

# **The Impossible Balance?**

A study into the reconciliation of market and artistic values in the  
Dutch dance sector

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## **Preamble**

From when I was a little girl I have been dancing. I remember the energy I received from dancing together in large groups. All kinds of styles I tried, from street dance and hip-hop to ballet and contemporary dance in order to stick with the latter. It was a combination of enjoying the act of dancing myself and seeing performances that touched me deeply, that formed my desire to become a professional dancer. My love of dancing led me to join a professional dance education far from home when I was eleven years old, which revolved around the practice of ballet and contemporary dance and endlessly refining this practice.

Where I started to dance out of my love for it, during my time as a professional dancer this passion became regularly overshadowed by the necessity to generate an income. This necessity commanded me at times to participate in projects that weren't as artistically appealing, but mainly made sure I was able to pay my training and my rent. Fortunately, I was able to alternate such projects with projects that fulfilled me on an artistic level as well. It seems as if my life as a professional dancer suddenly took a turn to include different values that occasionally seemed to contradict the artistic values that I strived for when I aimed at becoming a professional dancer.

What I found particularly difficult during my time as a freelance dancer, were contract negotiations, especially when projects were artistically appealing. These negotiations were often held with the artistic leader for a lack of a business manager. It was often up to me to change the conversation from the artistic to the business side of the agreement. As a consequence, I often would start a project without having signed a contract.

However, my discomfort with bringing up the topic of reimbursements and other aspects that come with a contract negotiation, were not unwarranted. Once my inquiry into the reimbursement for a project led to the termination of our collaboration, because the choreographer in question thought that my question indicated that I was participating in the project for the money rather than his artistic excellence.

In other instances, there seemed to be a better balance between artistic and financial goals. Under the wing of a certain choreographer, and together with three colleagues, I've participated in Britain's got Talent to end up in the semi-finals. This was an investment (it didn't pay at the time) in future work. And indeed, the visibility that our participation generated, enabled us to do many projects, both commercial and more artistic, in the years

that followed. However, although the participation in Britain's got talent has brought us a lot, I notice I am still hesitant to speak about it.

I have never been able to interpret these experiences properly until I read about them in this master. The tensions that I experienced between market values and artistic values occur on a larger scale in the art sector, so I learned. Yet I do not fully understand why such a dichotomy has arisen between market thinking and artistic logic. Why is commerce seen as something that does not fit with art. Why can't I just ask for financial compensation as a dancer? Are market and artistic values incompatible? These questions are the inspiration for this research that examines the tension between artistic logic and market logic in the dance sector.

What will be clear by now is that dance is important to me. With this research, I want to generate more insight in this sector. This is desperately needed if you review the scientific literature on dance, which hardly exists. In addition, there is a societal urgency to write and research into the Dutch dance sector. This sector recently published an alarming report in which they indicate that too much attention is paid to instrumental values at the expense of the intrinsic value they generate. With this thesis I want to substantiate this argument that is going on between the dance world and external resource providers about the value of dance. Lastly, by choosing this topic I also intend to bridge the knowledge that I have gained in this master to a field that I love. In that way, this thesis is part of my own journey, because it will shed light on the question how I, as a dancer and a cultural economist, am going to connect these two worlds.

## **Abstract and keywords**

Over the last forty years, the arts have been subject to a changing context that shifted from the welfare state in which the government played a large role in ensuring societal welfare, towards a neo-liberal society in which the market has largely taken over this role of the government. As a consequence, many goods and services that were previously valorised in the sphere of Governance are being introduced to the sphere of the Market. Within the arts, this shift has also been noted and is described as the economization or instrumentalization of the arts. Nevertheless, there seems to be a problem in this respect, because the literature also suggests that the arts and the market are at odds, that there is a tension between them. This raises the question how arts organizations cope with this shift towards the Market sphere.

This research revolves around that question and studies to what extent Dutch dance organizations have internalized the market logic into their organizational practices, and what kind of strategies they employ to do so. This is further substantiated by exploring whether and how arts organizations struggle with the reconciliation of artistic and market values when it comes to the valorisation of their art. By doing so this research responds to an urgency which is expressed by the sector itself. The Dutch dance sector recently published an alarming report in which they indicate that too much attention is paid to instrumental values by their external resource providers, at the expense of the intrinsic value they generate.

Because of the scarce body of literature on the dance sector, as well as because there is no consensus on the criteria that constitute a market and artistic logic, this research chose to conduct an explorative study in which five cases are examined and compared. By doing so this research aims to make a contribution to the theoretical literature about the dance sector, as well to support the further development of the conceptualisation of market- and artistic logic.

The findings show that almost all dance organizations in the sample have adopted a market logic to a certain extent, although some more than others. Even within the organization that explicitly distances itself from the market and its logic, a degree of market thinking seems to be present. Despite the introduction of market principles, the organizations do seem to find ways through which they can safeguard the artistic logic as

well. This happens for example by implementing dual-leadership structures, the separation of the marketization process from the artistic process, or by dividing the creation process into three dimensions. Surprisingly, the findings show that the organizations experience greater struggles with their valorisation through the sphere of Governance than with the adoption of market principles. This suggests that we should re-evaluate the valorisation process of dance.

**Keywords: market-logic, artistic-logic, dance, value-based approach**

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## Introduction

Under pressure of economic, societal and governmental developments around the 1980s, the context in which the arts have been valorising their practices over the last 40 years has significantly changed. This context is marked by a paradigm shift from the welfare state in which the government played a large role in ensuring societal welfare, towards a neo-liberal society in which the market rather than the government is viewed to be more suitable and efficient to achieve this societal welfare (Stellinga, 2014; Van Damme, E. E. C., 2006).

This shift is also noticeable in the arts. In the welfare state considerable government support functioned to shield the arts from market forces (Alexander, Hägg, Häyrynen, & Sevänen, 2018). The shift towards a neo-liberalist society caused the government to withdraw part of its support while promoting the introduction of market mechanisms into the world of the arts. In practice this took shape by privatising former publicly owned enterprises, implementing new managerialism within arts organizations, and introducing economic or market values in the conversation concerning the legitimization of the arts (Caust, 2010; Throsby, 2010; Walmsley, 2012). In the literature about the arts sector, this is termed to be the instrumentalization, or economization of art (Klamer, 2017; Throsby, 2010).

This development strikes me because of the tension between art and the market that scholars write and have written about. The arts do not seem to function well in market terms because of the characteristics of this sector and their products, that bring about market-failure (Klamer, 2017; Nelson, 1970). On the other hand, the market does not seem to do well within the world of the arts either. The adoption of a market-orientation within arts organizations can, for example, be detrimental to artistic resources such as creativity and intrinsic motivation of the artists (Eikhof & Haunschild, 2007). In addition, within market logic the focus seems to be on the generation of instrumental values, and within the arts on the generation of intrinsic values (Klamer, 2017; Lampel, Shamsie, & Lant, 2006).

The tension between the two spheres also appears in the Dutch dance sector, which becomes evident through my own experiences as explicated above, but also through a recently published report by the Dutch dance sector in which they urge external constituents to shift the focus from instrumental values to the intrinsic value the sector generates (Nederlands Dans Dagen, 2018). With this thesis I want to substantiate this conversation and research to what extent Dutch dance organizations have internalized market values into

their organizations and how they are coping with the reconciliation of market and artistic values in the valorisation of their art. It follows that the findings of this research can potentially be relevant to the dance sector in strengthening their case towards policymakers and other stakeholders. Moreover, the results can provide valuable insights into the needs and workings of dance organizations which might be useful for policymakers and funding bodies. According to the report of the Dutch dance sector, this insight is much needed in order to create policies that better fit the sector.

In addition, this research aims to contribute to the scientific body of literature on dance. Reviewing the literature in this field left me with very little. I have found papers and articles about the tensions between the market and the arts in the field of visual art, theatre, music and architecture (Abbing, 2002; Eikhof & Haunschild, 2007; Gaim, 2018; Glynn, 2000). Nevertheless, I argue that dance is distinct from other performing art forms because of some distinguishing characters. First of all, the creation of dance performances is very costly. Rehearsal periods are long, dancers need to train continuously and require a studio, a teacher and music to do so, and the technical requirements for a performance concerning the dance floor, lighting and scenery are high (Raad voor Cultuur, 2018). As a consequence, the Dutch dance sector doesn't have commercial dance companies producing contemporary, modern or classical dance performances, whereas the theatre and music industry does. In addition, whereas symphony orchestras can present a new full-evening performance every one or two weeks, for dancers this high tempo of generating new supply is near to impossible. These characteristics make that the dance sector should be viewed as a distinct and unique sub-sector of the performing arts and should be studied on its own. This thesis aims to generate a modest contribution in this respect.

To fulfil the aforementioned aims, the following research questions will be central;

- To what extent have dance organizations internalized a market logic into their organizational practice?
- What strategies do these organizations employ to reconcile the artistic logic and the market logic?
- Do dance organizations struggle in this reconciliation?

In order to answer these research questions, this thesis will begin with a theoretical framework in which literature from the following fields will be examined; organizational



theory, and more specifically resource dependence theory, literature on paradoxical tensions in cultural organizations, as well as strategic management theory that will highlight how organizations can cope with these paradoxical tensions. In addition, the context of the Dutch dance sector will be set out, to give the reader a better overview of the size, scope and qualities of the Dutch dance sector. From there on, the empirical section of this thesis begins which will start with a section on methodology and a description of the cases I chose to research. In this section the choice to study multiple cases will be substantiated and more details will be given on the process of conducting this research. This is followed by a section on the findings, derived from multiple interviews, and an interpretation of these findings in relation to the theory explicated before. A conclusion will finalize this thesis in which the research questions will be answered based on the findings.

## **1. Theoretical Framework**

The following chapter will be about the theoretical literature and what it has to say about the valorisation of art in a society that places more and more emphasis on market values.

The beginning of this chapter is about the context in which arts organizations have been valorising their practices over the last 40 years and how this context has changed. The section that follows will discuss how the shift towards a market-oriented society requires organizations to adopt a different logic, by means of Klammer's five sphere model.

Subsequently, I will discuss in more detail how arts organizations are influenced by changes in their external environment by use of resource dependence theory. This is followed by a section in which the introduction of market values within the arts sector is problematized. The chapter concludes with an exploration of the different strategies through which arts organizations aim to reconcile artistic and market logics. During the scope of this chapter, the reader will get three hypotheses that follow from the theoretical literature.

### **1.1 A changing context**

When one looks at the context in which arts organizations have been valorising their practices over the last 30 to 40 years, a significant paradigm shift can be observed (Stellinga, 2014; Van Damme, E. E. C., 2006). The time period that followed world war II (1945-80) is featured by the welfare state in which the government played a significant role in the creation of societal welfare and democracy for its citizens (Alexander et al., 2018). In this period, the government took on the duty to valorise a large amount of goods and services, such as healthcare, utility services, telecommunication and cultural goods, in order to ensure that every citizen had access to them (Klammer, 2017). From the 1980s onwards, we see a shift towards the so called neo-liberal society, that regards market mechanisms rather than the government as the best tool to achieve many of the above mentioned goods and services (Stellinga, 2014; Van Damme, E. E. C., 2006).

This paradigm shift can be better understood by examining societal, economic and governmental changes that were taking place at that time. Many countries, including The Netherlands, were in a deep economic recession, faced an ever growing government debt, nations had to grapple with increasing influence of Europe on national policy, and many countries were subject to a diversifying society (Stellinga, 2014). At the same time, the

collapse of socialist ideologies such as the plan-economy accompanied by the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989, encouraged the development of a positive perspective on market mechanisms and their acceptance in society (Alexander et al., 2018; Stellinga, 2014). This new context instigated a significant change in Dutch policy aimed at a more market-led economy and diminished interference of the government (Stellinga, 2014; Van Damme, E. E. C., 2006).

Economic thinking and public administration theory provided the basis for this new policy framework (Stellinga, 2014). Especially the idea that for-profit organizations operate more efficiently than public organizations due to the incentives they receive from the market, was leading in the formulation of policy. The objective was to introduce market mechanisms where possible so that the government would only have to focus on its core responsibilities such as ensuring property rights, safety of its citizens, securing financial stability and correcting market failure (Van Damme, E. E. C., 2006).

