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44 Planning and sustaining an inclusive urban infrastructure of cultural amenities

Lessons from Amsterdam

Robert C. Kloosterman and Jochem de Vries

Collective action and cultural amenities

A branch of the Guggenheim or Louvre Museum (Abu Dhabi), a new opera house or concert hall (in Beijing, Busan, Guangzhou, Hamburg, or Oslo). Preferably designed by a starchitect (Ponzini, 2014). Urban policymakers across the globe are trying to put their cities on the map by planning and often at least partly funding these costly iconic cultural amenities. These high-profile amenities aim to enhance or even create a particular urban image by flagging a rich cultural life in their cities. They are also, in a broader sense, considered to be essential for the *quality of place*. Boosting the quality of place may result in becoming more attractive for high-skilled workers and tourists (Kloosterman & Trip, 2011). It is no surprise, therefore, that cultural amenities have undeniably become something of a hype among urban politicians and urban planners.

Important though these eye-catching, large-scale, and expensive projects are, below we will argue that, on the one hand, rich cultural life in general and cultural amenities more specifically comprise much more than these. One should also consider smaller, grass-roots initiatives and more organically grown clusters of cultural amenities which may cater to different population segments. We also, on the other, contend that planning, realising, and, very importantly, maintaining these amenities requires a broader conception of urban governance. Thus, we contribute to current debates on cultural planning and governance, which, according to Hutton (2016, 80), constitute a “complicated polity, or arena for contentious politics about the character of the city and for whom it works”.

Building on previous work (Pratt, 2008; Scott, 2006) on small cultural initiatives, we propose a novel way of looking at cultural urban planning by combining two conceptual approaches. First, we depart from a governance perspective, highlighting the distinction between collective action modes that directly provide cultural amenities and goods and those that aim to create favourable conditions for them. These actions may comprise direct provisions (such as the founding and subsequent exploitation of a municipal museum); providing legal and financial incentives to support cultural incentives (through zoning and grants); creating favourable physical conditions (such as transport facilities and upgrading public space); the constitution and maintenance of a network of relevant actors; or the construction of policy narratives.

We then link this governance perspective to a framework for cultural planning which distinguishes between different ideal types of cultural amenities (Kloosterman, 2014). This framework enables us to structure the internally diverse policy object of cultural amenities. In line with this framework, we define cultural amenities as services or goods with a high semiotic or aesthetic value provided by organisations (public and private) such as museums, galleries,

zoos, theatres, festivals, and sports venues (Kloosterman, 2014). Furthermore, the framework subdivides services and goods into four types based on the kind of audience it attracts – niche or mainstream – and the scale of provision – large or small.

After introducing these two perspectives, we present cases of how concrete collective action processes have impacted Amsterdam’s cultural amenities. These cases should serve as real-life illustrations of our proposal for a more comprehensive way of cultural planning. Amsterdam has been the cultural capital of the Netherlands for more than four centuries (Kloosterman, 2004; Schama, 1988; Prak, 2005), with a rich palette of cultural amenities. It has developed from a cosmopolitan pre-industrial trade and finance hub in the 17th century into an even more cosmopolitan advanced economy based on cognitive-cultural activities (Boterman & van Gent, 2023). In addition, the Netherlands and, notably, the city of Amsterdam have a long-standing planning tradition and a well-developed interventionist policy framework combined with active citizen participation (de Vries, 2015). This template, however, has shifted in recent years towards more market-oriented interventions (Dekker et al., 2012, 444–445). Hence, cultural planning in Amsterdam can be seen as an exemplary laboratory that displays the current quest for developing more comprehensive forms of cultural planning.

We present four different ideal-typical categories to capture this variety of cultural amenities (Section 2). This is followed by looking at the key strategies in contemporary urban planning (Section 3). After that, we analyse how these can be linked to planning strategies and use cases from Amsterdam to illustrate our view (Section 4). Finally, we discuss the broader implications for urban cultural planning (Section 5).

