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Cultural Amenities: Large and Small, Mainstream and Niche—A Conceptual Framework for Cultural Planning in an Age of Austerity

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Abstract *Cultural planning has been high on the agenda of many policy-makers. From an end in itself, it has been transformed into an instrument to regenerate neighbourhoods and even whole cities and as a means to boost the quality of place to attract high-skilled workers. With the current crunch on public spending, the question arises what will happen to cultural planning initiatives and what scope will remain for them. To explore what may happen to cultural planning in this age of austerity, we present a concise typology of cultural amenities based on two underlying, business model, dimensions. The first dimension concerns the supply side, namely the scale of provision of the cultural amenities. The second dimension, located on the demand side, is the market: orientation of the amenities: mainstream- or niche-oriented. Each type is associated with a specific location pattern, impact on the quality of place and funding configuration. We expect that the budget cuts will especially affect the small-scale, niche-oriented cultural amenities which are crucial for the quality of place. We also expect a trend towards further commercialization and commodification threatening the authenticity of the large-scale, niche-oriented cultural amenities.*

> If public goods-public services, public spaces, public facilities-are devalued, diminished in the eyes of citizens and replaced by private services against cash, then we lose the sense that common interests and common needs ought to trump private preferences and individual advantage. (Judt, 2010, p. 129)
>
> The question of balancing art and investment, aesthetics and consumerism will continue to plague politicians, artists and citizens all over the world. (Plaza, 2006, p. 464)

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1. Introduction

On a very prominent location, right behind the Amsterdam Central Station on the other side of the IJ River, a new, gleaming iconic building can be seen. The elegantly designed building houses the Dutch national film museum or the "EYE Film Instituut" (http://www.eyefilm.nl/). The "EYE Film Instituut" (Figure 1), which opened its doors in April 2012, is responsible for taking care of some 37,000 old art films, about 700,000 pictures and numerous books, soundtracks and other film-related items. As such, the "EYE Film Instituut" serves as the national repository for films and film making in the Netherlands. It is funded by the Dutch state to the tune of 7,000,000 euros per year and by the Amsterdam municipality for a much more modest yearly amount of 50,000 euros. Whereas other cultural activities were hard hit by the recent fierce cuts in state subsidies, the "EYE Film Instituut" came out relatively unscathed. It is expected that the new museum will attract about 225,000 visitors every year (van Zwol, 2012). Public funding and the sale of regular tickets alone, however, will not pay all the bills. To balance the budget, the "EYE Film Instituut" has to include the organization of seminars, educational activities, parties and a whole array of commercial activities in its business model. The institute, moreover, also relies on the activities of about a 100 volunteers. The "EYE Film Instituut" is a vivid example of how cultural institutions in the Netherlands deal with the current funding climate and how they have to find a way out of the dilemma between, on the one hand, commercialization and, conceivably, dumbing down, and, on the other hand, maintaining a more elitist "l'art pour l'art" attitude and thus focusing on a potentially significantly smaller group of high-end visitors with a considerable stock of cultural capital.

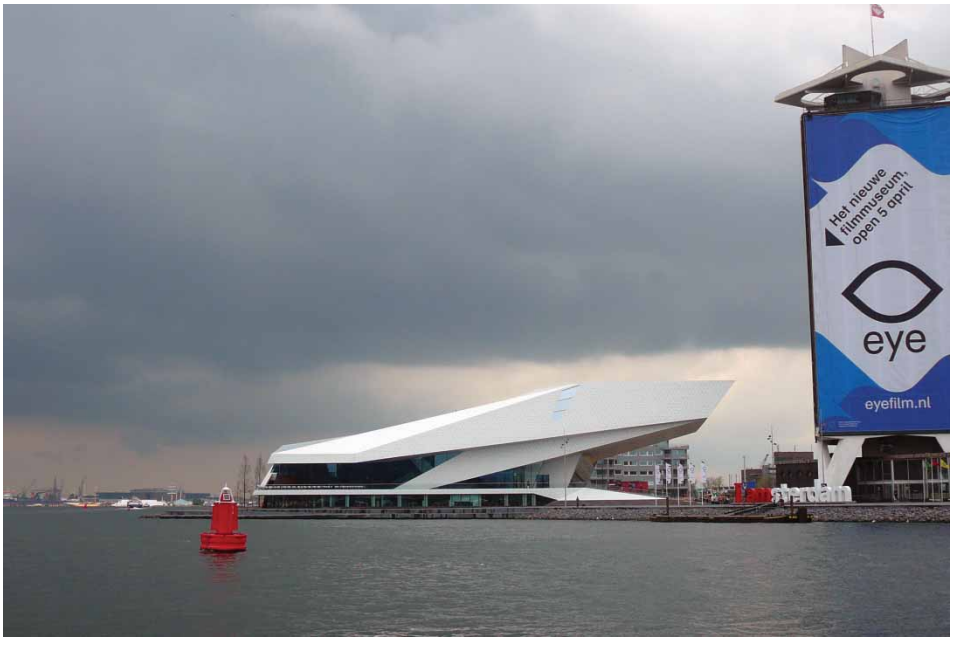

Figure 1. The "Eye Film Instituut", Amsterdam.
Source: Picture by the author.