The changing context has had its influence on the cultural sector as well. Around the 1980s a shift in terminology, from the cultural sector to the creative industries, started to emerge (Caust, 2010; Walmsley, 2012). The adoption of the term 'industries' was not only semantic but also signified the introduction of economic values in the cultural sector. Whereas cultural policy in the welfare state was mainly concerned with artistic and cultural values, characteristic of cultural policy in neo-liberalist society is the adoption of an economic orientation to the valuation of the arts sector (Throsby, 2010). Consequently, nowadays economic impact plays the "dominant role in many cultural policy decisions" (Throsby, 2010, p. 17). Some call this process the marketization of the arts, others call it the instrumentalization of the arts, whereby the arts become a means to an end (Alexander et al., 2018; Klammer, 2017; Throsby, 2010). The 2008 financial crisis reinforced this marketization of the arts by cutting the level of subsidies available for the art sector in order to further reduce state expenditure (Alexander et al., 2018).

In practice, the introduction of market logic into the arts sector entailed the reduction of government control and ownership of arts organizations, by means of some form of privatization (Boorsma, Van Hemel, & Van der Wielen, 1998; Van Damme, E. E. C., 2006). While many regard privatization as the divestiture of state enterprises, privatization also knows many other forms (Boorsma et al., 1998). Privatization in the arts involved, among others, the diversification of revenue sources to reduce dependency and control of

the state (Throsby in: Boorsma et al., 1998). To stimulate financial support from the private sector, governments introduced tax incentives for individuals and corporations donating to arts and cultural organizations. In addition, privatization in the arts took shape by introducing the agency model or new managerialism into arts organizations, which was meant to extend more managerial discretion to these organizations. New managerialism is a “mode of governance aligned with neo-liberalism” and includes practices, principles and values associated with the market (Lynch, 2014, p. 144). Whereas revenue diversification is aimed to meet one of the main economic principles, that is consumer sovereignty, by letting the private sector choose to which arts organization their money goes, new managerialism aims to generate greater efficiency in the production of art by introducing market values and principles in the organizational practices of the organization (Boorsma et al., 1998; Holden, 2006; Lynch, 2014).

All in all, one can note that as a result of a broader societal tendency, market principles such as new managerialism and revenue diversification, have been introduced into the world of the arts over the last 40 years. As a consequence, the logic of the market in addition to, and sometimes in replacement of the logic of the government, became important to the valorisation of certain types of goods and services such as art.

## **1.2 The M and the G sphere**

The notion that goods and services are valorised through different logics is reflected in Klammer's model of five spheres (Klammer, 2017). According to Klammer, we valorise goods in five spheres that each have a distinct logic, different regulatory principles, ways of coordination and different types of relationships. In the section above, we saw how economic, social and governmental factors caused society's preference for the valorisation of goods and services to shift from the Governance- to the Market sphere. This is important because having to valorise your good or service through a different sphere requires you to adopt different values, to adhere to a different logic and to behave according to the principles that make sense within that new logic. The following section will further explore what values, regulatory principles, relationships, and goals are characteristic of the M-sphere and the G-sphere in order to better understand what the shift from the G- to the M-sphere demands from organizations.

Examining the important values associated with the Market is pretty straightforward,

as value here is ultimately expressed in the price of a good or service (Klamer, 2003; Throsby, 2010). Other conceptualisations of value in the M sphere are utility, option-value, exist-value and bequest-value. However, these types of value are ultimately expressed in a financial figure, be it in the price on the market or the willingness to pay of the consumer (Klamer, 2003; Throsby, 2010). Klamer argues that economists also acknowledge moral, social and cultural values but see them as instruments that support the functioning of market economies, rather than something to strive for in itself (Klamer, 2003; Klamer, 2017). This coincides with the aforementioned development of the instrumentalization of the arts.

The main goals of market orientated organizations that follow from striving towards the instrumental value of price are “profitability, bottom- line results, strength in market niches, stretch targets, and secure customer bases” (Cameron & Quinn, 2011, p. 44). The attention of such organizations is therefore on competitors and customers, as well as on being efficient, innovative and entrepreneurial. The logic of the M sphere revolves around exchange and commands us to turn goods into commodities, price these commodities, and find consumers who are willing to pay for them (Klamer, 2017).

Within the Market sphere a different logic applies than in the sphere of Governance. The G sphere revolves around organizing, rules and regulations (Klamer, 2017). Organizations are part of this G sphere as they make use of contracts, rules and procedures, and put formal hierarchies into place. In order to valorise goods and services in a Western society, it is almost impossible to do so without setting up an organization, in other words without involvement of the G sphere. The government is very much associated with the G sphere and with the negative values of it, such as bureaucracy, predictability and formality (Klamer, 2017). This comes about when we have to get involved with the government which often takes shape in the form of filling out forms, following procedures, and complying to rules such as paying taxes.

Concerning the financing of one’s good or service, one might seek to do so through the M-sphere, but also through the G-sphere (Klamer, 2017). The former entails that organizations finance their goods by exchanging them on a market, whereas the latter entails that goods are financed by means of public subsidies or grants from foundations. When financing goods through the G-sphere, one must comply to the rules and regulations that come with it, while financing through the M sphere requires one to comply to the wishes of the customer.

### **1.3 Why should arts organizations be influenced by a shift in their external environment?**

#### **The perspective of resource dependence theory**

The first sections of this chapter explicated how the context in which the arts have valorised their practices over the last 40 years has changed. This revealed how society now values market mechanisms over government interference when it comes to the valorisation of certain goods and services. The shift from the G- to the M-sphere is significant for organizations, as it entails that they have to adhere to a new logic, that of the market. The following section will make use of resource dependence theory in order to better understand why and how this new context, in which market values play a significant role, affects arts organizations.

Within organizational theory, arts organizations are viewed to be open-systems, meaning that the organizational behaviour of such organizations is influenced by their external environment (Varbanova, 2013). Resource dependence theory (RDT) builds upon the open-systems perspective, and argues that organizations are not only influenced by their external environment, but that their survival depends on it (Hillman, Withers, & Collins, 2009). Open-system organizations need to acquire and maintain resources in order to sustain their practices. This resource acquisition and maintenance is complicated as the environment of organizations is in a constant flux and resources are scarce. According to resource dependence theory, arts organizations are therefore necessitated to adjust their practices according to changing requirements of important resource providers. Viewed through the lens of resource dependence theory, non-profit organizations are thus not autonomous entities who can shape their practices to their own desires. Instead, “organizations are constrained by the environment as a consequence of their resource needs” (Froelich, 1999, p.247).

The degree of dependency on the external environment is bigger for organizations that rely on few sources for essential inputs (Froelich, 1999). The latter became a harsh reality for many arts organizations in The Netherlands, in the time period after the financial crisis. Many such organizations depended greatly on financial support from the Dutch government. When the Dutch minister of culture decided to cut more than 20% of the budget for the arts and culture in 2013, many arts organizations struggled a great deal because of their considerable dependence on government support (Ministerie van

Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap (OCW), 2012).

Besides financial resources, arts organizations are dependent on additional resources such as: legitimacy, capital, personnel, networks and customers (Bergamini, Van de Velde, Van Looy, & Visscher, 2018). As has been explicated in the first section of this chapter, the arts are increasingly justified in economic terms, directed towards revenue diversification, and stimulated to adopt management practices that adhere to the market logic. As one can imagine, this has far reaching implications for almost all resources. Personnel, skilled in these new management practices need to be acquired, as well as personnel that will concentrate on the attraction of corporate sponsors, funds and philanthropists. Lastly, arts organizations are also required to broaden their network and build relations with their newly acquired financial resource providers.

To conclude, the changes in the external environment of the arts have necessitated art organizations to change their organizational practices in order to meet the demands from their key resource providers. As a consequence, market values and principles have been introduced into the valorisation of art. From this, the first hypothesis is derived:

H1: Arts organizations have internalized a market logic into their organizational practices.

#### **1.4 Tension between art and the market**

However, if the former hypothesis is true, a problem arises, as, according to many scholars, the relation between art and the market is tense (Eikhof & Haunschild, 2007; Glynn, 2000; Klammer, 1996). The following section is about this tension and explicates how introducing the arts into an economic framework can be problematic, while introducing the market logic into the arts can also cause problems.

Through the lens of the economist, the arts do not function optimally according to its logic, due to what is known as market failure. One of the reasons for the arts to fail in market terms is that the price mechanism, which is essential to the functioning of market mechanisms, is distorted by the presence of information asymmetry that prevails in the market for cultural goods and services (Nelson, 1970). This is caused by the experience and credence good characteristics of these products, meaning that consumers do not have sufficient information before purchase to determine the value of the good or service. And even after consumption it is difficult to define the value of it in precise terms (Nelson, 1970).

Although information asymmetry is partly overcome by means of critics and reviewers, there will always remain a degree of uncertainty before experiencing a cultural product. The problem of information asymmetry, as well as art's public good characteristics make that the arts are not entirely appropriate to function according to the logic of the market.

On the other hand through the lens of the artist, the market poses threats to their logic as well. An argument against the market, is that the introduction of market-logic can be detrimental to artistic resources (Eikhof & Haunschild, 2007), such as talent and creativity (Lampel et al., 2006). One of the explanations for the latter argument is that a market-orientation can jeopardize the artistic autonomy of the artist, which is often cited as a prerequisite for creativity (Abbing, 2002; Webb, Schirato, & Danaher, 2002). A market orientation would require artists to take the customer into account when creating a product, thus jeopardizing the creative autonomy of the artist.

In addition, the introduction of external rewards, such as money, can crowd out the intrinsic motivation of artists which is vital for their engagement in the artistic field (Eikhof & Haunschild, 2007; Frey & Jegen, 2001). Whereas economic theory is based on the assumption that human behaviour is based on extrinsic motivation such as monetary rewards, in the arts "that motivation may be negatively affected when a previously non-monetary relationship is transformed into an explicitly monetary one" (Frey & Jegen, 2001, p. 3).

When looking at the legitimization in market and artistic terms, one can note how the two worlds are at odds once again. One of the reasons for this is that the market only takes into account the value of price. However, the value of cultural products cannot be explained solely in economic terms and requires the consideration of its cultural value as well. Cultural value is what distinguishes cultural goods and services from other commodities (Lampel et al., 2006). According to this reasoning, the tension between art and the market can thus be explained by different means of legitimization, with on the market side the price, and on the art side cultural value, which, according to Lampel et al. (2006), leads to a paradox of commercial versus cultural within cultural organizations (Reid & Karambayya, 2009).

What is more, whereas the definition of economic value is straightforward and unitary, defining cultural value proves to be quite a challenge. According to Throsby, cultural value constitutes qualities such as "aesthetic, spiritual, social, symbolic, historical and authenticity" (Throsby, 2010, p.21). However, these qualities cannot be bought and owned,



but need to be experienced. On top of that, the experience of cultural value can only be brought about by a shared effort of both the supplier of the cultural product as well as the consumer of it, hence Klammer's definition of art as a shared good (Klammer, 2017). Moreover, the cultural value that is generated through this shared effort is not fixed and can differ per person as well as from time to time (Klammer, 2017). One might note how difficult it is to define cultural value, let alone measure it, and this ambiguity around the concept of cultural value worries me. Economic value is so straightforward and cultural value on the other hand so ambiguous that I wonder what reply the arts have to the ever-increasing economic evaluation of their practices.

According to Klammer (2017), the arts can reply by valorising their practices through other spheres. The sphere of Governance has already been mentioned, but apart from this there are the Social (S)-, the Oikos (O), and the Cultural (C) sphere. In the S-sphere, shared goods, such as art, come about. This is therefore an important sphere for the arts. Different from the Market sphere whereby relationships do not exist as all that counts is the transaction, the Social sphere is about informal relationships whereby shared experiences and shared goods come about through contributions of the ones involved in that relationship. What is more, this sphere is about reciprocity, about offering a contribution and reciprocating that contribution in some way or another. In a way this is similar to an exchange, which is central in the M sphere. Nevertheless, the difference lies in the fact that the terms of exchange are left ambiguous in the S-sphere and require the ones involved to recognize what is a worthy counter-contribution.

Although the aforementioned arguments show how the logic of the arts and the market seem not to bode well, Throsby (2010) argues that in all cultural industries there is some degree of commerce, although in some more than others. Cultural industries such as literature, music, visual arts and the performing arts produce the highest portion of cultural value in pertinence to commercial value, whereas cultural industries such as advertising, fashion and design produce the highest degree of commercial value in proportion to cultural value.