A typology of cultural amenities

To get a more systematic handle on the variety of urban cultural amenities, we use the typology introduced by Kloosterman (2014, see also Figure 44.1). This fourfold typology is based on two dimensions: (i) the scale of provision, which can be large or small, and (ii) the market orientation, which can be towards mainstream audiences or smaller, niche-like audiences. We are aware that real-life amenities are much less neatly defined. We present ideal types to help structure thinking on urban cultural planning.

The first type of cultural amenities, then, is “small scale and caters to niche markets which require a certain knowledge or cultural capital to grasp and appreciate what is on offer” (Ibidem, 2517). This type is strongly oriented towards dense neighbourhoods benefiting from the proximity of a sizeable clientele and being embedded in an intricate web of other amenities, cultural and otherwise, such as restaurants and cafés. These amenities, in other words, tend to form localised ecosystems held together by agglomeration economies, which develop more or less organically and form “... vortexes of social reproduction in which critical cultural competencies

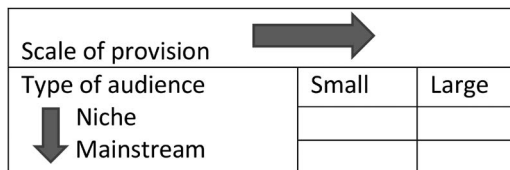


Figure 44.1 A typology of cultural amenities.

Source: Kloosterman (2014, 2517).

are generated and circulated” (Scott, 1999, 809). Local policies can usually be limited to creating and sustaining favourable conditions, leaving the rest to the cultural and other entrepreneurs. Sustaining is not self-evident as its very success may contain the seeds of the danger of what Jane Jacobs (1961) has called the “self-destruction of diversity” as rising rents push out less profitable activities, which are nonetheless essential for the whole ecosystem.

The second type concerns 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” (Ibidem, 2519). This type is a rather tricky category in larger cities with rich cultural amenities. They will either be outcompeted by large mainstream amenities or develop their own niche to survive. In smaller cities with not much competition, they can survive. As we focus on large cities, we leave this category aside.

The third type of amenities combines a large scale with a niche orientation. These comprise “... the kind of iconic projects so beloved by many urban policymakers: large scale and catering to the demanding taste of connoisseurs” (Ibidem, 2519). As these amenities offer something unique (niche orientation), the catchment areas of these amenities are often large – national and often even international. These large-scale amenities are often to be found in central locations where a cluster of other, small-scale, niche-oriented cultural amenities and (specialised) shops may arise (Ibidem, 2520). Much urban cultural planning is focused on these striking cultural amenities which contribute to a place’s identity and international image (place-making). They do not just require large buildings but are typically housed in high-profile flagship buildings (Ponzini, 2014). Given their potentially significant spillover effects and their impact on the quality of place, these amenities may make sense from an economic developmental perspective. Still, state support is usually needed to kickstart the process, fund the building, and guarantee the amenity’s day-to-day exploitation.

The fourth type of cultural amenities also has a large-scale of provision but, instead, targets a mainstream audience. Theme parks, for instance, fall under this category. As with large-scale, niche-oriented amenities, good accessibility by car, public transport, or both is crucial for the functioning of these amenities. They are usually profit-oriented, private-sector endeavours, which are not located in expensive central locations, but, at least in the West-European context, on the outskirts near highways. This more peripheral location “... makes it, on the one hand, much easier to internalize the spillover effects of spending by visitors, but, on the other hand, diminishes the impact on the city itself” (Kloosterman, 2014, 2521). These mainstream offerings do not add much distinction or lift the quality of place. State intervention is limited to zoning and providing the physical infrastructure.

Each of these ideal types has its specific business model with a particular audience, locational profile, local embeddedness, and public sector involvement. We now turn to the issue of how these cultural amenities can be linked to contemporary forms of urban planning.