Those responsible for running cultural amenities are not the only ones faced with difficult choices. Local policy-makers and urban planners now also have to rethink their policies and strategies in this age of austerity that followed in the wake of the credit crisis of 2008. From the 1990s onwards, cultural planning—"the strategic and integrated planning and use of cultural resources in urban and community development" (Evans & Foord, 2008, p. 72)—has been high on the agendas of many urban policy-makers (van Aalst & Boogaarts, 2002; Miles & Paddison, 2005; Mommaas, 2004; Sacco & Crociata, 2012). Many of them were notably inspired by the successes of the "Guggenheim Museum" in Bilbao where a flagship building kick started an urban regeneration process and by the "Tate Modern" in London which put the south bank of the Thames on the map. Cultural planning became even more important after Bianchini and Landry (1995), Landry (2008) and Florida (2002) stressed the importance of cultural amenities which may increase the "quality of place", draw high-skilled workers and subsequently boost the urban economy (Evans & Foord, 2008, p. 71). Even in an age dominated by a neoliberal agenda and a concomitant retreat of the state from the field of urban planning (Peck, 2012), "[t]he concept of the creative city ... has become a powerful talisman for urban planners. Cultural policy has much to contribute towards re-vitalising depressed urban areas, improving liveability, and stimulating urban and regional economic growth" (Throsby, 2010, p. 29).

Cultural amenities—the set of institutions (public and private) which enable the "local" consumption or provision of services with a high semiotic or aesthetic value such as museums, galleries, zoos, theatres, festivals and sport venues—are then important for contemporary urban economies (Clark & Kahn, 1988, p. 363; Evans, 2009, p. 1008; Scott, 2004, p. 462). What, then, are the consequences of the current financial constraints for cultural planning? As Evans and Foord (2008, p. 65) have stated, a ". . .growing demand for an informed framework for planning arts and cultural facilities has emanated from both local and regional government as well as cultural sectors". This need has become, arguably, more pressing with the tightening of budgets in the public sector after 2008 which has significantly reduced the scope for cultural planning initiatives.

The aim of this contribution then is two-fold. First, we present a simple typology of cultural amenities in an attempt to address this "growing demand". Second, we explore the consequences for cultural planning and cultural amenities in an age of austerity on the basis of this typology: which kinds of cultural amenities are important from the viewpoint of cultural planning and should be given priority? The typology presented below departs from two crucial business model characteristics: scale of operation on the supply side and market segments on the demand side. The thus constructed ideal-typical categories can subsequently be related to various other characteristics of cultural amenities as location patterns, differences in potential local impact with respect to quality of place and different abilities in generating their own incomes thereby suggesting diverse divisions of labour between the public and the private sectors. These differences are highly relevant for urban planners and for those running cultural amenities.

We first put post-war cultural planning briefly into perspective and highlight different phases from state-led paternalism and cultural amenities as goal in itself, to culture as a means to economic ends and, more recently, to the rollback of the public sector, nationally and locally, with respect to supporting cultural amenities (Section 2). We then present the four types of our conceptual framework of cultural amenities (Section 3). After that, we examine the implications of our framework to address the question what the consequences are of the current phase of a retreat of state funding for cultural amenities and cultural

planning initiatives and try to identify a range of options for public and/or private funding given the nature of the cultural amenity and its urban context. In the conclusions, we will wrap up our findings and put them in a broader perspective (Section 4).

2. Cultural Planning as a Strategic Local Economic Policy

Governments—local and national—have been interfering in culture for ages. Pharaohs, kings, emperors, dictators, and democratically elected governments have used culture to impress people. In that sense, cultural planning is nothing new under the sun. A closer look at means and ends of cultural planning, however, does reveal salient differences and shifts over time. Cultural planning, to use a rather recent definition, is "... the strategic and integrated planning and use of cultural resources in urban and community development" (Mercer, 2006, p. 6). Cultural planning has not only differed over time, but also across places. The differences in the institutional embeddedness of cultural planning in the US and many European countries are obvious with much larger role for the state in the latter than in the former. There are also significant differences between European countries; the French state-centred approach is quite different from the more private-sector approach in the UK (Sassoon, 2006). Below, we offer a helicopter view which neglects these differences. Instead, we focus on the more general changes in the wider configuration of cultural planning after the Second World War. Point of departure for our brief sketch of the key developments is the overview of urban planning strategies offered by Evans and Foord (2008, p. 71) and we distinguish four phases.