The existence of both commercial and cultural values in the cultural industries brings about paradoxical demands within cultural organizations such as artistic versus mass entertainment, cultural versus commercial values and originality versus well-tested formulas (Lampel et al., 2006; Reid & Karambayya, 2009, p. 1076). To face these paradoxical demands,

scholars argue that arts organizations have to hold multiple identities (Glynn, 2000; Reid & Karambayya, 2009). Sustaining multiple identities in which different logics, values and rationales apply, seems complex and challenging. Therefore, my second hypothesis reads as follows:

H2: Arts organizations struggle to reconcile the market and artistic logic into their organizational practices.

### **1.5 Organizational strategies to reconcile the market and the artistic**

As arts organizations have to deal with these paradoxical demands, the question arises of how they approach this. Unfortunately, from the literature there is no uniform answer to this question. Nevertheless, this section aims to present some insights into the methods and strategies of dealing with paradoxical demands within arts organizations.

Gaim (2018) studied cognitive and behavioural responses towards paradoxical tensions and distinguishes between active and defensive responses towards dealing with them (Gaim, 2018). Organizations might choose a defensive approach, meaning they will ignore or suppress paradoxical demands. As a result, one demand is often ignored or one takes priority over the other, which is not sustainable. In practice, defensive organisations split or separate the paradoxical tensions either in space or in time which entails that one demand is dealt with first and then the other, or that the different demands are compartmentalized into different units or parts of the organization (Gaim, 2018).

In contrast, an active approach is about nurturing and embracing the paradoxical tensions as part of the organization (Gaim, 2018). In practice this approach takes shape in 4 ways being 1) *acceptance* which is about interpreting and understanding the tensions that prevail in the organizational setting and accepting them as a stipulation of work; 2) *confrontation* which intends to bring tensions to the fore in order to familiarize with them; 3) *adjusting* “which involves recognizing that both poles are important and interdependent and that both demands must be satisfied; and finally, 4) *transcendence* and *synthesis*, which is about seeing the paradoxical demands as complementary rather than competing (Gaim, 2018, p. 499). Although a defensive approach towards paradoxical tensions will lead to short term relief, an active approach will be beneficial on the long term.

Organizations can also respond to paradoxical demands by means of their organisational structure. In the arts this often takes shape in the form of a dual-leadership

structure whereby two managers of equal stature take up duties associated with either the market-oriented side, or the artistic side of the organization (Bhansing, Leenders, & Wijnberg, 2012; Glynn, 2000; Reid & Karambayya, 2009). Dual-leadership is celebrated for its ability to foster creativity as well as greater receptiveness to the environment and establish the feeling of accessibility (Reid & Karambayya, 2009). On the other hand, scholars argue against this type of leadership structure because it could lead to an ambiguous vision, multiple stakeholder claims, as well as to incoherent management (Cray, Inglis, & Freeman, 2007; Reid & Karambayya, 2009). Varbanova adds to this that the artistic director might have a different rationale than that of the managing director, making it difficult to find a consensus at times (Varbanova, 2013). The dual-leadership structure is a way of separating or compartmentalizing the artistic and market logic within the organization, which, according to Gaim's theory on dealing with paradoxical tensions, could be viewed as a defensive approach. Nevertheless, it remains the question to what extent the two managers collaborate and see their duties as shared in order to conclude whether this can be seen as a defensive or active approach.

The introduction of market principles into arts organizations, can also happen through the adoption of methods and models used in the for-profit sector such as the business model and the value chain (Walmsley, 2012). Such models help understand which activities are important in the generation of value and which are not. A commonly used value chain in commercial enterprises is that of Porter, who distinguishes between primary and support activities, all directed at profit-generation. However, such models cannot be copied one on one by arts organizations and need to be adjusted in order to account for a different value generation (Walmsley, 2012).

Inspired by Porter's value chain, Preece provides an adjusted version for performing arts organizations (Preece, 2005). Similar to Porter's value chain, Preece's model consists of two groups of activities: "primary (programming, personnel, promotion, production) – activities that must exist in some form for any arts event to take place; and support (governance, administration, fundraising, outreach) – activities that support and/or hold together the primary activities" (Preece, 2005, p. 22). Different from Porter's value chain is that Preece's value chain is aimed at the generation of a viable organization which should be measured by evaluating to what extent the activities in the model support the achievement of the organization's mission. In that way, Preece moves away from the unitary goal of profit

generation and allows for a more nuanced and personal value formulation.

Concludingly, arts organizations can either adopt a defensive or active approach towards paradoxical tensions whereby the latter will be more fruitful in the long run. In addition, dual leadership structures function to accommodate the different demands of the artistic and market logic. Lastly, organizational methods and models from the for-profit sector, such as the value chain, can be adopted and modified by arts organizations in order to internalize a market logic.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that not all arts organizations can or want to adopt the above-mentioned structures and strategies. Some organizations face a psychological barrier, based on the argument that creativity cannot be planned or organized, and small organizations may be prevented from implementing the aforementioned tactics because of resource constraints (Varbanova, 2013). This shows the importance of sufficient resources and the right mindset in order to reconcile the artistic and the market logic, and leads to my third hypothesis:

H3 A: Art organizations who employ an active response to paradoxical tensions will be more sustainable in the long run.

H3 B: Large organizations have more resources than small organizations to do so.

## **2. Depiction of the Dutch dance sector**

The following section will provide quantitative and qualitative insights into the Dutch subsector of artistic dance production and performance. Whereas the Dutch dance sector in its totality is quite varied and includes dance in the entertainment sector, amateur dance practices as well as dance in sectors such as sports and health, this thesis, and therefore this section, will focus on the artistic dance production and performance in The Netherlands. In this subsector the tension between the artistic and the market will be most evident because of the large share of cultural value in pertinence to commercial value. This chapter will familiarize the reader with this subsector, the scope and size of it, and some key characteristics.

Relative to other performing art disciplines such as theatre and music, this subsector receives a great deal of public subsidies in The Netherlands (Raad voor Cultuur, 2018). As a consequence, the Dutch government has a large share in this subsector and political change has therefore great impact. The reason for this large proportion of subsidies within the income of dance companies, can be found in the fact that production costs of dance performances are high. Rehearsal periods are long, dancers need to train continuously and require a studio, a teacher and music to do so, and the technical requirements for a performance concerning the dance floor, lighting and scenery are high (Raad voor Cultuur, 2018). The high production costs are also the reason why there are no independent dance companies who create and perform artistic dance performances without the support of public subsidies.

Besides performing companies, the artistic dance sector also comprehends production houses or workspaces in which young and talented dance makers are supported in their transition towards professionalism. These 'houses' are places where young choreographers can experiment and search for their unique artistic identity ([www.beroepskunstenaar.nl](http://www.beroepskunstenaar.nl)). More and more dance companies also take on the duty of young talent development by setting up their own production houses or talent programs. Such programs can be seen as a way to shield young talent makers from market forces by allowing them to search for their artistic identity under the wing of a production house or a prestigious company.

When looking at the financing mix of dance organizations, one sees a varied combination of sources. The four main dance companies in The Netherlands are directly

subsidized by the government through the Cultural Basic infrastructure (BIS) for a total amount of 17,92 million euro (Raad voor Cultuur, 2018). These companies, which include Introdans, Scapino ballet, Dutch National Ballet and The Netherlands Dance Theater, receive their subsidies because of their national and international significance. In addition, the Dutch ministry of culture indirectly subsidizes the artistic dance production and performance sector through the arm's length fund for the performing arts (Raad voor Cultuur, 2018). This fund subsidizes more innovative, experimental and small-scale dance production. With the exception of The Hague and Amsterdam, municipalities do not formulate a clear policy for the dance sector and support dance only in modest ways. Besides public subsidies, sources of income for dance companies include grants from private funds, gifts from private donors and earned income from ticket sales, merchandise, hospitality, and sponsorships (Directoraat-Generaal Cultuur en Media, 2016).

In 2017, dance companies were able to valorise 2256 performances and attracted with that a totality of 700.000 people (CBS, 2018). Nevertheless, the council for Culture in The Netherlands argues that a large group of potential visitors is not yet being addressed (Raad voor Cultuur, 2018). They conclude this from a study executed by the SCP [Social and Cultural Plan Bureau] in 2013 which found that 45% of the Dutch population is interested in dance, but that only 9% of the population actually visits a dance performance (van den Broek, 2013). This means that 36% of the Dutch population is not finding its way to dance performances provided by the artistic dance scene. According to the Volkskrant, this has to do with the image of the artistic subsector of being complicated (Embrechts, 2018). As a result, dance performances often mainly attract a dedicated dance audience. The council of culture therefore calls upon the dance sector as well as the government to support and generate supply that can bridge the popular dance that happens in tv-shows and the like, with experimental dance that happens in theatres.

When reviewing the above, one might notice that on first sight the subsector of artistic dance production and performance seems relatively distant from market forces. There are no independent producers, the government is still one of the major financial supporters of dance in The Netherlands, and the artistic dance that happens in theatres attracts primarily an already dedicated dance audience. Nevertheless, we should not conclude too quickly that no market logic has entered this subsector. After all, the context in which dance companies valorise their practices, has started to attach more value to market

forces. From the theory explicated in the previous chapter, it became evident that arts organizations are necessitated to internalize the changes happening in their external environment into their organizational practices. This sector, too, must therefore keep pace with the general societal trend of more market logic and this thesis aims to uncover to what extend and how this has happened.

### **3. Methodology**

From the theoretical framework of this thesis it has become evident that the arts are subject to a changing context in which more emphasis is placed on market logic. In order to further investigate how this has affected dance organizations in The Netherlands, this chapter will outline the method of study used to answer the following research questions;

- To what extent have dance organizations internalized a market logic into their organizational practice?
- What strategies do these organizations employ to reconcile the artistic logic and the market logic?
- Do dance organizations struggle in this reconciliation?

The chapter will begin by reminding the reader of the hypotheses that were proposed in the theoretical framework. This is followed by a description of the units of analysis, the selection method, and a clarification of the choice for a qualitative research approach. Subsequently, a short description of the cases will be provided, followed by a justification of the data sources and a description of the data analysis. The chapter will be concluded by the operationalization of the themes that were central in the data analysis.

From the theories explored in the previous chapters, three hypothesis that relate to the research questions could be derived :

- H1: Arts organizations have internalized a market logic into their organizational practices.
- H2: Arts organizations struggle to reconcile the market and artistic logic into their organizational practices
- H3 A: Art organizations who employ an active response to paradoxical tensions will be more sustainable in the long run.  
H3 B: Large organizations have more resources than small organizations to do so.

These hypotheses will be central in discussing the findings.

#### **3.1 Units of analysis and selecting them**

From the Dutch dance sector, this research studied dance organizations as well as less formal ways of organising and valorising dance. It is important not to exclude such alternative organizational forms as these may possibly be a consequence of adhering to a



different logic than the market one. In addition, including different types of organizing will create a better reflection of the organizational pluralism in the Dutch dance sector. By choosing cases on the basis of their relevance, and by selecting as wide a variation within the sample as possible, this research makes use of purposive sampling and maximum variation sampling (Bryman, 2014). The downside of purposive sampling however, is that the generalizability of the results are compromised. Nevertheless, this is only a downside when one aims to generate generalizable results. This thesis rather aims to understand the organizational challenges brought about by the tension between market and artistic values, in a field that is scientifically relatively unexplored. The scientific unfamiliarity with the dance sector, as well as the absence of formal criteria that constitute a market and artistic logic, call for a qualitative and explorative research, rather than quantitative and generalizable research.

The cases used in this research are:

- Netherlands Dance Theatre, a contemporary dance company based in The Hague. This company constitutes the largest case in this sample.
- Conny Janssen Danst, a contemporary dance company based in Rotterdam. This company represents a medium-sized case in this sample.
- Another kind of Blue, a relatively small contemporary dance company based in The Hague.
- The dance collective Chronos, based in Amsterdam. This company is relatively young and small.
- The Antidote Movement, based in Amsterdam. This movement is not yet a legal entity.

### **3.2 Description of the cases**

#### ***The Netherlands Dance Theatre***

The Netherlands Dance Theatre (NDT), situated in The Hague, was founded in 1959 by Benjamin Harkavy, Aart Verstegen and Carel Birnie, together with a number of dancers from The Dutch National Ballet. Their decision to establish their own company originated from the desire to further develop the discipline of contemporary dance in The Netherlands which was emerging as a distinct genre at the time ([www.ndt.nl](http://www.ndt.nl)). NDT is a foundation with an ANBI status.

