask questions to the audience.

Programming: As Project Sally is not very involved with side programming, the core performance has to appeal to the audience. Therefore, Project Sally should monitor the experience of the audience. When the audience shares their thoughts and experiences, it will also feel more engaged. Project Sally could look for more creative ways to collect feedback, in addition to standard surveys.

8. Conclusions

This research analyzed young audience development in the marketing department, the education department, and programming department of four youth dance companies in the Netherlands. Theory suggests that effective audience development consists of both the missionary approach, directed at the new audience, and the mainstream approach, directed at the existing audience. The research tested how this theory on audience development is implemented in practice. In addition, the results are placed in relation to taste formation theory. This thesis relates the missionary approach with habit formation theory, and the mainstream approach with learning by consuming.

Semi-structured interviews with four youth modern dance companies in the Netherlands were needed to answer the first part of the research question: *'How do Dutch youth dance companies implement audience development strategies? And how does their audience development strategy relate to taste formation theory?'*. The main finding is that (1) youth dance companies are primarily involved in the missionary approach with short-term projects. Accordingly, this empirical research substantiates the value of the research on audience development from Hayes and Slater (2002) and Rogers (1998). Reasons for the focus on new audiences are the cultural policy requirements in combination with money, time and manpower constraints. The four companies are not actively investing in the maintenance of the relation with the existing audience. Also audience research and monitoring are still in development. For an effective audience development, the companies need to strengthen their mainstream approach. Based on the theory, the companies are advised to invest in engagement strategies. The engagement activities and projects require long-term thinking to deepen the relationship with the existing audience. Furthermore, the experiences of the audience should be monitored to see if their marginal utility increases. The companies should adapt to the changing wants and needs of their audience to induce re-visits.

A general organizational plan is required to induce the mainstream approach and to strengthen the missionary approach. The second finding is namely that (2) the audience development practices from the marketing department, the education department, and the programming department should be integrated in a strategic organizational plan in order to be effective. This general plan should also include a

selective categorization of the different target audiences, in order to apply specific audience development strategies.

The answer on the second part of the research question '*How do Dutch youth dance companies implement audience development strategies? And how does their audience development strategy relate to taste formation theory?*' is that the companies' activities reflect habit formation. Part of the (education) activities presume learning by consuming theory. However, the audience development activities are not fully aligned with learning by consuming theory because the companies do not monitor returning visitors and their experiences, and because the activities are short-term. Furthermore, this research indicated that in practice the two theories on taste formation are not clearly demarcated. The third finding holds that (3) the companies could align their practices better with learning by consuming theory when they invest in engagement activities; monitoring of the audience's experience and utility; and when they adapt to the changing wants and needs of the existing audience. This will result in a balanced audience development that contributes to a complete cultivation of the young audience' taste for modern dance.

A practical implication of this research is that this method could be applied to other institutions, including other performing arts but also museums. In addition to the data limitations mentioned in the findings chapter, the research is limited by a single perspective on audience development. Supplementary to the perspective of youth dance companies, future research could include the perspectives of the young audience; the fund; or ministry of Education, Culture and Science. This will provide a more global view on audience development and furthermore, could depict the relations, tensions, and expectations among the different stakeholders. Furthermore, future research could compare organizations that implemented a general strategic plan for audience development, with organizations without a general strategic plan, to test if the assumed increased efficiency in audience development is achieved by a general strategic plan. A last avenue for future research is to look at the audience development strategy of cultural organizations that do not depend on subsidies, to see if their implementation of the missionary approach and the mainstream approach differs from cultural organizations that rely on subsidies.