The first phase is that of the post-war era lasting until about the mid-1970s. Many governments in the years after the Second World War came to see culture as in the same vein as education and healthcare which had to be distributed across the population, socially and spatially (i.e. they viewed culture as a merit good: to make it available to everyone because they believed it to be important; Towse, 2010, p. 34). The historian Judt (2010, p. 53) has called this cultural policy a "uniquely successful blend of social innovation and cultural conservatism" and Keynes in his view "... exemplifies the point. A man of impeccably elitist tastes and upbringing ... he nonetheless grasped the importance of bringing first-class art, performances and writing to the broadest possible audience to overcome its paralyzing divisions". This quite paternalistic approach was part of a more comprehensive modernist attempt to make society more civilized. Making culture more accessible in all kinds of ways to the entire population was seen as an important public task. Theatres, museums, regional orchestras, performing arts; all should contribute to the distribution of the higher arts among large segments of population who, apparently, were not fully aware of its importance. At that time there was not the slightest doubt about the definition or domain, or more precisely what belonged to higher culture. The cultural hierarchy was still in place and the elite seemed to know which culture should be distributed. Civic cultural centres and neighbourhood facilities, first as part of larger master plans and later on more bottom-up, were much in vogue (Evans & Foord, 2008, p. 71). The principle of state funding for cultural amenities was not very much contested (Hobsbawm, 1996, p. 508).

In the phase thereafter, roughly from the mid-1970s to the mid-1990s, a rather radical change occurred. Instead of a goal in itself, "...culture became more of an instrument in the entrepreneurial strategies of local governments and business alliances" (Zukin, 1995, p. 12). This shift was related to deep-rooted changes whereby modernist cities gave way to "postmodernist" cities (Harvey, 1989) and which occurred against the backdrop of the

unravelling of the Keynesian welfare state and the emergence of neoliberalism. Many cities were in crisis with both a decline of population and a decline of employment. Cities became fierce competitors for the attraction of firms and tourists to their territory (Gospodini, 2002). In many European cities, culture came to be seen as an instrument to strengthen the local economy, brand the city, and as a crucial plank in the strategies for inter-urban competition that was heating up at that time (Le Galès, 2002, p. 221).

These changes more or less coincided with the erosion of the distinction between what was once considered as high and low culture: "The very distinction between 'high' and 'low' culture was itself looking increasingly shaky, a product of an earlier era of elite intellectual self-confidence and benevolent moral superiority" (Hobsbawm, 1996, p. 513; Mazower, 1998, p. 354). As high and low culture had been clearly separated by ways of funding—high culture mainly funded by the state and low culture provided by the private sector—this seemingly clear separation could not be made anymore. A new understanding of cultural planning thus emerged. Instead of spreading the high culture among large segments of the population, the focus was now on cultural amenities such as flagship projects (museums and opera houses) which would contribute to the image of the city and, hence, to attract tourists and, preferably, firms as well (Evans & Foord, 2008, p. 71). Cultural planning became subsequently a strategic instrument in local economic policies.

The third phase, from the mid-1990s to 2010, constituted no fundamental break with the second phase apart from its emphasis in cultural planning on boosting the quality of place to attract or retain high-skilled workers or to use Florida's (2002) vocabulary members of the creative class. In this phase, the relationship between these particular segments of the urban labour force was highlighted and the cultural amenities were seen as a more integral part of the production milieu. Cultural amenities together with shops, cafés and restaurants created not only a particular atmosphere of urbanity, diversity, excitement and tolerance for innovative or creative workers (van Aalst, 1997; Florida, 2002; Helbrecht & Dirksmeier, 2012), but also provided the setting for the exchange of (tacit) knowledge in meaningful face-to-face encounters: "Art museums, boutiques, restaurants, and other specialized sites of consumption create a social space for the exchange on which business thrive" (Zukin, 1995, p. 13). In the third phase, then, there was more awareness of the linkages between street-level small-scale amenities, shops, restaurants and cafés and small firms in the cultural industries.

The causality of the relationship between cultural amenities and high-skilled workers is highly contested. Repudiating Florida's more voluntaristic view, Scott (2008) has argued that the production system comes first and that cultural amenities are very much part of subsequent emergent effects. The relationship is, arguably, more interactive than either Florida or Scott has proposed. The production system is indeed of great importance, without it no creative workers. However, if everything else in terms of the production system can be considered equal, differences in cultural endowments and quality of place could give one city the edge over another (Kloosterman & Trip, 2011). The causal relationship with the so-called creative class may be contested, but the empirical evidence for a relationship between culture and quality is quite convincing. The strong economic position of Amsterdam in the Netherlands and its relatively large share of high-skilled workers are clearly correlated with its rich palette of cultural amenities (de Groot *et al.*, 2010, p. 73). Evans (2009, p. 1009) observes that "[t]he association between quality of life, amenities and inward investment/firm relocation was also established in these early studies". With the creative city perspective, the focus of urban planning moved not just away from an emphasis on physical infrastructure (e.g. highways,

airports), but also from flagship projects to the rich fabric of the local cultural infrastructure including both small-scale and alternative cultural amenities. Quality of place and especially culture has become, consequently, more and more an issue in urban planning (Trip, 2007).

After 2010, however, the scope for this kind of cultural planning was drastically reduced as a new phase was entered, a phase of austerity. Investing in cultural amenities still makes sense as issues of quality of place and its relationship with high-skilled workers are still relevant. Moreover, EU policy rules preclude many other growth-stimulating policies such as direct subsidies to firms. The effects of investments in culture will not, in addition, easily leak out of the region. In addition, one can point to the fact that, in contrast to investments in the transportation infrastructure or in prestigious office parks, spending money on culture can often count on much sympathy in local communities (and, therefore, among voters). What, then, is the scope for cultural planning in age of austerity?