Around forty years ago the company divided itself into two divisions, one that concentrates on young dancers and talent development (NDT 2), and NDT 1 that is focused on more mature dancers and the fulfilment of their artistic capabilities ([www.ndt.nl](http://www.ndt.nl)). In the year 2018, the company created 5 productions, performed 229 times, and created six new dance pieces. Lastly, the company consists of 114,52 fte, making this company the largest one in the sample of this thesis (jaarverslag, 2018).

### ***Conny Janssen Danst***

This company, founded in 1992 and based in Rotterdam, represents the medium sized dance company in the sample of this thesis. The company consists of 6,2 fte in the managing department, and 10 dancers who have are employed through permanent contracts.

The founder and main choreographer of the company Conny Janssen, creates theatrical and physical dance performances for which the city of Rotterdam constitutes an important inspirational source ([www.connyjanssendanst.nl](http://www.connyjanssendanst.nl)). In addition, her work is characterised as being inventive as well as emotional. She achieves this by allowing the qualities of the dancers pour through her own choreographic signature which results in a very honest dance vocabulary on stage. The work Conny creates is also often interdisciplinary whereby performances are accompanied with live music and where elements from the architecture, film and theatre sector can be found.

### ***Another Kind of Blue***

Another Kind of Blue (AKOB), is a contemporary dance company founded by David Middendorp and based in The Hague. The company, a foundation with an ANBI status, merges dance and technology in its performances ([www.anotherkindofblue.nl](http://www.anotherkindofblue.nl)). The company consists of three people who are permanently employed, being the artistic and business director and a production manager. Otherwise, the company works on project base with freelance employees such as dancers and technicians as well as with companies specialized in animation, drone technology, and algorithm technology.

Another Kind of Blue creates full-evening performances which are toured throughout theatres in The Netherlands. In addition, the artistic director creates shorter pieces to be shown at events and television shows ([www.anotherkindofblue.nl](http://www.anotherkindofblue.nl)).

### ***Chronos***

Chronos is a contemporary dance company, based in Amsterdam, and is officially a

foundation. I say officially, because the founders call and view Chronos to be a collective, whereby the four founders have an equal say within the organization. The founders are all trained as contemporary dancers at the Amsterdam school of the Arts (AHK) which is also where they met and where the idea originated to start a collective together. The Chronos collective is relatively young, founded in 2015, and works on project basis. The founders gather for limited time periods to create and perform their work, and alternate this with freelance dance work elsewhere.

They define their work as physical, theatrical and poetic, and create work that revolves around time-related and societal themes which speak to themselves as well as to society. They mainly perform in unconventional spaces such as galleries, museums and living rooms in order to challenge the spectator. Their aim is “to enrich the Dutch and international cultural sector by creating dance pieces and organizing activities in the field of dance” (<https://www.chronos.dance/en/the-collective>).

### ***The Antidote Movement***

It is already in the name that this company seeks to oppose the established norm. The Antidote Movement is “looking for an alternative arts practice based on the values of interdependence, reciprocity, inclusivity and trust [and...] practice a vision that prioritizes process over product, and people over profit” (<https://www.antidotefestival.nl/the-antidote-movement/>). This already shows a clear focus towards an arts logic and a clear opposition towards instrumental thinking and market logic. Nevertheless, the reason for incorporating the Antidote Movement in this sample is to see to what extent this movement is necessitated to incorporate this market logic to valorise their practices.

The Antidote Movement consists of three freelance dancers and does not have a formal organizational form. Instead they experiment with the way in which they organize, curate and create and whereby democratic and non-hierarchical principles can exist. The first physical manifestation of the Antidote Movement is in the form of the Antidote Festival which will take place in June this year ([www.antidotefestival.nl/en](http://www.antidotefestival.nl/en)).

### **3.3 Data sources**

The data in this research is collected by means of semi-structured interviews which were ideally conducted with the artistic as well as business or managing director of the aforementioned cases. The artistic as well as managing director were included because the

two represent the different logics that this thesis aims to research. The two smallest organizations, however, do not maintain a dual-leadership structure, meaning that in these cases I only interviewed the artistic directors. Also, as a consequence of schedule limitations on the side of my potential interviewees, not all artistic and managing directors of the remaining cases were available for interviews. This meant that I was only able to interview both managing directors from the case Another Kind of Blue. Nevertheless, half of the interviewees are from the business department representing the market logic, while the other half of the interviewees are artistic directors representing the artistic logic, so the two logics are still equally represented. Below, the reader can find an overview of the interviewees per case.

The interviews were structured by means of prepared questions, but during the interview there was enough room for the interviewees to deviate from the confinement of these questions in order to introduce themes and topics that I wasn't aware of beforehand. An overview of the interview questions can be found in appendix B. With permission of the interviewees, the talks were recorded for me to transcribe and analyse them at a later moment.

Contacting the interviewees went through the general email address of the company, available on the company's websites. In some instances, I was able to make use of my personal network to contact the interviewees directly. By means of these approaches, I was able to interview the following people:

- Joost Poort, senior manager commercial affairs at Netherlands Dance Theatre
- David Middendorp, artistic director at Another Kind of Blue
- Hans Brouwer, business director at Another Kind of Blue
- Vera Goetzee, co-founder, choreographer and dancer at the dance collective Chronos
- Rick Spaan, business director at Conny Janssen Danst
- Doke Pauwels, founder, choreographer and dancer at the Antidote Movement

### **3.4 Data analysis**

This research employed a cross case analysis, meaning that the five different cases were compared to uncover similarities and differences between them (Bryman, 2014). A comparison was also made between the small and large organizations to study the

differences in how they approach the market and its logic. The semi-structured interviews were analysed by use of thematic analysis of which the themes are explicated in section 3.5.

The interviews were transcribed by means of Otranscribe, a website that allows the listener to slow down the interview. Subsequently, the transcriptions were analysed on the basis of five themes and the main results per case were placed in a table. Thereafter, the main results have been written out per case, again on the basis of the themes. This detailed description of the results per case can be found in appendix A. Subsequently, these results have been interpreted in relation to the hypotheses that were derived from the theoretical framework. These findings are explicated in the subsequent chapter.

### 3.5 Operationalization

The themes used in the data analysis were derived from the theoretical framework and are explicated in the table below. One sees the main themes in the column on the left, and in the column on the right the main themes are further defined.

Market logic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Transactions or exchanges are central (Klamer, 2017)</li> <li>- Such transactions on the market provide us with instrumental acquisitions (Klamer, 2017).</li> <li>- No relationships, “price is the only information that counts” (Klamer, 2017, p. 181).</li> <li>- Associated values: efficiency, innovation, commercialism, anonymity, instrumentalism, profitability (Klamer, 2017)</li> <li>- Rhetoric: “bottom- line results, strength in market niches, stretch targets, and secure customer bases” (Cameron &amp; Quinn, 2011)</li> <li>- Focus on competitors and customers (Cameron &amp; Quinn, 2011)</li> </ul>
Governance logic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- This logic is about rules and regulations, formal hierarchies, accounting procedures and bureaucracy (Klamer, 2017)</li> <li>- Relationships are abstract and formal</li> <li>- All organizations are subject to this logic</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Associated values: objectivity, structure, formality, hierarchy, predictability</li> </ul>
Artistic logic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- In this logic shared goods come about (Klamer, 2017)</li> <li>- Relationships are informal and aimed at the generation of shared goods</li> <li>- Associated values: aesthetic, spiritual, social, symbolic, historical, authenticity, creative autonomy, intrinsic values, dedication (Klamer, 2017; Throsby, 2010)</li> </ul>
Strategies to reconcile the market and artistic logic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Active or defensive approach (Gaim, 2018)</li> <li>- Dual leadership (Bhansing et al., 2012; Glynn, 2000; Reid &amp; Karambayya, 2009)</li> <li>- Implementation or acknowledgement of a multi-directional value chain (Walmsley, 2012 &amp; Preece, 2005)</li> </ul>
Signs of struggles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Economic value versus cultural value</li> <li>- Pressure on artistic autonomy</li> <li>- Pressure on intrinsic motivation</li> <li>- Difference between small and larger companies</li> </ul>

#### **4. Findings**

The following chapter will discuss the findings from the interviews in relation to the three hypotheses that were derived from the theory. The chapter is divided into four sections whereby each section considers a hypothesis or sub-hypothesis. The first section will discuss the extent to which the researched dance organizations have internalized a market logic into their organizational practices. This is followed by a section that discusses the struggles that these organizations experience in relation to the market logic. The last two sections will be about the kind of approach dance organizations employ to reconcile the market and the artistic, and the relation between this approach and organization's resources. For a more detailed description of the findings per case, the reader can consult appendix A.

##### **H1: Arts organizations have internalized a market logic into their organizational practices.**

The market seems to make its appearance in the dance sector, but in varied ways. Some companies have explicitly distanced themselves from the market and its logic, whereas others deem the market and the tension between art and the market so important that without it art making would be boring.

The latter is the case with the company Another Kind of Blue, where the artistic director indicated that he finds it challenging but also exciting to seek (financial) support for his art. He enjoys the balancing act of creating art that is true to his artistic vision but also speaks to an audience. He argues that the tensions that arise from this make it interesting and worthwhile to create art. Without this tension, the creation of art would be boring. As a result, within this company the market logic has made its appearance in quite some ways. The business director of the company indicated for example that he deems it important that commercial thinking is implemented in all arts organizations in the sense "that you think about the audience, that you have in mind that you are creating for someone [...] and that you try to reach as many people as possible" (Hans Brouwer). This shows how the company puts the customer in a prominent place, which is also one of the characteristics of the market logic.

Similar in this respect is the company of Conny Janssen. According to Rick Spaan, the business director, Conny Janssen deems it important that her dance speaks to a large audience. Mr. Spaan mentioned that he feels that within the arts sector, the company is therefore regarded as somewhat commercial, or easy going. Nevertheless, the desire to be

accessible to a large audience originates mainly from an artistic consideration rather than from a market one. Conny Janssen deems it important that her dance is communicated and shared with many people. The shared experience, which is characteristic of the arts logic, is thus much more central here.

At the Netherlands Dance Theatre (NDT), the audience also plays a prominent role. Joost Poort, indicated that NDT suffered from declining audience numbers in the time before he was appointed as senior manager of the department of commercial affairs at NDT in 2013. He argues that this was not due to a lack of interest from the audience but rather due to bad marketization of their product. By means of online marketing and customer relationship management (CRM) they managed to reverse this process and increase the number of visitors significantly. In addition, they've adopted digital distribution channels, such as the TV channel Mezzo, in order to reach their customer base overseas and to keep them involved. Different from Conny Janssen Danst, is that the audience is taken into account after the creation process rather than during it. In that way, the arts practice itself seems not to be influenced by the market logic.

When asking the interviewees about the company's use of a business model or value chain, only Joost Poort indicated they make use of a value chain, based on the one of Porter. The use of Porter's value chain, even though it is strongly adjusted, points towards the influence of the sphere of the Market in the organizational practice of NDT, as Porter's value chain is mainly used in commercial enterprises (Walmsley, 2012). Nevertheless, the value chain that NDT uses is not directed towards the generation of profit, which is the case in Porter's value chain, but rather at the fulfilment of the mission and vision of the company. With that, their value chain is closer to the one of Preece (2005).

Although none of the other interviewees said they use a business model or value chain, all of them implicitly have one. This became evident when asking the same question in different ways, using different words. The dance collective Chronos for example, implements the primary and support activities as described by Preece (2005) in his value chain for the performing arts. The four founders of Chronos make decisions on their programming, personnel, promotion and production which are termed to be primary activities in Preece's value chain. They also make decisions on their governance structure, their administration, fundraising and outreach which, according to Preece, are support activities. Nevertheless, Chronos does not explicitly visualize these activities through a value chain or business model.



The implicit use of a value chain might indicate an unconscious introduction of market thinking.

Additionally, I observed that the interviewees were made somewhat uncomfortable when using words such as business model, strategy, profit and commercial. This was not only the case when talking to the choreographers, but also in the conversations with the business directors of the organizations. The exception was Joost Poort, who was also the only one with a background beyond the cultural sector in a more commercial environment.