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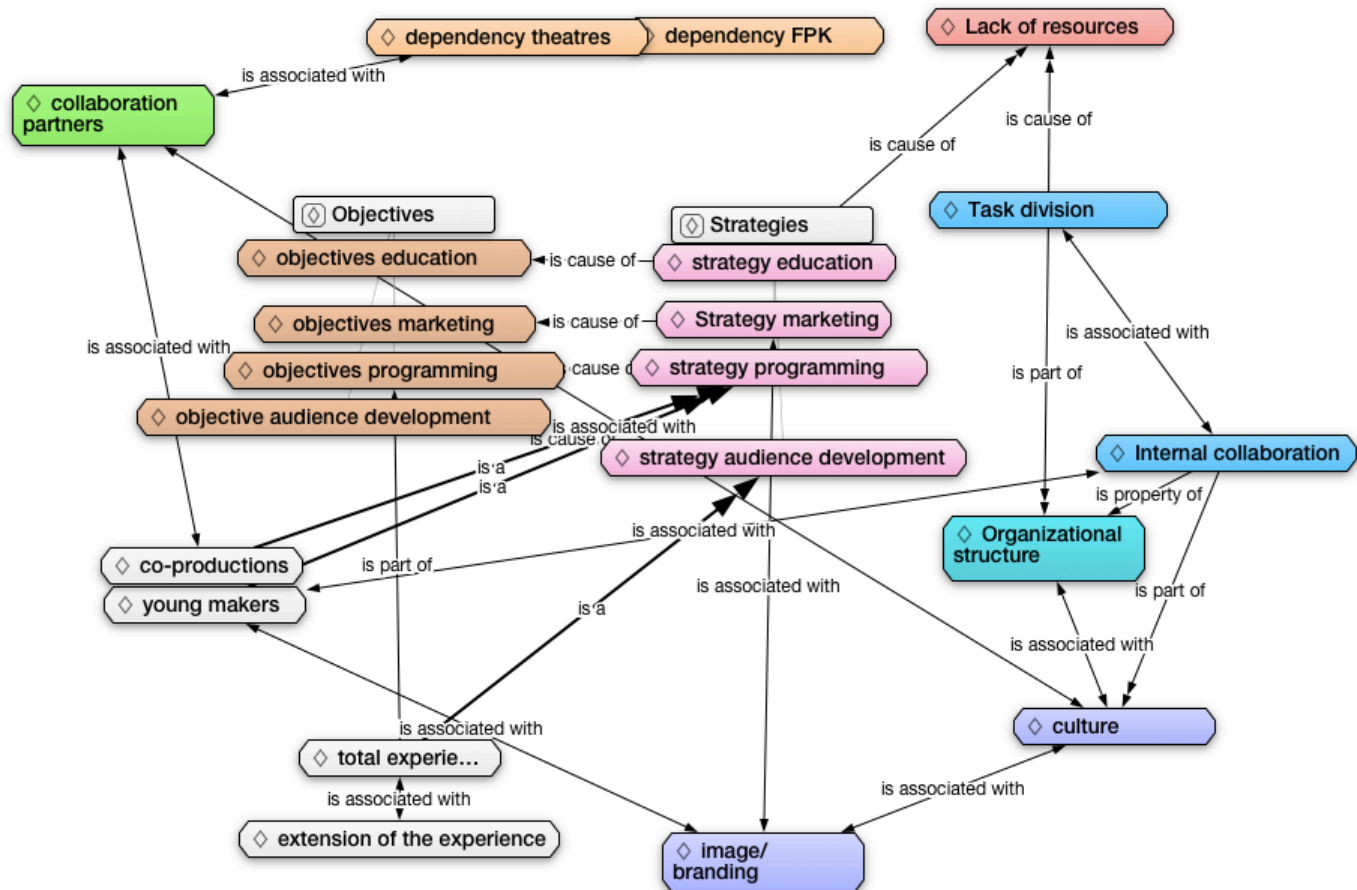
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Appendix A - Visitor data 2016

Company	Productions	Youth productions	Performances	School performances	Visitors school performances	Free performances	Visitors free performances	Total visitors NL
AYA	4**	3	188	146	17,302	42	7,934	25,236
Maas	11	6	90	10 high school; 49 school	7,734 (1,478 highschool)	31	3,775	11,509
De Dansers	7	4	225	109	14,960	112	11,853	26,813
Project Sally	?	1	145	?	?	15	2,303	13,368
Company	Categorization youth	Most successful youth production	Educational activities	Visitors educational activities				
AYA	12 till 18	51 x performed	158	3,950				
Maas	XL = 12+	24 x performed	1,956*	46,083*				
De Dansers	12+	19 x performed	78	1,369				
Project Sally	14+	15 x performed	31	5,060				

* theatre & dance together
 ** without workshoprepresentations

Appendix B - Relational concepts map



Appendix C – Institutional narratives

The five topics from the findings chapter are here elaborately described for each case study. For each company follows an analysis of their young audience development; marketing; education; and programming, in comparison with their plans for the Fund Performing Arts. The finding ‘internal and external organizational factors’, concludes this section by discussing the companies per theme. The comparison with the subsidy plans is again in the same chronological order of companies.

1. Maas

1.1. Young audience development

The XL program Maas is really involved with young audience development. This is reflected in their XL activities and in their audience research. Maas conducts desk research by analyzing ticket sales data and field research by conducting every 2 years a survey research with the audience. Moreover, they have internal evaluations between departments and within departments considering audience development. However, Maas does think that the young audience reach could be improved on a national level as well as at their own stage. Maas is currently discussing strategies by evaluating their activities in the last four years. Ideally Maas sees a solid base of returning visitors, at the tours as well as in their own space. New audiences are sought at high schools and vocational educations, in theater and dance schools and through partners in Rotterdam. By collaborating with guest hostesses, who program their own evening at Maas, Maas is able to reach more and different target groups as these guest hostesses bring their own support group.

Maas is creating a sort of task forces between marketing, education and sales with the priority to target schools for free performances. The departments have a shared responsibility and evaluate which schools they have reached the last four years in Rotterdam, which ones not and what they can do to get them in. Maas wants just as many visiting schools as De Krakeling in Amsterdam, who Maas takes as the example.

Also in the FPK plan, the importance of audience development at Maas is visible. They write that in the coming years Maas will invest in audience deepening by playing longer series at their stage, and in other big cities. Moreover, they will perform more at special locations and at schools in Rotterdam who cannot always afford a theater visit (Maas

Theater en Dans, 2016, p.11). This more social aspect was not mentioned during the interview. The audience research is also part of the FPK plan, where Maas writes that they annually set new targets and that they monitor in between. Findings of the surveys as explained in the interview, are presented in the FK plan. For example, that the audience annually increases; that 22% of the audience is under 18; and that their audience is diverse because of the varied programming and the openness of the house. Maas furthermore recognizes a lot of repeating visitors, and that at the free XL performances the largest part of the audience comes via schools and that the remaining audience are mostly youngsters and young adults who are personally active in the arts (Maas Theater en Dans, 2016, p.13-14). The strategies to increase their audience base on a national level and on a local level are found back in the plan. The plan furthermore mentions that Maas constantly seeks for new audiences together with the tour theaters and that Maas structurally and thematically collaborates with different partners (Maas Theater en Dans, 2016, p.13). The examples given in the interview reflect this. The decision to intensify their online marketing was fruitful according to the plan where Maas presents an enormous growth of the virtual reach at online platforms (Maas Theater en Dans, 2016, p.13).