Governance and urban cultural planning

Urban policymakers who want more inclusive urban cultural planning should address the issues of identity and pluralism and foster the establishment and preservation of small cultural amenities. An informed framework for urban cultural planning dealing with these issues should be based on distinguishing different cultural amenities. It should also depart from a proper understanding of current planning processes within the context of cognitive-cultural urban economies. Culture, as a field of collective action, is to an ever-lesser extent a separate domain and, from a policy perspective, has become ever more entwined with that of the requirements of

cognitive-cultural urban economies in many Western societies (Mommaas, 2004; Evans, 2009). More fundamentally, the rise of the cognitive-cultural economy coincides with a transition in how societies deal with collective action problems, often referred to as the rise of (network or collaborative) governance (Hajer, 2009). This change has profound consequences for the rationales and implications of providing cultural amenities for cities. In many cases, the state has changed from a provider to an enabler of the cultural commons in a city. The “enabling State expresses the role of the State in facilitating the creation of urban commons and supporting collective action arrangements for the management and sustainability of the urban commons” (Foster & Iaione, 2017).

The popular catchphrase “from government to governance” is often shorthand to refer to the fundamental and widely varied changes in collective action arrangements and practices in the past decades. The complex interplay of the transformation of the post-war welfare state, the transition from an industrial economy to a cognitive-cultural economy, increasing societal diversity across several dimensions, processes of globalisation, as well as the dominance of a political ideology of economic liberalism has profoundly transformed the role of government in collective action in general and more specifically in urban planning. According to Salet and de Vries (2019, 194) the “[c]haracteristic of this process is the importance of private and non-governmental parties in the supply of public goods and common pool goods, previously provided by the state. This shift includes the spreading of power across more and diverse actors, resulting in a differentiated polity”. Seeing collective action in and for cities through the lens of a polycentric polity (Savini, 2019), has widened the array of practices that can be seen as urban planning. While before, governments could largely base their planning on regulation – zoning an area for cultural use – and direct action – building a theatre, for example – today “policy actions or initiatives [need to be more often] intended to affect the decision environment (and, in turn, the behaviour) of market actors and to achieve desirable societal objectives” (Stead, 2021, 300).

This shift towards governance implies that – in addition to more traditional planning interventions through regulation or the direct provision of public goods – planning has become more about creating conditions for (collective) action by actors, varying from public agencies, large and small private companies, and households (Stead, 2021). We distinguish three basic enabling strategies (see [Table 44.1](#)).

Firstly, foster networks and create arenas that bring together relevant stakeholders to facilitate cooperation that provides cultural amenities and boosts agglomeration economies. Secondly, strategies may target the circumstances that support actors in establishing and sustaining cultural amenities. In urban planning, two sets of circumstances should be highlighted. Some spatial conditions enable or support the provision of cultural amenities, such as the quality of public space in the vicinity of an amenity or the accessibility of a good or service. Furthermore, we observe regulatory or financial circumstances impacting actors providing amenities.

Table 44.1 Direct and indirect interventions

<i>Direct governmental interventions</i>	<i>Indirect governmental interventions</i>
Directly establishing an amenity Zoning for a particular amenity	Creating networks and arenas
	Financial, regulatory, and spatial conditions
	Narratives

Source: Authors.

As commercial real estate in cities is often too expensive for cultural ventures, regulatory measures – zoning that excludes commercial uses – or financial compensation – subsidies or tax breaks – are essential in this respect. Thirdly, strategies may create favourable conditions for providing cultural amenities by developing a narrative that stakeholders share, mobilise, and unite. Gonzales (2006) describes these as “stories about changes in the spatial patterns of socio-political processes that are uttered by actors or groups embedded in specific historical and political contexts and which reduce the universe of political choices” (Gonzales, 2006, 840). This approach played an important role in paving the way for the iconic Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao (Plaza & Haarich, 2015).

Lessons from Amsterdam

Type 1 small-scale of provision and niche-oriented

In Amsterdam, a group of goldsmiths joined forces and developed a website and a flyer with a walking and cycling tour along eleven shops in the historical inner city.¹ It is all “Dutch design” and “Made in Holland”. “The collections on display range from the ultra-modern to the semi-classical so that a wide spectrum of styles can be viewed in a matter of hours. The eight-kilometre route is great for walking or cycling, especially if you visit one of the cafés or restaurants recommended in the flyer”.² One goldsmith explained that they all know each others’ work. Customers can easily be referred to a colleague when they desire a different style,³ illustrating the agglomeration economies from which this type of amenities benefit. These agglomerations also comprise other activities, in this case, antique shops and up-market restaurants, which cluster in the same parts of the city as the goldsmiths.