What is more, the company Another Kind of Blue would like to financially support itself through the sphere of the Market rather than through the Governance sphere. To achieve this, they aim to create a product that can sell itself on the market so that they can become predominantly self-sufficient. Hans described this as a turnaround of their current revenue model. In the ideal perspective, the creative process would generate a product that sells on the market and generates a continuous income in order to support the fixed costs of running the company. This would then occasionally be supplemented with project subsidies that would support experimentation and innovation, rather than that the subsidies would have to be used to cover the fixed costs, which is now the case. Hans compared this to a shop, where the shop-side of the organization produces a continuous income that will support the regular artistic activities of the organization, and where occasional subsidies can support experimental projects. That way they would partly operate as a for-profit organization, which is also why they are thinking about setting up a limited liability company next to their foundation. Applying the sphere-model of Klamer (2017), this implies that AKOB aims to finance their practices mainly through the M- rather than the G sphere.

Another indication of market logic came forward in the interview with Joost Poort from NDT. Mr. Poort remarked that he prefers to change their agreement with theatres from a buy-out model to a self-presenting model. The normal agreement between Dutch theatres and dance companies takes shape in the form of a buy-out model, which entails that dance companies receive a set fee for their performance, regardless of the number of visitors their performance attracts. In this model there is a shared responsibility for the theatre and the dance company to market the performance. However, there is not much incentive for the dance company to market their performance, as they are not the ones who benefit from the extra ticket revenue. In addition, the theatre will also abstain from extensive marketing, as they offer a different performance every other day. Instead, Joost Poort would prefer the

self-presenting model in which NDT would rent the theatre. Doing so would make NDT fully responsible for the marketing to attract an audience but would also enable them to benefit from the ticket revenue. As a consequence, NDT is incentivized to properly market their performance, but also to program the efficient amount of performances which will cover their costs, or even provide them with a profit. In this self-presenting model, NDT's decisions seem to be more directed towards the achievement of efficiency and profitability, values that are associated with the market.

Remarkably, also from the interview with Doke Pauwels from the Antidote Movement an element of market logic became apparent. Remarkable, because the Antidote Movement aims to distance itself completely from the Market- as well as the Governance sphere. Ms. Pauwels deems it important that dancers are properly paid for their contributions. "Because I want to do it [the practice of dance] full-time, I also want to earn money with it, not for the money but so that I can live from it and so that I can continue to do it" (Doke Pauwels). A desire to valorise the artistic practice by means of a monetary exchange signifies a reasoning according to the M-logic. It should be noted however, that with the Antidote Movement, Doke Pauwels is trying to find alternative ways to valorise dance, to be precise, alternative ways that circumvent the Governance and Market spheres.

The above shows the characteristics of the market logic that have entered some of the companies that were studied in this research. The increased focus on the customer, the adoption of values such as efficiency and profitability, and the desire to shift financial valorisation from the G- to the M sphere, are among the market characteristics that these companies have adopted. These observations offer some grounds for confirmation of the first hypothesis.

Nevertheless, there are also signs that contradict this hypothesis. The Antidote Movement for example, is actively trying to distance itself from the market as well as Governance sphere. The interviewee associates this market logic with competition, efficiency, measurability, performance pressure and instrumentalism. The Movement's desire is to free artistic creation from the enclosure of the market and the above mentioned values, so that market conditions do not determine the creation and evaluation of art. With that they want to safeguard the creative autonomy of the artist.

Similar to the Antidote Movement but in a less ideological way, the dance collective Chronos also disassociates itself from dance in a commercial environment. According to the

interviewee from Chronos, the dance that Chronos creates differs from dance in a commercial environment, in the sense that it serves a different purpose. When dance is used in commercial ways, it becomes instrumental and it is therefore a totally different experience. To emphasize this, reference was made to dance used in commercials to sell other products such as NIKE shoes, or dance in tv shows such as So You Think You Can Dance whereby the aim is to attract as many viewers as possible, which requires dance to be entertaining. The dance that Chronos creates differs in this respect because it serves the purpose of dance. What is more, value for the Chronos collective originates from the act of sharing their dance with others. The aim is to generate a meaningful exchange which revolves around dance. This is very different from the instrumental exchange that is central in the Market sphere.

Also, within the company Conny Janssen Danst, there seem to be no evident signs of the introduction of a market logic. This can also be due to the fact that Mr. Spaan argued that at the moment, money is not an issue for them. He notes that the subsidy providers are changing their priorities and seem to value Conny Janssen Danst more and more because of their accessibility and audience outreach. In the past, support was mainly directed at the artists that needed it financially, while funds are now more inclined to subsidize companies that are already doing well, because “those funds also want to make a good impression with what they support” (Rick Spaan). The lack of M-logic within the organizational practices of Conny Janssen Danst may thus be explained by their comfortable valorisation through the G-sphere.

It is also important to note that in the other cases of NDT and AKOB, not only the market logic prevails but also an artistic one. For example, when Joost was asked to sketch a utopian situation in which dance would be valorised he answered; “My ambition would be that the art here could be made 100% independently” (Joost Poort). The importance of autonomy, which is also important in the arts logic, is what is being emphasized here.

To David from Another Kind of Blue a certain degree of creative autonomy is also important. He maintains artistic autonomy in his creation process by dividing this process into three dimensions. The first dimension is where David creates experimental work, where he is not concerned about the audience, and is solely concentrated on trying out the things he wants to explore. This work is thus created in an autonomous way. The work that is created in this dimension is subsequently shared with small audiences. The second

dimension is about the creation of performances that will tour through theatres in The Netherlands. In this dimension, the audience is taken into account in the creation process as David indicated that this work should, to a certain extent, be attractive to a theatre-going audience. The third dimension is most associated with commercial activities. In this dimension David deems it important to make money from selling his performances, in order to finance dimensions one and two. To do so, his performances are shown at company events, television shows and the like, and sold at commercial prices. In some instances, he even adjusts his work to fit the needs of the client, although he sets certain boundaries in this respect. The implementation of the three dimensions enables David to maintain various degrees of autonomy within the creation process and accommodates both the artistic and the market logic.

What is more, concerning the finances, all companies rely predominantly on support from the G-sphere. Obtaining financial means solely through the M-sphere seems to be a bridge too far. Therefore, public subsidies still account for the largest share in the income of the dance organizations studied in this research.

### *Conclusion H1*

To conclude, almost all companies seem to have internalized a market logic to some extent. Even within the company that actively rejects the market logic, being the Antidote Movement, some market logic seems to prevail. The Netherlands Dance Theatre and Another Kind of Blue seem to have internalized market thinking to the largest extent. This became evident by how they both prioritize the customer, how at NDT they make use of Porter's value chain and prefer a self-presenting model, and how at AKOB they aim to financially valorise their dance through the M- rather than the G sphere. At the same time, despite the introduction of market characteristics, the artistic logic remains present. This became apparent from the importance that the interviewees attach to the artistic autonomy within the creation process, as well as from the emphasis on the shared experience between audience and dancer that is characteristic of the arts logic.

### **H2: Arts organizations struggle to reconcile the market and artistic logic into their organizational practices.**

The companies that have implemented characteristics of the market logic to the largest extent, mentioned only minor struggles that related to the integration of market principles.

What is more, the struggles that were mentioned do not always originate from the tension between art and the market. In addition, within almost all interviews struggles with the G-sphere came about. The following section will dive deeper into the struggles that became apparent in the interviews in order to shed light on the second hypothesis.

Interestingly, from the interview with Joost Poort from NDT, it appears that there are more struggles with the G sphere than with the M sphere. The rules and regulations imposed by public subsidizers seem to limit the company in its implementation of more market logic. The condition to perform a certain amount of times prevents the company from finding its own optimal number of performances. In addition, the subsidy structure in its entirety, including that of the theatres, prevents NDT from applying the more market-oriented self-presenting model. Also, Joost's attitude towards the G-sphere is more negative compared to the M-sphere; "The political world is a kind of shadow reality. That is really a different world than the world in which you and I are active in" (Joost Poort).

As was explicated in the section before, the company Another Kind of Blue is quite market-oriented. The reconciliation of the artistic- and market logic does not provide a struggle for David and he even says; "I think that art originates from this kind of friction [between art and the market], and when you remove that friction there is nothing left" (David Middendorp). Nevertheless, the company does experience difficulties in the implementation of more market-orientation. Although David's work brings about innovations that have the potential to sell on the market, Hans Brouwer, the business director, acknowledges that he himself doesn't have the skills, nor the network to fully exploit the commercial potential of these products. He therefore indicated that for the future, someone who is more skilled in that would be a good addition to the team. In that sense they struggle with reconciling the artistic and the market because they do not have the appropriate skills and network to implement the market logic to the extent they want.

Rick Spaan from Conny Janssen Danst brought forward that because Conny Janssen Danst wants to make accessible art, they are regarded as somewhat commercial and easy-going. He also says "because we take the audience into account, I think that Conny Janssen is sometimes looked down upon within the [dance] field" (Rick Spaan). He mentioned that consequently, they have difficulties to be programmed on certain art festivals. This example shows how a commercial image can mean that you are less welcome in certain art circles.

Doke Pauwels from the Antidote Movement was perhaps the one who expressed the

tension between art and the market the most. With the Antidote Movement they seek to find ways in which art can be a self-evident part of society, so that artists do not have to constantly defend themselves and their practices. In such a society artists do not have to conform to the parameters of the M sphere and the G sphere, but can create the art they want to create, rather than art that is hip, or societally relevant. A strong plea for the artistic autonomy resonates through this argument. Remarkably, from the interview with Doke, it became clear how difficult it is to valorise dance without influences from the M or G logic. Especially financially, this proves to be a challenge. Although they also prefer to circumvent the sphere of Governance, they do obtain most of their financial support from this sphere. Besides a tension between art and the market, Doke Pauwels therefore also mentioned a paradoxical struggle with the sphere of Governance which mainly arises from the fact that funds are focussed on the question 'what can the arts do for society?', while the Antidote Movement reasons from the question 'what can society do for the arts?'.

In the interview with Vera from Chronos, mainly struggles with the G-sphere came about rather than with the M-sphere. This is also due to the fact that they've implemented little market logic in their organization and finance their practices mainly through the Governance sphere. Like in most of the other interviews, Vera mentioned that the measurability and predictability within the subsidy applications are sometimes difficult to comply to. Vera argued that their performances often originate from an idea and the performance will be the outcome of the process of exploring that idea. To pre-determine what the outcome will be, often feels a bit silly and forged.

### *Conclusion H2*

According to the theory, struggles between art and the market could arise from a mismatch between the two logics and its characteristics. The findings show how some organizations indeed experience struggles related to this tension, but also how some organizations accommodate this tension by means of certain strategies. For example, according to the theory, the introduction of market values could jeopardize the creative autonomy. This is consistent with the Antidote's Movement motivation for opposing themselves from the market, as they argue that the valorisation of the dance practice through the M-sphere compromises the artistic autonomy of the artist. However, at AKOB they seem to have developed a strategy that bridges this tension, by dividing the creation process into three

dimensions which helps to safeguard a degree of artistic autonomy while also accommodating the fulfilment of commercial goals. Therefore, in the case of AKOB, the adoption of a market logic doesn't seem to mean a complete renunciation of the artistic autonomy. At NDT, they separate the marketization process from that of the artistic process. In that way, the artistic autonomy also seems to be relatively unaffected by the introduction of a market logic.

In other instances, the findings seem to contradict what had been established in the theory. For example, the theory argued that certain characteristics of artistic products can bring about market failure, making it difficult for those products to be valorised through the Market sphere. Consequently, governments intervene to solve this market failure. It is therefore remarkable to note that Joost Poort from NDT expressed more resistance towards the G-sphere than towards the M-sphere. It was even mentioned that the current subsidy structure prevents the company from implementing the market-oriented self-presenting model with theatres.

What is more, the desire of NDT and AKOB to implement more market logic contradicts what in the theory had been established, namely that the art and the market are at odds. Whereas at NDT this aim is obstructed by the rules and regulations that come about in the Governance sphere, at AKOB this aim is hindered by a lack of resources.

From the findings, it also became evident that almost all the interviewees experience a discontent with their valorisation through the G-sphere and the rules and regulations that come with it. Especially the measurability and predictability, values that are characteristic of the G-sphere, were mentioned by several interviewees as being difficult to conform to. This raises the question of how successful the government is in solving the market failure in the arts.

All things considered, all organizations researched experience struggles in relation to art and the market, to varying degrees. Sometimes these struggles are related to the tension between art and the market as suggested in the theory, while in other instances the struggles are rather related to the implementation of more market logic. Surprisingly, many of the interviewees also expressed a discontent with their valorisation through the G-sphere which raises the question of how successful the government is in solving the market failure in the arts.