1.2. Marketing

Since 2008 Maas creates marketing tools for youngsters and young adults. Although the difficulties, Maas considers young audience development a high priority. Maas places youngsters and young adults in a special category called XL. They furthermore have a category in which they make a distinction between the national audience and the local audience. The latter Maas approaches in a personal way. For each production Maas makes a customized plan. In addition, they have general tools for XL like a website, flyers, and a newsletter. Maas started a XL department that only works with XL performances and the communication for the target group. However, the job application is open for the fourth time. For the function it is important that the employee is present at the events to know where he or she does it for and to network. Maas is working on customer attention and involved with customer research. This is expressed in their retention strategy for the existing audience, which entails the collection of data on ticket sales, creating fan bases, and sending customized emails to existing XL visitors. They want to give this even more attention in the future. The marketing strategy for new audiences includes AdWords campaigns, social media and especially

partnering, ambassadors and group marketing. To improve this strategy, Maas want to intensify the group-marketing by taking De Krakeling in Amsterdam as example. The marketing department also wants to intensify the collaboration with the education department. The marketing department already works very close with the makers and also with the programming about series, concepts and target groups. However, also the collaboration with programming should be even more. Internally there are many consultations between the different marketing employees.

The marketing strategies and goals in relation to young audience development coincide with their written four-years plan for the Fund Performing Arts (FPK). Here they stated that for every production they develop a special communication and marketing plan and that where possible they use on- and offline free publicity on the radio, television, YouTube and Adwords via Google Grants (Maas Theater en Dans, 2016, p.13). Furthermore, they wrote that they constantly seek for new forms to target the young audience, and this is reflected in their different strategies and collaborations with other departments. Lastly, their personalized marketing for the Rotterdam audience is found back in the plans, where they write that they do customized work with and for specific target groups in Rotterdam (Maas Theater en Dans, 2016, p.12). They furthermore write that they want to involve youngsters and young adults more with the marketing, by sometimes providing paid assignments (Maas Theater en Dans, 2016, p.14). The engagement of the target group with marketing is not directly mentioned in the interview.

1.3. Education

The education department of Maas has a close relation with the artistic club in the development of educational programs for schools. The education department is also involved with the creation of the side programming, together with the directing programmer. Moreover, the education department recruits school classes for free performances and prepares them with workshops. These workshops are also accessible for free visitors, who receive an invitation for subscription by email. To attract schools, the education department works closely together with the marketing department. However, some steps could be made to further intensify their collaboration.

According to the FPK plan is Maas nationally seen as a forerunner in the field of education and cultural education (Maas Theater en Dans, 2016, p.10). The plan also mentions the expanding collaboration of the education department with external partners (Maas Theater en Dans, 2016, p.11). It is written that Maas is a specialist in education that deepens and connects (Maas Theater en Dans, 2016, p.10). This is reflected in the influence of education in the side programming, in their presence at various schools and in their other activities.

1.4. Programming

At Maas, youngsters are always the starting point when developing the program. This explains the programming of the more popular dance styles. However, this is again complemented by the programming of modern dance performances. So although the programmer really knows what the youngsters want and do not want, how they are and what the trends are, part of the programming stays content driven. commercialization in order to attract youngsters is more at stake in the side programming. The side programming activities at Maas are intended to extend the experience of the audience. Especially with regard to youngsters, Maas wants to do more outside the regular performance experience of entering, seeing the performance and leaving again. The extra activities vary from introductions, after talks and workshops to DJs and dance parties and are organized by the 'directing programmer' together with education. Maas constructed this new function for the programmer responsible for the creation of one artistic product by connecting the performance to side programming activities. The directing programmer creates a total package, which intend to stimulate a total experience for the audience. The side programming at Maas is accessible for all target groups. Maas notices that the prolonging of the experience works recruiting as they receive positive feedback from their audience. For the development of new concepts and the side program it is important that the programmers work together with marketing because of their contact with the partners, so they can initiate concepts, and they know what is happening and what would work on the market.

The FPK plan states that Maas focuses on mixes between various styles, disciplines and cultures, but that this does not mean that they solely make cross-overs. "The background of the director keeps determining the direction of the production" (Maas

Theater en Dans, 2016, p.3). The plan furthermore states that there is relatively a lot of space for experiments. They organize festivals, develop short acts for the side programming and they explore new program formats like dance concerts and open stage (Maas Theater en Dans, 2016, p.10). Youngsters can perform themselves and young adults have their own place to create (Maas Theater en Dans, 2016, p.3). There are deepening programs where doing it yourself is key (Maas Theater en Dans, 2016, p.3). In practice, the extension of the experience was often mentioned, this includes an active and engaging role of the audience, otherwise he or she would not be able to have a total experience. The only topic presented in the plan that was not mentioned during the interview is to put projects with a social impact on the agenda (Maas Theater en Dans, 2016, p.11).

