The paradoxical situation of museums in the 'New Economy'

'Nederlands instituut voor Beeld en Geluid', museum of the future?

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Preface x

After finishing high school I started studying Commercial Economics in Amsterdam on the Hogere Economische School (HES). The reason that I started this study is that I didn't draw a place by lot on the school for arts in Utrecht to study Arts and Economics. While studying on the HES if found out that this study was not challenging enough for me, therefore after achieving my propaedeutics I stopped. In 2006 I applied for Algemene Cultuur Wetenschappen (Cultural Studies) on the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam. This three-year study focused on Visual Arts, Literature, Film, New Media and Graphic design. I chose this study because I am interested in arts; however, during my study I missed the possibilities of practical application. This is one of the reasons why I did a voluntary internship on the marketing department of the Film museum in Amsterdam. In 2009 I graduated for my bachelor and started studying Cultural Economics and Cultural Entrepreneurship in Rotterdam to get a better understanding of the economic aspects of arts and application in society.

I soon became intrigued by the tension between the values that come about with cultural goods. As Arjo Klamer puts it nicely: culture matters and so do economics [Klamer, 2003, p.19]. From the outside 'Beeld en Geluid' seems an organization that has taken this tension into account; therefore I found it interesting to take a closer look at the organization and its goals. Can we consider 'Beeld en Geluid the museum of the future?

After several months I managed to finish my thesis. During the process I needed some time to get into the flow. However, once I got into the flow, working on my thesis became more fun. I found it challenging to work on such a big project and, as I am finished, I am proud of the result. Thanks to all the people that motivated me during this process, among others: Annemarie, Marlou, Natalie, Winke, Serçe, Débra, Elise, Anke, Merle en Dirk. Special thanks to: Pieter van der Heijden, Edwin van Huis and Michel Hommel for giving me a lot of insights on the institute. My parents Bert and Caty, for supporting me, keeping faith in me and helping me in several ways and finally Arjo Klamer, for all his advices and guidance through this process.

- August 12th 2010, Marjolein Imminga.

Abstract x

The purpose of my study is to develop a better understanding of the paradoxical situation museums are operating in. On the one hand museums are sheltered from the broader market by government policies in order for them to stay focused on the core of the organization, which is the generation of public goods. The problem however is that, as an organization on the other hand, they exist in a free market economy and are expected to compete with other businesses in a supply and demand framework. Various organizations are struggling in how to adapt to the new economy and changing their culture. For this reason it is interesting to take a closer look at 'Beeld en Geluid'. From the perspective of professionalization it seems that this organization is more developed and ahead of other cultural organizations. It appears that 'Beeld en Geluid' is very aware of what the public demands and how to approach them, but is this also the case if we take a closer look? How are museums operating in the paradoxical situation of the new economy? And could we see 'Beeld en Geluid' as the museum of the future?

Keywords: new economy, future of museums, 'Beeld en Geluid', value of culture, marketing, experience economy

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1.1 introduction

"Hello, my name is Rob Kamphues. Nice to meet you! Soon I will take you to the world of 'Beeld en Geluid', but first I would like to know your name and how old you are."

Rom Kamphues is a famous Dutch television host, who you can choose to be your guide when visiting the 'Experience' of 'Beeld en Geluid'. The 'Experience' is a magical city where you can discover the world of television, radio, movies and music; it is the public attraction of the audiovisual archive 'Beeld en Geluid'. Upon entering the attraction every visitor has to register in order to get a special ring. With this ring the visitor can adjust the program to its own wishes; this means that the visitor is in charge of its own visit. In every pavilion the visitor can call up its guide to get information about what to expect, to see and do.

The 'Beeld en Geluid Experience' was established in 2006 and it is clear that this new approach towards visitors is not common in museums. In most museums visitors are forced to walk a certain route that leaves no place to use your imagination. Hence, are these experience concepts the future? What can we expect from museums in the future? Is the museum world going to change that much that we have to reconsider their goals and functions? Is 'Beeld en Geluid' the museum of the future?

1.2 The development of 'Beeld en Geluid'

Although film and photography gained a lot of popularity from the beginning of the twentieth century, the storage of the audiovisual material was underdeveloped. In the eighties this gradually changed, as the development of audiovisual archiving accelerated. The nationally operating institutions, 'Filmmuseum', 'Filmarchief van de Rijksvoorlichtingsdienst' [RVD], 'Stichting Film en Wetenschap' and 'Omroeparchief', saw the material fall into decay. Therefore they bundled their forces and started working together on a series of rapports to get support to improve the archives. Together with various developments these rapports resulted in a thorough review of the audiovisual-archiving-landscape.

At the advice of the 'committee Vonhoff' in 1995, the ministry decided to establish a national institute with special responsibilities in this area. In 1996, this resulted in the foundation of the 'Netherlands Audiovisueel archief' [NAA]; a merger of 'Bedrijfsarchief van de Publieke

Omroep', 'Filmarchief van de RVD', 'Stichting Film en Wetenschap' and 'Omroepmuseum'[1]. The NAA or 'Beeld en Geluid' called herself a cultural historic institution with the task to manage and conserve the audiovisual heritage and to make the collection available to the widest range of users possible. Therefore 'Beeld en Geluid' had, and still has, a special position in the cultural sector as there a no other institutions with comparable size nor tasks in the Netherlands. The organization's envisaged policy was to enhance the cultural and educational scope of the collection and to intensify the conservation of vulnerable collections. 'Beeld en Geluid' focused on a large number of target groups: public and commercial broadcasters, producers, advertising agencies, record labels and publishers, schools and universities and last but not least the general public [Raad van Cultuur, 2001-2004, p.16].

'Beeld en Geluid' was established to ensure sustainable preservation of Dutch audiovisual heritage and to make this collection accessible for broadcast professionals and education. In addition the institute had to raise general public awareness. The organization thus had a variety of policy intentions and activities to accomplish in the cultural sector, such as distribution, research and publication, information and education, conservation and managing the collection, production and reproduction and promotion and marketing. Hence, one could say that the content of the policy of 'Beeld en Geluid' continues the policies of its predecessors; as a result the organization had a variety of tasks. The difference however, was that these activities were bundled in a new institution that paid special attention to, among others, organizational and financial aspects in accordance to its policy. Some examples are the collection policy, the national inventory of the audiovisual collections, the improvement of the accessibility of digital distribution, the development of a research institute and the preparation and construction of a new museum [ibid]. In order to realize this, the organization formulated three goals:

- The development of an innovative digital infrastructure for the management and availability of the collections,
- The realization of a new building to bundle all activities related to all physical activities that deal with the preservation of audiovisual heritage. The building thus has to contain a large depot, offices, archiving facilities and a public attraction,
- Finding a solution to make up arrears in the preservation and digitization of the collections [Jaarverslag 2007, p.2].

[1] In 2002 the NAA changed its name to 'Nederlands instituut voor Beeld en Geluid', in short 'Beeld en Geluid'.

These goals were successfully achieved towards the end of 2006, so these developments have rapidly taken place. According to Mieke Lauwers and Bert Hogenkamp this is due to the fact that audiovisual archives are not bound to traditions as general archives. These archives have to deal with the discipline as it is imposed by law [Lauwers and Hogenkamp, 2005, pp. 21-22]. Audiovisual archiving only became important a few decades ago and is a recently new discipline.
The opening of the new institute in Hilversum enabled the organization to focus more on their tasks and making the audiovisual heritage available to as many users as possible. The main tasks of the organization as described in the annual reports are acquisition and archiving, conservation and digitalization, offering various services online and presentation [Jaarverslag, 2007]. Hence, one could say that the tasks of 'Beeld en Geluid' correspond to those of a museum.

1.3 Consequences of the 'new economy'

In the last decades the world economy has seen an extraordinary economic growth and technological change. This has profoundly affected the arts. The revolutionary growth has brought along with it opportunities, capacities and problems, which is also signified by Baumol as the 'new economy'. According to Baumol the new economy has had revolutionary effects on goals and standards. In addition, as government support has declined over the last decades, the new economy also raised profound problems for financial support [Baumol, 2006, pp.340-341]. According to DiMaggio this has resulted in a paradoxical situation for museums to operate in. On the one hand museums are sheltered from the broader market by government policies with incentive for them to adopt a non-profit framework. However, on the other hand, as an organization they exist in a free market economy and are expected to compete with other businesses in a supply and demand framework [Rentschler and Hede, 2007, p.xix]. To elucidate this, it is important to get a better understanding of the special position of museums and the values they generate.

1.3.1 Paradoxical situation of museums in the 'new economy'

The public character of many museums has resulted in the fact that they receive some form of public subsidy, although the extent and nature of this support can vary from one museum to another. Public support declined and as a result museums have turned to other potential sources of finance such as sponsorships and the market [see chapter 2.3.1]. Hence, it comes with no surprise that museums throughout the world have become much more visitor-orientated. As museums are trying to develop other financing possibilities, it has become more important for them to focus on the preferences of their 'costumers' [Ibid, p.318].

This new approach has resulted in a shift in the balance between the different purposes. It increased the tension between the focus on the collection on the one hand, and on the focus on the audience. As Hooper-Greenhill formulates it; museums are changing from being static storehouses for artifacts into active learning environments for people. This change in function means a radical reorganization of the whole culture of the museum and comes with a lot of challenges. The reinterpretation of this fundamental museum function is placed on the one hand within the world of education, but on the other hand, enters a new and rapidly growing world, that of a leisure and tourism industry dedicated to pleasure and consumerism [Hooper-Greenhill, 1994, pp.1-2].

However, as the literature shows, this transition towards a more audience-focused approach is not only a result of economic changes, but also a result of a changing society [literature on 'Attention Economy': Goldhaber, 1997, Franck, 1999, Davenport and Beck, 2001, Huberman and Wu, 2008, Lanham, 2006, Cowen, 2006, Van Dalen en Klamer, 2005]. Culture has been knocked of its pedestal en has to compete with other forms of leisure. This resulted in a battle in favor of the scarce time and attention of the costumers. Museums have to focus more on the demand of the market. So, whereas visitors used to be content to stroll through the museum, now there is a clear and consistent demand for a close and active encounter with objects and exhibits. A physical experience using all the senses is called for [Hooper-Greenhill, 1994, p.6].

Hence, in the new economy cultural organizations have to professionalize; they have to adapt to the economy. This means that organizations have to become more aware of their position in the market they are operating in, how to attract visitors and how to stand out between its competitors. Accordingly, organizations have to change their corporate culture. According to Morgan, corporate culture is an evolved form of social practice that has been influenced by many complex interactions between people, events, situations, actions and general circumstances [Morgan, 2006, p.146]. So, if an organization has to change its culture, this will have big consequences on, among others, organizational design, organizational quality and leadership roles. It is evident that it is not easy for museums to realize this. The reason for this lies in the complexity of the values discourse; in most traditional museums the power has always been in hands of the curator and the management of the collection; they were in charge of the program. Most museums where content driven and had no financial or commercial ambitions. However, due to the declining government subsidies, organizations are now forced to think about it. Hence, it is not surprising that museum managers struggle with the issues of maintaining their museum's integrity as a distinctive collecting, conserving, research, exhibiting and educational institution, and, at the same time, making their museum more popular and competitive [Kotler and Kotler, 2000, p.271]. This new perspective raises the question which values are more important. What is the balance between focusing on economic values, such as making money on the one hand and serving the public on the other? [To get a better understanding of the value discourse see chapter 2.2.1]

1.3.2 'Beeld en Geluid' in the 'new economy'

Various organizations are struggling in how to adapt to the new economy and changing their culture. For this reason it is interesting to take a closer look at 'Beeld en Geluid'. From the perspective of professionalization it seems that this organization is more developed and ahead of other cultural organizations. One could say that the institute has taken the different values of cultural goods into account and found a good balance in the focus on the collection on the one hand and focus on the market on the other. The reason for this conclusion is that 'Beeld en Geluid' is a heritage institution that serves the public. Nevertheless, the institute is also focused on economic values; it integrated market-orientation in its policies to become more aware of the demand of the public.

One could say that 'Beeld en Geluid' had an advantage on other organizations as it was established in 2006. The organization had the 'luxury' of creating a public attraction adapted to the current economy without the burden of a preconceived concept. The vision behind this attraction was to create a presentation that would be experience directed. The most important aspect of this presentation is that visitors are in charge of their own visit and connect on an emotional level. Visitors can create their own meaningful experience with the result that 'Beeld en Geluid' leaves a trace in their memory. The 'Experience' is thus a good concept to connect to the visitors and to build up a relationship with them. Van Huis and van der Heijden said that the idea behind the 'Experience' was to create the most fun museum of the Netherlands; it had to be easy accessible for everyone, but most importantly, it had to be entertaining. Accordingly, the 'Experience' is a unique concept; the public attraction is very much visitor-orientated and directly linked to the archives.

The institute is not only unique with its public attraction, but also in its vision behind certain decisions. A good example is that the NAA in 2002 changed its name to 'Nederlands instituut voor Beeld en Geluid' [Lauwers and Hogenkamp, 2005, pp. 11-13]. In the first reports Edwin van Huis [the former managing director of the institute] and Pieter van der Heijden [the former director of the experience] spoke of the 'Beeld en Geluid Experience' as a museum, because this is a manageable concept. If someone speaks of museums they know what to expect. This is exactly the reason that the institute avoided the term; from a marketing perspective 'a museum' sounds too dull. The direct stakeholders were not keen of this term either. The goal of the institute was to attract a variety of Dutch citizens and much more children than the average museum. With this goal in mind, the organization decided not to call 'Beeld en Geluid' a museum but an institute: "otherwise you constantly have to tell people it is really fun and not boring" [Van Huis and Van der Heijden, 2010].

Hence, 'Beeld en Geluid' was established to ensure sustainable preservation of Dutch audiovisual heritage and to make its collection accessible for broadcast professionals and education. In order to achieve this, the organization has several tasks and activities that correspond to a museum. However, even though the institute has parallel tasks as other museums, the organization has some special characteristics that distinguish it, such as the acknowledgement of market-orientation and the experience directed presentation. Moreover, the institute does not call itself a museum. So, what is the difference? Should we look at 'Beeld en Geluid' from a different perspective? Or can we consider 'Beeld en Geluid' an example for other museums, as the institute is more adapted to the economy?

1.4 Research

To come to the point; in the new economy it is important to adapt to the economy in order to survive. Hence, it is necessary for cultural organizations to be aware of the market and their position in it. It seems that most museums have become more aware of the economy and as a result the power gradually shifted from the curator to other departments of the museum. Nevertheless, this awareness is not evident in the cultural world. Instead of orientating on the demand of the public; a lot of museums are still content driven and struggling in adopting a new corporate culture. This is probably due to the complexity of the values discourse. So, should the focus be on the collection or on the public? And does a focus on the latter imply a loss of the museum's integrity as a distinctive collecting, conserving, research, exhibiting and educational institution? How can organizations adapt to the economy and making their museum more competitive and popular, whilst maintain its integrity?

The purpose of my study is to develop a better understanding of the paradoxical situation museums are operating in; cultural and social values are important for the arts, however, so is economics. Over the last decades this tension in the value discourse has decreased, but the discussion is still ongoing. Therefore I found it interesting to take a closer look at the bipolar status of museums in the new economy and 'Beeld en Geluid' in particular. From the outside it seems that the institute is very aware of what the public demands and how to approach them, but is this also the case if we take a closer look? Could it be the case that the 'Experience' of 'Beeld en Geluid' is the museum of the future, so I wonder? In order to answer this question it is important to take a closer look at how 'Beeld en Geluid' and the 'Experience' came about and how they developed over time. What are the key issues in the institute? What problems does the organization face? What are the most important values of the organization? What is the balance between the focus on the collection and focus on the public? Does the institute also operate according to its values?

Before I can answer these questions it is important to give more insights on the special characteristics of cultural goods, why we need to treat them different than normal goods and what implications they have. Therefore I will give a closer look to the values of these goods and how this new perspective came about. In addition, it is important to get a better understanding of what museums are and the distinguishing characteristics of 'Beeld en Geluid'. The main research question is: *How are museums operating in the paradoxical situation of the new economy? And could we see 'Beeld en Geluid' as the museum of the future?*

2.1 Cultural Economics

Most economists agree that culture and arts do not operate like normal goods. The value of cultural goods and services cannot fully be taken into account with solely an economic perspective, because in addition to economic values, they deal with social and cultural values too. The value of culture is hard to determine, but it is clear that it is impossible to express this only in monetary terms. Cultural goods should be seen as ‘cultural ecosystems’, with shared cultural networks and relationships, that facilitate cultural, social and economic interaction between members of the group [Throsby, 1999, p169]. In addition, Ruth Towse also refers to these goods as ‘merit goods’, which are goods that are held to have inherent value for society because of their positive externalities [Towse, 2005, p.3].

The importance of culture and values has long been neglected, until William Baumol and William Bowen published a groundbreaking analysis of the economics of the arts called ‘Performing Arts the Economic Dilemma’ [1966]. This view on the economics of the arts has led to the growing field of cultural economics where in economic ideas are adapted to the specific features of the cultural sector. In order to grasp the concept of cultural economics and understand the paradoxality of the different values that cultural goods generate, it is important to take a closer look at the definitions of culture and economics.

2.1.1 Culture

Raymond Williams, a famous British anthropologist, describes culture as one of the most complicated words in the English language. This is because that the word has been deployed in everyday use without a tangible or generally agreed core meaning. [Throsby, 2001, p.3]. Today, there is still a disturbing lack of agreement as to what is meant with the term culture; therefore the definition differs between various disciplines. The challenge for modern anthropologists in recent years has been to narrow the concept, so it includes less and reveals more, but still they have not agreed on the best way to realize this [Keesing, 1974, p.73].

There was a time, however, when there was a degree of conformity in use and comprehension of the term culture [White, 1954, p.227]. The original definition of culture derived from the idea of cultivation: the process of tilling and developing land. From the sixteenth century onwards the word began to be used frequently with a different connotation, culture referred to the degree of refinement; thus cultivation of the mind and the intellect. This definition changed to convey the idea that different societies manifest different levels of social development [Morgan, 2006, p.116]. Culture according to this definition should be seen as products and practices of 'high' arts.

Since the nineteenth century the term culture became a signifier for the intellectual and spiritual development of civilization as a whole. The classic definition was provided by the founder of social anthropology, Sir Edward Tylor, in 1871. According to him culture is a complex entity which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society; thus everything that characterizes a group of people from another. The difference with this last definition is that culture is not a behavior itself, but the shared understandings that guide behavior and are expressed in behavior. As Edward Hall puts it; culture is a 'silent language' [Peacock, 2001, pp.3-4].

This last definition of culture shows that art is not the same as culture. Art is a man-made cultural artifact in a society; hence art is an expression of culture. Nevertheless, the field changed the name from 'economics of the arts' to the term 'cultural economics', because according to the field, the problem with 'the arts' was that it was too specific and too narrow for the subject matter of cultural economics. The term arts tend to apply only to high culture and exclude heritage, cultural industries and 'low culture'. Economists that have been studying all these parts of the cultural sector see common characteristics and problems and so have settled for the term 'cultural economics' [Towse, 2005, p1]. There are multiple definitions for the field of cultural economics. Rene Kooyman, for example, defines; cultural economics is the application of economic analysis to all of the creative and performing arts, the heritage and cultural industries, whether publicly or private owned [Kooyman, 2008, pp.22-23]. In the definition of Kooyman cultural economics is concerned with the economic organization of the cultural sector and with the behavior of producers, consumers and governments in this sector. Klamer has a different definition; he argues that cultural economics is the study of culture in economic settings. The emphasis must be on the different values that cultural goods constitute, while acknowledging the continuing importance of the economic dimension [Klamer, 2003, p.19].

2.1.2 Economics

Today, cultural economics is recognized as a growing field of economics. Yet, if one takes a closer look at the definition of 'economics', it seems that these two fields have different objectives. A common used definition is formed by the British economist Lionel Robbins, who defines economy as the science which studies human behavior as a relationship between ends and scarce means which have alternative uses. He states that the economist is interested in the way different degrees of scarcity of different goods give rise to different ratios of valuation between them and the way in which changes in conditions of scarcity affect these ratios [Robbins, 1945, p.16]. Hence, economics is the study of the allocation of scarce resources to produce various commodities, as all available resources are insufficient to satisfy all wants and needs. The problem with this definition is that scarcity is not obvious in the cultural sector, as there are innumerable cultural goods on the market.

If one omits the aspect of scarcity, the definition of economics becomes: a social study that aims to explain how human beings behave and how human communities organize the production and distribution and consumption of goods and services. From a culturalist perspective this definition is restrictive. For example Klamer states that this definition leaves out aspects that are peculiar to the cultural world; we are thinking too much in economic terms. He states that we need to reconsider the traditional notions of 'goods' and 'capital', because cultural goods are not regular commodities. Some arguments he gives are: *consumption of cultural goods is not really consumption* and *consumption is more than consuming products and experiences.* In addition he argues *that the values of cultural goods are more than economics can account for; the important values seem to come about outside the sphere of economic calculation and exchange*. As these statements show there is a gap between economics and culture as both perspectives take other values into account. Hence, if we want to bridge this gap, we need to go beyond the accounting for economic capital alone, and include forms of social and cultural capital [Klamer, 2002, pp. 453-456].