3. Cultural Amenities: Small and Large, Niche and Mainstream

Cultural amenities encompass a large variety of activities. They comprise, as said, museums, theatres, galleries, zoos, sports venues, festivals and other activities that enable local consumption of assorted cultural services. We could look at the impact on quality of place for each type separately, but to explore the potential impact of cultural amenities and their contribution to the quality of place, we need a more analytical approach that covers, in principle, all these types. To make that more general point, we take a closer look at museums in Amsterdam. A museum may display the grandeur of the "EYE Film Instituut" catering to the film cognoscenti. Or it may be the large "Madame Tussauds Amsterdam" where "you can come face to face with your favourite celebrities!" at the Dam square in the heart of the city apparently appealing to those who have at least some basic knowledge of the tabloids. Or, it may be the very small "Max Euwe Centrum", dedicated to the only chess world champion the Netherlands has ever had (1935), attracting mostly die-hard chess fans. The impact of these three specimens on the quality of place in Amsterdam and their contribution to attracting high-skilled workers will, obviously, diverge significantly. These differences are obviously not limited to museums alone, other cultural amenities may also display considerable variability in scale of operation and in the type of visitors they predominantly attract. The characteristics of the business models of various cultural amenities, hence, may differ considerably.

Our point of departure is that by distinguishing two, in principle, independent axes of the business model a more strategic differentiation of cultural amenities can be obtained. The first one is a "supply-side" characteristic and concerns the scale of operation, while the second one covers the "demand side" by focusing on the potential market of the amenity: more mainstream- or more niche-oriented. We, thus, unpack the container concept of cultural amenities from an economic viewpoint into four different types. Each of these types has its own socio-economic and spatial logic and, accordingly, its own specific potential impact on the local economy in terms of quality of place. In addition, each ideal-typical cultural amenity can also be related to different configurations of potential sources of income or funding. Before zooming in on the four types, we briefly explicate the two dimensions.

Cultural amenities, as the examples of the museums made clear, can differ considerably in terms of the scale of operation. This can be traced to the indivisibility of some cultural amenities. There are, for instance, clearly limits to the extent one can economize on the size of a symphony orchestra (minimum size about 100 players) or a chamber orchestra with (about 40 players) (Towse, 2010, p. 227). The large collection of films and film-related items of the "EYE Film Instituut" also requires a certain minimum scale in terms of housing, maintenance, arranging and labelling. In addition to these substantial indivisibilities, there are also economies of scale associated with the provision of cultural amenities (Clark & Kahn, 1988, p. 363). If fixed costs are high, as, for example, in the case of performing an opera, economies of scale arise and provision at large scale will be more efficient. Not all cultural amenities display substantial indivisibilities or are prone to economies of scale. A chess museum or a small gallery specializing in seventeenth-century Dutch Delftware and polychrome animals and figures are much more likely to suffer from diseconomies of scale as enlargement will dilute the focus and exclusivity and may, in the case of the gallery, harm personal relations with the customers.

The other dimension concerns the demand side or the composition of the clientele. Traditionally, the main distinction has been between "the arts" or "high culture" on the one side and "popular culture" on the other side. However, "[t]he rigid distinction between high art and popular culture that permeated arts policy in earlier times and that inevitably identified it with the upper echelons of society has been gradually relaxed" (Throsby, 2010, p. 83). With "the stabilisation or deinstitutionalisation of former taste hierarchies", this dichotomy has thus become increasingly blurred (Mommaas, 2004, p. 517, see also Sacco & Crociata, 2012, p. 4). This blurring, however, has not done away with the need to classify culture. Consequently, new dimensions have been suggested to distinguish between different cultural products and consumption practices as, for example, commercial/non-commercial, traditional/avant-garde, mass/specialized and majority/minority (Throsby, 2010, p. 2). The underlying dimension of these dichotomies here seems to be the distinction between, in principle, larger, mainstream audiences and smaller niche audiences. Cultural amenities may be targeting more mainstream audience, as in the case of the "Madame Tussauds Amsterdam" or a zoo, or cultural amenities may be aimed at specific niches requiring, in principle, a particular type of cultural capital, in the sense of a particular know-how which allows a person to appreciate and enjoy the cultural service on offer. These niches may be high-brow, as in the case of the chess museum, or they may be catering to specific subculture as in the case of the "Hash, Marijuana and Hemp Museum" in Amsterdam without being necessarily high-brow. Admittedly, this distinction is not iron-clad, as many forms of culture are layered in their semiotic content and can be enjoyed on different levels of interpretation and, hence, by a variety of people in terms of cultural capital. Paintings by Jan Steen or David Hockney, music by Bach or Elbow can be enjoyed in quite different ways and, hence, can appeal to broader segments of the audience. Things get even more complicated if we take into account Bourdieu's (1984) view of continuously shifting boundaries as cultural elites are in constant search of cultural goods or services that will set them apart from the masses. We will come back to these dynamics below.