2. AYA

2.1 Young audience development

AYA's main target group is youngsters between 12 and 18, but these youngsters do not have money to spend or find it uncool to go to a theater. The remaining audience of young adults, who are the second target group, falsely presumes that the performances are too 'young' for them. AYA experiences difficulties in reaching these young adults. Therefore, AYA's communication, establishment and maintenance of relationships, focusses on schools. For the experience itself, AYA focusses on the young audience. By creating a total experience, AYA presumes that the youngsters will visit more performances in the future. Moreover, by creating a cool experience AYA wants to incite that youngsters are going to talk about the experience at school so that youngsters' word-of-mouth results in the school's return to AYA in the future.

Although the free visitor is not AYA's main focus as they are considered a difficult target group, the funds require the investigation of other target groups. AYA does this in the audience for free performances and chose to focus on young adults between 18-25. However, AYA sees it more as a wish to attract this target group and they still need to develop a plan. Moreover, they consider developing this target group as part of the bigger audience development, especially also because a lot is left behind in this area. An example of what needs to get picked up is the evaluation process of the audience' opinion. Which happens now by sending a list of questions to schools. They do not consider this a structured process, as results are not organized in a database. The marketing and education team is currently developing a more effective

monitoring system. They want to collective qualitative data on how their audience experiences AYA. The first step is to collect to later see how to adapt to it. This monitor system will also strengthen the relationship management.

Where the interviewees mentioned that the monitoring requires improvement, according to the FPK plan AYA uses different devices to monitor the audience. As an example they mention open rehearsals, where visiting classes can react afterwards and in addition: “to strengthen the connection with the target group even more, we are going to professionalize the audience monitoring by inviting a big amount of visitors to give online feedback on the performances and other activities.” (Danstheater AYA, 2016, p.11). In practice this is not yet developed. Moreover, the FPK plan presents that the audience for free performances exist for 75-80 percent of youngsters; and that they come from different cultures and school levels (Danstheater AYA, 2016, p.11). AYA may have observed this, but this is up till now not monitored and collected. Lastly, in the plan is written that the young public knows to find AYA for already a long time and that AYA knows how to connect with the audience, both in theaters as via schools (Danstheater AYA, 2016, p.11). Here they do not specify that the schools are the main client of AYA, and that youngsters individually are very difficult to reach.

2.2. Marketing

Aya is currently building the basis of their marketing and is focused more on establishing relationships. The marketing employees are appointed for a year and therefor they try to fulfill the marketing plans the best they can. Besides this they want to collect information about Aya’s position in the field and about their audience. The strategy for now is to create full content to gain visibility. The next step is to see how to connect the different target groups to the content. The communication is directed at the people who can influence youngsters to go or who can take them to Aya, where the activities are aimed at the experience of the youngsters. Although the prior target group is youngsters between 12 and 18, Aya also wants to target young adults between 18-25. A concrete strategy still needs to be developed but they want to start direct targeting at students in related studies. Aya wants to approach higher education colleges to see if they are interested.

In the FPK plan there is relatively little written about the marketing. What they do write is that they are proactively going to approach theaters in student cities with suggestions and for the target group developed PR-material. With this, student societies, universities and higher educational colleges could be approached. PR-texts, vlogs and blogs will be adapted to the target group (Danstheater Aya, 2016, p.12). In practice, the ideas of strategy vary a bit in the way that Aya want to approach educational institutions and their students themselves rather than through the theaters. Target group related PR-texts, vlogs and blogs first still need to be created, rather than adapted. Content is now being created and blogs and vlogs are not their first priority but more an activity for later.

2.3. Education

The previous team putted a lot of time and energy in the education material and thereby laid a good foundation. The current education activities are on a small scale. AYA offers learning material in different formats and always provides a workshop. Furthermore, schools can ask for additional material. The current marketing and education team feels that they can be more market oriented within the education activities and in all the other activities around the performances. The education programs take place both at schools as in the theater and they aim at classes rather than at free visitors. The current education team is not specialized in the development of learning material so for each performance they will or outsource it to a co-producer or they hire external expertise. To further deepen the education program intern, an extra employee should be hired as this requires a lot of time. The current team is not really aware of the schools that have a good relationship with AYA. They still need to build a network of cultural teachers at high schools in which they can see what is going on and how they can adapt to that.

The importance of education is reflected in the plan, which states that “the educative program that we develop is essential. With a complete education package, teachers can prepare their students on the theme of the performance and on their visit” (Danstheater AYA, 2016, p.9). The plan furthermore mentions AYA’s education and participation policy, aimed at an active involvement of the audience at the performances, to prepare them and to intensify the experience (Danstheater AYA, 2016, p.9). This is reflected in practice in the sense that their goal is to provide a total

and cool experience for the youngsters (see finding programming). However, considering education this is not actively developed, they continue with existing material or they outsource it. Though, active participation and an intensified experience is still key.

2.4. Programming

Like Maas, AYA notices that they have to adapt more to a market approach. They see the balance between the artistic vision and the commercial side as a play field they have to dive into. The marketing and education team of AYA really seeks in the skin around the performance for what the market demands. They are able to play with the balance between the artistic and the commercial in the side programming. 'AYA op de huid' is AYA's core business: a small production performed at schools where the dancers show a dance piece and accordingly tell their personal story. AYA is now exploring the possibilities to introduce 'AYA op de huid' at corporations, by which they can show the funds that they also have a commercial branch. In the side program activities, the attention is on the experience of the youngsters. AYA wants to create a total experience by enabling the youngsters to be active. For example, to let them film during a backstage tour in the theater which they can upload on social media.