2.2 Values of Cultural Goods

In the last decades there has been substantial debate about the relationship between cultural and economic values. According Michael Hutter and David Throsby this debate has been carried on in philosophy since Plato and Aristotle, but it was not until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that the outline of modern aesthetic and economic thought was established [Hutter and Throsby, 2008, p.1]. A lot of effort has been made to comprehend the continuing problems in understanding value in art and culture. This long history of debate has resulted in an extensive range of literature from different disciplines, whereof Hutter and Throsby give a short overview.

From the middle of the nineteenth century onwards, the disciplines of economics and aesthetic philosophy followed separate tracks of development. Value became a synonym for price and cultural and artistic values were forced to the background. This discussion reopened in 1970 when economist paid little attention in value issue, however, it took the art market boom of the 1980s to strengthen this renewed interest. Economists were focused specifically on the reasons for the high prices of some art-objects [Ibid., p.3].

The contemporary discussion within the economics of art and culture showed that the relationship between the values was complex. Various important steps forward were made by theorists to look at the field of economics from a different perspective. As an example, Hutter and Throsby name the publication made by Klamer [1996] called *the value of culture: on the relationship between economics and arts.* In this book different disciplinary perspectives were collected together in an effort to increase the dialogue [Ibid., p.3]. According to them an important breakthrough in this abstract discussion of value disciplines was made in the late 1980s by Barbara Herrnstein Smith. She defined the difference between economics and aesthetics in two discursive domains. According to Hutter and Throsby her paradigm was fruitful for the discussion of economic and cultural values:

> *On the one hand there is the discourse of economic theory: money, commerce, technology, industry, production and consumption, workers and consumers; on the other hand, there is the discourse of aesthetic axiology: culture, art, genius, creation and appreciation, artists and connoisseurs. In the first discourse, events are explained in terms of calculation, preferences, costs, benefits, profits, prices, and utility. In the second, events are explained –or , rather . . . "justified" –in terms of inspiration, discrimination, taste . . . , the test of time, intrinsic value, and transcendent value* [Ibid., p.5].

As this citation shows there is a big difference between the two discourses and despite the efforts of theorists the debate on the values of cultural goods is still ongoing. The reason for this, is probably because the concept of values remains hard to grasp. As Smith shows, at least one thing is sure, that there is more to art and culture than just money. In economic theory measurements are made with economic analysis and the value of goods is expressed in monetary terms. Measuring cultural values, on the other hand, is far more complex as they have an own logic of operation. However, Hutter and Throsby assess that as they are isolated from each other, economic values shape cultural valuation and cultural valuation influences price;

they are interdependent [Hutter and Throsby, 2008, p.9]. In order to understand this, it is important to have a closer look at the values discourse. What are values and how do they come about?

2.2.1 Values

According to Klamer most values are implicit, expressed in among others, arguments, statements and stories [Klamer, 2002, p.22]. Values are present everywhere, but we cannot see or touch them; they are intangible. Throsby has a similar definition, according to him values are the beliefs and moral principles, which provide the framework for our thinking and being and our expression of worth. He states that values are dynamic and active and can be seen as a starting point in linking the fields of economics and culture together [Throsby, 2001, p.19]. The problem with this definition is that Throsby treats values as given, as inputs in an economic valuation process [Klamer, 2003, Velthuis, 2008]. In contrast, Klamer argues that values are not given; people have to find out how to sort through values, how to evaluate, revalue or devalue [Klamer, 2003]. Therefore, it is not surprising that values might even change during our lifetime as we are constantly developing and adopting new. People may learn to develop a positive attitude; they acquire or change their taste. Klamer calls this process of taste formation a process of valorization, which is the enhancement and affirmation of a value. One could say that values become like preferences that people hold [Klamer, 2003, p.23].

Hence, the social context has a great influence on the process of valorization. This becomes clearer with Throsby's definition of cultural goods. He states that cultural goods are 'cultural ecosystems', with shared cultural networks and relationships, that facilitate cultural, social and economic interaction between members of the group [Throsby, 1999, p169]. The value of cultural goods comes about in conversations and our actions. People are in need of talk, deliberation, controversy to sort out what they and others believe, think, feel, know, value. Values are the basis of human behavior and they are present in everything we do and say [Klamer, 2002]. It is evident that cultural goods are not like any other good; they are more than normal commodities. In order to make sense of this we need to focus on the distinctive characteristics of the deliberations in which the values of cultural goods are realized [Klamer, 2003, p.17]. In other words, we need to take a look at the social and cultural context of cultural goods to understand how values come about.

The concept of values, however, remains hard to grasp. Most people are not aware of their own values or able to give expressions to them. This intangible and unconscious character of values makes it hard for economists to take them into account. Nevertheless, as Klamer stressed, the standard economic perspective is restrictive because it does not allow us to see things that are particular to the world. The concepts of value and culture should be incorporated in economic analysis [Klamer, 2003, p.19]. So, what is the difference between the various value discourses? What values are specific for cultural goods?

2.2.2 Economic values

As Throsby puts is nicely, 'the value of culture' is work in progress. Culture stands for both arts and culture in anthropological sense, and values for economic value as well as social and cultural values. This perspective on the value discourse has been recently new. In a fundamental sense the notion of 'value' is the origin and motivation of all economic behavior. At the same time, but from a very different perspective, ideas of value permeate the sphere of culture [Throsby, 2001, p.19]. These different perspectives derive from the distinction between economists and culturalists who operate in two different worlds with very little interaction between them [Klamer, 2001, p.4].

It is clear that cultural goods have different values. A prominent group of these values goes under the label of economic values. The notion of economic values reduces everything to a measurable variable. Consequently from an economist perspective, these values refer to the pricing of the good or their exchange value. According to Klamer, this is a special kind of valuation as it focuses on the moment of exchange. Economic values can take various kinds of forms and expression such as the Gross Domestic Product [GDP], profit, wealth, income and economic growth. However, in cultural goods, economic values stand for what people are willing to pay for it. The presumption is that all kinds of values are embodied in the price of a good, therefore, in the conventional economic frame, there is no reason to look further [Klamer, 2001, p.9].

This statement connects to a certain point with the theories of Pierre Bourdieu, who was the first to introduce the term 'capital'. Capital is the embodied, objectified and institutionalized stock of knowledge, possessions and qualifications that people have (Bourdieu, 1986, pp.46-48). It enables persons to appropriate the specific profits arising out of participation in a given social arena. It is important to note that capital takes time to accumulate [Bourdieu, 1986, p.46]. According to Bourdieu, capital can present itself in three principal shapes: economic, cultural and social capital. Economic capital is about material and financial assets, it can immediately and directly be converted into money. Cultural and social capital are, according to Bourdieu, also in the end directed at acquiring economic capital and economic values; they are convertible. Cultural capital in this sense is about scarce symbolic goods, skills, and titles and social capital is about resources that were accumulates by virtue of membership in a group [Bourdieu, 1986, p.47].

This definition is not obvious for cultural goods as it takes only extrinsic motivation into account. According to Bruno Frey, people are sometimes induced by 'inner feelings', or intrinsic motivation. Economist do not deny this, but they do not attach much value to that factor. Although the distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation is not clear-cut, it can be claimed that in the last instance all motivations come from outside. Frey states that for example recognition and monetary gain are not final goals; what matters is the intrinsic satisfaction one derives. Individuals do things just because they like them [Frey, 1997, pp.13-14]. In addition to Frey, Klamer also states that the focus on economic returns is misguided for the reason that such returns have to be put to use to generate other values like social values [Klamer, 2002, p.462]. A good example is friendship; you do not give your friends a sum of money if they invited you over for a nice dinner. Or in other words; we do not enter social relationships and social networks for economic reasons. Probably most people would agree that they do not have friendship to gain from it economically. The reason that I emphasize this is to show that cultural and social capital are not directed at acquiring economic capital and economic values, according to Klamer they are objectives in and of themselves [Ibid].

In order to make sense of cultural goods and their exceptional status, Klamer introduces a cultural-economic perspective. This perspective embraces the culturalist perspective with its emphasis on the various values that constitute cultural goods, while acknowledging the continuing importance of the economic dimension. Culture matters and so do economics [Klamer, 2003, p.19]. He puts forward that the economists highlight dimensions that are easily overlooked in discussions among culturalists. Typical economic issues - such as prices of cultural goods, the costs of procuring them, the economic impact of investment in cultural heritage, jobs, tourism, efficiency, demand and government subsidies – are of great importance in the cultural world [Klamer, 2001, p.2]. In order to survive in the current economy it necessary for cultural organizations to be aware of economics and their position in it. As Bourdieu puts it; in order to generate economic value individuals or companies need to be in possession of economic capital [Bourdieu, 1986, p.51].

2.2.3 Social values and cultural values

The consumption of cultural goods is not really consumption

In cultural economics we must recognize the other values that cultural goods generate, in addition to economic values. Cultural goods are not normal goods. Klamer tries to emphasize this with various restrictions he ran into when considering the world of art from an economic perspective. At first he states that the consumption of cultural goods is not really consumption; it is more than consuming products and experiences. The reason for this is that cultural goods are experience goods [Klamer, 2002, p 454].

Lévy-Garboua and Montmarquette state that an experience good is a product or service whereof the product characteristics such as quality or price are difficult to observe in advance. An individual is not aware of the quality of a movie before seeing it; or impressed by the content of a book before reading it. One could say that preferences for experience goods depend on prior exposure to similar products, thus, these preferences are discovered through repeated experiences. Lévy-Garboua and Montmarquette also refer to this process as learning by consuming. It is assumed that the taste for arts is acquired or discovered and the rate of art consumption increases over time with exposure. As this statement implies tastes are given but unknown, therefore, through experience, consumers can discover their true taste [Lévy-Garboua and Montmarquette, in Towse, 2005, p.207].

Phillip Nelson ascribes a different meaning to the concept of experience goods. He makes a distinction between search goods and experience goods as a source to get information about the quality of a good. Consumers are repeatedly making choices among products, therefore consumers try to acquire information about the quality. He says that for any good, the consumer can choose to get this information by search or by experience. The consumer's preference of getting information depends on the costs. To illustrate, an experience good is a good whereof an individual cannot accurately assess the qualities before committing to consume it. A search good is a good whereof the consumer evaluates the utility of the available options, prior to the purchase of it. Hence, if the purchase price is low enough in comparison to the search costs or if the pre-purchase information of the search good becomes too expensive, the search good will turn into an experience good and vice versa [Nelson, 1970, pp.311-315]. In sum, an experience good is a good that is consumed as a result of incomplete purchase information and because of the inability to observe certain characteristics in advance.

Even though the concept of experience goods is used somewhat differently it is clear that the origins of artistic consumption in the arts lies in the behavior of individuals which is among others influenced by prices, prices of substitutes, income and socio-demographic characteristics of consumers [Lévy-Garboua and Montmarquette, in Towse, 2005, p.211]. An individual purchases a product in accordance with his available time, his pecuniary income and the like. One can thus say that the consumption of cultural goods could be seen as a process of taste formation as the consumption of these goods depend on tastes which already emerged from distinctive processes [Caves, 2000, p.173].

The important values seem to come about outside the sphere of economic calculation and exchange

Social values are the values that work in the context of interpersonal relationships, groups, communities and societies. In this sense one could say that cultural goods are social goods, as the enjoyment of these goods depend on the consumption of others [Klamer, 2002,p.455]. As I have previously showed cultural goods are experience goods. With this fact in mind it is evident that these goods amount to more than just merit and economic return.

According to Bourdieu social capital has two components; at first it is a resource that is connected with group membership and social networks. Secondly, social capital is based on mutual cognition and recognition. In order to acquire social capital one has to invest both economic and cultural resources [Portes, 1998, p.7]. Klamer agrees with this statement, however, as I previously mentioned, he questions whether social values are directed at acquiring economic capital. Instead, he argues that economic values can be a means to generate social capital, and vice versa. [Klamer, 2002, pp.466-467]. "[…] Even if people have royal income, the question is what are they going to do with it […] the question is always with, and possible for whom and in what way." As this citation shows, in the case of cultural goods the satisfaction comes more from what they mean socially than economically [Klamer, 2003, p.25].

Next to economic and social values, cultural goods have cultural values; these values permit us to call cultural goods cultural and evoke qualities above and beyond the economic and the social [Ibid]. According to Throsby cultural values are about aesthetics, the spiritual, social, historic, symbolic and authenticity. When we are able to see and appreciate cultural values, we are able to experience among others beauty, harmony, uniqueness [Throsby, 2000, pp.28-29].

Bourdieu approaches cultural capital differently, he argues that cultural capital can exist in three forms. At first in the embodied state; that refers to the cultivation of the mind and body through experiences. Secondly, in the objectified state that are traces or realization of theories or critiques of these theories. Hence, the objectified state refers to the possession of cultural goods. And finally, cultural capital exists in the institutionalized state, which refers to educational qualifications that lay the foundation for cultural capital [Bourdieu, 1986, p.47]. In short, cultural capital is symbolic knowledge to understand cultural values.

According to Klamer cultural capital is more than the symbolic knowledge that Bourdieu takes it to be. According to him cultural capital is the power to inspire or to be inspired. It is the developed and acquired ability to realize a meaningful life over and beyond its economic and social dimensions [Klamer, 2003, p.26]. Cultural values emphasize the aspects of goods and experiences that are worth more than their economic prices and social meanings [Klamer, 2002] in this sense cultural capital is the ability to understand values.

2.2.4 Cultural goods and its implications

The reason why it is important to have a better understanding of the values of cultural goods is to emphasize that these goods are different that regular goods and that they need to be treated differently. Even though these values are intangible and in most cases immeasurable, it is clear that the value of culture is impossible to express this solely in monetary terms. However, on the other side as most cultural goods are tangible objects, one should not forget that these goods have economic characteristics too. This is one the reasons the field of cultural economics has been established, wherein economic ideas are adapted to the specific features of the cultural sector. One should not forget that money and other economic values are means that are necessary to survive in this society.

A central question in cultural economics has been whether the allocation of resources via the price mechanism can produce the socially desired output of cultural goods and services. As Towse shows, for a variety of reason the general consensus is that it cannot. Among others, cultural goods have public good characteristics about them, they are experience goods and they are merit goods. Depending on the 'publicness' of these goods, the more likely it is the state will intervene in markets, by providing the good directly, by subsidizing it or by controlling its production or distribution by regulation [Towse, 2005, p.2]. The main goal of this state support is thus to make cultural goods more accessible to the public.

2.3 Non-profit organizations and financial arrangements

Countries differ greatly in the way institutional settings distribute their funds. According to a study by Davidson Schutser in 1985, museums rely heavily on government support and gifts and relatively low on market revenues. This was the case in 1985 and it still is nowadays. Cultural goods are insecure investments with widespread implications. It is always uncertain what the public demands, therefore organizations were eager to engage the government to fill up market failures. Subsidies help cultural organizations to stay focused on their goals and make sure that the organization stays in business.

Organizations that generate public goods and require grants and gifts as additional income in order to survive are mostly nonprofit organizations [Nertzer, 2003, p.331].The main focus of the nonprofit organization is to produce and distribute public goods to create public benefits. These organizations have a formal structure and governance which share the characteristics that the managers of the organization do not own the enterprise or have an economic interest that can be sold. In addition, a nonprofit organization does not distribute its surplus funds to individuals who exercise control over it, such as members, officers, directors or trustees, but instead uses them to help pursue its goals by reinvesting in the organization [Nertzer, 2003, p331]. This scenario of reinvesting only applies when the market has an efficient outcome, but in most cases this is a rare occurrence. In a market transaction a goods changes hand in exchange for something of equivalent value. This turnover is used to cover all costs, but in the cultural organizations often have an inefficient outcome.

In addition to income from the market and the government, non-market arrangements have generated most of our cultural heritage. However, since the Second World War, organizations became fully detached from these benefactors and advocates; initiatives were made to engage the government. The conventional economic perspective neglects these non-market arrangements and takes only the spheres of the market and the government into account, these institutions became important instruments for the generation of funds for the arts. It is only recently that arts have been forced to search for new ways of funding. This is where the 'third sphere' comes into play, which is the sphere of informal associations, relations of reciprocity, gifts and donations [Klamer and Zuidhof, 1998, p.6].

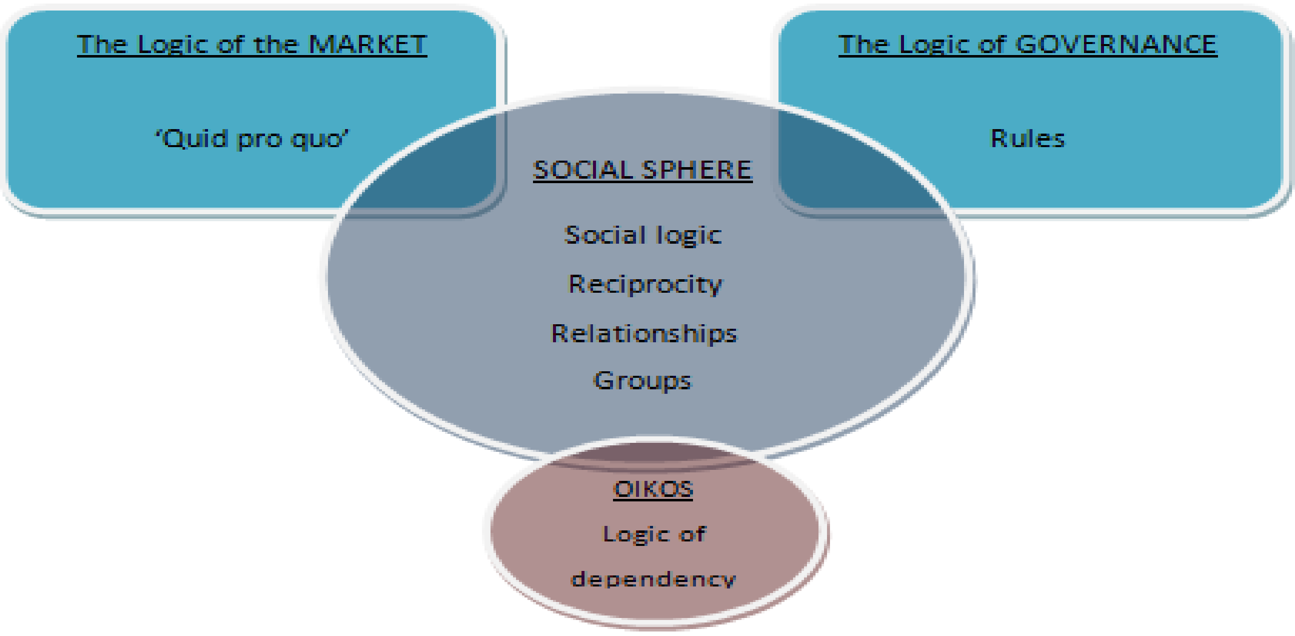
2.3.1 Financial spheres

Financial arrangements in the cultural sector thus take many different forms, such as income from the market, grants, subsidies and donations. These institutions are displayed in figure 1. Each financial sphere generates distinct values and meanings and has different consequences on the organization. At first the 'oikos' the is the base of the organization, the

Greek term oikos means house, which in modern sociology is used to describe social groups [Cameron, 2008, 213]. Those who spend their time on the organization can are part of the oikos.

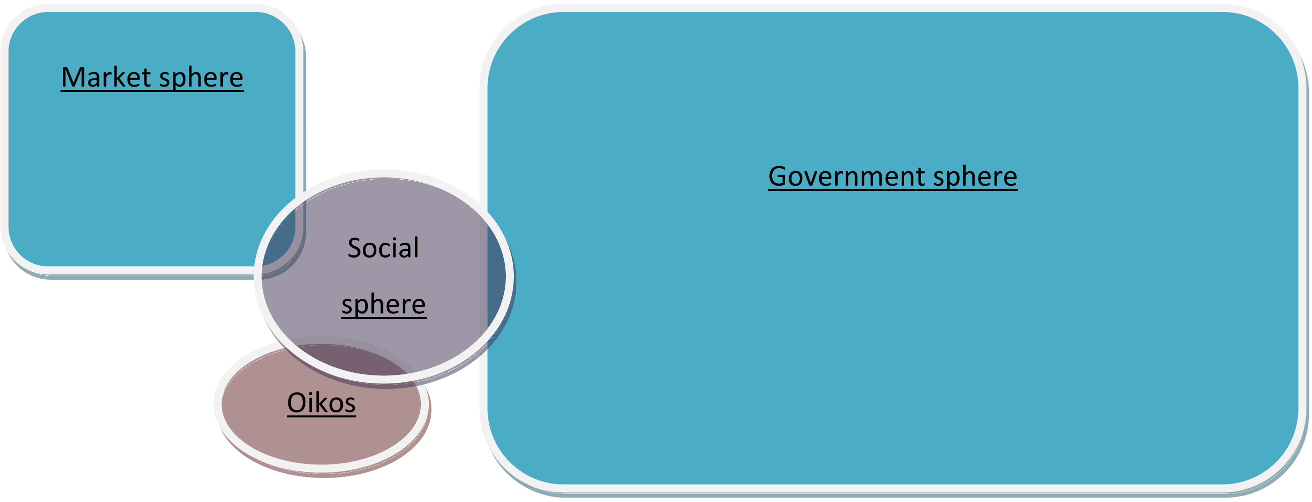
A second sphere is the market sphere. The main characteristic of this sphere is 'quid pro quo', which means 'something for something'. To elucidate this; in a market transaction a goods changes hands in exchange for something of equivalent value, usually a sum of money; the price is the measured value of the good [Klamer and Zuidhof, 1998, p.6]. In most cases markets render personal and social relations irrelevant, only economic values are taken into account, such as competition and commercialism. A well functioning market has an efficient outcome and thus serves the value of efficiency. However in cultural organizations this not the case, therefore the government provides subsidies to fill up these deficits. The main characteristic of these incomes from the government is that they come about with bureaucratic procedures; rules determine who gets what. So, in both spheres there is a focus on the economic values.