Notwithstanding these complications, it still makes sense to start with relatively simple typology of cultural amenities and then work out the consequences. Combining the two dimensions generates four types of cultural amenities (Table 1). The dimensions refer, of course, to continuums, but for the sake of simplicity they have been reduced to

dichotomies. Below, we will discuss each type more in detail and look at the locational characteristics, the catchment area, the potential contribution to quality of place and attraction of visitors, residents, workers and firms. In addition, we will also look at the "business model" to assess if and how this type of amenities should be part of a state-led form of cultural planning.

The first type of cultural amenities is small scale and caters to niche markets which require a certain knowledge or cultural capital to grasp and appreciate what is on offer. No large collections to maintain, no high fixed costs, no need for large premises and no scores of people to employ make provision on a relatively small scale feasible. Small museums or galleries with small, specialized collections would, for example, fall under this heading. Specialized does not necessarily entail what is more traditionally labelled as "high culture"; a "gothic" event would also be included in this category, although there obviously is a strong overlap.

This kind of cultural amenities can, at first glance, be located anywhere. No great demands regarding infrastructure or premises should make small-scale cultural amenities relatively footloose. Indeed, we find galleries specializing in sculptural art located outside cities. This is, however, only a small part of the story. Being dependent on niches, these cultural amenities can clearly benefit from agglomeration economies. Large concentrations of people will contribute to the creation of sufficiently large diverse customer bases to maintain niche-directed cultural amenities and may set in motion a process of deepening of the division of labour an specialization among these amenities leading to ever more refined niches with each individual amenity benefiting from the proximity of the others—a process that can be observed for restaurants as well (Glaeser, 2011, p. 123; Steel, 2008, p. 150). Put it more bluntly: the larger the city, the higher the number of specialized cultural amenities and the higher the level of specialization (Poon & Lai, 2008). Given their small scale, these amenities can locate and cluster in mixed-use neighbourhoods, thereby contributing to a complex urban fabric interwoven with small shops, restaurants and meaningful public spaces and, hence, giving cities a special flavour (Santagata, 2002; Scott, 2000, 2004). Often, there are many hybrids straddling more mundane forms of consumption with more explicit cultural aims as in the case, for instance, of restaurants which also serve as art galleries or venues for performances.

If present in sufficient numbers, small-scale, niche-oriented cultural amenities can contribute to the quality of place not just in the neighbourhood where they are located, but even for the city as whole. As stated by Poon and Lai (2008, p. 2276): "cities with

Table 1. An economic typology of cultural amenities

	Scale of provision	Small	Large
Type of audience	Niche	Art galleries	"EYE Film Instituut"
		Modern dance performance	Van Gogh Museum
	Mainstream	Erotic Museum	"Madame Tussauds Amsterdam"
		Popular music performance	Heineken Experience
			Zoo

diverse amenities have become more attractive places to live in". High-skilled, "cognitive-cultural" workers (Scott, 2008), members of the so-called creative class (Florida, 2002) as workers, (potential) residents and visitors, then, will be attracted by a rich and diversified urban milieu and by the vibrancy in the city (partly) created by these small-scale amenities. One could even argue that these amenities are part and parcel of a wider creative field encompassing "... an atmosphere and a common set of resources, creating a platform for creative and innovative activities" (Scott, 1999, p. 809). Small-scale, specialized cultural amenities constitute, accordingly, important ingredients in determining the quality of place and, hence, the attractiveness of cities. They are also important for the support and the renewal of cultural industries as they serve as incubators and places to meet. With regard to their strategic potential, should small-scale, niche-oriented cultural amenities be part of cultural planning and, if so, how should they be fostered?

Given their small size and their specialist orientation, planning of these kinds of cultural amenities does not make much sense. Local governments lack the specialist, fine-grained knowledge to interfere directly and should leave this to local cultural entrepreneurs who do have that knowledge and who are willing to take the risks and create or fill a specific niche. It does make sense for local governments, however, to create the conditions under which these cultural amenities can thrive. Small-scale cultural amenities are often dependent on cheap office spaces. Jane Jacobs once sang the praise of "aged buildings". According to her:

> Well-subsidized opera and art museums often go into new buildings. But the unformalized feeders of the arts—studios, galleries, stores for musical instruments and art supplies, backrooms where the low earning power of a seat and table can absorb uneconomic discussions—these go into old buildings ... Old ideas can sometimes use new buildings. New ideas must come from old buildings. (Jacobs, 1961, p. 181)

For cities with a sizeable and well-preserved historical core, old buildings do not necessarily provide cheap spaces, sometimes quite on the contrary, but the general point about the dependence of small-scale cultural amenities on low-cost spaces remains relevant. It is not just the costs of these spaces but also their openness towards users: "Cheap spaces that can be innovatively adapted to reduce financial risk and encourage experiment" (Brandellero & Kloosterman, 2010; Landry, 2008, p. 123). Consequently, to foster small-scale, niche-oriented cultural amenities that contribute to quality of place, ensuring the provision of cheap spaces which can be used in many, even unexpected ways will be an important plank in cultural planning strategies. In the wake of deindustrialization, such spaces were in many cities abundant as factories closed, shunting yards were abandoned and docklands were vacated. Old industrial buildings located in the city centre or quite close to them became available for other uses after the 1980s. Existing forms of built environment allowed very different functions as lofts, factories and warehouses were converted to apartments or to incubators housing cultural or creative activities. Small-scale cultural amenities together with artists often spearheaded gentrification processes (Ley, 2003). However, during the boom years after 2000, another lesson of Jane Jacobs, that of the self-destruction of diversity, was also brought home, when cities seemed to run out of such cheap spaces. In, for example, New York this threatened to undermine the very cultural fabric that had helped the city to back on its track in the 1980s (Currid, 2007).