In recent years, this cluster has been under pressure – from 1980 to 2023, the number of antique shops decreased by 50 per cent. While there are different reasons for the decline – changes in taste, for example – changes in place characteristics such as the public space and the neighbourhood’s retail structure are also essential.⁴ Stores aimed at low-budget tourists, many in the food sector and often part of a chain, have become dominant and pushed up real-estate prices. This has set in motion a process of (self-)destruction of diversity as retail spaces became increasingly unaffordable to traditional antique shops. Furthermore, crowded public spaces are at odds with strolling along different antique shops. The local antique shop owners have requested zoning that applies elsewhere in the city to restrict the establishment of tourist shops⁵ and the neighbourhood should be promoted as the Amsterdam “Art and Fashion District”.⁶

In recent decades, the transformation of cities – in the Global North – provided ample room for cultural amenities. De-industrialisation led to vacated industrial sites and buildings or “brown fields”. These developments created a significant, temporary rise in the supply of spaces suitable for (small-scale) cultural amenities. Destruction of diversity, however, loomed large as (many) cities successfully transitioned to an urban cognitive-cultural profile, and more profitable uses took over these spaces and, hence, became scarcer. Such a process undermines the innovative capacity of a city in the long run (Currid, 2007), notably as an incubator for cultural amenities and may erode the quality of place more generally (Kloosterman & Brandellero, 2016). To counter this trend, in 2000, the local government took the initiative to create room for culture and creative industries (Cnossen, 2021). Amsterdam has thus launched an active policy to create incubator spaces for working and living in former office buildings, schools, or warehouses (Cnossen, 2021). To rent a space there, applicants must show that they are active in the cultural and creative industries.

The evolution of this policy is telling for the tension between planning and creating *Type-1* cultural amenities. In the 1990s, the port area was redeveloped as a residential area, but according to the official mission statement from 2000:

... these (living and) workspaces enlarge the quality, diversity and image of an area, they ‘produce’ culture, which adds to the cultural richness of the city [...], and the social climate of the area is improved by offering facilities to the neighbourhood.

(Cnossen, 2021, 398)

When the financial crisis, which broke out in 2008, hit Amsterdam – politicians stressed the importance of a more direct contribution of the creative sector towards economic growth, “the art factory took on a more commercial approach, including small tech businesses and advertising agencies in its target audiences” (Peck, 2012, 469).

In 1999 the municipality initiated a competition for temporary uses of the buildings of the former NDSM shipyard located at the northern banks of the IJ river, which closed in 1984 (Havik & Pllumbi, 2020). The artist collective *Kinetisch Noord* (Kinetic North) won the competition and has played a vital role in shaping the development of the area and still manages a former warehouse which offers workspaces for some 250 creative workers.⁷ This area also attracted high-end commercial uses with the arrival of MTV Europe in 2006, which was a kick-start for establishing similar companies (Savini & Dembski, 2016) and, later on, establishing the establishment of the headquarters of the Dutch department store chain HEMA. Bottom-up culturally directed initiatives have been gradually replaced by government and commercially led development, causing frustration with those who came before the market moved in. “It is a travesty that temporary projects that are successful and give identity and atmosphere to a location are not allowed to (co-)develop the place”, exclaims one opinion maker.⁸ Still, the municipality has acknowledged that the presence of the cultural entrepreneurs is crucial for keeping “alive the spirit and atmosphere of this rough and bohemian area” (Havik & Pllumbi, 2020, 301).

The interventions in Amsterdam regarding the *Type 1* cultural amenities can be seen as combining different strategies. The municipality has helped to create the conditions in terms of zoning but has also intervened by subsidising and, hence, (partly) decommodifying workspaces for workers in the cultural and creative industries.