Figure 1 Financial arrangements in the cultural sector



The market and the government are instruments for the generation of funds for the arts. However in addition partners, families and friends can also be important sources of financial means for artistic work. The big difference, though, is that the artist receives resources and incurs in turn as mostly unspecified obligation [Klamer and Zuidhof, 1998, p.8]. These arrangements are one of reciprocity; the investors do not expect something in return. Klamer states that cultural goods function best, outside the market sphere. Cultural goods need to thrive in other value spheres in order to realize their cultural value [Klamer, 2003, p.32]. Hence, cultural organizations should focus on the third sphere or the social sphere, which is the sphere informal associations, relations of reciprocity, gifts and donations. The essential characteristic of the third sphere is the ambiguity of exchange [Klamer and Zuidhof, 1998, p.6]. A transaction in the third sphere thus generates other values in addition to the value of the good that is transacted. The value of art is not only determined by prices. People spend time on and with the arts and do not want to know what the economic consequences of their choices are. So, next to economic values, arts deal with social and cultural values too. The third sphere generates values such as social recognition, involvement and relationships.

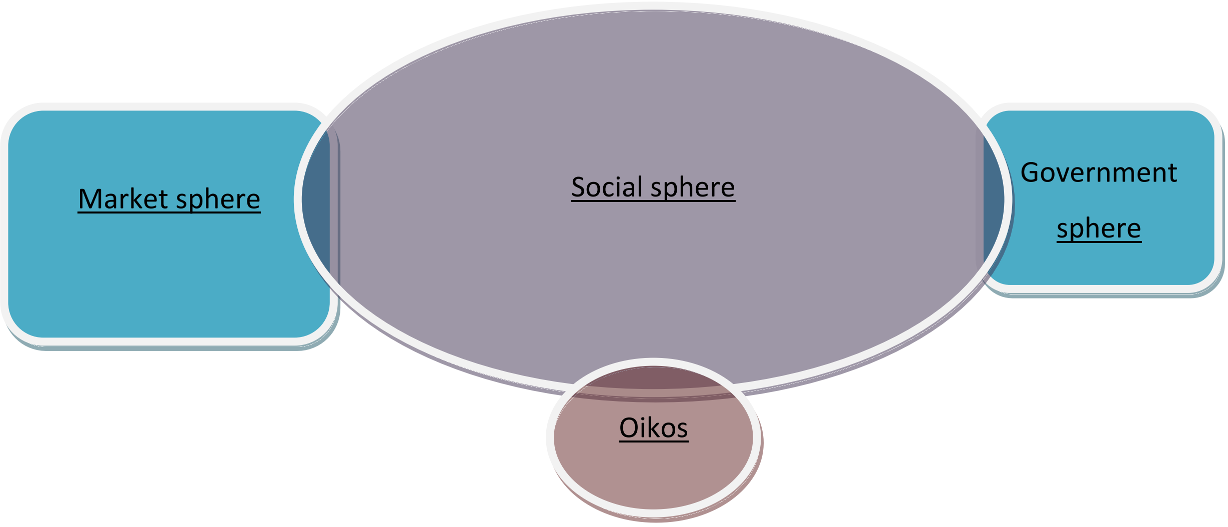
Figure 2 Current situation in cultural sector



As figure 2 shows, in the Netherlands museums rely heavily on government support and gifts and relatively little on market revenue or the social sphere. The structure of financial arrangements in the Netherlands has a 'ministry model', in which distributional decisions remain under the control of the parliament [Klamer and Zuidhof, 1998, p.2]. This dependence is not desirable, because what happens for example if the government decides to cut back in financing? How should organizations fill up these deficits? A solution is that organizations should become more independent and look for alternative funds. A result is that these organizations have multiple financial arrangements, which is a big advantage, as cut backs in finances will not have disastrous consequences. If one investor has not got the means to support the organization anymore or if government subsidies are cut back, alternative funds can fill up these deficits. In addition, if organizations can operate more independent from the government, this means that also bureaucracy is forced back.

Unfortunately this scenario seems like a dream in the far future, because the opposite is true. In the best case scenario financial arrangements of the third sphere can replace subsidies [figure 3]. However, cultural organizations often are not that autonomous that they can function without significant government support. Autonomization means that museums become more independent from the government and they acquire more freedom.

Figure 3 Financial arrangements in the future?



2.4 Privatization of museums in a changing society

The discussion about how cultural organizations, or more specifically, museums should strengthen their financial position is not new. Over the last centuries, museums have developed into professional institutions with a wide range of goals and activities. Museums are organizations with two core functions: one concerning the collection and one concerning the public. So, one could say that museums have mixed orientations, which sometimes may be in conflict with each other [Bos, 2001, p.1].

In 1988 the ‘Algemene Rekenkamer’, a Dutch institution that monitors the government finances, published a critical report on the performance of the ‘Rijksmuseums’, which are the national museums in the Netherlands [Bos, 2001, p.175]. This report led to a policy of privatizing the Rijksmuseums, whilst at the same time limiting the role of the government. In order to fill up these deficits and to improve the performances and possibilities of the museum, more and more attention was given to sponsoring activities. Due to this policy the autonomy of museums increased considerably, however the government subsidies have remained substantial [Bos, 2001, p.2]. Autonomization seemed a good stimulant to work more professional and orientated towards the market [Bos, 2001, p.17]. These changes are very important as the complexity of society has increased in the last couple of decades. During these years, the world economy has seen an extraordinary growth in economic prosperity and technological change that profoundly affected the arts.

The revolutionary growth has brought along with it opportunities, capacities and problems, which is also signified by Baumol as 'the new economy' [Baumol, 2006, p.340]. Due to these high-tech innovations, the economy has changed that much that we need to think about it and operate within it differently; we have to readjust ourselves to it. In order to respond to these different and changing demands, museums had to become more flexible. Hence, autonomization could be an answer to this. According to Kastelein, autonomous organizations are expected to have the freedom to obtain a better fine tuning of the organization to its environment, and more chance of being effective [Bos, 2001, pp.176-177]. Nevertheless, autonomy comes about with uncertainty of the tasks as well. To elucidate this it is interesting to take a closer look at the rise of the internet.

In the new economy globalization and connectivity have become new realities. Both have brought profound changes in lifestyles worldwide and the overall pattern of cultural production, consumption and trade. For example the rise of the internet has resulted in a true information revolution, wherein information established a growing economic and social role. Internet has emerged as a new worldwide medium for communications, dissemination of informational goods and electronic commerce. It can be seen as an enormous infrastructure where individuals and organizations can exchange information, goods and services [Rochelandet, in Towse, 2005, p.281].

It is not surprising that this medium had, and still has, major implications on the market both on the demand and supply side; due to the guiding principle of free supply there has been an explosion of information resources. Today, we have access to search engines that forward us to billions of websites and on these websites we are exposed to even more information in the forms of advertisements. For consumers this means that they constantly have to choose and attend to numerous resources. For organizations means that organizations constantly have to be aware of their position in the market they are operating in and how to attract visitors; how to stand out between its competitors. In order to be successful it is thus important to have a lot of knowledge about how to attract attention and to keep that attention; knowledge in this field means power [Davenport and Beck, 2001, p.17]. This means that organizations not only have to be aware of what happens in the economy, but also have to respond to these changes. Organizations have to adapt to the economy and in most organizations have to change their corporate culture.

Hence, a changing society demands a change in the organization as well. It is important for museums to develop along the market. Therefore it is not surprising that the information revolution had great consequences for organizations. An advantage of the information revolution is that it has become easier to get access to information in order for consumers to make decisions. The problem however, as mentioned earlier, is that consumers have not got the ability to process all this information, because of a scarcity of attention. So, what is attention?

2.4.1 Attention and the attention economy

The word 'attention' is commonly encountered in ordinary language and people talk about it with great familiarity and confidence. Nevertheless, it is not easy to define what attention exactly is [Pashler, 1999, p.1]. According to Harold E. Pashler there are two primary themes or aspects that characterize the phenomena which are selectivity and capacity limitation. He says that our conscious perception is always selective. This selectivity holds not only a conscious state of mind, but also the impact of stimuli on behavior. In addition, we have a limited ability to carry out various mental operations at the same time; paying attention to one thing means having less attention available to pay to other things [Pashler, 1999, pp 2-3]. As the psychologist Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi puts this: attention functions as a filter between outside events and our experiences with them; information reaches our consciousness only when we attend to it [Davenport and Beck, 2001, p.4]. Davenport and Beck expand this definition; they say that attention is focused mental engagement on a particular item of information. Items come into our awareness, we attend to a particular item and then we decide whether to act or not. Attention is thus a cognitive process of selectively concentrating on one thing while ignoring other things. It is important to note that there is a difference between awareness and attention. Information first has to reach a threshold of meaning in our brains and encourage the potential of action [Davenport and Beck, 2001, pp.20-22].

From this perspective it is clear that the changes that were brought by the New Economy, have had great effects on the market. Herbert Simon is one of the first to articulate the concept of attention economics: “In an information-rich world, the wealth of information means a dearth of something else: attention. A wealth of information creates a poverty of attention and a need to allocate that attention efficiently among the overabundance of information sources that might consume it. Scarcity has long been the central problem in economics, but now it seems that plenitude is the new dilemma” [Simon, 1971, pp.40-41]. The overload of information in the current economy has resulted in keen competition for the user’s attention, with an ever greater emphasis on marketing and capturing human attention. This competition has resulted in an ever bigger flood of information from which people find it hard to sort out the most relevant and useful. Moreover, just as in every economy, attention has laws of supply and demand, but the distribution of it, has been shown to be unequal; “the relation between the attention invested by the suppliers and that collected in return is strictly asymmetrical” [Franck, 1999].

The asymmetrical distribution of attention is well explained by the theory of superstars, which tries to explain the relationship between talent and success. Superstars are individuals who attain significant prominence and success in their field and whose earnings, as a result, are considerably higher than those of their competitors [Adler, 2006, p.3]. In contrast to Sherwin Rosen, Moshe Adler argues that the existence of superstars is not due to differences in talent, but a result of consumer behavior. Attention for superstars is limited and not all talented artists can be successful. He connects the emergence to the possible mechanism of the chance event; “Consumers select an artist at random and it is simply by pure chance that these artists end up with more patrons than the rest” [Adler, 2006, p.4]. With this model he tries to stress that the inefficiency of the market is not a result of differences in talent as Rosen argues, in fact, there are many artists that posses ‘stardom-quality’, the only problem is the need of consumers to consume the same as others do [Adler, 2006, p.4].

2.4.2 Herd behavior and the lemon problem

The scarcity of attention, thus, has made consumers receptive to recommendations by others. One could say that the information revolution has not made the market more efficient, in contrary, it has made the market imperfect. Well-know organizations benefit from this unequal distribution of attention. Consumers know what to expect, so it becomes less risky to invest time and money in the consumption. In contrast, new organizations and organizations that are not well known struggle in this market where competitive pressures are extreme. Economists also refer to this as the lemon problem. To clarify; as mentioned earlier, the consumption of cultural goods could be seen as a process of taste formation as the consumption of these goods depend on tastes which already emerged from distinctive processes. Consumers invest in developing and refining it their taste, which is costly in time and money.

The experience good character of cultural goods makes it impossible to judge on the quality beforehand. Especially because quality measurements are subjective and individual. This is the reason that for many years economists have avoided seeking to explain for the fundamental nature of aesthetics. It is very difficult to find an objective measure for quality, because consumers have heterogeneous preferences for the various attributes. However, as Bruce Seaman puts it, quality does matter because consumers appreciate quality. Therefore consumers are receptive to what others are doing [Throsby, 1999, pp.65-66]. A good example is word-to-mouth recommendation, which could be seen as a form of herd behavior, which undoubtedly applies to creative industries. The buyer cannot accurately assess the quality of the goods before committing to consume it, therefore, in the decision making consumers are influenced by what others are doing.

According to Caves, this behavior might also arise from people's ignorance, or cost of informing themselves, about their benefits from some consumption choice [Caves, 2000, p.178]. In contrast to Caves Abhijit Banjeree gives another explanation for herd behavior. According to him herd behavior is a result of fashion in consumption; things are more worthwhile when others are doing related things. A second explanation is based on informational asymmetries, when buyers and sellers do not have the same information [Banjeree, 1992, pp.800-801]. Economist have been calling this the lemon problem; in this case sellers have an information advantage and drive other products out from a market. The bad are driving out the good or as George Akerlof puts it "the lemons are driving out the cherries" [Akerlof, 1970].

2.4.3 Concluding remarks

The unequal distribution of attention is probably one of the reasons that a lot of organizations in the cultural sector are struggling to attract audiences and consequently rely heavily on government support and gifts and relatively low on market revenues. However, as I mentioned earlier, the government is gradually reducing its intervention and encouraging museums to come up with their own financial plan and being responsible for their own results. Consequently, organizations had to work more professional and become more autonomous. As I have already mentioned before this autonomization of government institutions means a transition from government to market and is not that evident in the cultural world. In most traditional museums the power has always been in hands of the curator and the management of the collection; they were in charge of the program. Most museums where content driven and had no financial or commercial ambitions. However, due to declining government subsidies and a changing society, organizations are now forced to focus more on the demand of the public. It is evident that this change has great consequences and in order to get a better understanding of what this means for these organizations it is important to take a closer look at museums and their function and tasks.

2.5 Changing values in museums

According to Bos museums are defined as organizations with two functions: one concerning a collection of objects and the other concerning the visitors. From these functions emerge the intrinsic museum tasks [Bos, 2001, p.177]. To elucidate this, she uses the definition of the International Council of Museums [ICOM]. According to the ICOM there are many different museums in different shapes and sizes, therefore in 1974 the Council came up with a definition to get a better understanding:

> *"A museum is a non-profit making, permanent institution in the service of society and of its development, and open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits, for purposes of study, education and enjoyment, material evidence of people and their environment" [ICOM, 1974]*

A museum is thus a distinctive collecting, conserving, research, exhibiting and educational institution and it is in service with the purpose of study, education and enjoyment. In line with Bos, Johnson states that museums are important for conserving, interpreting, researching and displaying heritage. It may be regarded as a 'firm' using inputs to produce output. This output has a number of important economic features. Among others, the conservation of collections is in part intended for ´consumption´ by future generations. Secondly, the output is of a multi-product nature; research papers, visitors experience, catalogues of the collection and a collection in good condition. And thirdly, there are some public good aspects to much museum output [Johnson, 2005, pp.315-316].

A museum is thus an organization with several tasks and different purposes. However, since public funding has declined in relative importance, organizations became more responsible for their own results and turned to other potential sources of finance. As a result, throughout the world, in many museums reductions in funding have led to a need to generate increased revenue through attracting increased audiences. Hence, the balance between these tasks and purposes has shifted and museums are forced to work more autonomous.

If one connects these developments to the value discourse, one could say that a more market-orientated approach could be described as a more economic approach. As Hooper-Greenhill formulates it; museums are changing from being static storehouses for artifacts into active learning environments for people [Hooper-Greenhill, 1994, p.1]. This change in function means a radical reorganization of the whole culture of the museum and comes with a lot of challenges. The reinterpretation of this fundamental museum function is placed on the one hand within the world of education, but on the other hand, enters a new and rapidly growing world, that of a leisure and tourism industry dedicated to pleasure and consumerism [Ibid, pp.1-2]. It has become more important for museums to focus on the preferences of their 'costumers' [Johnson, 2005, p.318]. Consequently, in the first instance, this led to an emphasis on marketing, but it soon became clear that there was a need to go beyond marketing and to think more analytically about the experience that is offered to the visitors.

It is not surprising that this shift thus created a tension between the focus on the collection and the focus on the audiences, because both practices function in a different value sphere. According to Klamer, in the case of cultural goods, cultural values are the values that matter most. Cultural values permit us to call cultural goods cultural and evoke qualities above and beyond the economic and the social [Klamer, 2003, p.25]. These values emphasize the aspects of goods and experiences that are worth more than their economic prices and social meanings [Klamer, 2002]. In this sense, a bigger focus on economics means that museums are not focusing on the core of the organization anymore. That, according to Bos, are; collecting, conserving, research, exhibiting and making it available for educational purposes. Therefore it is not surprising that museum managers struggle with the issues of maintaining their museum's integrity and, at the same time, making their museum more popular and competitive [Kotler and Kotler, 2000, p.271]. For that reason, according to Hooper Greenhill, we need to reconsider the function of a museum and treat it as a communicator [Hooper-Greenhill, 2000, p.12]. During the next decade, the museum must develop a clear social function as the relationship between the museum and its many and diverse public will become more and more important. This relationship must focus on genuine and effective use of the museum and its collections [Ibid, p.6].

From the perspective of Hooper-Greenhill the bigger focus on the market is seen as a bigger focus on social values. So, one could say that it is not a bad thing to focus on what visitors demand. Michel Hommel [the current director of the 'Experience'] argues that it is important for museums to program with an educational purpose and make decisions with the mission of the institute in mind. An organization must search for a good balance between the various aspects that are of great importance of the organization [Hommel, 2010]. He stated that it is important to develop along the public, yet the organization needs capital to do so. So in this sense, economic values are necessary to generate other values which are considered more important, therefore it is important not to neglect these. A good example is the importance of education.

2.5.1 'Beeld en Geluid' in a changing society

In short, museums have developed into institutions which collect, care for and communicate about objects, so the role of the museum is expanding [Hooper-Greenhill, 1994, p.6]. As a result, it has become increasingly important for museums to be aware of and to develop along their public. Today museums are witnessing an enormous cultural change that shifted the ground on which art museum have stood so firmly for so long. Consequently they are facing numerous challenges to adapt to it. Museums are subject to diverse demands to enable them to play valid roles in new worlds [Ibid, p.11], however in order to achieve this they have to change their corporate culture, even if this means a bigger focus on 'less important' economic values. Whereas visitors used to be content to stroll through the museum, now there is a clear and consistent demand for a close and active encounter with objects and exhibits. A physical experience using all the senses is called for [Hooper-Greenhill, 1994, p.6].

One could argue that 'Beeld en Geluid' had an advantage as the institute was established in 2006. The organization had the opportunity to create a public attraction that would fit the demand of the public, rather than changing its concept and adapting to it. The result is an experience directed presentation wherein visitors are in charge of their own visit. One could say that offering experiences is an answer to the changing society. According to B. Joseph Pine and James Gilmore this physical experience is important for costumers as goods and services have become commoditized [Pine and Gilmore, 1998, p.97]. In this sense, 'Beeld en Geluid' is ahead of other organizations and can focus more on how to keep on attracting visitors.

This brings me to a second and perhaps distinguishing characteristic of the institute, which is the acknowledgement of market orientation and marketing. According to Hommel marketing functions as an effective tool to reach the public, to get them hooked to your message. Hence, it is important for organizations to integrate it in all the public programming of the institute. As Hommel stated; “our goal is to be, and to remain, an accessible cultural attraction that draws 200,000 visitors a year”. The institute aims to attract this number in order to realize its budget. So, one could say that this brings us back to the beginning again; organizations need to attract visitors to generate revenue that is needed to invest in innovations which are necessary to keep on attracting visitors again.

‘Beeld en Geluid’ was thus established to ensure sustainable preservation of Dutch audiovisual heritage and to make this collection accessible for broadcast professionals and education. In order to achieve this, the organization has several tasks and activities that correspond to a museums. Nevertheless, the organization is already more adapted to the current society and has acknowledged the importance of market-orientation to attract visitors. For this reason I it is important to give a closer look at the concepts of the experience economy and marketing before offering an in-depth analysis of the institute.