### **H3 A: Art organizations who employ an active response to paradoxical tensions will be more sustainable in the long run.**

In the interview with Joost Poort from NDT, it was noticeable that Mr. Poort reasons from a combination of market and artistic logic. For him, dance creation and talent development form the basis of the company. Subsequently, it is up to him to market this. The monetizable value that his generates flows in turn back to the organization to support the artistic creation and talent development. Market logic thus provides a means to valorise the artistic practice. In Gaim's terms, this would be named an active approach, in which a paradoxical tension is seen as complementary, rather than competing (Gaim, 2018).

This is similar to how Another Kind Blue approaches the paradoxical tension between art and the market. The artistic practice is seen as the core of the business, but is also seen as a potential to make money from in a later stage. That money subsequently flows back into the organization and into the artistic practice. In that sense the arts practice is instrumental as well as intrinsic to the company's success, and one does not exclude the other.

Another example whereby NDT actively deals with the paradoxical tension between art and the market is by means of content marketing. Joost emphasized that by making use of content marketing, they try to diminish the tension between art and the market. Different from proposition marketing, in which marketeers try to attract an audience with discounts or ticket deals, content marketing aims to communicate the artistic story of NDT, the content, in order to get the audience involved. By doing so, they stay true to the artistic signature of the company. Content marketing can thus be viewed as a marketization approach that accommodates the artistic aspects of the product.

The company Conny Janssen Danst also employs an active approach towards the paradoxical tension between art and the market as they are aware that such a tension exists and they are not averse to market values. But, although they take the audience into account within the creation process, they do not explicitly exploit the market logic any further. The business director is much more focussed on the valorisation through the G-sphere by means of public subsidies, than valorisation through the M-sphere. Their active approach thus lingers on *acceptance* and does not move towards *transcendence* (Gaim, 2018).

At the three largest organizations of the sample, NDT, Conny Janssen Danst and Another Kind of Blue, a dual leadership structure is implemented. However, a dual



leadership structure does not automatically have to imply the accommodation of a market logic within the organizational practices. This depends on whether the business director is focussed on the Market- or Governance sphere for the valorisation of the dance practice. For example, at Conny Janssen Danst the business director is mainly concerned with the valorisation through the G-sphere, whereas at NDT and AKOB, the valorisation of their dance practice also concerns the M-sphere. This also becomes evident from the desire of Vera Goetzee from Chronos and Doke Pauwels from the Antidote Movement, to hire a business manager, which originates from organizational considerations rather than the desire to accommodate the market logic.

Vera's distinction between commercial and non-commercial dance implies a defensive approach in the sense that the two are viewed as two separate worlds which serve different purposes. Although Vera does not assign negative values to commercial dance, Chronos does not explicitly incorporate commercial thinking or commercial activities in their organizational practices.

The Antidote Movement also employs a defensive approach towards market values but in a different way than Chronos. They view market values to be a threat to the artistic autonomy. they want to prevent the market from determining what the artist has to make. They don't want art to be guided by values such as competition, efficiency and instrumentalism that prevail within the logic of the market. Within their organization they try to maintain this vision.

### *Conclusion H3 A*

To conclude, whether an active approach is indeed better in the long-run as the theory suggested, is difficult to verify. What can be noted however, is that the two smallest companies being Chronos and the Antidote Movement can only work sporadically because of a lack of financial resources. In addition, these are the companies which employ a more defensive approach towards the market and its logic. Thus, within this sample there seems to be a relation between the kind of approach an organization employs and the extent to which they are able to obtain financial means that allow them to operate on a more continual base.

### **H3 B: Large organizations have more resources than small organizations to do so.**

From all of the above it can be established that the two smallest organizations, Chronos and the Antidote Movement, seem to internalize market values the least and have adopted a more defensive approach. Nevertheless, this does not seem to be an explicit consequence of a lack of resources. In the Antidote Movement, for example, the defensive approach towards the market logic seems to stem from their vision. At Chronos, this seems to come from the conviction that they create art in a different dimension.

The only company whereby a further implementation of market logic was obstructed by resources, is the company Another Kind of Blue. In order to further exploit the market potential of the products they generate, Hans indicated that they would like to hire someone with a network as well as skills in the Market sphere. Nevertheless, this does not seem to have obstructed them to implement a market logic to a certain extent.

Doke Pauwels from the Antidote Movement argues that resources do play a role within the Governance sphere. She remarked that it looks like freelance dance makers are more restricted by the rules and regulations imposed by subsidy providers than large organizations, which allows large companies the advantage of more artistic freedom. “I feel that especially in the freelance scene, the artistic content must be justified in political terms” (Doke Pauwels). Large companies do not have to constantly legitimize their practices, their existence is much more evident. Young dance makers on the other hand, have to prove their legitimacy constantly. Within the Governance sphere, legitimacy therefore seems to be an important resource that small companies appear to have to a lesser extent.

#### *Conclusion H3 B*

Taking everything into account, it is difficult to establish whether small organizations adopt a defensive approach because of a lack of resources or if this is due to other factors. What can be noted however, is that NDT, which is the biggest company in this sample, is able to hire someone like Joost Poort who has more market-oriented experience. For Another Kind of Blue, their finances do not allow them to do the same. Nevertheless, this hasn't prevented AKOB from adopting an active approach towards the market. Therefore, it seems that a lack of resources does not have to prevent an organization from adopting an active approach towards the paradoxical tension between art and the market. There is however some indication that resources play a role in the extent that market logic can be exploited. What is

more, the Antidote Movement noted that resources such as legitimacy do play a role within the valorisation in the G-sphere. I can imagine that this might also be the case when valorising through the M-sphere but the results do not provide enough evidence to verify that.

## 5. Conclusion

This research began with the observation that the context in which the arts have been valorising their practices over the last forty years, has shifted from a government-oriented towards a market-oriented society. This shift has also been noticed within the arts, which scholars have described as the marketization or instrumentalization of the arts. However, many scholars also suggest that the relation between the market and the arts is tense, making the marketization of the arts problematic. This research revolved around this tension and aimed to find out how the Dutch dance sector has coped with it. In order to do so, the following research questions have been examined;

- To what extent have dance organizations internalized a market logic into their organizational practice?
- What strategies do these organizations employ to reconcile the artistic logic and the market logic?
- Do dance organizations struggle in this reconciliation?

From the findings it became apparent that Dutch dance companies seem to have incorporated elements of the market logic into their organizational practices, though some more than others. This became evident by how some companies prioritize the customer, aim to obtain financial means through the M-sphere rather than the G-sphere, or prefer a self-presenting model. In spite of the adoption of market elements, dance companies do succeed in maintaining an artistic logic as well. To balance the two logics, organizations implement dual-leadership structures, separate the creation process from the marketization process, make use of content marketing, or divide the creation process into three dimensions.

The organizations do seem to experience struggles in relation to the market logic. In some instances, these struggles originate from a tension between art and the market as described in the theory. For example, it was argued that the valorisation through the M-sphere can compromise the artistic autonomy, or that dance in a commercial environment serves different purposes.

Surprisingly, some organizations wanted to implement more market logic rather than less. This contradicts what in the theory had been established, namely that the art and the market are at odds. However, in their aim to implement more market logic, these organizations are hindered by resource constraints and by the rules and regulations imposed

by subsidy providers. All the organizations that were interviewed expressed a discontent with the Governance-sphere. This raises the question whether we can speak of government failure and could be an interesting direction for future research.

As with all research, this study has some limitations which the reader needs to keep in mind when interpreting the findings. Firstly, the sample size used in this thesis is rather small and could therefore compromise the external validity of the results. However, by using maximum variation sampling, this research aimed to obtain a good representation of the organizational plurality that prevails within the artistic dance sector. The results could therefore be viewed as indicative for the sector as a whole. Nevertheless, to substantiate the findings in this research, I would recommend future researchers to conduct a similar study but with a larger sample.

Secondly, some might view my experience and familiarity with the sector as a limitation as this might influence the objectiveness of this research. Nonetheless, by means of sound argumentation based on theory and empirical evidence, I hope to have convinced the reader of my objectivity. Also, my connection to the sector was more of a blessing than a burden as it enabled me to pinpoint the issues within the sector more easily, and it helped to schedule interviews more quickly which was much needed in the limited time that was granted us to write this thesis.

What is more, an absence of formal criteria that constitute a market and artistic logic, introduced the issue of construct validity. Therefore, it was a challenge to formally determine whether dance organizations adopted a market logic or not. By means of a clear operationalisation I have aimed to overcome this issue as best as possible. Nonetheless, from a scientific point of view, it would be interesting to find a consensus on the criteria that constitute a market- and artistic logic.

Another direction for future research relates to the cognitive approach that organizations employ towards the paradoxical tension between art and the market. The findings of this research gave some indication that an active approach towards the market logic enabled dance organizations to obtain greater financial means. For future research, I would therefore recommend to conduct a longitudinal research in order to see if there is a causal relationship between an active or defensive approach towards the market and the success of organizations.

Whereas this study focussed on the supply side of the dance sector, it would also be

interesting to study the demand side of dance, the audience. For example, do visitors have an economic conception of a dance performance, do they want it to be predictable, do they want value for their money, or is their conceptualisation of a dance performance more in accordance with the artistic practice in which cultural and symbolic value are central, and where the emphasis is on the shared experience.

All in all, this research has responded to current developments within the dance sector that related to the tension between art and the market. The findings suggest that dance organizations are finding ways through which they can internalize market logic while maintaining an artistic logic. Surprisingly, the relationship between dance organizations and the Governance logic seemed to be more tense than their relationship with the market. This suggests that we should rethink the way in which the government intervenes in the arts sector. I hope that these conclusions foster a deeper understanding of the Dutch dance sector, and inspire dance makers, managers, policy makers and other stakeholders of the dance sector to strive for a valuable dance practice.

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## **Appendix A, extensive results per case**

### ***NDT***

Interview with Joost Poort, senior manager commercial affairs at NDT.

#### Market logic

What became evident in the interview with Joost Poort from NDT, is that the market logic has manifested itself in the organizational practices of the company. The first aspect through which this becomes clear is the reason for the appointment of Joost in 2013. The main question to him was to generate monetary value from the intrinsic value that NDT generates. Although Joost didn't have prior experience in the arts and culture sector, Joost had guided a similar process at the Dutch newspaper NRC. At his arrival, he merged two departments and named them the department of 'commercial affairs'. According to Joost, to name his department 'commercial affairs' was in part to seek out the tension between art and commerce, or to poke the bear so to say.

The attraction of someone like Joost, who didn't have previous experience in the arts sector but was able to approach their product in a different way, was important because of the urgent situation of declining audience numbers. According to Joost the decreasing audience numbers are not due to a lack of audience interest, but is rather caused by a bad marketization of dance. His goal at NDT is to change this, and make sure that NDT will perform for full houses again.

He observed that NDT was not able to create lasting value for the consumer. NDT would perform, and that was that. By investing in online marketing tools, and Customer Relationship Management methods (CRM), Joost aims to create a longer lasting value for the consumer in the sense that the consumer can continue his or her experience with NDT online. Creating this customer involvement is, according to Joost, extremely important because a large customer base is valuable to corporate sponsors. Having a large audience as well as corporate sponsors, is subsequently attractive for public subsidy providers as it shows community involvement. Performing for full houses, and having an involved online consumer base is thus good for the generation of financial value. This also becomes evident from the value chain that NDT uses. Within this value chain, originally Porter's value chain, one sees that the creation of involvement through methods such as social media, CRM, press and media lies at the basis of the value generation in terms of sales, donations, corporate partners and societal partners.

The interview also brought forward another interesting aspect, related to market logic. NDT is experimenting abroad with a so-called self-presenting model, in which they rent a theatre, do their own marketing and therefore also benefit from all the ticket revenue that their performances generate. In the usual manner, NDT only receives a (very low) symbolic buy out fee from a theatre, and to cover the other costs, both the theatre and NDT bring in their public subsidy money. Subsequently, the theatre does all the marketing, which is often very marginal because they have a different performance almost every day. In the model of self-presenting, NDT has the incentive to program the amount of performances which will cover their costs, or even provide them with a profit. The costs of adding an extra performance are relatively low, because there will be no additional transportation costs. However, the current situation is that because most theatres receive public subsidies, they won't allow NDT to rent their theater and insist on using the buy-out model. Joost's preference for the self-presenting model, which is very much a market model, points towards a market orientation within the organization of NDT.