Type 3 large-scale of provision and niche-oriented

Large museums, significant places of remembrance and large cultural festivals are typical *Type 3* cultural amenities. Their scale implies that they require a specific set of conditions and also that they significantly impact the urban context. They occupy scarce urban land and are often in central and popular locations. Their use might conflict with neighbouring urban functions. As said, being dependent on a large catchment area of visitors, good accessibility by public and private transport is a key condition. Moreover, additional facilities such as restaurants and cafés should also be located in close proximity. The fixed costs for establishing and maintaining *Type 3* facilities often need considerable public sector support in terms of planning, zoning and funding. Their symbolism makes them powerful tools for place-making, and, at the same time, this symbolic power raises emotional debates (Kloosterman, 2014).

In recent years, the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao is the most well-known example of a *Type 3* cultural amenity that redirected a city’s economy (Grodach, 2008). This catalytic power remains a significant driving force for *Type 3* amenities in Amsterdam. These projects speed up or direct the development of a specific part of the city, improve the conditions in its immediate

environment or change the city's geography by giving new meaning to an area in the city or the city as a whole. In 2012, for example, the Dutch national film museum moved from Amsterdam's historical inner city to a "gleaming iconic building" on a prominent location right behind Amsterdam Central Station on the other side of the IJ-river (Kloosterman, 2014). With its eye-catching architecture and 225,000 visitors a year, the museum is an important symbol of the transformation of former industrial northern part of the city into a hotbed for cognitive-cultural activities.

For some time, the board of mayor and alderman wanted to build a large "Public Library Next" in Amsterdam's financial district – South Ax – that developed on the edge of town in recent decades. "This multi-media initiative and laboratory for innovation would transform the business district into a living and working area with allure ... and make the South-Ax a full part of the city".⁹ After elections, a new board of mayor and aldermen decided that a new public library should be built in Amsterdam-Southeast; a working-class neighbourhood with many migrants from Suriname and (West) Africa. The case showed that projects as hobby horses for politicians are vulnerable. The South-Ax option was the personal preference of a powerful alderman but lacked a narrative that mobilised sufficient support.

Nowadays, in an era of governance, decision-making typically occurs in networks of interdependent public and private actors. Within the Dutch institutional context, the municipal government often needs funding from the national government and private-sector actors to initiate and sustain *Type 3* amenities. In addition, because of their potentially significant symbolic, social, economic, and cultural impact, many *Type 3* projects are contested. A top-down intervention by policymakers to create grand projects may face serious obstacles. Broader decision-making arenas – part and parcel of governance practices with their participative processes – are often considered more suitable to deal with different voices and interests. A new theatre, a national slavery museum and the holocaust name memorial shed light on the dynamics involved in deciding about *Type 3* amenities.

The need to remember the more than 100,000 Dutch Jews (70,000 from Amsterdam), who died during the Holocaust is widely shared among Amsterdam's citizens. The fact that the former Jewish quarters are an appropriate location for a place of remembrance is also hardly contested. Therefore, it might be considered surprising that the location and the design of a monument with all the victims' names ended up in such a bitter dispute.¹⁰ Everything from the site to the monument's design by internationally acclaimed architect Daniel Libeskind became controversial. The architect claimed the protest was "part of a worldwide denial of the Holocaust". On the other hand, one of the protesters stated that "the Nazis tried to discard the Jews of their identity, and the monument does the same thing because it is too enormous". Opponents denounced the authoritarian approach of Eberhard van der Laan, the former mayor of Amsterdam. These critics feared the effect of 200,000 visitors per year and decried the loss of green space in the densely built-up area in the inner city. Proponents considered the opponents, at best nimby's and, at worst, deniers who do not want to be remembered of the fact that they lived in houses of Jewish Amsterdammers who were killed. While the example of the monument might be an extreme example, many large cultural amenities have enormous symbolic importance for many and have a profound impact on the daily living environment of many. A similar scenario seems to be in the offing for the planned slavery museum. According to the plans of the board of mayor and alderman of Amsterdam, this slavery museum must be housed in an iconic building in a "meaningful place" located at the waterfront.¹¹ While, the location still had to be chosen, an alderman in 2022 still intended to¹² open the museum in 2025 because that coincides with the symbolic moment of Amsterdam's 750th anniversary. Under these conditions – a sensitive subject, outspoken architecture, urban sites that are high in demand, a considerable impact

on the direct environment and time pressure – it is not hard to imagine that the decision-making process will lead to controversies like those on the holocaust monument.