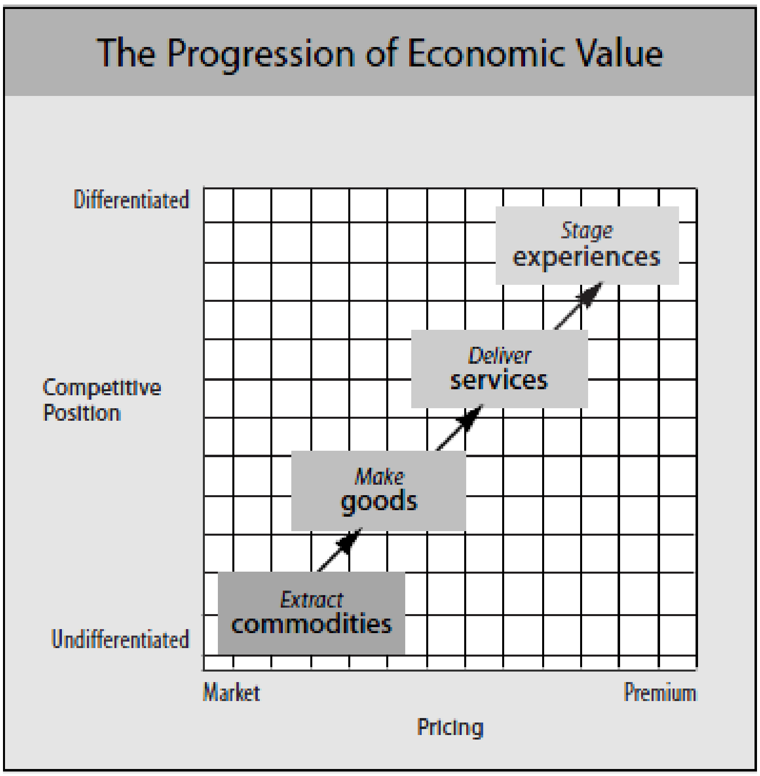
2.6 The emerging experience economy

They argue that the economy has changed from a service economy to an experience economy. Companies generate experiences to engage their costumers, connecting them in a personal and memorable way [Ibid, p.3]. The experience economy is about the creation of experience to let the consumers participate in and to connect to a certain product or company, with the result of selling traditional offerings better. One could say that experiences have emerged as the next step in the progression of economic value [figure 4]. The difference between these economic offerings, however, is that commodities, goods and services are external to the buyer, while experiences are inherently personal [Ibid, p.2].

Pine and Gilmore give four reasons why the experience economy is emerging. The first reason can be found in the progression of technology, which powers many experiences. A second reason is the increasing competitive intensity, since it drives the ongoing search for differentiation. The third reason is the rising affluence, by which means people were given more freedom to express their emotions and feelings. Besides economic reasons for the emergence of experience, they can thus also be seen as a manifestation of the various developments in society and culture. According to Pine and Gilmore, the last, but most encompassing answer resides in the nature of economic value and its natural progression from commodities to goods to services and then to experiences [Ibid, p.5].

Pine and Gilmore are considered to be the pioneers on writing about the experience economy as they were the first to use this term. However, before them there were other economists who already spoke about the transformation from a service oriented economy to a new kind of economy where experiences are seen as a product [Jonker, 2008, p.33]. Moreover, this new kind of economy, the experience economy, is not new. According to Boswijk et al., the experience economy is as old as the world's oldest profession [Boswijk et al., 2007, p.1]. As an example they refer to the Greeks and Romans who were very well aware of how they could make money out of experiences. So, what are these experiences? In order to grasp the concept of experience economy it is important to give a closer look to the definition of experience.

Figure 4 Progression of economic value framework



2.6.1. Experiences and their characteristics

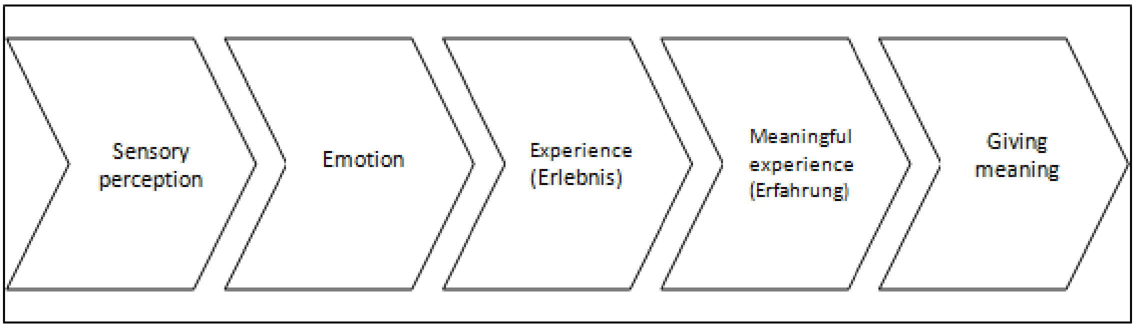
Pine and Gilmore state that experiences are a forth economic offering or a new source of value creation, along and distinct from commodities, goods and services. Experiences have largely been unrecognized, even though they have always been around. Consumer, businesses and economists have lumped experiences into the service sector, but when a person buys a service, he purchases a set of intangible activities carried out on his behalf. If a person buys an experience, he pays to spend time enjoying a series of memorable events that a company stages to engage him in a personal way [Pine and Gilmore, 1999, p.97].

According to Westerink defining an experience is not an easy thing to do [Westerink et al., 2008, p.5]. The noun experience can be defined as a sensation or feeling; the act of encountering or undergoing something [Boswijk, 2007, p.11]. Experiences thus derive from various psychological processes, such as perception, cognition, memory, emotion, behavior and physiology. Some of these experience elements are closely related to processes in the head, others to processes in the body [Ibid, p.6]. One could say that there is a time course associated with the experience; a pattern of consecutive [re]actions. Hence, when having an experience, both internal and external experience triggers are considered possible. According to Westerink, the experiences a user has with a product build up over time: the novelty of the product and its complexity will determine how vivid these experiences are, and they will be retained in memory [Ibid, pp.6-8]. One thing is thus clear, that the emotional qualities of these experiences are very important [Ibid, p.7].

Carbone and Haekel have a similar definition of experiences; they state that experiences are the ‘takeaway’ impressions formed by people's encounters with products, services, and businesses; a perception produced when humans consolidate sensory information. An experience is thus an aggregate and cumulative customer perception, which is created during the process of learning about, acquiring and using a product or service; experiences require active participation [Carbone and Haekel, 2005]. In this sense this definition differs from the one of Westerink, as she states that a distinction can be made between passive and active experience. Experience could be forced upon you or they are part of your deliberate actions. Nevertheless, one can be sure that the process of experiencing starts with the biological process of sensory perception [Boswijk et al., 2007].

Experiences exist only in the mind of an individual who has been engaged on an emotional, physical, intellectual or even spiritual level [Pine and Gilmore, 1998, p.98]. These experiences thus can be seen as accumulated impressions of the world and situations, which people retrieved with their senses. “We make choices and largely determine the course of our lives based on the meaningful experiences we have” [Ibid, p.11]. It is evident that these experiences thus influence decision-making-processes in the future, especially in the consumption of cultural goods. As already mentioned earlier cultural goods are considered to be experience goods[2] [chapter 2.2.3]. According to Lévy-Garboua and Montmarquette, consumers acquire or discover their taste over time through repeated exposure to cultural goods. Caves also refers to this process as the accumulation of consumption capital. Cultural consumption capital is the marginal utility from cultural consumption that increases with the ability to appreciate cultural goods [Schulze, in Towse, 2005, p.269]. In other words, the earlier we are exposed to culture, the earlier this process starts [Caves, 2000, p.176].

Figure 5 The process of experiencing



As figure 5 shows, individuals accumulate impressions of the world and situations by means of their senses. These impressions generate various emotions, which in turn lead to an ‘Erlebniss’. This ‘Erlebniss’ adds to ‘Erfahrung’ and subsequently to ‘meaning’ [Boswijk et al., 2006, p.2]. One could thus say that individuals need these emotions in order to learn to deal with the outside world. The emotions subsequently lead to a meaningful experience and go even further than experiences; meaningful experiences often contain complex emotions that occur simultaneously or successively. If individuals are engaged on an emotional level, these usually have a greater impact on the individual than experiences that are merely memorable [Ibid, p. 20]. The figure depicts the process of experiences and it shows that meaningful experiences are at the end of the experience chain. They form an accumulation of our interaction with the environment and

[2] It is important to note that in this concept experience is used with a different connotation.

the lessons we learn. Or if we look it from the perspective of cultural goods this accumulation could also be called consumption capital.

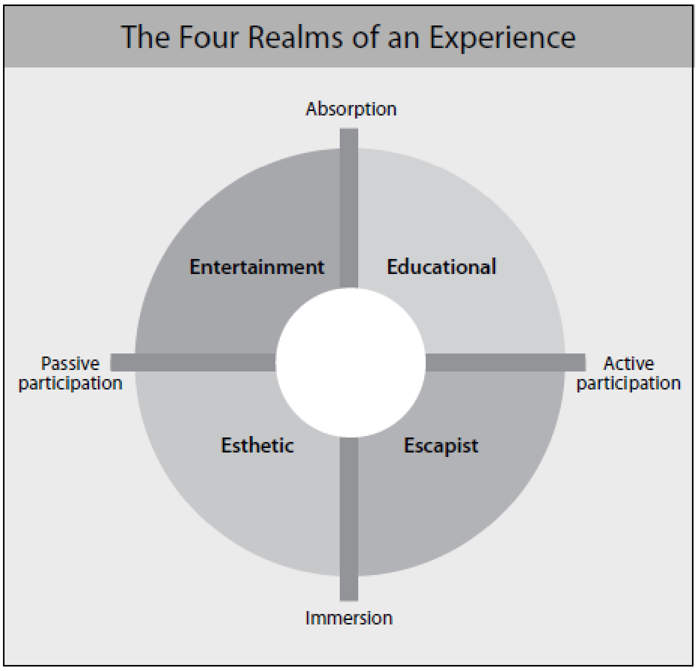
Experiences are not static quantities like products; just like services they are intangible. Experiences occur in a process in which interactions take place in a certain setting – whether or not a physical one – between the individual and other people, including perhaps the offering party, which can be an economic party [Ibid, p.3]. Boswijk et al. argue that this process must satisfy all characteristics of the concept of 'flow' which was proposed by Mihaly Csikszentmihaly. According to him flow is the mental state of operation in which a person in an activity is fully immersed in a feeling of energized focus, full involvement, and success in the process of the activity [Csikszentmihaly, 1988]. Csikszentmihaly also refers to this mental state of operation as optimal experience and assigns the following characteristics to it:

- *There is a heightened concentration and focus, involving all one's senses.*
- *One's sense of time is altered.*
- *One is touched emotionally.*
- *The process is unique for the individual and has intrinsic value.*
- *There is contact with the 'raw stuff', the real thing.*
- *One does something and undergoes something.*
- *There is a sense of playfulness*
- *One has a feeling of having control of the situation.*
- *There is a balance between the challenge and one's own capacities.*
- *There is a clear goal.*

According to Boswijk et al., every meaningful experience must satisfy all of these characteristics and it is evident that this is not an easy task. Tools such as excellent design and marketing are as crucial for experiences as they are for goods and services. However, as experiences have their own distinct qualities and characteristics they present their own design challenges. One way to think about experiences is across two dimensions [figure 6]. The first corresponds to customer participation. At one end of the spectrum lies passive participation, in which customers do not affect the performance at all. At the other end of the spectrum lies active participation, in which customers play key roles in creating the performance or event that yields the experience. The second dimension of experience describes the connection, or environmental relationship, that unites customers with the event or performance. At one end of the connection spectrum lays absorption, at the other end, immersion. [Pine and Gilmore, 1998, p.101]. It is clear that in creating or offering a meaningful experience it is necessary to respect these dimensions and take them into account; therefore Boswijk et al. review some fundamental principles. At first, in order for individuals to give meaning, they should be able to connect on an emotional level. This process is an individual one; therefore this focus on the individual is necessary. In addition, the customer must be considered as a guest that should be treated with respect [Boswijk et al., 2006, p.4].

It is important to note that experiences can be sorted into four broad categories according to where they fall along the spectra of the two dimensions. Westerink et al. argue that individuals could have either passive or active experiences. Pine and Gilmore add two other characteristics of experiences to these dimensions. They stress that with the progression of the economic value, different types of experiences are staged that may engage consumers in many dimensions. This means that individuals can have both active and passive experiences with one product. The two other dimensions that are added to the total experience with a product are 'absorption' and 'immersion'. These complete the four characteristics of experiences: entertainment, educational, esthetic and escapist.

Figure 6 The four realms of an Experience



Pine and Gilmore stress that the kinds of experiences most people think of as entertainment such as watching television, attending a concert-tend to be those in which customers participate more passively than actively; their connection with the event is more likely one of absorption than of immersion [Pine and Gilmore, 1998, p.102]. In cultural goods this is not necessarily the case; this becomes clear if one takes another closer look at the theory of cultural consumption capital. The more capital an individual has, the bigger his ability to appreciate cultural goods is. Of course, if one takes the characteristics of flow into account or more specifically: '*There is a balance between the challenge and one's own capacities'.* One could say that if a person is not able to understand the content, there will be no meaningful experience. However, this is just an example to show that this statement is not that obvious.

2.6.2 Cultural goods and the experience economy

As it has become clear, experiences, like goods and services, have to meet a customer's need; they have to work; and they have to be deliverable. Just as goods and services result from an iterative process of research, design, and development, experiences derive from an iterative process of exploration, scripting, and staging-capabilities that aspiring experience merchants will need to master [Ibid, p.102]. In order to generate positive experiences it is thus essential for organizations to measure what costumers expect and demand. According to Bernstein expectations are the basis for a costumers' level of satisfaction [Bernstein, 2007]. This means, if expectations are met, it becomes easier for organizations to generate positive experiences. The problem however, is that it is difficult to what consumers want, even though there has been a lot of research on the demand for arts and taste formation. It always remains a risky business to measure what the public demands due to the 'nobody knows principle'. Consumers have heterogeneous preferences for the various attributes of cultural goods, therefore it is impossible to predict the success of any new product [Seaman, 2006].

Another problem is, whilst experiences do provide sensations and memorable events, these do wear off after some time [Pine and Gilmore, 1998, p.173]. Therefore, the search for the best way to offer experience remains under constant pressure. This means that constant innovations are essential, however these could be costly. An organization thus constantly has to think about questions such as: is the concept that turned out to be successful in the recent past going to be successful in the future as well? And, how do we keep the experience proposition fresh and attractive? Which factors force us to develop new concepts together with customers and users and fellow suppliers [Boswijk et al., 2006, p.5]? A way to avoid destroying much capital, according to Boswijk et al. is to involve the consumer directly from the very beginning. Measuring actual behavior is therefore preferable; if the experience is not meaningful upon a customer's first visit or after a number of repeat visits, the concept can be dropped at an early stage. That way, major investments in concept development and marketing can be avoided [Ibid, p.12].

2.6.3 Growing importance of marketing

The development of meaningful-experience concepts thus cannot take place without the direct participation of the customer. There is a need for entering into a personal interaction with the company for the creation of a value proposition that is meaningful to a specific for the individual. Developing a meaningful experience is thus a process of co-creating. The experience of co-creating is thus the basis for a unique value proposition for each individual [Ibid, p.8]. This creation of the value proposition leads to fundamental shifts in the value chain; value creation no longer takes place within the company's value chain, but with the costumer and in the networks centering the customer. This individual character of the experiences is thus challenging for organizations; each person has a different composition of emotions, a different physical state, intellect and varying spiritual levels; one to have the same experience. Boswijk et al. stress it is thus important to involve customers directly from the very beginning in order to develop new concepts. The problem however is that a good concept does not guarantee customers. As mentioned earlier, the overload of information in the current economy has resulted in keen competition for the user's attention. The scarcity of attention has made consumers receptive to recommendations by others, as consumer cannot accurately assess the quality of the goods before committing to consume it. As a result organizations have to put a greater emphasis on marketing and capturing human attention.

2.7 Marketing the arts

This greater emphasis on marketing is easier said than be done, as there are multiple values at play. As previously mentioned, museums and most cultural organizations are included in the service sector; in addition most of these organizations are non-profit organizations. These organizations do not generate income for the shareholders, but are recycled into the museum, to justify or attract funding or sponsorships and to ensure the continuance of the objects in their care [McLean, 1998, p.53]. In most organization the focus was, and still is, on the latter. With this definition in mind, it is evident that connection marketing to cultural non-profit organizations is not that obvious, as marketing was traditionally seen as a technique that businesses in the for-profit sector employed to sell their products or services to consumers. It connotes a more business-orientated approach wherein museums are forced to think more in economic terms. This approach, as a result, has generated a debate about the role, the purpose and self-presentation of museums [McLean, 1998, p.2]. Museum managers struggle with the issues of maintaining their museum's integrity as a distinctive collecting, conserving, research, exhibiting and educational institution, and, at the same time, making their museum more popular and competitive [Kotler and Kotler, 2000, p.271].

According to Hooper-Greenhill museums have developed into institutions which collect, care for and communicate about objects, so the role of museum education is expanding [Hooper-Greenhill, 1994, p.6]. This change in function means a reorganization of the whole culture of the museum and comes with a lot of challenges. Consequently, it has become increasingly important for museums to be aware of their public. Another reason that museums have to focus more on the audience and marketing is due to the fact that public funding has declined in relative importance. As a result organizations became more responsible for their own results and turned to other potential sources of finance. Therefore, throughout the world, in many museums reductions in funding have led to a need to generate increased revenue through attracting increased audiences. The problem however, as mentioned earlier, is that we live in an environment where there are so many other claims on people's attention and energies. Hence, excellent work needs energetic marketing, or it runs the risk of not being noticed [Hill et al., 2003, p.xii].

The importance of marketing has begun to penetrate in organizations and consequently the resistance to standard marketing principles has decreased. However, this process took several decades and in some organizations this resistance still exists. The reason for this as mentioned earlier is that museums operate in a paradoxical situation. On the one hand museums are sheltered from the broader market by government policies which offer incentive for them to adopt a non-profit framework, however, on the other hand, as an organization they exist in a free market economy and are expected to compete with other businesses in a supply and demand framework. This split view of operation and purpose lends additional complexity to the task of marketing within the context of the museum sector [Rentschler and Hede, 2007, p.xix]. Marketing puts a constant pressure on the value discourse. To elucidate this it is important to have a closer look at the concept of marketing and its origins. How does marketing affect the culture of cultural organizations?

2.7.1 History of arts marketing

Marketing as a recognized management discipline has its origins in the mid-twentieth century. It emerged in post-war America, when spurred by technological progress, industry became capable of producing consumer goods on an extraordinary scale. Manufactures discovered that they had to rethink their attitudes to business and were forced to shift from product orientation to sales orientation. In the late 1950s and 1960s, the marketing approach that emerged in America, spread to other developed nations in Europe. In the 1960s the commercial world was led by the idea that the customer reigned: the customer and his needs were at the centre of a company's decisions. The emphasis was placed upon marketing analyses of consumer motivation and use of concepts developed in related behavioral sciences [Bartels, 1976, p.4]. This somewhat exorbitantly approach neglects the fact that other aspects of the organization need attention as well and changed when the discipline matured in the 1970s.

In the 1970s, many new concepts were introduced into marketing, of which some were borrowed from the field of management and from other social sciences. Marketing thought became expanded and new concepts took on substantial identity as significant components of the total structure of thought. Social issues and marketing became much more important, as the influence of marketing upon society became a focus of interest [Ibid]. Hence, in the 1970s marketing increasingly found its way into the international services sector and non-profit and voluntary sector [Hill et al., 2003, p.xiii]. Nevertheless, it took a while before non-profit organizations, or more specifically art organization, had fully embraced the marketing concept as a tool to achieve their mission statements and reaching new and retaining existing audiences [Kotler and Andreasen, 1991].

One could say that Philip Kotler was one of the first advocates of marketing's relevance to the arts. He argued that arts organizations produce 'cultural goods', and in doing so compete with each other for consumers' attention and for a share of national resources [1975]. In this process, according to Hill et al., marketing needs to be an integral part of the process of artistic planning. Both commercial and arts marketing need to balance organizational and customer's needs. Instead of dismissing marketing as a shallow concession to popularism or fashion, arts organizations can benefit from its creative value as a strategic perspective on planning and operations [Hill et al., 2003, p.4].

This argument is probably considered to be too progressive as in most cultural organizations as the content should be the main importance. If marketing becomes an integral part of artistic planning, marketing is jeopardizing the artistic values with commercial values. In the interview with Hommel, he stated that marketing functions as an effective tool to reach the public, however marketing should not be leading in decision-making processes. "As a cultural institution it is important to program with an educational purpose and make decisions with the mission of the institute in mind. [Hommel, 2010]." This statement is a good example to show that there is a tension between arts marketing and commercial marketing. In commercial marketing, the nature of a product or service has to meet the requirements of the customer. However, as Hirschman and Colbert et al. stress, the distinguishing feature of arts marketing is that the arts 'product' is independent from the dictates of the market. Arts marketing is thus special as it needs to start with the product and find customers for it, rather than react to market demand [Hill et al., 2003, p.3]. Hence, marketing should not be changing the product itself, but matching consumers with the artists in a way that does not harm the artistic value of the product.