Strategic cultural planning aimed at making cities attractive for residents, workers and visitors by promoting small-scale, niche-oriented cultural amenities should make sure that within the city as a whole cheap spaces are available for various, often unforeseen uses. On the level of individual neighbourhoods, market pressures may initiate processes of self-destruction and cheap spaces may be pushed out, on the level of the city as a whole; however, cheap spaces should still be available either because of local slack, slow turnover or even conscious intervention by the city itself. Ensuring cheap spaces is partly a matter of zoning, as new, different uses are sometimes blocked by regulations. The current wave of shop closures in city centres due to the rise of internet shopping is now creating a surge of empty spaces which are, in principle, suitable for other uses including cultural amenities. Zoning plans should be adjusted to allow these new uses. In addition, local governments may aim at improving the infrastructure by boosting entrepreneurship among those who do have the cultural capital to cater to niches. Instead of pursuing a career as an artist, it might make more sense for many would-be painters, musicians and actors to start establish a cultural amenity and enrich the infrastructure of a city.

Small-scale cultural amenities which do not put high demand on its users in terms of cultural capital and, accordingly, cater to local mainstream audiences are a rather difficult category. In smaller cities and towns, they can survive, being, to some extent, protected against competition by distance. A local museum, in which the underlying common element of the collection is the link with a particular place (from local archaeological findings and stuffed birds to the work of local artists), can serve as an example of a cultural amenity which is accessible to large groups and provided on a relatively small scale. Local needs are met by this type and people are usually not willing to travel long distances for these amenities and people of the creative class cannot be expected to be very interested. Local identity and social cohesion can be boosted by these amenities by mobilizing and integrating civilians in the local community. Dedicated local actors, both private and public, can take the initiative to establish and maintain these kinds of amenities not just by funding the premises but by covering (part) of the personnel costs as well.

In larger cities, small-scale, mainstream-oriented cultural amenities are not protected by distance. They have to compete either with specialized amenities or with much larger ones benefiting from economies of scale. The expected dynamics for these kinds of amenities in more urban contexts is then either to specialize and move away from the mainstream or scale up and become larger. Small-scale, mainstream-oriented cultural amenities should, therefore, only be included in cultural planning policies in small settings and not in larger cities.

The third type of cultural amenities comprises the kind of iconic projects so beloved by many urban policy-makers: large scale and catering to the demanding taste of connoisseurs. Much cultural planning is focused on these striking cultural amenities which contribute to the identity and international image of a place (place-making). They do not just require large buildings, but they are typically housed in high-profile flagship buildings. New buildings designed by so-called starchitects, as in the case of the "EYE Film Instituut" in Amsterdam, the Disney Hall in Los Angeles and the inescapable "Guggenheim Museum" in Bilbao; or converted industrial buildings as the "Tate Modern" housed in former power station in London and the "Musée d'Orsay" in Paris; or recently renovated buildings as the "Stedelijk Museum" in Amsterdam are striking examples of these kinds of amenities (Kloosterman, 2010).

Apart from reasons of intrinsic cultural value, as in the case of preserving the Dutch film heritage in the "EYE Film Instituut", these museums also make economic sense. According to Frey and Meiers,

> There are two types of demand for museums. The first is the private demand exerted by the visitors. These may be persons interested in the exhibitions as a leisure or as part of their profession as an art dealer . . . The second type of demand comes from persons and organizations benefiting from a museum, but not expressing their demand at the cashier's office. This social demand is based on external effects and/or the effects of art organizations on other economic activities. (Quoted in Plaza, 2006, p. 460)

The private demand can be quite substantial, notwithstanding the relatively high threshold in terms of cultural capital is relatively high, as these amenities can rely on large catchment areas of national and often even international scope. Admirers of these palaces of "high" culture are willing to travel long distances to enjoy this type of cultural amenities generating thus sufficient critical mass. These amenities—not just the buildings but the whole package together with the collections or the performances—should, then, be so unique that people are indeed willing to travel far to enjoy it. As visitors do not bother to travel hundreds or even thousands of kilometres just for visiting the museum, these visits are regularly part of city trips that may take several days.

To meet the demands of these visitors, this type of cultural amenity characteristically definitely implies an urban setting. A good transport infrastructure (including a nearby airport) and provisions like hotels and restaurants are needed. For a more permanent competitive position, a differentiated supply of a whole range of provisions, notably comprising small-scale, niche-oriented cultural amenities but also (specialized) shops, is essential. Agglomeration economies, consequently, kick in and larger cities with a broader range of amenities and good accessibility can strengthen their position as (international) travel destination by initiating and supporting large-scale, niche-oriented flagship cultural amenities.