In the FPK are the cross-overs with urban culture further legitimized by the believe that dance cannot exist without these contemporary forms of expression (Danstheater AYA, 2016, p.8). Likewise, it is written that "it is important that youngsters can easily identify with the dancers of different cultural and social backgrounds, because they dance for all levels in high school education" (8). The mentioned emphasis on active participation is also written down in the plan as a key factor in the productions. "with participation we want to strengthen the connection with the audience and we give youngsters a change to experience how to develop their talent." (Danstheater AYA, 2016, p.2). With regards to co-productions, its importance was stressed during the interview but in the plan it is written that they want to intensify this by aiming for seven co-producers in four years (Danstheater AYA, 2016, p.9). Reasons for this are the increase of artistic possibilities, the reach of each other audiences and thus an extension of the market and because they can work more efficient in a co-production because tasks can be divided. This is found back in practice as AYA for example outsources the development of education material to the co-producers.

3. De Dansers

3.1. Young audience development

Due to a shortage on human and financial capital in the past, De Dansers did not yet established their audience research and development. The granted subsidy provides the money, and respectively the human capital to develop this in the coming four years. De Dansers does not want to invest all its attention in audience development. They rather outsource it to the theaters. If the theater or festival is the most involved with the project and its communication, then it is their responsibility to attract an audience. However, De Dansers made plans to start audience development. Mainly through the marketing department who will collect online data, and by asking the theaters to share their ticket sales registrations. But, not every theater keeps track of the visitors' email addresses (which reveals who is a repeating visitor). Moreover, officially the theaters cannot share this information because of privacy issues. Nevertheless, De Dansers do have an idea of their repeating visitors through their newsletter subscriptions (1500 till 2000). Furthermore, because the direction plays the performances and thus can see the audience, they are always slightly aware of who their audience exists of. The current audience development is only through Facebook, Instagram and the newsletter. There are plans to do research on newsletter subscriptions and at performances to get more detailed information about the audience. However, a complete strategy is not yet developed. They will definitely not conduct surveys after each performance. A concrete strategy to specifically attract youngsters and young adults is still in development. This target group should get more attention and therefore De Dansers considers finding a media partner or other kind of partner who can bring youth performances under the attention of the target group.

De Dansers state in their FPK plan that they want to invest the four-years subsidy in an expansion and preservation of the relation with the audience, in the marketing activities (De Dansers, 2016, p.13). In practice, a concrete strategy is not yet developed. The plan also mentions the ambition to maintain the average audience numbers for school performances and to increase the average audience numbers for the free performances (De Dansers, 2016, p.13). Furthermore, De Dansers write that they want to strengthen new connections with theaters and their audience before they

grow further in reaching more places and audiences. It is however, not mentioned how De Dansers are going to strengthen these connections in practice. Lastly, De Dansers wrote that: “the strategy to generate more brand awareness and audience, in Utrecht and on a national level, will proceed with a focus on reaching new and more audiences through more systematic and more consistent policy” (De Dansers, 2016, p.17). However, one interviewee turned this off as “*rather bla bla*”.

3.2. Marketing

At De Dansers visual content was already created by the artistic director. The new marketing employee is now looking on how this content would be perceived by different target groups. De Dansers have the idea to establish two different communication channels for a younger and an older public. Now all the communication aims at people in their mid 20s begin 30s. The marketing material for performances aimed at youngsters differ from that for children. It is however the responsibility of the theater to do the marketing and to target the young audience because they do the acquisition. De Dansers solely provide the package (photo's, videos, reviews) and can eventually support the marketing. Furthermore, the marketing is often outsourced to theaters because most employees do not have a commercial background. Another reason given by the interviewee is that marketing is usually seen as a subservient in cultural organizations. Likewise, when playing at festivals, the one with the most responsibility for the production takes care of the communication and audience reach. De Dansers find however, that some collaborating theaters barely engage with publicity specifically aimed at the young audience.

With regards to the online marketing, the FPK plan mentions that agency TamTam takes care of the strategic lines and the implication of the four years marketing plan (De Dansers, 2016, p.17). However, De Dansers said there was no strategy yet. Furthermore, it is written that in the online strategy the focus lies on the development of interesting and stimulating content and the increasing of the reaction, action, sharing and participation on online media and platforms. In practice however, this is not yet in development. Where the interviewees said that most marketing regards audience development is outsourced to the theaters, and that their marketing department has a supporting role, the plan stresses that it is important to find specific target groups face-to-face. Like pop-ups in festival side programs, live vlogs, work in progress

presentations or workshops with target groups. And that De Dansers collaborate with the theaters to customize these marketing activities together (De Dansers, 2016, p.18). This is not found back in the daily practice of the marketing at De Dansers. What does correspond to the plan is their goal to increase brand awareness among different target groups. The plan states that De Dansers are involved with peer-to-peer marketing, by which partner organizations with similar content are stimulated to mobilize their backing (De Dansers, 2016, p.18). This strategy is not mentioned during the interviews. Another important point is that in the plan De Dansers write that “communication has to set everything on everything to position their unique selling point ‘the dance concert’ as the trademark by which De Dansers distinguish themselves from the other dance companies” (De Dansers, 2016, p.17). However, the interviewee said that they are still in consultation on if, and how to position their unique selling point in their communication.