2.7.2 Commercial marketing versus arts marketing

According to Kotler marketing can be defined as a social and managerial process by which individual and groups obtain what they need and want through creating, offering, and exchanging products of value with others. Hill et al. have a similar definition as they state that marketing is a total approach to the way an organization operates as it is a management process. This has two implications; the first that it should permeate every aspect of the way an organization is run. Secondly, marketing is a process; this means that the job never stops. Marketing is thus only going to work if the whole organization adopts it. This means that this approach will have consequences for the culture of an organization. In this sense marketing is a process of development as it responds dynamically to the challenges offered by a changing environment [Ibid, p.xiii]. Bartels has a different definition of marketing. He states that marketing is essentially a means of meeting and satisfying certain needs of people. However, marketing must be regarded not merely as a business practice, but as a social institution. "It is a highly developed and refined system of thought and practice characteristic of a period in the development of market economy" [Bartels, 1976, p.1].

Various aspects that all three definitions have in common is that marketing is a process which has great consequence for the organization. Marketing could be seen as a total approach or even a social institution, by which an organization satisfies certain need of people and creates or offers values to the individual. If one applies this theory to the arts sector one could state that the goal of arts marketing is thus to harmonize all the activities of the organization around the customer. It is a process of actively finding ways to improve itself throughout the scope of organization's activities. Hill et al. stress that genuine success in the arts, lies in seeing customers as partners rather than targets. Long-term relationships based on mutual benefits are key to this. According to Hill et al. the marketing approach facilitates such relationships [Ibid, p.xii];

> *"Arts marketing is an integrated management process which sees mutually satisfying exchange relationships with customers as the route to achieving organizational and artistic objectives." [Ibid, p.1]*

Creative arts marketing works through mutually satisfying exchange because it values reciprocity. Hence, arts experience are seen as an active, participative process. The focus of creative arts marketing is on the growth of the relationship between the organization and the participant over a meaningful period of time. In addition, it focuses on customers because their needs define the relevance of an organization's work, and their resources empower it. Finally, it claims for marketing not only a key role in promoting organizational survival, but also in advancing the artistic mission of an arts organization [Ibid, p.2]. Although commercial marketing and arts marketing do have some similarities, there are also some great distinctions to be found. To summarize, in the traditional marketing model the market is both the starting and ending point. In arts marketing this is not the case. As I have already mentioned in traditional arts marketing the product is the centre of the organization. The core is to focus to produce and distribute public goods to create public benefits. Marketing does not change the product itself, but matches consumers with the artists in a way that does not harm the artistic value of the product [Hill et al., 2003, p.3]. Another distinction can be found in the nature of the product. Most cultural goods are experience goods, which are goods with characteristics that make the practice of marketing challenging. Attracting new audiences is difficult due to the 'nobody knows principle'. The demand for, and success of, cultural goods is hard to predict as consumers have heterogeneous preferences for the various attributes of cultural goods. In addition, in order to make sense of various products the need to be in the possession of capital, otherwise it might be hard for individuals to create a meaningful experience.

One can conclude that arts marketing is not simply the appliance of marketing on arts. The study of Kotler and Kotler wherein they first raised the question of marketing cultural institutions was soon followed by others. With these new researches some new definitions of marketing arose that focused specifically on culture and the arts [Colbert, 2001]. In 1988, Lewis came up with the definition that the marketing as the management process which confirms the mission of a museum or gallery and is responsible for the efficient identification, anticipation and satisfaction of its users. Users in this sense are all the stakeholder of a museum, so this includes visitors, the museum staff, patrons, professionals, members, researchers, the government, and the media [Colbert, 2001, p.11]. This definition seems to fit better to arts marketing than the definition of Hill, as it takes the different values of the organization into account.

2.7.3 "The experience is the marketing"

Both in theory and practice, marketing has increasingly been seen as a helpful and essential museum process to enhance the relationship with customers. Although the integration of marketing during the early years of its development has received quite much resistance, arts managers and staff gradually accepted the practice of marketing. Nevertheless, the adoption and use of marketing techniques varies among countries and among performing arts organizations [Hill et al. 2003]. A good example is the theory of Pine and Gilmore.

Pine and Gilmore have an experiential view on marketing as they state that experience is the marketing. According to them, the best way to market any offering is with an experience so engaging that potential costumers cannot help but pay attention and pay up [Pine and Gilmore, 2002, p.3]. Many organizations are struggling how to market their offerings as the mass markets are demising and advertising is getting ineffective and immeasurable. Organizations have come up with ideas to overcome these problems, such as guerilla marketing, viral marketing and emotional marketing. However, according to Pine and Gilmore, neither of these ideas addresses the heart of the problem, which is that people have become relatively immune to messages targeted at them. This is where the experience comes in: the way to reach your customers is to create an experience within them. The goal of creating experiences is thus to attract and retain your customers through new experiences. In this sense it is not about experience marketing, but rather marketing experiences [Ibid]. Pine and Gilmore stress that these experiences should be treated as a distinct economic offerings, wherewith an organization engages customers. Such experiences engender emotional connections that no marketing messages can compete with

[Ibid, p.4]. In order to build up a relationship with the customer it is thus important to create a series of related experiences that flow from one to another [Ibid, p.5].

The basis of this concept is to engage visitors in such a way the organization can build up a relation with them. They goal is to engage the costumers by connecting them in a personal and memorable way. The development of meaningful-experience concepts thus cannot take place without the direct participation of the customer. The problem however, is that these visitors do have to be attracted, so in this sense offering an experience is not enough. According to van Huis an experience concept is thus not the P of promotion, but the P of product. In order to understand this statement it is important to take a closer look to the practice of marketing.

2.7.4 The practice of marketing

According to Lewis marketing is a management process which confirms the mission of a museum. Marketing has to result in efficient identification, anticipation and satisfaction of its users. The primary objective for all arts organizations is thus realizing its mission. In order to achieve this, it is important for an organization to set up a marketing plan wherein the external and internal environment are analyzed [Kotler & Kotler, 1998, p.60-61]. As an organization it is essential to be aware of the competition and to position. So, what are the target groups? What markets should be entered? And what makes the organization unique or distinctive? As soon as the positioning statement is created, one can start with creating the marketing mix.

The ‘marketing mix’, that was proposed by Borden in 1965, is one of the most dominant marketing theories. According to Borden there are several positioning strategies an organization could use to demonstrate its intended place in the market and reflect this through its communications to its audiences. Each strategy required coordination of all the attributes of the marketing mix. To these attributes could also be referred to as the four P’s: price, product, promotion and place [Bradford, 1994, p.42]. Hence, the principle of this strategy is to break down a service, good or an experience into a number of components and to arrange them into manageable subjects in order to make strategic decisions. According to McLean, these decisions on one element of the mix can only be made by reference to other elements [McLean, 1997, p.48]. As time has shown, the marketing mix has played a significant part in the development of the study of marketing. In order to achieve successful marketing it is important to create a skilful balance between the four components. It is evident that this mix differs for every museum; every offering and every target group [Colbert, 2001, p.19]. In order to get a better understanding of what the marketing mix constitutes I will discuss the elements separately:

Product – According to Hill et al., product is the most fundamental and the most important element of the four P's. It provides the basic building block of any marketing strategy. In the cultural sector most organizations provide services, rather than tangible products [Hill et al., 2003, p114]. The characteristics of cultural products are all reasons why the further three elements are as important in creating and keeping arts costumers [Ibid, 150]. In particular, the promotion of what is offered has a crucial role in service marketing in general and arts marketing in particular. Potential consumers need to be reassured that they are making the right decision as characteristics such as quality or price are difficult to observe in advance [Ibid, p114].

Price – The second element of the marketing mix is the price that is charged, in terms of money, time, energy, and attention [Colbert, 2001, p.20]. According to Hill et al. pricing plays a complex role and links many other marketing decisions that are being made in an organization. Price is a strategic variable which could jeopardize an organization's income optimization, but also confuses each of the other components of the marketing mix [Hill et al., 2003, pp.166-167].

Promotion – According to Hill et al. promotion is the element of the marketing mix that communicates the benefits of what is on offer to the audience, consequently is could be seen as the most visible aspect of the marketing activity [Ibid, p.190]. Promotion involves the way in which the message is communicated and transmitted. Hence, it is important to note that one should not confuse promotion with marketing itself. Promotion represents all the communication that a marketer may use in order to attract the target groups; it consists of four distinct components which are advertising, personal selling, sales promotions and public relations [Colbert, 2001, p.21].

Place – The fourth and final element of the marketing mix is place, which is also known as distribution. Distribution refers to how the product is delivered, presented and made accessible to the customer. It thus concentrates on where the product is available [Hill et al., 2003, p.244]. According to Colbert, place is composed of several elements; the main ones are physical distribution, distribution channels and commercial venue [Colbert, 2001, p.20]. Hill et al. stress that the process of distributing the arts relies heavily on the aspects of space and time. Both of these are strategic issues, careful attention to which can improve an organization's position and effectiveness [Ibid, p.267]

The marketing mix can thus be seen as a set of activities that are working together in order to fulfil the museum's mandate, and to satisfy different segments of its audience.

2.8 The paradoxical situation of museums in the New Economy

The goal of the previous chapters was to offer an insight into the paradoxical situation museums are operating in. In this chapter I will give a short overview before going more into depth on 'Beeld en Geluid' in the next part. As mentioned in the introduction this institute was established to ensure sustainable preservation of Dutch audiovisual heritage and to make the collection accessible for broadcast professionals, education and the general public. One could say that this task is easier said than be done.

Although film and photography gained a lot of popularity from the beginning of the twentieth century, the storage of audiovisual material was yet underdeveloped. Various archives started working together trying to improve the archives and their accessibility. Hence, finding solutions to make up arrears in preservation and digitization, developing an innovative digital infrastructure and realizing a building to bundle all activities, were on top of the agenda. In 2006 'Beeld en Geluid' opened its doors and it is one of the largest audiovisual archives in Europe.

Even though 'Beeld en Geluid' is an archive, its tasks match those of a museum. According to the ICOM, a museum is a non-profit making, permanent institution in the service of society and of its development, and open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits, for purposes of study, education and enjoyment, material evidence of people and their environment" (ICOM, 1974]. In short, the institute has the important task of collecting, conserving and presenting it to the public. As the 'Beeld en Geluid' has an extensive collection, the organization focuses on a large number of target groups: public and commercial broadcasters, producers, advertising agencies, record labels and publishers, schools and universities and last but not least on the general public.

One could say that 'Beeld en Geluid' produces and distributes public goods to create public benefits. Due to this fact, the institute receives public subsidies to stay focused on this goal. However, over the last decades the government has been, and still is, limiting its own role. The government has been forcing cultural organizations to privatize more and stimulated organizations to find alternative sources of funding. Organizations in the cultural world have to work more autonomous in order to work more professionalized and market orientated. Hence, it is evident that this new policy had great consequences for the cultural world as this change demands a transformation of the culture of the organization.

A more market-orientated approach has big consequences on organizational design, organizational quality and leadership roles; instead of taking financial matters for granted, employees suddenly have to be productive with an efficient outcome [Cameron and Quinn, 2005, p.36]. The result of autonomization is that the balance between the different purposes is shifting. This more economic approach increased the tension between the focus on the collection on the one hand and on the focus on the audience on the other. As DiMaggio has put it nicely, museums operate in a paradoxical situation. On the one hand museums are sheltered from the broader market by government policies which offer incentive for them to adopt a non-profit framework, however, on the other hand, as an organization they exist in a free market economy and are expected to compete with other businesses in a supply and demand framework sector [Rentschler and Hede, 2007, p.xix].

The paradox DiMaggio describes lies in the value discourse. According to Kotler and Kotler, museum managers struggle with the issues of maintaining their museum's integrity as a distinctive collecting, conserving, research, exhibiting and educational institution, and, at the same time, making their museum more popular and competitive [Kotler and Kotler, 2000, p.271]. Cultural goods are different than regular goods and therefore they need to be treated differently. Some arguments Klamer puts forward to elucidate this are: consumption of cultural goods is not really consumption and consumption is more than consuming products and experiences [Klamer, 2002, pp. 453-456]. Hill et al. emphasize this as they assess that in the cultural sector most organizations provide services, rather than tangible products. In order to make sense of the values cultural goods, realize we need to focus on the distinctive characteristics of the deliberations in which the values of cultural goods are realized [Klamer, 2003, p.17].

Hence, cultural goods have different values, of which a prominent group goes under the label of economic values. The notion of economic values reduces everything to a measurable variable. Consequently from an economist perspective, these values refer to the pricing of the good or their exchange value. In the conventional economic framework, the presumption is that all kinds of values are embodied in the price of a good, therefore there is no reason to look further [Klamer, 2001, p.9]. This perspective is restrictive for several reasons, take for example a closer look at the public character of goods. Cultural goods are seen as merit goods; they are held to have inherent value for society because of their positive externalities. These goods have shared cultural networks and relationships that facilitate cultural, social and economic interaction between members of the group. So, in addition to economic values, cultural goods have social and economic values. Social values are the values that work in the context of interpersonal relationships, groups, communities and societies. Cultural values are the values that permit us to call cultural goods cultural and evoke qualities above and beyond the economic and the social [Klamer, 2003, p.25].

In order to make sense of cultural goods and their exceptional status, Klamer introduces a cultural-economic perspective. This perspective embraces the culturalist perspective with its emphasis on the various values that constitute cultural goods, while acknowledging the continuing importance of the economic dimension. Culture matters and so do economics [Klamer, 2003, p.19]. Moreover, in order to survive in the current economy it is necessary for cultural organizations to be aware of economics and their position in it. However, it seems that there is still a large number of organizations where this awareness has not penetrated yet and did not adapt to the economy. This could be a result of ignorance or a lack of knowledge of how to do so. Yet this is not surprising as in most institutions the curator used to have all the power; he was in charge of what people should see and learn. However, privatization demanded the power to shift to other departments and a greater emphasis on professionalization and individuality of the public.

This shift in function demands a change of the corporate culture. It is evident that it is not easy for museums to realize as changing the culture of an organization will have big consequences on, among others, organizational design, organizational quality and leadership roles. Nevertheless in the new economy this change of focus has been and still is essential as the complexity of society has increased in the last couple of decades. The world economy has seen an extraordinary growth in economic prosperity and technological change, which has resulted in a need for organizations to think and operate within it differently. The revolutionary growth has brought along with it opportunities, capacities and problems, which is also signified by Baumol as ‘the new economy’ [Baumol, 2006, p.340]. Good examples are globalization and connectivity, which have become new realities that have brought profound changes in lifestyles worldwide and the overall pattern of cultural production, consumption and trade. One could thus say that as the economy grew, the uncertainty of the tasks of museums increased as well. Culture has been knocked of its pedestal en has to compete with other forms of leisure. This means that cultural organizations have to be aware of their position in the market they are operating in, how to attract visitors and how to stand out between its competitors. In order to be successful it is thus important to have a lot of knowledge about how to attract attention and to keep that attention.

According to theorists, the changes that were brought by the new economy have had great effects on the market. The market has become a battleground in favor of the scarce time and attention of the costumers. According to Simon scarcity has long been the central problem in economics, but now it seems that plentitude is the new dilemma [Simon, 1971]. As we live in an information-rich world wherein there is an overload of information, it has become hard for people to sort out the most relevant and useful information. This is also the reason that consumers have become receptive to recommendations by others. The experience good character of cultural goods makes it impossible to judge on the quality beforehand, therefore in the decision making consumers are influenced by what others are doing.

Whether this is a result of people's ignorance, cost of informing themselves or fashion in consumption, it is clear that the scarcity of attention has great consequences for cultural organizations. The cultural change we are witnessing has made increasingly important for museums to be aware of their public. This cultural change shifted the ground on which art museums have stood so firmly for so long. According to Hooper-Greenhill, in the next decade, the museum must develop a clear social function in order to build up a relationship with its public. Long-term relationships which are based on mutual benefits are the key. Hence, for a museum it is important to focus on the preferences of the customer. Consequently, in the first instance, this led to an emphasis on marketing, but it soon became clear that there was a need to go beyond marketing and to think more analytically about the experience that is offered to the visitors. As Hooper-Greenhill has put it nicely; whereas visitors used to be content to stroll through the museum, now there is a clear and consistent demand for a close and active encounter with objects and exhibits. A physical experience using all the senses is called for [Hooper-Greenhill, 1994].

According to Pine and Gilmore, due to the fact as goods and services have become commoditized, the physical experience has become increasingly important [Pine and Gilmore, 1998, p.97]. The biggest difference between these economic offerings is that commodities, goods and services are external to the buyer, while experiences are inherently personal [Ibid, p.2]. When an organization offers an experience the costumer has to participate directly; an experience is thus a personal interaction between the organization and the customer. In this process the customer is a co-creator of a meaningful experience. As van Huis and van der Heijden put it: "The creation of an experience is to tackle and fascinate visitors". One could say that if a visitor has a positive memory, it is easier for an organization to build up a relationship; these experiences thus influence decision-making-processes in the future.

It is clear that experiences derive from various psychological processes, such as perception, cognition, memory, emotion, behavior and physiology. It is evident that, as experiences have their own distinct qualities and characteristics, they present their own design challenges. According to Pine and Gilmore, the way to think about experiences is across two dimensions. The first corresponds to customer participation. At one end of the spectrum lies passive participation, in which customers do not second dimension of experience describes the connection, or environmental relationship, that unites customers with the event or performance [Pine and Gilmore, 1998, p.101]. However, the problem remains that even if an organization develops good concept, this does not guarantee customers.

As well as goods and services, experiences have to meet a customer’s need; they have to work; and they have to be deliverable. In order to generate positive experiences it is thus essential for organizations to measure what costumers expect and demand. This is where we come back to the importance of marketing.

According to Lewis Marketing is a management process which confirms the mission of a museum. Marketing has to result in efficient identification, anticipation and satisfaction of its users. The primary objective for all arts organizations is thus realizing its mission. In arts marketing it is important that jeopardizes the artistic values with commercial values. Marketing should be used as an effective tool to reach the public, therefore it should not be leading in decision-making processes. The feature that distinguishes arts marketing from commercial marketing is that the ‘product’ is independent from the dictates of the market. Arts marketing is thus special as it needs to start with the product and find customers for it, rather than react to market demand [Hill et al., 2003, p.3]. Hence, marketing should not be changing the product itself, but matching consumers with the artists in a way that does not harm the artistic value of the product. The artistic values or cultural values of cultural goods are the values that matter most.

So, the question remains what the most important values of ‘Beeld en Geluid’ are. From the outside it seems that the institute is ahead of other organizations as ‘Beeld en Geluid’ has acknowledged the importance of market-orientation to attract visitors. Yet what consequences does this market-orientation have on other functions of the organization? Does this bigger focus on economic values mean a loss of the organizations’ integrity? Is ‘Beeld en Geluid’ truly as progressive as it looks from the outside? What are key issues of the organization? Can we compare the institute to other organizations? Can we consider ‘Beeld en Geluid’ museum of the future?

Chapter 3 The story behind 'Beeld en Geluid' x

3.1 Mission and organization

Commissioned by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science in 2003, Koos van Dijken and Natasha Stroeker published a report on the archive sector in the Netherlands. They found out that this sector is characterized by a high degree of differentiation and in the future the sector faces a number of important challenges. There are large differences in the size of tasks that are carried out by institutions, the available resources and the quality of services. However, several sources have shown that there is a growing interest for historical information and also the use of Internet has increased. Nevertheless, due to a fragmented presentation of the archives and the limited and difficult accessibility, the visibility of the archives is insufficient [van Dijken en Stroeker, 2003, pp.10-12]. People are not aware of the richness of the archives with the result that users make insufficient use of the possibilities. In addition is the supply is not easy accessible and is the image of the archives weak.

In order to exploit the 'window of opportunity' and to improve the organization, archives need to focus on various issues [van Dijken en Stroeker, 2003, p.4]. According to van Dijken and Stroeker, archives need to professionalize and become more autonomous. In addition, they need to focus more on the public and on quality improvement. To realize this, archives could cooperate with other archives or cultural organizations to work more efficiently [Ibid, p.34]. In this sense the challenges in the archive sector correspond to the challenges in the museum sector. Organizations need to become more audience-orientated and use marketing tools, whilst not losing their vision. Another focus point is the digitalization of the information to make the archive more accessible. Digitalization means that more and more information is quickly and continuously available. The goal of these developments is to attract new target groups and to increase the social valuation of archives [Ibid].

Hence, in the audiovisual archive sector 'Beeld en Geluid' was established to ensure sustainable preservation of Dutch audiovisual heritage and to make this collection accessible for broadcast professionals and education. The goal of the institute was to raise general public awareness [Jaarverslag 2007, p.2]. The establishment of the institute is not obvious as one only recently realized that the audiovisual collections are important and are part of national heritage. The main tasks of the institute as described in the annual reports are acquisition and archiving, conservation and digitalization, offering various services online and presentation. Hence, 'Beeld en Geluid' put a lot of effort in developing an infrastructure to improve the availability of the collection and to expand the limited range of the collections. In accordance with this task, the organization evolved into a broad cultural institution that serves professionals, schools, universities and the general public [Website Beeld en Geluid, 2010].