The case of a new theatre in the outlying disadvantaged neighbourhood of New West sheds light on another dimension of governance and *Type 3* amenities. In the past, they were often developed as projects by themselves. Currently, establishing *Type 3* amenities is often part of public-private area development projects. The existing nearly 50-year-old theatre will be replaced with a modernised and upgraded version. The plan fits the municipal policy goals of spreading tourism from the city centre to outlying districts and giving disadvantaged neighbourhoods their fair share of public facilities. Opponents are not against the new theatre but fear that nature and the quality of the public space will be harmed. The problem has become intractable because a hotel needs to be built at the current location of the theatre, and the lake is the only feasible alternative for the theatre. The new theatre is, in practice, part of a public-private partnership that redevelops the neighbourhood centre. A similar approach was suggested for the Public Library Next. “By adding offices on the top floors, the private sector will pay for the public facility library” the alderman promoting the plan, claimed.¹³

In the case of *Type 3* amenities, just like regarding *Type 1* amenities, the municipality has opted both for zoning interventions and also for providing funding to enable the establishment and the running of them. The *Type 3* amenities, however, are not the result of bottom-up processes but of deliberate planning interventions. Their scale and social, economic, and cultural impact as well as their symbolic value requires the conscious creation of coalitions bounded by shared narratives that would appeal to a broad field of stakeholders.

Type 4 large-scale of provision and mainstream-oriented

While *Type 4* large-scale and mainstream cultural amenities, such as cinemas, concert halls, large theatres, stadiums, and event halls, share some of the characteristics of *Type 3* amenities, they are in a class of their own for many reasons. While just like many *Type 3* amenities, *Type 4* amenities require specific purpose-made, large structures to accommodate large crowds. Frequently, the architectural design has to reflect the image of the offering of the amenity or the brand that runs the amenity. Fixed costs tend to be high, and consequently, economies of scale are prevalent. Driven by mainstream demand and commercial investment, *Type 4* amenities adhere strongly to market needs and typically tend to locate 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. (Kloosterman, 2014, 2521). Land for development is cheaper, and it is less complicated to develop. Compared to inner-city locations, edge city developments often provide visitors with more affordable and convenient (car) access.

Amsterdam provides a case in which the trend towards large-scale, out-of-town entertainment complexes has been avoided or at least strongly mitigated. A national law, dating back from the 1970s, basically prohibited the greenfield development of retail (Evers, 2004). Although *Type 4* amenities are not retail, the development of entertainment complexes often includes large-scale retail to render them profitable. Investors in retail and entertainment complexes are often large international companies. Their financial muscle and access to legal expertise enable them in many countries to put pressure on local governments facilitate such greenfield developments. The fact that the prohibition is a national law pre-empted the danger of local governments being legally checkmated or “bribed” with financial promises by large investors.

From 1980s, the city of Amsterdam accommodated the demand for large-scale entertainment – among others, a new stadium – and retail complexes by master planning a zone – the Arena Boulevard – within a 1960s urban extension – Amsterdam-Southeast (Evers, 2004). This area

was conveniently located vis-à-vis motorways and public transport (train and metro). As the Amsterdam-Southeast is a socio-economically disadvantaged area, it also provided opportunities to boost the neighbourhood's economy with hosting several big-box retail shops, two concert halls, a big-box cinema, and a football stadium. National and Amsterdam's planning policies combined various types of amenities. It also balanced the commercial demand for a peripheral location and the public desire to accommodate these functions within the urban fabric. Inserting these large-scale amenities in this vacant part of Amsterdam was relatively easy in marked contrast to creating a vibrant urban environment. Nevertheless, the advisory Amsterdam Art Council emphasises the area's unrealised potential as a proper entertainment district.¹⁴

Conclusion

Cultural amenities, in our view, comprise much more than these large-scale projects. Furthermore, at least in many Western cities, due to processes of splintering urbanism and shifts from state to more market allocation, the field of urban planning – the goals, the instruments, and the composition of the actors – has altered into one of governance with the involvement of multiple actors from the state, market and civil society.