3.3. Education

The four-years subsidy enabled De Dansers to hire extra employees, among which someone solely responsible for education. Before, the two artistic directors did everything that had to do with the organization, publicity and education. The production employee said that *“there is development in our vision on education and on how much we can offer”*. Nevertheless, there are no plans yet to develop education material for the free performances. The current education program is mainly based on what the schools want. De Dansers also organize workshops when the schools ask for it. Most education activities are project based and De Dansers need to gain something of the project before they start it. It is not the case that De Dansers standard organizes education programs in Utrecht. De Dansers maintains a partnership with two adopted schools in which they agreed on regular education projects. De Dansers is searching for a third partnering school but this seems to be difficult as many schools are already involved with other cultural partners.

In the plan De Dansers state that they offer education material and a workshop for every performance (De Dansers, 2016, p.11). Yet in practice this is still in development. It is furthermore written that a team of freelance teachers delivers the customized work for schools who prefer additional material (De Dansers, 2016, p.11). With regards to the two partnerships, the plan explains that De Dansers can create a basis for future

visitors at these schools (De Dansers, 2016, p.5). Moreover, it is written that De Dansers wants to integrate these schools further in the rehearsal process.

3.4. Programming

De Dansers consider side programming as a complicated issue. People might be inclined to tell others about it when they had a special experience, or people might be earlier intended to buy a ticket, but this is hard to prove. Moreover, the consumer has to go through a few decision making steps before actually buying the ticket. Therefore, the interviewee assumes that side programming activities only work for a small percentage of the audience. She furthermore considers side programming only productive when it indicates a collaboration between organizations or a cross-over by which both parties reach more audience. Just programming in the margin is not effective. The side programming of De Dansers consists of i.e. after talks and foyer activities. It has rather an educational function than entertainment. De Dansers initially planned to get involved with side programming, but they took it off the agenda again because they claim *"it is about a good performance and not about everything around it"* (De Dansers). Moreover, the large amount of performances a year and the lack of budget determine that there is no space for a lot of side programming. De Dansers do what is possible when the occasion is there and when it adds value.

In the FPK plan side programming is mentioned as that it creates a context that increases the impact of a performance and that this deepening will lead to a higher interest and an earlier activation (De Dansers, 2016, p.18). But, as mentioned above, De Dansers decided to step back from these plans. Where the interviewees did not mention collaborations with partner companies, the plan indicates that especially the collaborations with Dox, Het Filaal, Theatertroep and Plan-D offer possibilities to exchange audience groups (De Dansers, 2016, p.18). Lastly, the often mentioned performances on location and at festivals, and the emphasis on the performance rather than on everything around it coincides with the plan. Where it is written that De Dansers' expertise is playing on location and festivals, where the performances come towards the audience (De Dansers, 2016, p.17).

4. Project Sally

4.1. Young audience development

Young audience development is the core of Project Sally, which is founded because the artistic directors thought youth dance in the Netherlands was limited. Since then, making dance for a young audience has always been the approach. So audience development is not something that is assigned by an external factor as the fund. In order to find new audiences Project Sally approaches schools. With school performances they serve an audience that can still develop them as a dance lover, or not. Also through the personal networks of the dancers, who are all in their twenties, Project Sally tries to reach new audiences as students and other inhabitants of Maastricht. The company is searching for different channels to reach more youngsters but this requires a lot of time. In order to deepen the relation with the young audience, Project Sally's strategy is to find out where the youngsters interested in modern dance are, and by offering more than just a visit. Project Sally wants to let the audience experience them. How it is to dance with the company and who the dancers are. By being open and by inviting the audience to participate Project Sally is an approachable company. Youngsters are always free to come and have a look, at rehearsals for example. Project Sally also offers meet and greets with the dancers with the school performances. The audience can get on stage to have a look at the décor and to ask questions. Project Sally also asks the audience for feedback, for example during try-outs. The feedback gets processed in the creating process.

Project Sally wants to monitor the characteristics of their audience but finds this difficult in practice. As a small company they do not have the means and manpower to conduct audience surveys all the time. They can however, differentiate the audience between visiting schools and the free public. Although Project Sally does not monitor repeating visitors, they are aware of support groups in different cities. This is because of Project Sally's history as a project, where they worked in several cities across the country. In Groningen for instance, or Den Bosch, Tilburg or Amsterdam the performances have high visitor numbers and repeating visitors. There are plans to intensify the audience research in the coming four years. These plans consist of surveys, the feedback projects with the audience, and by inviting a youth panel consisting of different age categories and backgrounds to start an open conversation.

The importance of audience development is both constantly reflected in the interviews as well as in the plan for the FPK. For example the intensive interaction with the audience is often mentioned in the FPK plan. Project Sally writes that direct contact with the audience is important as this delivers feedback and connects old and new audiences with the company (Project Sally, 2016, p.23). This is also mentioned a lot during the interview. With regards to audience research, in the plan is stated that Project Sally frequently conduct audience surveys. In practice however, there is no time and manpower to do this on a frequent basis. The plan furthermore mentions that with the results Project Sally accordingly can communicate more directly and generate more growth (Project Sally, 2016, p.23). In practice the results do not seem to generate specific actions.

4.2. Marketing

With young audience development as its core, Project Sally is constantly looking for new ideas to attract youngsters. This is reflected in the marketing, where they seek for other channels besides social media, for example, to do promotion at billboards in high schools. This is done by the person responsible for production and marketing. The strengthening of the social media platforms is currently taken over by the finance person, as she is more capable. The production and marketing person is more experienced in the offline media and in the planning of it. Project Sally is also actively looking for partners through which they can promote themselves. For example, during the cultural evening of the introduction week for the new students of Maastricht. The marketing department is also involved with the promotion of premieres in the two neighboring countries. Within the marketing and publicity there is no distinction between youngsters and young adults. Project Sally communicates 14+ and everyone young at heart.