In 2006 the institute realized a new building to bundle all activities and they started to make up arrears in the preservation and digitization of the collections [Jaarverslag 2007, p.2]. These tasks brought with them various challenges, however, according to the annual reports the institute successfully succeeded in doing so, in particularly in making the collection available to the public, both online and with the exhibition. Hence, with the opening of the new institute, after a preparatory period of ten years, the audiovisual heritage is now on the cultural map of the Netherlands. During this first year the institute attracted more than 260,000 visitors and became one of the top ten cultural attractions in the Netherlands. A large part of the audiovisual heritage is stored in the basement of the institute in carefully air-conditioned rooms. 'Beeld en Geluid' is one of the largest audiovisual archives in Europe. The collection contains over 700.000 hours of radio, television, film and music and is still growing every day. Most broadcasts come in automatically through 'De Digitale Voorziening' [DDV], in addition individuals and institutions entrust their collections to the institute on a regular basis [Website Beeld en Geluid, 2010].

3.2 Presentation

One could say that the biggest challenge lied in the presentation of the collection. According to van der Heijden and van Huis, the youthful history of the medium demanded a new form of experience when exhibited [Interview, 2010]. For this reason, in the public facility, 'Beeld en Geluid' created a new exhibition format which is provided literally on top of the archives. This public attraction is called the 'Experience' that is linked to the archives which means that it is up-to-date and different each day. The result is that the various pavilions let visitors experience the way in which our image of the world is defined by the media. According to the website of 'Beeld en Geluid' this concept of the public attraction in 'Beeld en Geluid' is unique in the Netherlands but also worldwide. Nowhere else in the world is a public facility, such as the media experience, directly linked to the archives [Website Beeld en Geluid, 2010]. With this fact in mind it is clear that van der Heijden and van Huis had a clear vision on how to exhibit the audiovisual heritage.

3.2.1 From archive object to exhibition object

In the publication 'Audivisueel. Van emancipatie tot professionalisering', van der Heijden elaborates on various issues that come with exhibiting audiovisual heritage and he discusses some objectives 'Beeld en Geluid' has with the 'Experience'. Also he mentions that exhibiting audiovisual heritage is not obvious and employed in theory and practice. Despite the growing presence of multimedia technology in museums, audiovisual objects are not often used as an exhibition object. Nevertheless this is possible and sometimes even desirable. Therefore 'Beeld en Geluid' hopes to contribute to a more intensified and successful use of audiovisual material in other cultural organizations. According to van der Heijden the material is suitable to evoke an image of time or to show processes and events that objects cannot. In this sense audiovisual material is unique because its immateriality [van der Heijden, 2005, pp.166-167]. This immateriality or intangibility, on the other hand, also has a downside. Audiovisual material often is not treated as an integral and autonomous 'object'; the material is often freely mounted, manipulated and shaped. Audiovisual heritage is often not treated with the same respect as the most unsightly object in the show-case [Ibid, p.168]. According to van der Heijden this is because the flexible nature of audiovisual. On the one hand we must exploit that advantage, but on the other hand we must not ignore the expressive power and the value of the sources.

In dealing with heritage, questions about the representativeness, quality, completeness, authenticity are continually addressed. The curator decides whether the meaning of the material objects is well substantiated; these decisions never change the characteristics of the objects. In audiovisual heritage this is different; concepts like integrity, authenticity and originality are very complex and could have implications on the exhibition [Ibid, p.169]. A good example is to take a closer look at the integrity of the audiovisual objects, in addition to the perspective of the maker and the original signification, also the time frame is important for the integrity of the object. The time frame of the objects is often not respected; this automatically raises questions to what extent the objects should be condensed, compiled or fragmented? During the preparation of exhibitions in 'Beeld en Geluid' the notion of representivity and integrity were extremely important. The selected fragments are left in alone as much as possible. The original form remains as it is and the beginning and the end fall on original mounting points [Ibid, pp. 170-171].

The exhibiting of audiovisual heritage also plays a big role in the perception of the objects. Sharpness of the images and the color intensity are important components of quality. Therefore, according to van der Heijden, it might be smart to use one-person LCD screens; these can also enhance the individual experience. In addition to these objects, it is important for a curator to provide a spatial experience to make the exhibition more unique than the home experience. For example children's programs are shown in a more intimate setting, in this case the individual travelling back of the audience is more intensified.

It is clear that audiovisual heritage is more than a collection of moving pictures to illustrate or substantiate an exhibition; they are objects in themselves and should be respected as such. The intangible nature of audiovisual material makes it pliable and suitable for educational purposes in exhibitions. However, when respectfully studied, designed and exhibited, audiovisual heritage is also an immensely rich object with a significant higher evocation factor than material heritage [Ibid, p.172].

3.3 The making of 'Beeld en Geluid' and a look behind the scenes

In order to get a better idea about how van Huis and van der Heijden implemented their ideas on how to exhibit audiovisual heritage, I arranged an interview with them on the 31th of June in their office in the 'Beurs van Berlage' where their new company 'XPEX' is located. Van Huis and van der Heijden founded 'XPEX' in 2008 after working for 'Beeld en Geluid' for several years, where they held the positions of director of the institute and director of the 'Experience'. 'XPEX Experience Experts' is a company that develops and manages exhibition, museum and experience projects. It provides as scope of activities such as concepting, design and build, planning, organization, management and consultancy. When they started their own company in 2008, the development of 'Beeld en Geluid' was more or less finished. Both van Huis and van der Heijden were closely involved with the establishment of the institution and were looking for a new challenge. So, what was their vision behind the institute? What where important focus points when they created the public attraction?

3.3.1 The establishment of the 'Experience'

When van Huis and van der Heijden started working at 'Beeld en Geluid' they had to create a public attraction that is accessible for everyone. According to them the collection of 'Beeld en Geluid' is suitable for a wide segment of the population and therefore that is where the institute focused on. "If one looks at a museum profile of an art museum it is most likely it consists of people over fifty that read the cultural enclosure of the newspaper. In contrast, 'Beeld en Geluid' has a much more accessible collection and the 'Experience' had to represent this" [van Huis and van der Heijden, 2010]. This is one of the reasons that the main target group is children under 16 years old. Most of these children are not familiar with art nor with museums, therefore the threshold for them to go to a museum much higher. Art and museums do not connect to their experience. In contrast, when it comes to media and television, it is easy for children to relate to this, because nowadays these media are imbedded into their daily life. In addition, media has become more and more important to study as a subject as it has captivated the Dutch culture in various ways [Ibid].

The idea behind the 'Experience' was to create the most fun museum of the Netherlands; it had to be easy accessible for everyone, but most importantly, it had to be entertaining. This is one of the reasons that 'Beeld en Geluid' is not a museum. According to van Huis and van der Heijden a museum is a manageable concept. If someone speaks of museums they know what to expect. This is exactly the reason that this term was avoided; from a marketing perspective a museum sounds too dull. The direct stakeholders were not keen of this term either. The goal of the institute was to attract a variety of Dutch citizens and much more children than the average museum. "With this goal in mind, we decided not to call Beeld and Geluid a museum, because then you constantly have to tell people it is really fun and not boring" [Ibid].

The 'Experience' consists mainly of exhibits with television where the institute is most known for. However, it is not an overview or a reflection of the content of the collection. Van Huis and van der Heijden refer to it as a story; a story with different angels, different layers and different target groups. The share of television in the total collection is not that big, but as television has the biggest impact on visitors, this medium is most frequently used. "The institute is located in the 'Mediapark' in Hilversum which is known as the place where television shows are recorded. So with their visit, people want to see celebrities and enter the magical world of television" [Ibid]. The 'Experience' is an exhibition or presentation that is experience directed. The most important aspect is that the visitor is in charge of their own visit. "For some this means that they can be in charge of the buttons, for others this means that they can be part of television themselves". According to research this is also the most popular exhibit, wherein people can be a newsreader. "The trigger for people to see themselves in the magic world of television is enormous".

As the interview thus showed 'Beeld en Geluid' is to a large extent focused on the wishes of the visitors. This became more clear when van der Heijden compared 'Beeld en Geluid' to 'The Rijksmuseum', a museum where visitors are not in charge of their own visit. As most people know, the most famous and probably the most important artwork to see is the 'Nightwatch' by Rembrandt. Even though visitors go to the Rijksmuseum to see this artwork, they are obligated to walk through twenty-three other rooms before they can finally admire it. "According to research among audiences, this is not what people want. The ultimate experience of the visitors is not positive if museums force them to see other artworks they are not interested in. The result is that visitors will rapidly walk through the museum until they are at the 'Nightwatch', but by then they are already overloaded with the other artworks, that they cannot appreciate it that much anymore. With this fact in mind, it is not surprising that the average time people spend looking at a painting is 0,3 seconds, this means that they only get an impression rather than actually looking at it. But, as we realized, unlike an art museum, watching television or a film collection is a time-based art. If visitors take 0,3 seconds to see an exhibit they have only seen six frames. This means that they haven't seen anything" [Ibid].

In order for visitors to connect to content of the exhibition 'Beeld en Geluid' had to find other ways of exhibiting the collection than other museums such as the 'Rijksmuseum'. The characteristics of the "Beeld en Geluid"- collection consequently forced the organization to brainstorm on questions such as: how do you make a presentation for visitors wherein they can choose what to see and connect at the right moment and what is the best way to present movies so that people take time to watch them [Ibid]? It is clear that the visitors thus were central in decision-making processes. The question then arose if this is a result of a desire to turn over more money; what is the balance between showing the collection and attracting audiences?

Van Huis and van der Heijden pointed out that over the last 30 years, the visitor has become more central in decision-making processes. In most institutions, the curator used to have all the power; he was in charge of what people should see and learn. However, due to privatization, this power shifted to other departments, as there has been a greater emphasis on professionalization and individuality of the public. More effort has been made to acquire knowledge about the wishes of the public. Under pressure of future cuts in subsidies, it seems that this knowledge is essential and museums should find ways to use this information in the best way. Nevertheless, even though the local municipality and the government have been putting pressure on museums to enhance own earning opportunities, van Huis and van der Heijden do not think that an answer to enhancing earning possibilities is to attract more visitors [Ibid]. One could say that there is a tension on the content of exhibitions regarding subsidies and generating revenue. However, for all museums it is a fact that they want to show something special. Generally most museums are content driven and it remains very important to distinguish themselves. Admittedly, there is a tendency for more popular and easier subjects, but in most cases economic values are not leading. If an organization wants to enhance it earning possibilities it should focus more on attracting sponsorships and donations.

3.3.2 Future of the Experience

According to van Huis and van der Heijden museums are getting more interested in the application of multimedia. They say that the biggest achievement of Beeld in Geluid is the growing use of sound and moving images in other museums. “This is because museums started to recognize that the use of moving images is extremely powerful in reaching their audience. In addition, the Beeld en Geluid archive-collections have become much more open and accessible for museum to use”. The only problem is that these applications often lack conviction [Ibid].

Next to the application of multimedia museum are getting more interested in experience concepts as well. It is important to notice that an experience concept is not something you can put together in the marketing department. It is not easy to implement such a concept, because it has consequences for the whole culture of the museum. Moreover, times have changed and these times are not the best to change the whole concept of the museums; that is too risky. In addition it is not necessary as every museum has own standards of measuring success; “museums can be satisfied with their current accomplishments. You should not misjudge the pace in which museums are willing to change their vision, their culture and the way they are treating their collection. A lot of museums only change on a small scale and over a longer period of time, for example by multimedia applications. Changing policies completely is complicated; in our experience, total concept changes only work with innovators without the burden of a preconceived concept”.

When I asked if experience concept are the future, van Huis and van der Heijden answered that experience concepts could be just a phase in time. “At the time that ‘Beeld en Geluid’ started, this seemed the best way to exhibit the collection and in this case this approach has shown to be very effective. Visitors can be approached directly and they can connect on an emotional level. If visitors emotionally connect to what they see, they are more likely to think about it, to remember it and to talk about it with others. The creation of an experience is therefore not so much about standing out amongst other organizations, but to tackle and fascinate visitors. It is getting more common, so it is not that innovative anymore. From a marketing perspective, an experience concept is not the P of promotion, but the P of product. It is not about the ‘stopping-power’, but about the ‘holding-power’”[Ibid]. This ‘holding-power’ has worked out very well at ‘Beeld en Geluid’. Van Huis and van der Heijden also refer to this as the extended experience. “One of the best accomplishments is the fact that you can stream little movies that you made during your visit at home. We never expected it to be such a success, but almost ninety percent of the so called ‘ring users’ are active online after their visit; the curiosity is immense. This is exactly what we wanted to achieve, the visit is not so much where it is about. ‘Beeld en Geluid’ was established in order for people to get a feel with an audiovisual archive. It is important that visitors connect with what they see and that ‘Beeld en Geluid’ leaves a trace in their memory. As studies have shown in most cases this has resulted in active use of the material after visiting the institute”.

According to van der Heijden the goal for the future is to extend the experience further and to re-attract the visitors. In other words: the organization should keep on developing. Some key issues are the improvement of various processes, in particular the marketing process. Thus, how can you extend the experience of the visitors even longer? How do you keep them interested in coming back to the website? How can you use the interest that was gained during the visit of the experience for a prolonged visit at home or at work? Extending the impact should be the main focus [Ibid].

Van Huis and van der Heijden had a clear vision of what they wanted the ‘Experience’ to accomplish; they invented a new concept and it worked. However, the question is if this is still the case nowadays. ‘Beeld en Geluid’ was established in order for the public to get a feel of what an audiovisual archive is. So, what happens after they have visited the institute? What measures does the organization take to re-attract visitors? To get an answer to these questions I arranged an interview with the current sector manager of presentation and interpretation, Michel Hommel. This interview took place on the 10^{th} of June in Hilversum where the institute is located.

Michel Hommel has been working for ‘Beeld en Geluid’ for several years. Before he started working at the institute he got a lot of experience in various fields. Hommel started his career as a film scholar and got a lot of experience in commercial publishing. The experience in both industries is useful in his current position as he stated: “I am aware of the importance of market orientation and on the other hand I am familiar with the content and culture and the importance of the collection for our culture, education and research” [Michel Hommel, 2010]. It seems that this combination is also characteristic for the institute as it is aware of both the content of the collection and the importance of the demand of the public.

3.3.3 Programming and innovations

Since ‘Beeld en Geluid’ has a new general manager the institute is reorganizing, so a lot will change in the future. The most important task for the organization is to keep on developing and innovating. Regarding these innovations, there are several vision how to implement these.

“Time has shown that the original concept, which was developed by Pieter van der Heijden, the former ‘Experience’ director, is good and it works very well, the only problem is that the ‘Experience’ is aging rapidly. It is not a museum where you can put some paintings on the wall which you can change in the course of time. In order to keep attracting visitors we have to keep on investing in innovations” [Ibid].

According Hommel, the way in which the ‘Experience’ is built, the technology, the webcams, being online and interactivity is in a large part based on technologies of several years ago; these are not that unique anymore. So, in order to keep on attracting audiences it is important to continually invest in innovations. The original image was to renew the ‘Experience’ completely every eight or so years; which he referred to as a ‘Big Bang’. This would enable the institute to reopen sensationally again. The only problem of this radical change is that it is too expensive. Moreover, this radical renewal forces the ‘Experience’ to close for at least half a year. “We had this luxury when we started with a new building, but now we cannot finance this” [Ibid]. Hence, a solution is to innovate and refresh the ‘Experience’ continuously, so that visitors do not have to wait for years until there is finally a new concept. According to Hommel ongoing innovations are necessary to develop along with the public to keep on attracting them. Therefore, in the new organizational policy the institute agreed on annual continuous innovations from 2011. The permanent exhibition contains twelve pavilions and in the near future they will change in a higher pace, so one or two pavilions each year.

In the past, attention was mostly given to the ‘Experience’, which still is the core of ‘Beeld en Geluid’ on the public side. Nowadays, in addition to the permanent exhibition, ´Beeld en Geluid´ tries to adjust the programming by means of temporary exhibitions and events. At the moment the exhibition ‘InScène’ is running, which is about television series. “These temporary exhibitions function to deepen our knowledge on particular subjects with an interesting presentation. In addition, these exhibitions function as a tool to get more attention of the public. In this context marketing helps to achieve this, by organizing events”[Ibid]. Next to the marketing department, various departments are contributing to make the program as successful as possible.

In the future attracting visitors will be one of the main concerns. This is one of the reasons that the institute is changing her policy; to reduce certain threshold that visitors have to overcome to visit the institute again. One could say that the institute shifted from the content as a guiding principle for the exhibitions towards a more market orientated approach. According to Hommel this orientation on the market is essential. Temporary exhibitions function as a tool to attracts visitors, thus it is important to have knowledge of the demand, which eventually could also be translated into marketing campaigns.

3.3.4 Financing and the future

This greater focus on attracting visitors is probably because visitor numbers have decreased since then. In the first year 'Beeld en Geluid' had 260,000 visitors, but in the last year the institute attracted 200,000 visitors. This is also the number the institute aims to get in order to realize the budget. "This year we need to turnover almost three million euro with ticket sales, sales from the shop and various arrangements. In order to live up to these expectations this means that we need to attract about 200,000 visitors" [Ibid].

According to Hommel one reason for these decreasing visitor numbers is that 'Beeld en Geluid' is sensitive to what happens in the economy. If people decide to cut back on expenditures, this directly shows in ticket sales because recreation is seen as a luxury. This sensitivity puts a lot of pressure on the organization: "as an organization you want to have a nice budget to create something new, but on the other hand you do have to earn it. You could say that we are constantly battling to break-even, which is kind of frustrating, but then again, this pressure of the market keeps you focused. You just have to try harder to attract visitors, which is the same with other cultural and leisure institutions" [Ibid].

Next to income from the market, 'Beeld en Geluid' gets government subsidies. These subsidies are to finance the whole institute; so not just the 'Experience'. At the moment the institute gets a lot of additional income from the government to finance the project 'Beelden voor de Toekomst'. This project is initiated by the government to preserve and digitalize the collection as part of our cultural heritage. It is a very important project for educational, cultural and also economic purposes.

One could say that the organization is very much dependent on subsidies as these are the main source of income. If there will be a cut back in government subsidies, the institute will face some serious problems which have to be converted into the budget. One solution is to look for more additional sources of income such as sponsoring, bartering and other deals which are benefit all partners involved. Another solution is to cut back in expenditures, but there is an end to that too [Ibid]. Finally, the institute could try to create more revenue, however, according to Hommel, this is not an answer to this problem.

As the institute calls itself a 'cultural attraction' I questioned whether it would be an option to become a commercial attraction, but according to Hommel this was not an option, as no cultural institution in the Netherlands is profitable. At first he argued that ‘Beeld en Geluid’ is a foundation and a heritage institution: “we are an archive which we share with the public in various ways”. The institute does not have an incentive to realize profits, “because we have other goals that are valuable too”. Nevertheless: “I have to admit that we are in a sector where it appears that we could earn a lot of money with the material, but this money belongs to the rightful owners, which in most cases we are not” [Ibid]. Another, more practical, reason why Hommel does not believe in profitable exploitation of the ‘Experience’ is that the institute has a limited capacity. “In most art museums, visitors need about an hour to walk around and get an impression of what the collection is about. In the ‘Experience’, visitors need three to four times longer to see everything. In addition, most visitors come in together and run off to the same pavilions because there is no fixed route. So if there are a lot of visitors inside it becomes too crowded, therefore we have a limited capacity to reduce this influx” [Ibid].

The ‘Experience’ does have a potential to grow; “if it would attract as many visitors as the capacity allows us to, we would have twice as many visitors every year. However, this will never happen as we are dependent on many external factors, such as competition, the supply around us and the weather"[Ibid]. According to Hommel the reason for this is that the concept of the ‘Experience’ as a cultural attraction or interactive attraction is new; people do not know what to expect. The ‘uniqueness’ of the concept makes it hard for the organization to measure up to other organizations and position. “This has resulted in the fact that many visitors still see ‘Beeld en Geluid’ as a museum. So when the sun is shining nobody is keen on visiting us, because museums are indoor activities”[Ibid].

According to Hommel the vulnerability to external factors is due to the location. “The ‘Experience’ is a good concept, but this does not mean that it automatically attracts visitors. There is not much to do in the surrounding area as we are located on a business park and a village that is not touristic, as opposed to the big touristic magnets Amsterdam or Utrecht. ‘Beeld en Geluid’ has to compete with many other major attractions in these cities; but the difference is that we are a standalone attraction. Of course there are many people who are interested and curious enough to visit the institute, whether the location is convenient or not. I am referring to the group of people that are interested in culture and are often well educated; these people know how to find us. Hence, there is also a large segment of the Dutch population that can only be reached with a lot of effort. Therefore the role of marketing has become increasingly important” [Ibid].

3.3.5 The importance of marketing

According to Hommel marketing functions as an effective tool to reach the public, to get them hooked to your message. And as such he thinks it should be integrated in all the public programming of the institute. “In the past, there was not much attention for marketing, but recently these times have changed. In most traditional museums the power has always been in hands of the curator and the management of the collection; they were in charge of the program” [Ibid]. This power is gradually decreasing as museums are becoming aware of declining government subsidies. Most museums have not had any financial and commercial ambitions, but now they are forced to think about it. Hence, to focus on marketing strategies the institute hired an extra employee, because marketing is the most effective tool to approach the public. “Before you develop anything it is important to think of who you are developing it for, how to sell it and which tools can help in this process. If the goal of the organization is to attract more visitors, it is essential to be aware of how to reach them” [Ibid].