The social demand for a museum is based on the external or spill-over effects. As the potential indirect effects of a rise in the quality of place resulting in more (high-skilled) workers wanting to work and live there and more tourists wanting to visit the city (e.g. expenditures on hotels, restaurants and shops) are hard to internalize by the cultural amenities themselves, we are confronted with a classic case of a market failure (Throsby, 2010, pp. 35–37). Local governments often step in these museums, at least in many European settings, and tend to rely on forms of public funding (Plaza, 2006). In the case of the "Tate Modern", the external benefits are even deemed so substantial that the museum does not even bother to levy an entrance fee. The success of the "Tate Modern" shows that strategic investment in a large-scale, in principle niche-oriented (in this case high-end modern art) cultural amenity can make good economic sense, not just to put a city as Bilbao on the map of international cultural tourism but also to strengthen a city's already strong position as a tourist destination. The "Tate Modern" also makes clear that the overall urban context is crucial in maximizing the positive external effects. To reap these benefits on a more permanent basis, hence, a city needs as said a thick infrastructure of small-scale cultural amenities, shops, restaurants and hotels. The emergence of this kind of infrastructure is not given, but depends on the presence of entrepreneurs

who have the cultural capital to cater to the (changing) needs of the workers, residents, visitors and tourists (Plaza, 2006, p. 464). Larger cities with a strong historical pedigree in culture and arts—such as Amsterdam, London and Paris, tend to reproduce this infrastructure over longer periods (Deinema & Kloosterman, forthcoming). According to Throsby (2010, p. 134), "Moreover, the flow of services from this stock of tangible and intangible cultural capital, which in these cities has been generated continuously over centuries, is of a particular self-reinforcing kind where, in short, art creates art."

Given the external effects, large-scale niche-oriented cultural amenities can be part of successful cultural planning strategies. Governments may use the establishment of new museum or the renovation of existing museums to boost the quality of place and foot a significant part of the bill. The impact of such an endeavour in the long run is, however, dependent not just on the design of the museum itself, but also on the wider social and economic context. According to Miles and Paddison (2005, p. 837), "The single most dangerous aspect of cultural investment is that it simply does not sit comfortably in the context for which it is intended."

The fourth type of cultural amenities concerns large-scale "mainstream" cultural amenities, or in other words "mass culture" which can be enjoyed without much specific knowledge of the content presented. Examples of this kind of these large, low threshold cultural amenities are zoos, theme parks and large venues for musicals and pop-concerts. Because of the size necessary to accommodate large audiences, fixed costs tend to be high and, consequently, economies of scale are prevalent. These amenities usually take up large spaces and good accessibility by car, public transport or both is crucial for the functioning of these amenities.

In contrast to the niche-oriented cultural amenities, large-scale mainstream amenities typically tend to be located not in the centres of larger cities, but, at least in the West-European context, on the outskirts near highways or, as in the case of space-consuming theme parks, even at some distance of cities. This relative spatial isolation makes it, on the one hand, much easier to internalize the spill-over effects of spending by visitors, but, on the other hand, diminishes the impact on the city itself. For this reason, and because mainstream offerings do not add much distinction, the quality of place, then, is not much affected by these amenities.

Aiming at mainstream audiences, concentrated at more or less confined areas, moreover, can be quite profitable. There, then, is no market failure and no compelling reason why government should step in to help supplying these amenities apart from planning the locations and providing (part of) the infrastructure. The responsibility should lie with the private sector which should be able to organize and manage these kinds of amenities commercially.

4. Conclusions

Culture, whatever its exact form, plays an increasing role in our lives. The on-going process of economization of culture refers not just to culture being increasingly a product which can be bought and sold in markets and which is part of the expanding set of cultural industries, but also to culture as an instrument in (local) economic policies. As Dowling (1997, p. 30) observed already more than a decade ago: "Putting culture on the urban planning agenda ... has been crucial in illustrating the centrality of culture in everyday life." In the post-war years, cultural planning in many West-European countries

was aimed at distributing what was seen as high culture both socially, to the lower echelons of the population, and spatially, to other places than just the larger cities or the cultural capital (Sassoon, 2006).

In the 1970s and 1980s, however, culture began to transform from a goal in itself to a means to an end, at first defined in both social (community development) and economic terms (Evans & Foord, 2008, p. 71). Gradually, the goal and even the "raison d'être" of culture became more and more conceived in sheer economic terms. Regeneration of neighbourhoods, putting a city on the (tourist) map, and, more recently, attracting high-skilled workers and, more fanciful, luring members of the creative class by offering a high quality of place with a wide range of cultural amenities have become the key aims to which investing in culture is seen to contribute. This shift to culture as a means to an end occurred while neoliberal urban policies stressing the importance of the private sector and striving to roll back the public sector became prevalent in many European cities. The linkages between cultural planning, the creative city and the neoliberal surge are complex and manifold (Peck, 2012) and may differ according to place and time. We can, however, identify a few common elements: the emphasis on competition in general and between cities more in particular; betting on winners and a drift away from programmes aimed at social and spatial redistribution and instead aiming at those social groups and cities which are already relatively well-endowed; the importance of an entrepreneurial approach and a move away from high culture as the end-all-and-be-all of cultural planning. This, then, has amounted to a more or less reversal of the early post-war policies which according to Tony Judt could be characterized as a combination of "social innovation and cultural conservatism". More recent policies are better seen as combination of social conservatism and cultural innovation in order to increase the quality of place and attract high-skilled workers.