#### Governance logic

What strikes me is that Joost seems to be somewhat averse to the sphere of Governance. Firstly, there is some discontent about the rules and conditions that come with the receipt of public subsidies. For example, the performance pressure imposed by such subsidy providers, to perform a certain amount of times, seems empty to him and stands in the way of efficient organization. Secondly, he argues that because they receive a significant amount of money from the government and the municipality, the company is vulnerable to political fluctuations, which can be disadvantageous at times. In addition, he notes that it seems that policy employees have no understanding of the needs and workings of such a prestigious dance company such as NDT, which became evident in negotiations about a new building in which NDT will be housed.

Joost Poort: "The political world comprehends a kind of shadow reality. That is really a different world than the world in which you and I are active in".

#### Artistic logic

Besides an evident presence of the market logic in the organizational practices of NDT, the

artistic logic also makes an appearance. The value chain that was mentioned above, is not only about the generation of financial value. Although the creation of such value plays a large part in the value chain, it is aimed at the realisation of the mission and vision of the company (see Appendix... for the value chain). The mission and vision are not clearly stated on NDT's website, but according to Joost NDT stands for creation and talent development.

What is more, a subtle aspect in which the artistic logic seeps through can be found in Joost's comments about his motivation and inspiration in his work. He remarks that he gets inspired by the dancers and choreographers that work at NDT, and is touched by the intrinsic motivation as well as dedication they show for their profession. In his own job, he too seeks personal fulfilment by doing the things that he is good at and enthusiastic about. He also deems this important for the people working in his team and the rest of the organization. In this sense he is subject to an artistic logic, in which intrinsic motivation is very important.

The artistic logic also clearly shows when asking Joost to sketch a utopian situation in which dance would be valorised. To this question Joost answered:

"My ambition would be that the art here could be made 100% independently"

The importance of autonomy, which is also important in the arts logic, is what is being emphasized here. Joost refers here to the different external constituents of the company, who all want something slightly different in return for their contribution to NDT. Corporate sponsors want NDT to perform at their events, philanthropists want to have meetings with the dancers, subsidy providers want them to perform a certain amount of times. All these different demands require Joost to set clear boundaries to what NDT can and will offer in return, and it is important to him that he can retain a certain independency in such negotiations. In an ideal world, such demands won't exist, and the art that is made at NDT will be a 100% autonomous.

#### Reconciliation strategies

Joost emphasized that by making use of content marketing, they try to diminish the tension between art and the market. Different from proposition marketing, in which marketers try to attract an audience with discounts or ticket deals, content marketing aims to communicate the artistic story of NDT, the content, in order to get the audience involved. By doing so, they can stay true to the artistic signature of the company, and tell the story of

that signature, how talent development and creation are central at NDT. Content marketing can thus be viewed as a strategy through which the gap between the art world and the market can be diminished.

What is more, in the interview I noticed that Joost reasons from a combination between market and artistic logic. For him, dance creation and talent development form the basis of the company. Subsequently, it is up to him to market this, by telling the story of NDT, in order to generate monetizable value. The monetizable value flows in turn back to the organization to support the artistic creation and talent development. Market logic thus provides a means to valorise the artistic practice. In Gaim's terms, this would be named an active approach, in which a paradoxical tension is seen as complementary, rather than competing.

### Struggles

In the interview, there was no mention of struggles within the collaboration between the artistic department and the department of commercial affairs. The only observation that Joost mentioned, which was brought forward as a minor struggle, was that the artistic director needs to be reminded regularly of the budgetary constraints. This happens especially when the artistic director is choreographing for the company. At such moments, the artistic vision rules and the financial aspects are more abstract.

Interestingly, from the interview it appears that there are more struggles with the G sphere than with the M sphere. The rules and regulations imposed by public subsidizers seem to limit the company in its implementation of more market logic. The condition to perform a certain amount of times prevents the company from finding its own optimal number of performances. In addition, the subsidy structure in its entirety, including that of the theatres, prevents NDT from applying the more market-oriented self-presenting model.

Lastly, Joost notes that it is easier to define success in business terms than to define artistic success. Business wise, the organization is successful when it creates monetary value. In artistic terms, this is much harder to define. This has become apparent in NDT's search for a new artistic director, whereby it is difficult to know what the company seeks in such a person.

### ***Another Kind of Blue***

Interviews with David Middendorp and Hans Brouwer

In this case, I was able to talk to both the artistic director and choreographer of the company, David, and the business director named Hans.

#### Market logic

When talking to Hans about his take on the concept commercial, he remarked that it is important to implement commercial thinking in an art-organization, but that this is slightly different from commercial thinking in a normal shop. In an arts organization this should take shape in the sense “that you think about the audience, that you have in mind that you are creating for someone [...] and that you try to reach as many people as possible” (Hans Brouwer).

At Another Kind of Blue this is implemented by means of a multi-directional value chain, in which work is created in three dimensions with varying degrees of creative autonomy. The first dimension is where David creates experimental work, where he is not concerned about the audience, and is solely concentrated on trying out the things he wants to explore. This work is thus created in a very autonomous way. The work that is created in this dimension is subsequently shared with small audiences. The second dimension is about the creation of performances that will tour through theatres in The Netherlands. In this dimension, the audience is taken into account in the creation process as David indicated that the work should, to a certain extent, be attractive to a theatre-going audience. The third dimension is most associated with commercial activities. In this dimension David deems it important to make money from selling his performances, in order to finance dimensions one and two. To do so, his performances are shown at company events, television shows and the like, and sold at commercial prices. In some instances he even adjusts his work to fit the needs of the client, although he sets certain boundaries in this respect.

The value that is derived from these three dimensions are financial value, artistic value as well as knowledge and innovations. The latter two are important to David because ideally he would like to create a product that will sell itself on the market in order to fulfil the desire to become self-sufficient with his art. Therefore, the company aims to turn their current revenue model around. This entails that in the ideal perspective, the creative process would generate a product that sells on the market and generates a continuous income in order to support the fixed costs of running the company. This would than occasionally be supplemented with project subsidies to create something unique, to

experiment, to innovate, rather than that the subsidies would have to be used to cover the fixed costs which is now the case. Hans compared this to a shop, whereby the shop-side of the organization produces a continuous income that can support the regular artistic activities of the organization.

Although the technological and innovative aspect of David's work can bring about innovations that have the potential to sell on the market, Hans acknowledges that he doesn't have the skills, nor the network to fully exploit this commercial potential of their products. He therefore indicated that for the future, someone who is more skilled in that, would be a good addition to the team.

The artistic product David generally makes is a combination between technology and dance. This combination allows them to find support from different places. The Fund for the Performing Arts for example finances the part that has to do with dance, while Another Kind of Blue seeks financial support from innovation funds for the technological part of David's art. The challenge that this brings forward is that they maintain different accountability indicators. Innovation funds are much more market oriented and seek an answer to the question how the product or service in question is going to do on the market. This requires David and Hans to also think more in market terms. The fund for the Performing Arts, rather requires accountability in terms of audience outreach, number of performances and the like. What is more, for the application of public subsidies, the company is required to be a foundation, while innovation funds often require the applicant to be a private company. To accommodate these different requirements better, as well as to accommodate the commercial and artistic goals of the company, both Hans and David are considering to set up a limited liability company next to their foundation. All in all, one can note that a market logic is clearly evident in the company of Another Kind of Blue.

#### Valorisation in The Governance sphere

Hans indicated that financing through the governance sphere (public subsidies) gives a lot of work, and requires a lot of time. To emphasize this, Hans referred to one of their less fortunate experiences with a public subsidy fund called the European Fund for Regional Development (EFRO). Together with a number of partners, they applied for a subsidy request at the EFRO more than three years ago. Although their request has been approved a long time ago, they are still waiting for the promised financial contribution. The negative



aspects mentioned are bureaucracy and non-transparency. Despite such unfortunate experiences, Hans is not all negative about the Governance sphere. He is for example very positive about the company's relationship with the Fund for the Performing Arts.

### Artistic logic

According to Hans, the aspect in which art organizations are different, is that art does not arise from consumer demand, but originates from an idea. This remark is very much according to the artistic logic, as it relates to autonomy in the creative process. Nevertheless, it seems to contradict with what he said at another moment in the interview which has been explicated above, namely that to a certain extent commercial thinking should be implemented within arts organizations which takes shape by being aware that you create for an audience. Although including the perspective of the demand side in the creation process can compromise the value of autonomy, it doesn't have to imply that doing so conflicts with the artistic logic. Questioning David what kind of role the audience has in his creation process sheds light on this aspect. He indicated that when creating full-evening performances, he does think about the viewer, by imagining himself in the audience. However, the emphasis is on evoking an emotional experience from the audience, on creating meaning. This shows how the generation of cultural and symbolic value are central when thinking about the audience during the creation process, which is characteristic of the artistic logic.

In addition, David is able to maintain various degrees of artistic autonomy by dividing the creation of his work into three dimensions. This way, David is able to accommodate the necessity to generate an income, as well as to accommodate his desire to experiment artistically.

The artistic logic makes its appearance as well when Hans talks about the relationships he seeks to establish with external constituents. He remarks that he seeks to establish profound relationships, a sincere connection whereby mutual respect and understanding for each other's practices are central. This approach regularly results in partnerships in which the company receives a contribution in the form of labour, knowledge, time and discounts. The desire for more profound relationships in which there is more to it

than a mere exchange, coincides with characteristics of the artistic logic such as meaningful relationships and the creation of symbolic meaning.

### Reconciliation strategies

Hans and David both have a clear active approach towards the tension between art and the market. David argued that the tension between art and commerce is what makes the creation of art exciting and worthwhile. “I think that art originates from this kind of friction, and when you remove that friction there is nothing left” (David).

Hans is convinced that to be successful, the artistic and the business part of the organization should work in harmony. They should respect each other’s work and recognize the contributions that each of them makes to the organization. Hans emphasized that as a business director you also have to prevent that you are constantly the one who has to say no. Therefore, he deems it important to involve David in the business proceedings of the company, what the budget entails, and why certain choices have to be made. This is made easier by David’s interest and curiosity into the business side of the organization. One could say that they view their duties as shared.

The integration of both the artistic and the market also become evident when Hans talks about the revenue model of the company. The artistic practice is seen as the core of the business, but is also seen as a potential to make money from in a later stage. In that sense the arts practice is instrumental as well as intrinsic to the company’s success. When talking to Hans and David about success, they also highlighted that for them this means progress in each of the three dimensions.

Within the sphere of Governance, Another Kind of Blue accommodates the reconciliation of market- and artistic needs by means of a dual leadership structure. Although on paper this looks like a clear division of managerial duties, in practice David and Hans are involved in one another’s responsibilities, especially David more on the business side. Again this shows an active rather than defensive approach and also indicates how one does not have to exclude the other.

### Struggles

From the interviews no struggles emerged that relate to the reconciliation of market- and artistic logic. David even sees the tension between art and the market as a healthy and necessary tension that makes the creation of art worthwhile.

Although there seem to be no struggles within the organization, it became evident that the implementation of a market logic by the organization is made difficult by factors in the external environment of the organization. For example, when asking if the company could be a for-profit company for example, both answered that they have the legal entity of a foundation because this is a requirement in order to be eligible for public subsidies. They also indicated that in order to accommodate their commercial activities, they consider to found a limited liability company next to their foundation. The question remains if this is a possibility if they want to remain eligible for public subsidies.

### ***Chronos***

#### Interview with Vera Goetzee

The results of this interview are organized in a slightly different way than the other interviews. This is because in the interview with Vera Goetzee, there was little market logic detectable. Therefore, it made more sense to start this section with the logic of Governance. This will be followed by a small section on market logic and a part on the artistic logic.

#### Logic of Governance

The dance collective Chronos was formed during the last year of the dance education that the four founders attended together. Whereas in school they could valorise their dance practice by means of school performances and the like, having left school, they had to find other ways to valorise their dance practice. By means of googling, they gradually find out what was necessary in this respect. For example, Vera indicated that they found out that in order to be eligible for public subsidies you had to have the legal entity of a foundation. Consequently, they set up a foundation and found board members to supervise the foundation. They created a website, thought of a mission and vision for their organization, made a logo, and set themselves a number of goals for the following year. Naturally every one of the four founders took up different aspects of the organizational practices. One focussed on the financial aspects, Vera on the social media outreach, another on communication, and the fourth one would take up the back office duties. The essence of this is that they found out that in order to valorise their dance in society, they had to enter the sphere of Governance.