As also previously shown, ‘Beeld en Geluid’ finds it important to continue developing and moving on and besides that the institute would like to see the attendance to grow. Therefore it is important as an organization to distinguish yourself from other organizations. So, in this sense marketing is an efficient tool too. According to Hommel the cultural world needs to professionalize and work more strategically. “One could say that ‘Beeld en Geluid’ is already more developed in this sense, as for example market-orientation is integrated in our policies. This approach will be further strengthened after the reorganization”. Nevertheless, Hommel states that marketing should not be leading in decision-making processes. “As a cultural institution it is important to program with an educational purpose and make decisions with the mission of the institute in mind”.

It is clear that the institute thus has clear ideas about how to attract visitors. However, as I have learned from the interview with van Huis and van der Heijden, it remains a challenge to re-attract visitors. Therefore I asked what measures the organization takes to accomplish this. Hommel agreed and said that in his opinion the institute does not attract enough repeated visitors. “We try to keep those who are interested updated with our newsletter, but not everyone is interested. I think this is a result of the way we present it, it could be a lot more attractive. Furthermore, a few months ago we introduced the VIP-card which is an annual subscription. Unfortunately, this card has not attracted that many users yet” [Ibid]. A solution to improve this, according to Hommel, is to extend the visitors experiences.

As research has shown, the 'extended experience' has worked out very well. Visitors are not ready with 'Beeld en Geluid' just like that; once they get home they can relive what they did. "In order to extend our visitors experiences, we have to develop our costumer- and contact strategies. This strategy stands for the entire contact the costumer has with the institute. From the moment they are stimulated by marketing campaigns or publicity, the entire process of the visit including the use of the ring and being online at after their visit. In other words, this process has to start earlier and has to finish later. We should carry through this process into a kind of community, in order to keep the visitors attracted and retrieve them both physically and online. We should create different portals with various offers that match the different profiles" [Ibid]. online availability of the exhibitions. Due to the reorganization and our new policies these will be important focus points.

3.5 Results

When 'Beeld en Geluid' started, exhibiting audiovisual heritage was not obvious and employed in theory and practice. Consequently van Huis and van der Heijden had to find new ways to present the collection. The goal was to make this collection accessible for broadcast professionals and education and to raise public awareness. In order to achieve this, the wishes of the public were central in decision-making processes. This focus was not an answer to enhance earning possibilities, in this case organizations should focus on attracting sponsorships and donations. The reason for creating an experience was the nature of the collection that demanded a different approach; audiovisual material is a time-based art.

3.5.1 Market oriented approach

According to Pine and Gilmore the creation of experience is about letting the consumers participate in and to connect to a certain product or company, with the result of selling traditional offerings better in the future. In 'Beeld en Geluid', indeed the most important aspect of the 'Experience' is that visitors can create their own meaningful experience with a result that 'Beeld en Geluid' leaves a trace in their memory. For this reason visitors should be approached directly so they can connect on an emotional level; they should be in charge of their own visit. In most museums this is not the case, however according to research among audiences, this is not what people want. Watching television or a film collection takes more time, so if visitors are not impressed by how an exhibition is composed they will not take time to connect. Connection is necessary for a positive experience, which in turn is essential for the 'holding-power'. In order to create a meaningful experience it is thus important for an organization to be aware of the wishes of the public.

With these visions in mind, one could say that the establishment of the 'Experience' was not so much about standing out amongst other organizations, but to tackle and fascinate visitors; because if they are emotionally connected, the experience lasts longer than the exit. One of the main goals of the institute in the future is to extend the experience longer in order to re-attract them. The concept of the 'Experience' was created several years ago and now the institute has to find ways how to keep on developing it in the future. " We used to be in a build-up phase, but as it is ready we need to go on" [Hommel, 2010].

3.5.2 Reorganization

It is interesting that after discussing several topics such as innovating, reliance on government subsidies, visitor numbers, future of 'Beeld en Geluid' and the role of marketing, Hommel concluded with: "From the outside it seems that we are way ahead of other organizations in the cultural world, but that is mainly because other organization have not done much yet. In reality we are not progressing that much at the moment". Nevertheless, this is all going to change in the future as 'Beeld en Geluid' is facing reorganization. This reorganization means that a lot will change in the future. A key issue of the institute is innovation; the 'Experience' is getting outdated, so in order to keep on attracting audiences it is important to continually invest in innovations. Secondly, the institute shifted from the content as a guiding principle for the exhibitions towards a more market orientated approach. According to Hommel this orientation on the market is essential as it is important to have knowledge of what the public demands. In this sense marketing functions as an effective tool; "before you develop anything it is important to think of who you are developing it for, how to sell it and which tools can help in this process" [Ibid].

It is striking that even though market-orientation is considered important, it was only in 2008 that 'Beeld en Geluid' hired an extra employee to focus on it. I previously argued that the institute had an advantage to create a public attraction that would fit the demand of the public, rather that changing a concept and adapting to it. However, as shown above, even ´Beeld en Geluid´ is reorganizing after they have existed for only four years. One of the reasons for the reorganization is the appointment of the new general director Jan Müller. The supervisory board appointed him because of his expertise in marketing and advertising. "'Beeld en Geluid' is an organization that, in the coming years, should focus on acquiring a top position in the market".

Before Müller started working at 'Beeld en Geluid' the institute was established under the supervision of Edwin van Huis, who had a lot of experience in the cultural world as the director of the 'Rijksmuseum' in Amsterdam. However, as 'Beeld en Geluid' was finished, the development of the organization needed a different approach. As Hommel put it nicely: "Our goal is to be, and to remain, an accessible cultural attraction that draws 200,000 visitors a year."

Hence, what consequences does this renewed focus have on the institute? Does a focus on the public imply a loss of the museum's integrity as a distinctive collecting, conserving, research, exhibiting and educational institution? In order to get an answer to these questions I will take a closer look at the visitor numbers of the 'Experience'.

3.5.3 Visitor numbers

With the purpose of showing a development in visitor numbers I used the results from December 2006, the month wherein 'Beeld en Geluid' opened its doors, until the end of 2009[3]. Even though this is a fairly short period to show a development which is also representative for the future, it does give some interesting information. In 2007 the institute attracted over 260,000 visitors. In 2008 this number dropped with twenty-six percent to a number of 192,833 visitors and 195,773 in 2009 [appendix I]. According to the annual report this drop is common in the life cycle of an attraction; the curiosity in the first year was great [Annual report 2007]. After a year, more people have learned about 'Beeld en Geluid', so the institute is not that new anymore.

In order to of live up to budget expectations, the institute has to attract 200,000 visitors every year. So, if number will decrease even more, this means that the organization has to convert this deficit in its budget. One could say that the shift towards a more market orientated approach is thus essential in order to attract visitors to generate more revenue. If the institute has more knowledge on what the public demands it becomes easier to readjust to it. Hence, marketing is an important tool to reach the public and to get them hooked to your message. This explicit attention for marketing, as described earlier, has not been that obvious in the cultural sector. Even though 'Beeld en Geluid' from the start was aware of their public and how to address them, the institute did not have a marketing department either. 'Beeld en Geluid' always paid attention to marketing, but the content was the guiding principle for the exhibition.

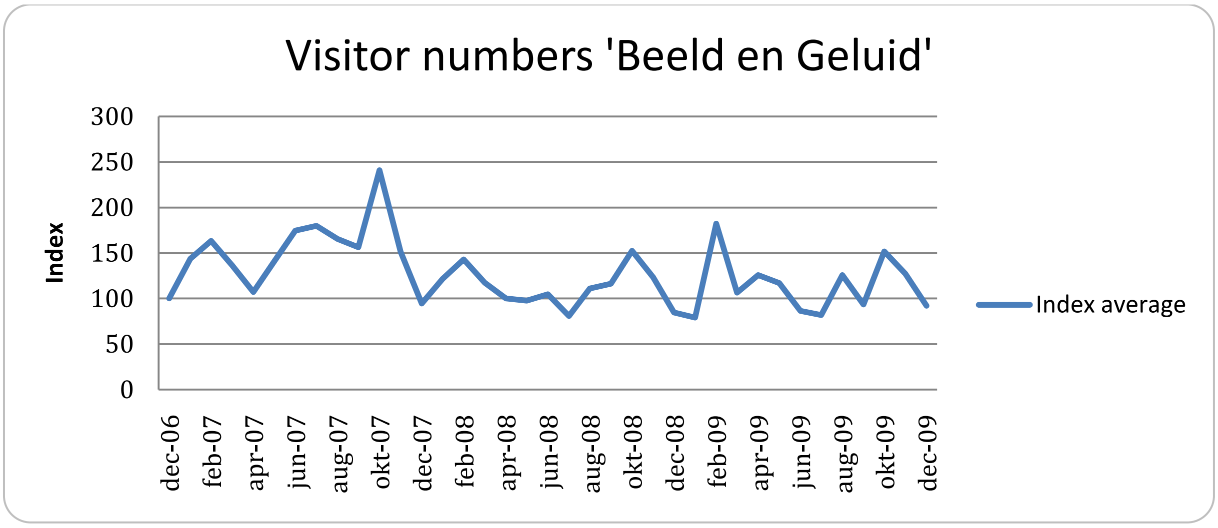
It is evident that this renewed focus of the institute has resulted in some changes concerning the exhibitions. 'Beeld en Geluid' started to think more in terms of how to attract

[3] I did not use the numbers of 2010, because these are not public yet.

more visitors and re-attract them; consequently a main focus point thus has become innovating. If ‘Beeld en Geluid’ wants to re-attract visitors, it is important that the institute has something new to offer. This is also the reason that alongside the permanent exhibition ‘Beeld en Geluid’ has temporary exhibitions. As Hommel stressed, these exhibitions function to deepen our knowledge on particular subjects with an interesting presentation, additionally they also function as a tool to get attention [Hommel, 2010].

In order to get a better idea about the progression of the visitor numbers I created a graph with the monthly average visitor numbers from December 2006 until December 2009 [figure 7]. The graph shows that the development of visitor numbers comes about with peaks and drops. Hommel stressed that these peaks are a result of school holidays and if one takes a closer look at the graph, indeed this seems the case. There are recurring peaks in the periods around February, May, August and October, which are the months wherein these holidays take place.

Figure 7 Index visitor numbers ‘Beeld en Geluid’

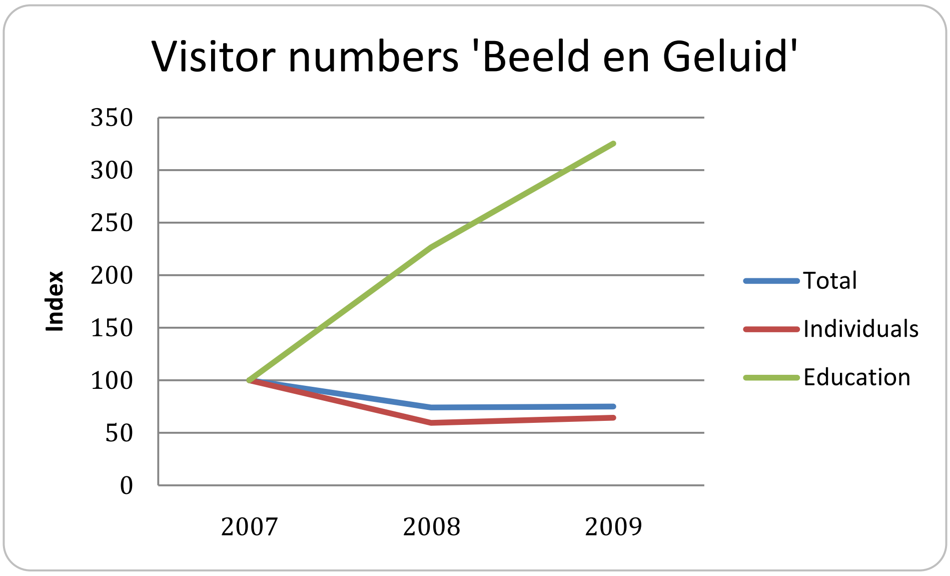


According to annual reports during these holidays almost 40 percent of the visitors consisted of children younger than sixteen years old and if we look at the total number of children visiting the institute we can conclude that this is the main target group. As market research has shown in 2007 over twenty-one percent of the visitors were children that visited the institute either with their family or as a school related activity. In the next years this number tripled [Figure 8]. With this fact in mind, one could say that education is one of the main tasks of the organization.

3.5.4 Logic of governance

As we have learned from the mission statement, 'Beeld en Geluid' was established make the collection accessible for, among others, education. It is interesting to note that even when visitor numbers were decreasing, the relative share of education increased [For exact numbers see appendix I].

Figure 8 Index specified visitors



Hence, a bigger focus on marketing in the case of 'Beeld en Geluid' did not mean that other values of the institute became less important. Hommel argued that, even though there is a greater focus on attracting visitors, the institute should not have the incentive to realize profits. He states that in addition making the collection available to the widest range of visitors as possible, 'Beeld en Geluid' had other goals that are valuable too [Hommel, 2010]. To elucidate this, he mentioned the role of the institute for education. Education is important for other reasons than financial gain: "we do not earn much on educational programs; schools are not financially attractive, but that's not the only way to look at it". As this statement shows, it is clear that 'Beeld en Geluid' is not just an organization focused solely on the demand of the public, but also focuses on the special position the institution has; an audiovisual archive that preserves and presents heritage in service of the public, education and enjoyment. From this perspective one could say that the distinguishing character of 'Beeld en Geluid is that the balance between the various purposes is different than in other organization. The main goal was to create the most fun museum of the Netherlands; "it had to be easy accessible for everyone, but most importantly, it had to be entertaining". 'Beeld en Geluid' thus had a different approach towards its visitors and consequently a different approach towards the collection. The collection of 'Beeld en Geluid' is suitable for a wide segment of the population and therefore that is where the institute focused on.

It is clear that the different purposes of 'Beeld en Geluid' come about with distinctive values. On the one hand the institute is focused on the market, which I interpreted as being focused on economic values. Nevertheless, the institute has goals and purposes, such as education, that go beyond economic valuation. If one connects these value spheres to the financial sphere, one could say that the logic of governance is still predominant. So, even though 'Beeld en Geluid' is focused on the market, this does not mean that financing from this sphere is the most important income for the institute. Due to the fact that the most important goal of the institute is to 'generate' public goods, it gets most of its finances of the government. In this sense, 'Beeld en Geluid' is not that different from other cultural organizations as they are also very much dependent on subsidies. Hence, the statement that the balance between the different purposes, with an emphasis on enjoyment, is the distinguishing character of the institute is no longer true. Indeed, the organization wants to offer an enjoyable experience wherein visitors are the most important producers. For this reason market orientation is embedded in the organizations' policies. Nevertheless, other tasks are of great importance too, therefore 'Beeld en Geluid' receives government support. Hence, one could say that if the government decides to cut back on financing, the organization will face similar problems as other museums.

Chapter 4 Conclusion x

4.1 'Beeld en Geluid', museum of the future?

The purpose of my study was to develop a better understanding of the paradoxical situation museums are operating in. The main research question was: how are museums operating in the paradoxical situation of the new economy? On the one hand museums are sheltered from the broader market by government policies in order for them to stay focused on the core of the organization, which is the generation of public goods. The problem however is that, as an organization on the other hand, they exist in a free market economy and are expected to compete with other businesses in a supply and demand framework.

One could say that this shift in focus is a shift in the values according to which the organization operates. This focus on the market, thus, could be seen as a bigger focus on economic values. The problem however is that in dealing with cultural goods we must recognize the other values that cultural goods generate, in addition to economic values. Cultural goods are not normal goods; the important values that make cultural goods cultural seem to come about outside the sphere of economic calculation and exchange. Nevertheless, in the current economy it is necessary for cultural organizations to be aware of economics and their position in it. Organizations have to develop along the public and adjust to the changing demands.

It is not surprising that organizations that deal with cultural goods are struggling in how to adapt to the new economy and changing their culture. This adaption to the economy is essential in order to keep on attracting visitors. For this reason, as a case study, I chose to take a closer look at 'Beeld en Geluid'. 'Beeld en Geluid' has parallel tasks as museums, however, from the outside, it appears that the institute also has characteristics that distinguish it. Before researching the institute I argued that it seemed as if the institute has taken the different values of cultural goods into account and found a good balance in the focus on the collection on the one hand and focus on the market on the other. In my thesis I tried to find out if this is also the case internally. Hence, my research question was whether 'Beeld en Geluid' could be seen as the museum of the future.

Research has shown that 'Beeld en Geluid' is unique as the institute has created a public attraction that is very much visitor-orientated and directly linked to the archives. I argued that the organization had the luxury of creating a public attraction adapted to the current economy without the burden of a preconceived concept. This adaption is important because in order to survive in the current economy. However, research has shown that I overestimated this luxury, because also 'Beeld en Geluid' has been changing its policy over the last year with the advent of a new general director. A good example is that the organization always found market-orientation important, however, it is striking that it was only in 2008 that the institute hired an extra employee to focus on it.

In my thesis I stated that 'Beeld en Geluid' is a museum, which is an organization with several tasks and different purposes that come about with different values. Every museum has to find a balance between these tasks and it appeared that in 'Beeld en Geluid' the focus was on the presentation of the collection. As van Huis and van der Heijden argued, audiovisual heritage is a time-based art. Hence, one could say that the nature of the collection demanded a different approach. This resulted in the 'Experience', wherein visitors are in charge of their own visit and can create their own meaningful experience. Hence, in order to create a meaningful experience it is important for an organization to be aware of the wishes of the public. From the outside it appeared that market orientation and the focus on the public are the distinguishing characteristics of the institute that could be seen as progressive; that this focus is a consequence of a more autonomous attitude. However, research has shown that the institute is not that progressive and that the logic of governance is still predominant. The focus on the public was not so much an answer to enhance earning possibilities; the nature of the collection demanded a different approach. 'Beeld en Geluid' still incurs much of its income from the government as they are focused on the special status the institute has, which is the generation of public goods in service of for example education.

So, is it still a good question to see whether 'Beeld en Geluid' could be considered as the museum of the future? I do think that 'Beeld en Geluid' could be seen as an example for other organizations as they integrated market-orientation in their policies. In the cultural world, it has shown, there is a need for professionalization and autonomization and the institute is already more developed in this sense. 'Beeld en Geluid' shows that a bigger focus on economic values does not necessarily mean a loss of the museum's integrity. Organizations have to search for a good balance between the values that are of great importance of the organization. They have to operate in the current economy with their mission in mind.

Nevertheless, I do wonder if experiences are the future too. According to van Huis and van der Heijden offering experiences was the best way to present the collection. However, it is questionable if these experiences are a good concept to re-attract visitors as well. According to Pine and Gilmore, offering experiences is a good way to establish a relationship with the visitors. For this reason it is important to keep on offering new experiences. The problem however, is that innovations are very costly and not easy to change on a regular basis. Nevertheless, these chances are necessary to offer depth. Indeed, the organization has adjusted its programming and is now offering temporary exhibitions alongside the permanent exhibition. It is clear that the new economy demanded a new way for cultural organizations to address the public. The answer of ‘Beeld en Geluid’ was to create the most fun museum of the Netherlands, but is fun is enough in the future?