After the outbreak of the credit crisis, budget cuts—affecting in particular spending on cultural amenities—on the national and the local level have been fierce in among other countries, the UK, Spain, Ireland and the Netherlands. Cultural planning has obviously entered a new phase. Above, we have tried to offer a transparent conceptual framework intended as a starting point for analyzing which role (local) governments can and should play when considering strategic cultural planning aimed at strengthening a city's economic base. The underlying dimensions of this framework are, respectively, the scale of the provision and the market orientation. Four categories of ideal-typical cultural amenities are then identified: small scale/niche-oriented, large scale/niche-oriented, small scale/mainstream-oriented and large scale/mainstream-oriented. Social reality is, evidently, less neat and boundaries are much more blurred and vague and the framework resembles more a field with four poles in which more intermediary positions and complex combinations are possible. The "Tate Modern", for instance, notwithstanding its high-brow modern art collection, has, arguably, become part of the experience economy (Pine & Gilmore, 1998) and able to attract a very broad range of visitors who are certainly not all connoisseurs of modern art (Dalley, 2010). We can use this framework, however, to present a broad and hypothetical analysis of the effects of the impending cuts.

What are the tentative implications that can be gleaned from the above analysis? Small-scale/mainstream-oriented amenities, it seems, will have a hard time to survive in urban environments. They either have to enlarge the scale to survive price competition or move to a niche to avoid that kind of competition and—apart from small towns and villages—should not be the object of cultural planning. The same can be said with respect

to large-scale/mainstream-oriented amenities, which can be left to themselves in terms of funding as they are able to generate their own incomes and generally do not generate much positive externalities in terms of boosting the quality of place and attracting higher skilled workers. Large-scale/niche-oriented cultural amenities as the "EYE Film Instituut" in Amsterdam typically have more difficulties in generating their own income as they are dependent on larger catchment areas than mainstream-oriented amenities, but they may, on the basis of their more or less unique offerings, contribute to the quality of place. They are already very much part of cultural planning strategies and given their potential for positive externalities this makes sense even in age of austerity. The impact of these large-scale projects, we expect, will also be contingent on to what extent they are part of a larger fabric of small-scale, niche-oriented amenities which gives cities not just their particular flavour but which may also cater to a variety of workers, residents and visitors. Cultural planning, then, should aim at helping to create the spaces—even literally—for these bottom-up amenities in terms of zoning and, arguably, rent control. Glaeser (2011, pp. 66–67) has also pointed to the danger of neglecting this infrastructure of smaller amenities which are crucial in making places attractive to high-skilled workers:

> Museums and transportation and the arts do have an important role in place-making. Yet planners must be realistic and expect moderate successes not blockbusters. Realism pushes towards small, sensible projects, not betting a city's future on a vast, expensive roll of the dice. The real payoff of these investments in amenities lies not in tourism but in attracting the skilled residents who can really make a city rebound.

On the basis of the model, we might also expect shifts within the typology driven by the cuts in public funding. A push towards opening up to mainstream audiences implying a further commodification, commercialization and shift to consumerism seems in the offing. To go back to the "EYE Film Instituut" once more, this large-scale, niche-oriented cultural amenity lets its restaurant with its great views on the river IJ and the Amsterdam skyline on the other side, for weddings and other parties to generate sufficient income. More and more, we will see that cash-strapped, niche-oriented cultural amenities, both large and small, become more entrepreneurial and offer services to open up to more mainstream audiences in order to safeguard its more niche-oriented aims or become more mainstream-oriented altogether. There is nothing inherently wrong in becoming more entrepreneurial and more market-oriented, but the looming danger is one of dumbing down and selling out. This might materialize in a process of Disneyfication and undermine the authenticity and distinctiveness of the cultural amenities and, hence, erode the potentially positive contribution to the quality of place.

Apart from this critique on the possible failure of this instrumental aspect of cultural planning, one can deplore the loss of a political will to uphold a public domain of cultural provision on the basis of the intrinsic value of cultural amenities and their expression of communal pride fenced off from more mundane market considerations (Judt, 2010, p. 129). The loss of conviviality in contemporary cities (Scott, 2011) is partly a consequence of the subjugation of public spaces to market forces. Even in age of (relative) austerity, cultural planning should be aimed at guarding at least some of the "public" character of cultural amenities. Much poorer societies in the 1950s were able to do that, why should

not we be able to make a small shift from private consumption to investments in the quality of public urban spaces not just for economic purposes, but also as a goal in itself?

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