The FPK plan shows a detailed list of the marketing and communication activities. Also the participation and education activities are added to this list (Project Sally, 2016, p.2). In practice, it is also the case that the audience development activities have a promoting effect and therefore can be used as a marketing tool. The pro-active approach in targeting a young audience is reflected in the plan where it is stated that Project Sally often proved to be capable to establish sales through fast and direction actions, when the company experiences that the theaters do little effort to actively sell

tickets (Project Sally, 2016, p.24). Notable is that Project Sally mentions in the plan that they work together with the director and head marketing of the city theater Oostpoort in Groningen, to adapt the by them developed marketing-system Publiek NL. This system provides insides in audience profiles and visitor history. And with these facts Project Sally wants to start conversations with the theaters' marketing departments. They furthermore want to develop a new PR/ marketing plan with the help of external expertise (Project Sally, 2016, p.23). These plans were not brought up during the interview. In practice, marketing is combined with production, so it would be helpful to attract external expertise.

4.3. Education

Project Sally always takes the interest of youngsters in consideration when developing educational activities. The company works closely together with dance pre-educations and has relationships with high schools. The makers of Project Sally create choreographies at pre-educations, and in return the pre-education students follow workshops at Project Sally or they join an adapted performance. The company also performs at schools. The performances are always interactive because of the small workshop that is included. The workshop could be in the form of a technical workshop about lightening, to give students a 'behind-the-scenes feeling'. Just as De Dansers, Project Sally adopted high schools. These schools come back every time and are in close contact with Project Sally. The company can develop projects and ask the schools for feedback.

Both the interview as the FPK plan stress the importance of education for Project Sally. As is written in the plan: interaction is necessary to increase the experience of the audience and to deepen the understanding of dance (Project Sally, 2016, p.16). This vision is Sally's DNA. Project Sally therefor aims to put as many interaction as possible in the activities. Also the interviewee mentioned that it is customized work, meaning that the activities always depend on the wants of the schools. What furthermore coincides are the mentioning of the adopted schools, and the examples of participation activities.

4.4. Programming

With the start of a new production generally 90 percent are free performances. During the reprise this shifts to 75 percent with 25 school performances. This is because teachers or intermediaries saw the performance in the first season and then buy it in the second season. Also Project Sally focuses on the performance rather than on the side programming. This has to do with the small size of the team and because Project Sally is a travelling company with performances throughout the whole country. They do not have their own house so it is not feasible to host after parties after every performance. However, when there is a premiere the company organizes something extra. With the regular programming Project Sally aims to provide extra activities with every performance. These activities are intended to strengthen the impact of the performance and to build a relationship with the audience. Nonetheless, the organization of the extra activities depends on the wants of the visiting school and in the possibilities in the programming.

In the FPK plan Project Sally writes that it signals a clear growth in the sales of free performances versus school performances (Project Sally, 2016, p. 22). Which is good considering how they strategically place the performances in the market. Because there is less supply for 12+ performances, Project Sally programs them in theaters. They do this to prevent competition and to have a contributing effect on other suppliers of youth dance (Project Sally, 2016, p. 19). The programming at festivals is stressed in the plan in the way that “festivals are a good place to develop more experimental choreographies, and to keep communicating with the young audience at the same time.” A festival also provides daring locations and a varied programming (Project Sally, 2016, p. 15). Also during the interviews, it was stressed that Project Sally is often asked to perform at festivals, where they can experience with other disciplines.

5. Internal and external organizational factors

5.1. Comparison per topic

The team of AYA consists of an artistic and financial director, a production person and a technician. The two persons of marketing and education are responsible for a range of tasks varying from establishing brand awareness to acquisition and the establishment and maintenance of relationships. Therefore, the two employees have to make choices on where to focus. Also because they are just appointed for one year.

They established two pillars: to fill the theater space and to increase AYA's brand awareness and visibility. One person is responsible for the online part and the other person takes care of the bigger lines of the organization. This also includes education. Since their job appointment marketing and communication are combined. They find this a more logical model as they consider it as one unity. Moreover, in this model they can be sharper on that things are not missed out or done double. The team's common goal is that AYA keeps producing sustainable performances. Also the board offers suggestions on how the company could sustain. They initiated for instance to bring in young makers. Also De Dansers has a small team: two artistic direction members and part time a financial director, a production employee, a marketing and publicity person, and one for education. Due to the granted subsidy De Dansers was able to appoint an education employee and a marketing and publicity employee. The organization had to grow and that required an investment. Project Sally has a small team as well: two artistic directors, a financial department, an education department and the production and marketing is the responsibility of one person. With four people at both the education department, as well as at the production department and at the marketing and communication department, Maas has the biggest team. The team is completed by a programmer, two acquisition employees, seven support and administration staff members and seven technicians. The solid team at Maas exist for a large part of people that do their work already for a very long time, most of them at the predecessors of Maas. Around this core is a ring of new and young people that keep the organization fresh.

Maas has many internal evaluations to constantly stay aware of where their success lays and how to improve. The evaluation of target groups happens mainly between marketing and programming. They furthermore consultate about series, concepts and developments. There are four important meetings: planning meetings with all the departments; MT meetings with the departments' heads; house meetings about everything that happens in house; and artistic meetings, where the directing programmer determines the artistic line for the Maas stage and the artistic director for the company and a bit the stage. The artistic meetings are also joined by the three coaches of the six young makers working at Maas. Furthermore, every department has internal meetings. Maas regards good contact and the exchange of information within and between departments as really important. At De Dansers the production department schedules a weekly meeting with marketing and publicity where possible.