In regard to the finances, Chronos finds most of its support through the Governance

sphere by means of subsidy grants from public funds. Like the other interviewees, Vera too indicated that these subsidy applications command a lot of time and effort to write. In addition, Vera commented that such subsidy applications require you to define the artistic product in very precise terms such as what kind of target audience the performance aims to reach, but also how the final performance is going to look like. Especially the latter can be bothersome for experimental dance makers such as Chronos. Vera argued that their performances often originate from an idea and the performance will be the outcome of the process of exploring that idea. To pre-determine what the outcome will be, often feels a bit silly and forged. Nevertheless, Vera is not all negative about their financing through the Governance sphere, as she indicated that it makes them think about important aspects of the performance early on in the process, such as why people should come and watch the show.

#### Market logic

According to Vera, the dance that Chronos creates differs from dance in a commercial environment, in the sense that it serves a different purpose. When dance is used in commercial ways, it becomes instrumental. To emphasize this she referred to dance used in commercials to sell other products such as NIKE shoes, or dance in tv shows such as So You Think You Can Dance whereby the aim is to attract as many viewers as possible, which requires dance to be entertaining. Vera argues that for Chronos, which valorises dance in a non-commercial environment, the purpose is to dance and to share their dance practice with others. In that sense, there is a clear separation between dance for commercial purposes and dance for the purpose of dance. Viewing these as distinct practices can be characterised as a defensive approach towards the paradoxical tensions between art and the market.

#### Arts logic

Whereas the market logic was almost not detectable in the interview with Vera, the arts logic was all the more. Vera indicated that she derives the most satisfaction from creating choreographies with Chronos. Not only the creation process is fulfilling to her, but also sharing it with an audience forms an important motivation for her. The aim is not to have the viewer like the performance per se, but rather to evoke emotion, an opinion or insight

from the viewer. One can detect a strong intrinsic motivation within Vera, which became even more evident when she remarked that she wouldn't derive satisfaction from becoming famous, nor from becoming rich. The aim to generate shared experiences with the audience in which cultural- and symbolic value are created, as well as Vera's strong intrinsic motivation, reveal a strong orientation on the artistic logic.

What is more, when talking about the value that the company Chronos generates, there is no mention of monetary value. Chronos values their contribution to the artform of experimental dance, which, according to Vera, is often quite inaccessible to a non-experienced dance audience. In her view, Chronos makes experimental and conceptual dance while being accessible and understandable to a broad audience. In this sense, Chronos creates value from and for the artistic practice of dance.

Creative autonomy is also an important aspect to Chronos. In their search for financial support Vera indicated that they seek support from the places that suit their dance practice. The performance is what it is, and they wouldn't change that to accommodate the requirements of resource providers. When asking about an ideal perspective for Chronos, Vera also mentioned the desire to have their own studio, especially because it would enable them to experiment with their ideas without having to account for it beforehand.

For the future of Chronos, Vera mentioned they'd like to grow as a company. In order to do so, they are currently building up a customer base, as a solid customer base will make them more valuable for bigger performing spaces. Although the language used here is associated with a market logic, the underlying reason for expanding the collective and building up a customer base, is to be able to share their practice with more people.

All in all, the artistic logic very much prevails at the dance collective Chronos. From the interview, the Market logic seemed to be absent in the organizational practice of Chronos. Instead, the valorisation of Chrono's dance practice takes shape by means of the Governance sphere, and satisfaction, legitimation and motivation are derived from the world of the arts.

To emphasize this; "without their art, there would be no organization to organize" (Vera).

#### Reconciliation strategies

As there is more of a defensive approach towards the logic of the market, there are also no reconciliation strategies to write about. Instead, Chronos has an implicit strategy to avoid

the market logic. The dance makers get together to create work approximately one time per year for a period of 1,5 months, and only if they are able to find financial support or support by means of a residency. Next to this, they all work as freelance dancers and take on side-jobs to cover their bills, and to gain inspiration from working with other choreographers. The additional income apart from the activities at Chronos allows the dancers to establish creative autonomy within their dance collective.

### Struggles

The struggles that became apparent in the interview mainly related to the sphere of Governance which has already been explicated above. Another difficulty that was mentioned is time management. By having multiple jobs, it is sometimes challenging to find time with the four of them together. In addition, without structural financial means, they collective is very much dependent on the admissions they receive such as grants or residencies. This also influences when and where they are able to create their art again.

### ***Antidote Movement***

#### Interview with Doke Pauwels

The Antidote movement is somewhat different from the other cases, as Antidote is not yet an official organization. It is a movement, comprised of three freelancers with a vision. Their vision is very clearly an opposition against the Market and the Governance sphere. This interview was interesting in the sense that it shed some light on how difficult it can be to valorise an arts practice in other spheres than the G and the M sphere.

#### Market and Governance logic

Market logic in the Antidote Movement presents itself in the sense that they explicitly try to distance themselves from it. The interviewee associates this market logic with competition, efficiency, measurability, performance pressure and instrumentalism. The Movement's desire is to free artistic creation from the enclosure of the market whereby market conditions aren't determining factors in the creation and evaluation of art.

Interestingly, the interviewee also voiced a strong rejection of the Governance sphere. In the Governance sphere the interviewee sees how artists are increasingly necessitated to legitimize themselves in instrumental terms, such as the societal or economic impact of an artistic project. The Antidote Movement's vision is for art to become

a self-evident part of society, whereby artists do not have to constantly defend themselves and their practices in instrumental terms. Whereby, artists do not have to conform to the parameters of the M sphere and the G sphere, but can create the art they want to create, rather than art that is hip, or societally relevant.

The Antidote Movement wants to offer an alternative to this neo-liberal society with its associated norms and values. However, they are still figuring out what kind of alternative this can be, but derive their inspiration from commoning principles in which values such as reciprocity, trust, inclusivity and interdependence are important.

### Artistic logic

The reason for the Antidote's Movement rejection of the M- and G sphere lies in the way how they view their artistic practice. Within the Movement, artistic autonomy is very important, and forms the basis for their arts practice. Therefore, according to them, no conditions must be imposed on the creation process whatsoever. The artistic logic is thus very strongly evident within the Antidote Movement

The rejection of the M- and G sphere raises the question of what kind of alternatives they've found to valorise their art. The interviewee argued that they did not find alternative financial resources. Therefore, they do financially support their festival (which is the first event the Antidote Movement organizes) through the Governance sphere by means of subsidy requests. This was quite difficult for them and raised a paradoxical situation. The funds are mainly focussed on the instrumental value the arts can generate, while the Antidote Movement reasons from the question 'what can society do for the arts?'. Also, to obtain money from these funds proved to be quite difficult because of their politically lading message.

In addition, the fact that the Antidote Movement doesn't have a legal entity yet required them to collaborate with a partner who did have the legal entity of a foundation in order to be eligible for subsidies. In the future the Antidote Movement aims to set up their own foundation in order to be more autonomous in this respect as well. Nevertheless, the interviewee indicated that a more fluid and less formal organizational form would fit better to their vision.

The importance of fair practice in order to achieve a sustainable arts practice was

also voiced during the interview. With fair practice, the interviewee mainly meant fair payment for the artists. At first this might seem to point towards a market logic, but the underlying argument for a fair practice indicates the opposite.

“Because I want to do it [the practice of dance] full-time, I also want to earn money with it, not for the money but so that I can live from it and so that I can continue to dance” (Doke Pauwels).

Money is thus important but in an instrumental way, in order to achieve a sustainable arts practice. What is more, when asking whether it was an option to achieve creative autonomy by financing art through side jobs, the answer was that this is indeed an option but a very sub-optimal one. Spending your time working in a bar or something else, will only take away time that could also be spend on the artistic practice. In that sense, having a second job does not benefit art and doesn’t contribute to a sustainable practice. In practice the interviewee is necessitated to finance the dance practice by means of side jobs.

#### Reconciliation strategies

The interviewee mentioned that it a challenge to do both the managerial duties next to the creative duties of festival. The creative part requires a different mindset than the business part. Therefore, a future aim is to set up a team that would take over the managerial duties so that the interviewee can focus on the artistic side. In other words, the intention is to implement a dual leadership structure.

#### Struggles

The main struggle that came forward in the interview is that it is very difficult to find alternative ways to valorise a dance practice. In our current system, we can’t organise without money, or without an organization. The main challenge is therefore to keep looking for ways, and to keep trying to implement the vision of Antidote Movement in every step of the way of valorisation.

What is more, the interviewee remarked that it looks like mainly the freelance dance makers have to comply to the rules and regulations imposed by subsidy providers, whereas large companies enjoy much more artistic freedom. “I feel that especially in the freelance scene, the artistic content must be justified in political terms” (Doke Pauwels). Large companies do not have to constantly legitimize their practices, their existence is much more



evident. Young dance makers on the other hand, have to please the external constituents much more than established companies have to do.

### ***Conny Jansen Danst***

Interview with Rick Spaan.

#### Market logic

According to Rick Spaan, it is important to the company that their dance speaks to a large and diverse audience. He remarked that therefore, the audience plays a significant role in the creation process. Nevertheless, being accessible to a large audience is not motivated by the desire to make as much money as possible, but is rather motivated by the wish to communicate dance, and to communicate it with as many people as possible. In that sense, the desire to speak to a large audience comes from an artistic wish rather than from the aim to generate monetary value.

Nevertheless, Rick mentioned that he feels that within the arts sector, Conny Janssen is regarded as somewhat commercial, or easy going, because of their intention to be accessible.

“because we take the audience into account, I think that Conny Janssen is sometimes looked down upon in the [dance] field” (Rick Spaan). As a consequence, it is difficult for the company to be programmed on art festivals for example.

#### Governance logic

The company is a foundation, once again in order to be eligible for public subsidies. When asking whether they would be a different organizational form when such conditions were not set by public subsidy providers, Rick argued that he would seek the organizational form that best suits the company of Conny Janssen. This implies that the decision for which kind of organizational form a company adopts is not guided by considering the pros and cons of different organizational forms, but rather by the rules and regulations of external constituents.

Financially, the organization is mostly dependent on public subsidies from the Fund of the Performing Arts and the municipality of Rotterdam. Rick argued that at the moment the odds are in their favour as he notes that subsidy providers value more and more what Conny Janssen Danst stands for. He observes a shift at the subsidizing funds whereby in the past they used to support the art and artists that really needed it financially, while the funds

are now more inclined to subsidize companies that are already doing well, because “those funds also want to make a good impression with what they support” (Rick Spaan). According to Rick this works in the favour of Conny Janssen Danst.

#### Artistic logic

Currently, the company of Conny Janssen Danst is very much associated with the artistic director Conny Janssen. Her artistic vision therefore determines the artistic signature of the company. According to Rick, Conny deems it important to communicate with her audience through her choreographies. In that sense, the dance practice at Conny Janssen Danst is very much approached as a shared product, like a conversation, in which the value of the dance practice is created through sharing.

The company also aims to contribute to the field of dance by becoming a house of dance. With this, Rick means that the company wants to support dance makers by supporting them financially, managerially and artistically in their artistic development. The company seeks herein the dance makers that fit their artistic signature.

#### Reconciliation strategies

The company applies a dual leadership structure. The collaboration between the business and artistic side was described as being good and pleasant. What is more, taking the audience into account in the creation process is not viewed to be compromising the artistic autonomy of Conny Janssen. One could argue that this indicates an active approach towards the paradox of the market and the artistic, whereby the a market-oriented is complementary to the artistic orientation.

#### Struggles

Unlike in the other cases, Rick mentioned no experiences of struggles with either the Governance sphere or the M sphere.

## **Appendix B, interview questions**

- 1) Can you tell me something about your role at the company? When did you join the company and why did you join the company?
- 2) What did you do previous to this job?
- 3) Why is your company a foundation?
- 4) Can you describe the collaboration between the artistic and the business departments of the organization?
- 5) What is important to you in your job and within the organization?
- 6) What is your perception of the concept commercial?
- 7) Do you implement elements that you associate with the commercial?
- 8) What kind of values does the company generate?
- 9) Who are the most important stakeholders for the company?
- 10) Is the audience important to your organization? And in what way?
- 11) How would you describe a successful year for the company?
- 12) Where do you obtain your finances from? What kind of conditions do these resource providers maintain? Are these conditions in accordance with what you do?
- 13) Do you compromise to meet the requirements of external constituents?
- 14) Do you have a business model or value chain?

15) If I would ask you to imagine an ideal environment for the valorisation of dance, how would that look like?

16) If you would be able to hire someone for the organization, who would that be and what kind of skills would that person have?

17) What is important for the future of the company?