Ignoring the variety of cultural amenities and urban governance practices carries the risk that cultural planning is approached as a one size fits all exercise. The conceptual framework provided in this chapter combines a typology of cultural amenities with a palette of current urban planning strategies. This framework links particular types of cultural amenities to specific (packages of) interventions and is intended as a frame of heuristic devices. It allows for exploring insights between cultural amenities and urban governance (cp. Salet & de Vries, 2019). As heuristic devices, they need to be elaborated in empirically grounded categories, which can subsequently be turned into hypotheses (Kelle, 2010). The framework tentatively indicates the directions for this elaboration and applies to a wide range of urban contexts. We used real-life cases from Amsterdam to illustrate the framework.

What are the takeaways from this first exploration? Analysing the four types of amenities through indirect interventions provides several insights. Different types of narratives are relevant for supporting cultural amenities' creation and management. First, an identity narrative supports the joint mission of actors and, as a marketing tool, can attract clientele. The examples of promoting the Spiegelkwartier as Amsterdam's "Art and Fashion District" or the Johan Cruijff Boulevard as an entertainment district are cases in point. Second, a legitimation narrative provides the local government with arguments to support specific cultural projects. These narratives are closely connected to the idea of cultural projects as catalysts. Legitimation in these narratives can have different origins. The South-Axe financial district library proposal was based on the idea that the urban government is responsible for creating urbanity in this new district. The subsequent move of the library to Amsterdam-Southeast is based on a just-city perspective.

The changing relationships between the state, private sector, and civil society under governance and the shift to indirect governmental interventions have implications for the spatial logic of decision-making on cultural amenities. Under circumstances of direct intervention, the state could create solidarity on an urban-wide scale. It could assign public funds to projects anywhere in the city. Under conditions of indirect interventions, a direct relationship exists between private sector investments and cultural amenities. Therefore, the location of cultural amenities is more dependent on the ability to raise private funds, such as the theatre that is part of a commercial redevelopment program. Whereas a city-wide spatial logic might have led in the past, an area development logic currently seems more dominant (cf Hutton, 2016, who concludes

that current cultural amenities are often part of larger urban development projects and thrive in mixed-use environments).

The shift towards a more entrepreneurial city carries the risk that small-scale niche cultural amenities may fall victim to their success. These *Type I* cultural amenities are often catalysts of neighbourhood transformations but are often pushed out when the area becomes more attractive (as in the case of NDSM). The emergence and survival of these ecosystems are often threatened by profit-driven private-sector actors, which may drive up rents and push out less profitable activities. This may not be that much of a problem when other areas with cheap spaces in the city are available. Accessible physical spaces which allow the clustering of small-scale, niche-oriented cultural amenities are a precondition for quality of place. When these are scarce, state or civil society sector actors should step in to keep the market at bay (Brandellero & Kloosterman, 2010; Currid, 2007). Governance networks should give room to these interests and, in doing so, contribute to the maintenance of type amenities.

Notes

- 1 <https://www.taminoautographs.com/blogs/autograph-blog/best-modern-opera-houses-of-the-world>
- 2 <https://www.sieradenroute.nl/> Translation by the authors.
- 3 Personal communication Jochem de Vries with a jewellery shop owner 10-09-2022.
- 4 Het Parool 22-07-2022.
- 5 Het Parool 22-07-2022.
- 6 <https://spiegelkwartier.nl/en/home>
- 7 <https://ndsmloods.nl/broedplaats/>
- 8 Het Parool 11-02-2020.
- 9 Het Parool 22-10-2022.
- 10 Het Parool 25-5-2019; NRC Handelsblad 17-10-2017.
- 11 Parool 7-1-2023.
- 12 Het Parool 26-1-2022
- 13 Het Parool 22-10-2022.
- 14 <https://www.kunstraad.nl/advies/hoofdlijnen-2017-2020/>

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