In these meetings they discuss the running business and program. The production employee sees De Dansers as an open organization where everybody is aware of the things that are going on and able to discuss them. The marketing employee however, experiences one to one contact but sees the internal communication between departments is insufficient. She regards it as an island situation, as she is not aware of what the other departments are doing. Yet, this is determined by how often the employees are at the office. The direction incites audience development, and accordingly the whole organization thinks along when it influences the practical way of doing or when someone offers new ideas. However, De Dansers considers this internal engagement also as something they need to outgrow, because they do not want to invest all their time on the same issues. They think that they currently found a good balance. With regards to Project Sally, employees are up to date about each other and the current developments. This is because everything is really connected. Moreover, all departments are involved with audience development because it is the organization's core. Project Sally has weekly team meetings and in addition the production has daily meetings with the choreographers.

5.2. Plans Fund Performing Arts

In the FPK plan, Maas positions herself in relation to other youth dance companies by writing that the audience reach of approximately 60.000 visitors at performances and 40.000 participants of education projects a year is high in relation with other companies" (Maas Theater en Dans, 2016, p.11). Note that the high visitor numbers include dance and theater of the fused companies. Maas also states that "by the merge of the three companies and the accompanied combination of networks, Maas grew rapidly in the last four years, against the general national trend" (Maas Theater en Dans, 2016, p 11). Indeed, the interviews affirm that the audience development at Maas is the most developed and implemented. Moreover, Maas seems to focus now on the maintenance of the many relations and partnerships, where the others still have to establish relations and a network. The plan mentions for example their big network of stakeholders (Maas Theater en Dans, 2016, p.13); their collaboration with festivals and art intermediaries; and their active role in business networks to attract sponsor relationships (Maas Theater en Dans, 2016, p.12). Maas states they find it important to invest in these business networks as it strengthens and deepens the social relevance of Maas (Maas Theater en Dans, 2016, p.12). They furthermore write that

Maas expands the impact of their work by collaborating with other social partners. And in a highlighted quote: “Maas has a unique combination of producing, programming, education, talent development and social impact” (Maas Theater en Dans, 2016, p.11). Again, this social impact was not mentioned in the interview.

In the FPK plan from AYA is agency Frontaal mentioned as an important partner. Because of them AYA can work more efficient and obtains the intended amount of performances (Danstheater AYA, 2016, p.8). It is also stressed that through the co-producers AYA reaches new audiences from different disciplines. In the sales and marketing they make use of each others networks and they exchange contacts (Danstheater AYA, 2016, p.8). Also during the interview, the benefits of co-producing were mentioned repeatedly. Moreover, the plan states that in the coming four years they explore new makers and their possibilities, so that in about eight years the current artistic leader can yield Aya over to someone new (Danstheater AYA, 2016, p.15). A sustainable future for the company was also often mentioned in the interview. Noteworthy is that where they said to have brand awareness and visibility as one of the two priorities, in the FPK plan they state to be on a high ring within the youth dance sector. Yet in practice, they are evaluating their position in the field and trying to strengthen it.

Also the FPK plan of De Dansers mentions the relations with partners and mentions festivals as an important one. It is written that for the coming four years De Dansers will start collaborations with other companies (De Dansers, 2016, p.12). Furthermore, the plan states that professionals and press are important stakeholders who consequently need to be fed. It is important that this network is strong and intact as it can bring along the members’ support and relations and it will legitimize De Dansers’ existence (De Dansers, 2016, p.15). One interviewee mentioned that the artistic directors are active in networking and that they choose to invest in the field of professionals and experts to position themselves rather than to get involved with side programming with unsure values as return. With regards to the organizational structure, it is written in the plan that since 2015 extra attention has been paid to the staff. Tasks are now better divided with extra employees at the office (De Dansers, 2016, p.15). In practice De Dansers indeed hired two extra employees. However, one

of them experiences that there is still not enough time and manpower to work out all the plans.

Ultimately, also the FPK plan of Project Sally mentions the partnerships with several institutions. Project Sally mentions that they want to strengthen their networks. The Eurnetwork is really important for the continuity of Project Sally, but the company also keeps actively investing in a national deviation of its activities (Project Sally, 2016, p.25). When Project Sally has a clearer image of the dance sector in the new arts plan 2017- 2020, the company wants to establish partnerships to set-up a Dutch network (Project Sally, 2016, p.17). In practice, they should now be aware of the current situation, but strategies to start this network were not mentioned. It is furthermore written that in three years Project Sally became part of a multi-faced cultural network in Limburg. Also the interviewee mentioned several examples of local partnerships (Project Sally, 2016, p.18). Project Sally states that they want to be a valuable contribution to a flourishing dance climate with a strong cultural infrastructure (Project Sally, 2016, p.5). Also the interviewee said that Project Sally wants to invest in both the Netherlands and the Euregion in different ways. However, she had a clearer vision of the strategies for the Euregion than of those for the national network. Lastly, Project Sally positions herself as the only company that works from modern dance to create performances for youngsters that are also appropriate for adults and not the other way around. Because of this, Sally forms an important link in the Dutch dance sector (Project Sally, 2016, p.18).