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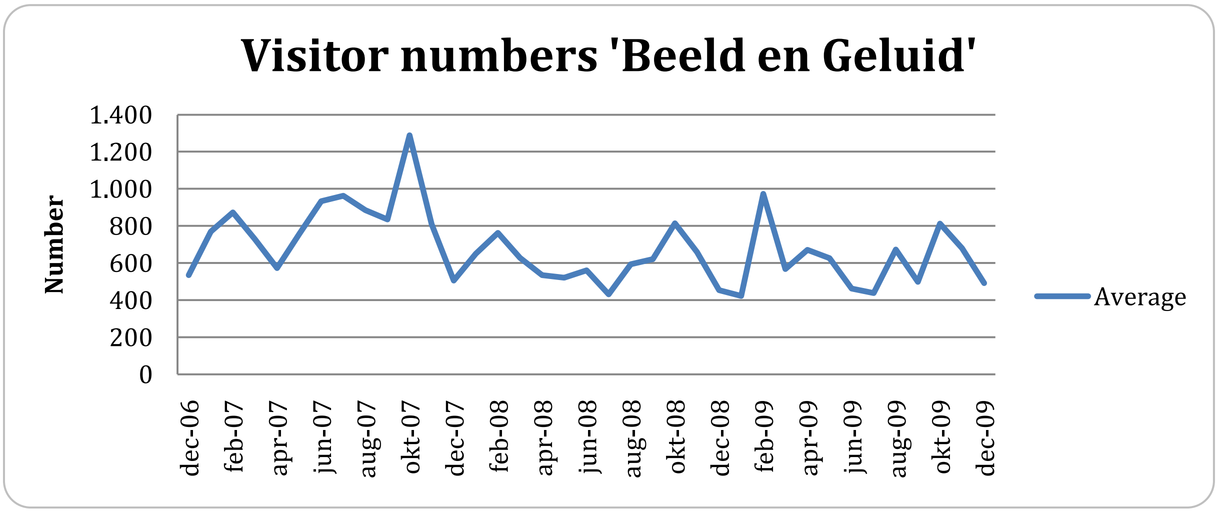
Appendix I Visitor numbers 'Beeld en Geluid' x

Source: Beeld en Geluid

Visitor numbers 'Beeld en Geluid'			
	Total	Individuals	Schools
2007	260.484	196.817	9.191
2008	192.833	117.147	20.822
2009	195.773	126.610	29.903

Index visitor numbers 'Beeld en Geluid'			
	Total	Individuals	Schools
2007	100	100	100
2008	74	60	227
2009	75	64	325

Monthly average visitor numbers 'Beeld en Geluid'								
Month	Number	Index	Month	Number	Index	Month	Number	Index
dec-06	534	100						
jan-07	769	144	jan-08	650	122	jan-09	423	79
feb-07	873	163	feb-08	763	143	feb-09	974	182
mrt-07	728	136	mrt-08	627	117	mrt-09	568	106
apr-07	573	107	apr-08	535	100	apr-09	671	126
mei-07	755	141	mei-08	521	97	mei-09	626	117
jun-07	933	175	jun-08	560	105	jun-09	463	87
jul-07	962	180	jul-08	432	81	jul-09	438	82
aug-07	885	166	aug-08	594	111	aug-09	673	126
sep-07	835	156	sep-08	621	116	sep-09	499	93
okt-07	1.288	241	okt-08	814	152	okt-09	812	152
nov-07	810	151	nov-08	659	123	nov-09	680	127
dec-07	505	94	dec-08	453	85	dec-09	492	92



Appendix II Interview Edwin van Huis and Pieter van der Heijden [31-06-2010] x

Both of you have a history in the Rijksmuseum before you started working at 'Beeld en Geluid'. What is the main difference between these two organizations and why?

When we started working at 'Beeld en Geluid' we never compared the institute with the Rijksmuseum, because its main topic is much different; Beeld en Geluid is about culture and not about art. If you look at a museum profile of an art museum it is most likely you will see people over fifty that read the cultural enclosure of the newspaper. The collection of 'Beeld en Geluid', however, is suitable for a wider segment of the population and that is where we focused on. The 'Experience' should represent the easy accessibility of the collection. This is one of the reasons that the main target group is children under 16 years old. Most of these children are not familiar with art nor with museums, therefore is the threshold for them to go to a museum much higher. Art and museums do not connect to their experience. In contrast, when it comes to media and television, it is easy for children to relate to this, because nowadays these media are imbedded into their daily life. In addition, media has become more and more important to study as a subject as it has captivated the Dutch culture in various ways.

What was your vision for the Experience when you started working as directors for the institute? How did the experience turned out as we know it now?

We wanted to create the most fun museum of the Netherlands. It had to be easy accessible for everyone, but most importantly, it had to be entertaining. We did not establish the museum as an overview or a reflection of the content of the collection, but as a story. A story with different angels, different layers and different target groups.

The experience consists mainly of exhibits with television; this is where the institute is most known for. Surprisingly, the share of television in the total collection is not that big, but we chose to use this medium, because this is what visitors expect and buy tickets for. Television has the biggest impact on visitors. The institute is located in the 'Mediapark' in Hilversum which is known as the place where television shows are recorded. So with their visit, people want to see celebrities and enter the magical world of television.

Why is 'Beeld en Geluid' not a museum but an institute?

In the first reports we spoke of the 'Beeld en Geluid' experience as a museum, because this is a manageable concept. If someone speaks of museums they know what to expect. This is exactly the reason that we avoided the term; from a marketing perspective a museum sounds too dull. The direct stakeholders were not keen of this term either. The goal of the institute was to attract a variety of Dutch citizens and much more children than the average museum. With this goal in mind, we decided not to call 'Beeld en Geluid' a museum, because then you constantly have to tell people it is really fun and not boring.

How did you come up with the Experience?

When we explained others what our vision was, somebody called our concept an experience rather than a museum. So, you could say the word experience more or less happened to us, rather than consciously looking for it. We wanted to create an exhibition or presentation that would be experience directed. The most important aspect for us is that everyone is in charge of their own visit. For some this means that they can be in charge of the buttons, for others this means that they can be part of television themselves. This is also the most popular exhibit, wherein people can be a newsreader. The trigger for people to see themselves in the magic world of television is enormous.

The Rijksmuseum is a good example where visitors are not in charge of their own visit. The most famous and probably the most important artwork to see is the Nightwatch by Rembrandt. Even though visitors go to the Rijksmuseum to see this artwork, they are obligated to walk through twenty-three other rooms before they can finally admire it. According to research among the audiences, this is not what people want. The ultimate experience of the visitors is not positive if museums force them to see other artworks they are not interested in. The result is that visitors will rapidly walk through the museum until they are at the Nightwatch, but by then they are already overloaded with the other artworks, that they cannot appreciate it that much anymore. With this fact in mind, it is not surprising that the average time people spend looking at a painting is 0,3 seconds. But, as we realized, unlike an art museum, watching television or a film collection is a time-based art. If visitors take 0,3 seconds to see an exhibit they have only seen six frames. This means that they haven't seen anything.

It is evident that for Beeld en Geluid we had to find other ways of exhibiting the collection. In contrast to art museums we did not want to give just impressions, but we wanted people to connect. Consequently we brainstormed on questions like: how do you make a presentation for visitors wherein they can choose what to see and connect at the right moment? What is the best way to present movies so that people take time to watch them? Eventually we were able to organize the Experience in such a way that there was something interesting for every target group.

'Beeld en Geluid' is to a large extent focused on the wishes of the visitors. Is this a result of a desire to turn over as much money as possible? What is the balance between showing the collection and attracting audiences? And what role do subsidies have?

The local municipality and the government gave been putting pressure on museums to enhance own earning opportunities. However, we think that an answer to enhancing earning possibilities is not so much attracting more visitors but by sponsorships and donations. One could say that there is a tension on the content of exhibitions regarding subsidies and generating revenue. For all museums it is a fact that they want to show something special; generally most museums are content driven. Admittedly, there is a tendency for more popular and easier subjects. However, for museums it remains very important to distinguish themselves.

If we look at the activities of 'Beeld en Geluid', we can assess it functions like a museum. What do you think other museums can learn from the institute?

Museums are getting more interested in experience concepts and the application of multimedia. But probably the biggest difference is that, over the last 30 years, the visitor has become more central in decision-making processes. In most institutions, the curator had all the power; he was in charge of what people should see and learn. However, due to privatization, this power shifted to other departments, as there has been a greater emphasis on professionalization and individuality of the public. More effort has been made to acquire knowledge about the wishes of the public. Under pressure of future cuts in subsidies, it seems that this knowledge is essential and museums should find ways to use this information in the best way.

I think 'Beeld en Geluid' is a good example for other museums, as the institute has a lot of attention for their public. How do you think other museums can learn from 'Beeld en Geluid'?

It is important to notice that an experience concept is not something you can put together in the marketing department. It is not easy to implement such a concept, because it has consequences for the whole culture of the museum. Times have changed and these times are not the best to change the whole concept of the museums; that is too risky. Moreover, every museum has own standards of measuring success; museums can be satisfied with their current accomplishments. You should not misjudge the pace in which museums are willing to change their vision, their culture and the way they are treating their collection. A lot of museums only change on a small scale and over a longer period of time, for example by multimedia applications. Changing policies completely is complicated; in our experience, total concept changes only work with innovators without the burden of a preconceived concept.

The biggest achievement of Beeld in Geluid is the growing use of sound and moving images in other museums, although these often lack conviction. This is because museums started to recognize that the use of moving images is extremely powerful in reaching their audience. In addition, the Beeld en Geluid archive-collections have become much more open and accessible for museum to use.

Do you think creating experience concepts is the future?

Experience concepts could be just a phase in time. At the time that 'Beeld en Geluid' started, this seemed the best way to exhibit the collection. This approach has shown to be very effective because the visitors can be approached directly and they can connect on an emotional level. If visitors emotionally connect to what they see, they are more likely to think about it, to remember it and to talk about it with others. The creation of an experience is therefore not so much about standing out amongst other organizations, but to tackle and fascinate visitors. It is getting more common, so it is not that innovative anymore. From a marketing perspective, an experience concept is not the P of promotion, but the P of product. It is not about the 'stopping-power', but about the 'holding-power'.

We can say that the extended experience at 'Beeld en Geluid' has worked out very well. One of the best accomplishments is the fact that you can stream little movies that you made during your visit at home. We never expected it to be such a success, but almost ninety percent of the so called 'ring users' are active online after their visit; the curiosity is immense. This is exactly what we wanted to achieve, the visit is not so much where it is about. 'Beeld en Geluid' was established in order for people to get a feel with an audiovisual archive. It is important that visitors connect with what they see and that 'Beeld en Geluid' leaves a trace in their memory. As studies have shown in most cases this has resulted in active use of the material after visiting the institute.

What about the future? Have you got some ideas how the institute can improve?

When we left, in 2008 and 2009, the institute was more or less finished; the concept stands and it works. In the future it is important that the organization keeps on developing. Some key issues are the improvement of various processes, in particular the marketing process. How can you extend the experience of the visitors even longer? How do you keep them interested in coming back to the website? How can you use the interest that was gained during the visit of the experience for a prolonged visit at home or at work? Extending the impact should be the main focus.

Appendix III Interview Michel Hommel [10-07-2010] x

What attracted you to start working at 'Beeld en Geluid'? What are your responsibilities as the director of the Experience?

I started my career as a film scholar, then I took a different path and got lot of experience in the commercial publishing. Eventually I ended up in the cultural sector again, where my heart is. This experience in both industries has given me knowledge of two worlds which I can combine in my current job. On the one hand I am aware of the importance of market orientation and on the other hand I am familiar with the content and culture and the importance of the collection for our culture, education and research.

Since 'Beeld en Geluid' has a new general manager the institute is reorganizing, so a lot will change. At this point I have to make sure that everyone is doing their job properly and that the Experience continues to run. It is important that plans that are made are carried out within budget, that problems are solved and that we keep on working on innovations.

What kind of innovations are you working on? What plans do you have for the future in order to improve the Experience?

There are several visions for the future of 'Beeld en Geluid'. Time has shown that the original concept, which was developed by Pieter van der Heijden, the former experience director, is good and it works very well, the only problem is that the Experience is aging rapidly. It is not a museum where you can put some paintings on the wall which you can change in the course of time. In order to keep attracting visitors we have to keep on investing in innovations. The way in which the Experience is built, the technology, the webcams, being online and interactivity is in a large part based on technologies of several years ago; these are not that unique anymore. So, in order to keep on attracting audiences it is important to continually invest in innovations. The original image was to renew the Experience completely every eight or so years; I would like to call it a 'Big Bang'. This would enable the institute to reopen sensationally again. The only problem of this radical change is that it is too expensive; we cannot afford this. Moreover, we would need to close the Experience for at least half a year. We had this luxury when we started with a new building, but now we cannot finance this.

The solution is that we need to innovate and refresh the Experience constantly, so that visitors do not have to wait for years until there is finally a new concept. In my opinion ongoing innovations are necessary to develop along with the public. So, in our new organizational policy we agreed on annual continuous innovations which will hopefully start in 2011.

Could you tell me more about finances? It is known that museums generally are very dependent on government subsidies? What about your exploitation? Does the institute turnover enough money to implement such innovations?

This year we need to turnover almost three million euro with ticket sales, sales from the shop and various arrangements. In order to live up to these expectations this means that we need to attract about 200,000 visitors. Next to income from the market we also have various sponsors.

The problem of 'Beeld en Geluid' is that we are sensitive to what happens in the economy. If people decide to cut back on expenditures, this directly shows in our ticket sales, because recreation is seen as a luxury. This sensitivity puts a lot of pressure on the organization, as you want to have a nice budget to create something new, but on the other hand you do have to earn it. You could say that we are constantly battling to break-even, which is kind of frustrating, but then again, this pressure of the market keeps you focused. You just have to try harder to attract visitors, which is the same with other cultural and leisure institutions.

I am curious what your attitude is towards the balance between moneymaking and the importance of preserving and presenting the entire collection. So my question is: what happens if the new parliament decides to cut back in financing arts? What consequences will this have for 'Beeld en Geluid'?

We have just submitted our grant request to the government, so now we must wait and see what happens. If there will be a cut back in financing, the institute will face some serious problems and we will have to translate that into our budget. I do not think that more revenue is an answer to this problem, there is an end to that. So, one solution is to look for other financial arrangements such as sponsoring, bartering and other deals which are benefit all partners involved. Another solution of course is to cut back in expenditures, but there is an end to that too.

Subsidies by the government are to finance the whole institute; not just the Experience but also the collection. At the moment we get a lot of additional income from the government to finance the project Beelden voor de Toekomst. This project is initiated by the government to preserve and digitalize the collection as part of our cultural heritage. It is a very important project for educational , cultural and also economic purposes. Of course I am worried about future cuts in subsidies, as everybody is now.

In the past 'Beeld en Geluid' avoided the term museum for the media experience because it sounded too dull, 'Beeld en Geluid' is a cultural attraction. Would it be an option to become a commercial attraction if the government decides to cut back in financing?

This is not an option, The first reason is that we are a foundation, so we do not have to realize any profit. In addition we are a heritage institution; we are an archive which we share with the public in various ways. I have to admit that we are in a sector where it appears that we could earn a lot of money with the material, but this money belongs to the rightful owners, which in most cases we are not. In addition I do not think that the Experience could be profitable, as no cultural institution in the Netherlands is. Another, more practical, reason why I do not believe in profitable exploitation of the Experience is that we have a limited capacity. In most art museums, visitors need about an hour to walk around and get an impression of what the collection is about. In the Experience, visitors need 3 to 4 times longer to see everything. In addition, most visitors come in together and run off to the same pavilions because there is no fixed route. So if there are a lot of visitors inside it becomes too crowded, therefore we have a limited capacity to reduce this influx.

In the first year we had 260,000 visitors, but since then this number decreased to 200,000 in last year. This is also the number we aim to get in order to realize our budget. Of course we have a potential to grow; if the Experience would attract as many visitors as the capacity allows us to, we would have twice as many visitors every year. However, this will never happen as we are dependent on many external factors, such as competition, the supply around us and the weather. I think the reason for this is that the concept of the Experience as a cultural attraction or interactive attraction is new; people do not know what to expect. The 'uniqueness' of the concept makes it hard for us to measure up to other organizations and position ourselves. This has resulted in the fact that many visitors still see 'Beeld en Geluid' as a museum. So when the sun is shining nobody is keen on visiting us, because museums are indoor activities.

In summary, there are several factors why it is unimaginable that 'Beeld en Geluid' could be exploited with a profit. Of course, we could work more efficiently and we could improve our marketing, which we are working on right now. In addition, I do not think the institute should have the incentive to realize profits, because we have other goals that are valuable too. A good example is the role of 'Beeld en Geluid' for education; the number of students that visits the institute has increased substantially. However, we do not earn much on educational programs; schools are not financially attractive, but that's not the only way to look at it.

I have read that the main target group exists for 15% of children under sixteen years old. Has this changed over time?

This percentage was a promise to the ministry, but the fact is that many more children visit the institute; almost 38% belong to this category. During the week 'Beeld en Geluid' attracts a lot of schools and companies for educational purposes or business meetings. During the weekends and holidays we attract a lot of day visitors, which are mostly families with children.

I have heard that ninety percent of the ring users is active online after their visit. How do you keep these visitors interested? Do they visit the Experience repeatedly?

In my opinion we do not attract enough repeated visitors. We try to adjust our programming by means of temporary exhibitions and events, but visitors have to overcome certain thresholds to visit the institute again. We try to keep those who are interested updated with our newsletter, but not everyone is interested. I think this is a result of the way we present it, it could be a lot more attractive. Furthermore, a few months ago we introduced the VIP-card which is an annual subscription. Unfortunately, this card has not attracted that many users yet.

I think that the main obstacle for people to visit the institute is the location. I also think that this is the reason that we are vulnerable to certain external factors. The Experience is a good concept, but this does not mean that it automatically attracts visitors. There is not much to do in the surrounding area as we are located on a business park and a village that is not touristic, as opposed to the big touristic magnets Amsterdam or Utrecht. 'Beeld en Geluid' has to compete with many other major attractions in these cities; but the difference is that we are a standalone attraction.

Of course there are many people who are interested and curious enough to visit the institute, whether the location is convenient or not. I am referring to the group of people that are interested in culture and are often well educated; these people know how to find us. Hence, there is also a large segment of the Dutch population that can only be reached with a lot of effort. Therefore the role of marketing has become increasingly important. Previously, there was not much attention for marketing, but recently these times have changed. We have hired an extra employee to focus on marketing strategies, because marketing is the most effective tool to approach the public. Before you develop anything it is important to think of who you are developing it for, how to sell it and which tools can help in this process. If the goal of the organization is to attract more visitors, it is essential to be aware of how to reach them.

However, I do not think that marketing should be leading in decision-making processes. As a cultural institution it is important to program with an educational purpose and make decisions with the mission of the institute in mind. Marketing, then, functions as an effective tool to reach the public., to get them hooked to your message. And as such it should be integrated with all our public programming.

There is not much attention for marketing in the cultural sector, so in this sense 'Beeld en Geluid' has an important role as an example in the cultural sector. Do you agree with this statement?

In most traditional museums the power has always been in hands of the curator and the management of the collection; they were in charge of the program. This power is gradually decreasing as museums are becoming aware of declining government subsidies. Most museums have not had any financial and commercial ambitions, but now they are forced to think about it. 'Beeld en Geluid' finds it important to continue developing and moving on and besides that we would like to see the attendance to grow. Therefore it is important as an organization to distinguish yourself from other organizations. So, in this sense marketing is an efficient tool too.

If organizations have enough funding to do what they want to do, there is no need for change. However, if they need to turn over more than before and shift towards a more market-orientated approach, they could probably learn from us. I think that the cultural world needs to professionalize and work more strategically. 'Beeld en Geluid' is already more developed in this sense, as market-orientation is integrated in our policies. This approach will be further strengthened after the reorganization.

What about the programming of the Experience? How often do you change exhibitions?

Our permanent exhibition contains twelve pavilions that we constantly try to upgrade or renew. From 2011 we are going to change the Experience in a higher pace, think of one or two pavilions each year. Next to our permanent exhibition, we also have temporary exhibitions in a different space. At the moment we have the exhibition 'InScène' running, which is about television series. These temporary exhibitions function to deepen our knowledge on particular subjects with an interesting presentation. In addition, these exhibitions function as a tool to get more attention of the public. In this context marketing helps to achieve this, by organizing events. Next to the marketing department, various departments are contributing to make the program as successful as possible.

You could say that in the future attracting visitors will be one of our main concerns. This is one of the reasons that we changed our policy. After evaluating temporary exhibition we have decided to only attend to one subject each year. Throughout the year we will try to breathe life into the exhibition by linking events to it and highlighting certain aspects.

Is this change in policies a result of a new vision of the new general manager? Did the organization attend to this before?

In the past, attention was mostly given to the Experience, which still is the core of 'Beeld en Geluid' on the public side. However, since recent years the temporary exhibitions have become more important as they started to live of their own. They function as a tool to attract visitors, therefore it is essential, for the content, to orientate us on the market. This knowledge can also be translated in to marketing campaigns.

In the past the content was the guiding principle for our exhibitions. Nowadays we shifted to a more market orientated approach. We are thinking more in terms of how to attract more visitors. Our goal is to be, and to remain, an accessible cultural attraction that draws 200,000 visitors a year.

How do you think the cultural world can learn from 'Beeld en Geluid'?

From the outside it seems that we are way ahead of other organizations in the cultural world, but that is mainly because other organization have not done much yet. In reality we are not progressing that much at the moment. The concept was created and now we have to find ways how we should develop it in the future. We used to be in a build-up phase, but as it is ready we need to go on.

The extended experience has worked out very well. Visitors are not ready with 'Beeld en Geluid' just like that; once they get home they can relive what they did. In the future we want to find ways to extend our visitors experiences even further. In order to achieve this we have to develop our costumer- and contact strategies. This strategy stands for the entire contact the costumer has with the institute. From the moment they are stimulated by marketing campaigns or publicity, the entire process of the visit including the use of the ring and being online at after their visit. In other words, this process has to start earlier and has to finish later. We should carry through this process into a kind of community, in order to keep the visitors attracted and retrieve them both physically and online. We should create different portals with various offers that match the different profiles. This means for example that we also have to pay attention to the online availability of the exhibitions. Due to the reorganization and our new policies these will be important focus points.

It is always searching for a good balance between various aspects that are of great importance of the organization. The only problem is that we cannot control everything. Our success depends on a lot of external factors. Nevertheless, for the time being we do not have to worry that much for the near future.