E-motion Pictures
Culture for attachment of inhabitants in shrinking areas in Parkstad Limburg

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Preface

Many areas in the Netherlands suffer from a decreasing population, posing new challenges for local governments, retail and other amenities. In extreme cases, high vacancy rates, the disappearance of public services, and the break-up of local communities impede the quality of life of those who stay behind. Shrinkage caused by depopulation is a topic that is hardly looked at in architecture education, although it is rather relevant for the (future) Dutch building practice. Therefore, I decided to dive into this issue as part of my graduation project at ExploreLab.

Being an architecture student, I’ve always had a fascination for buildings where public encounter and social interaction are main aspects driving the design. Exactly these types of public buildings are often at risk in shrinking regions, for these amenities strongly rely on a community base for their functioning and support. I chose to focus on cultural facilities, currently having a two-faced image. These amenities both suffer from a decrease in financial public support, and at the same time appear as universal remedy for social hotbeds. The research you are about to read therefore consist out of three parts, starting with the larger picture of urban shrinkage, continuing on culture as an aspect that can help to improve the situation, and ending with the implications this could have for one cultural facility in particular, the art cinema.

I would like to use this preface to thank all who directly and indirectly contributed to my graduation project. First of all my mentors André, Susanne and Engbert for guiding me through the process. Sharing the interest for the role of culture in shrinking areas, André Mulder helped me to maintain the focus in my research, resulting in many informed discussions on the topic. Having tutored other projects concerning cultural centers, Susanne Pietsch continuously found ways to inspire me and spark my enthusiasm. Her experience in practice was a nice reality check-up, confirming the relevance of my chosen approach. I thank Engbert van der Zaag for his enthusiasm when designing the materialization and detailing. He also helped structuring my ideas, pointing out possibilities for the design. A special thanks goes out to Rinus van Dijk and Thijs Deckers of “Filmhuis De Spiegel”, the clients of my design, whose passion founded the project. I also would like to thank the employees at “De Lieve Vrouw”, “Filmtheater Hilversum”, “Filmhuis The Hague” and “Toneel- & Filmschuur” for giving me insight in their buildings and answering my every question. Continuing, I thank ir. Mart-Jan Oosterveld of MOOST Architectuurwerkplaats and Miranda Paas at Ton Vandenbergh architekten bna for sending me the technical drawings to their designs. Finally, I’m most grateful for the help and moral support of my family, friends and roommates, challenging my ideas and regularly motivating me to continue over a cup of tea.

Martje Thelen
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Abstract

Internationally, the body of knowledge on shrinkage grows, and urban designers and planners have discovered shrinking areas as places to experiment with new planning concepts. However, besides a few inspiring transformation projects, the possibilities for architectural experiments on this topic could still be enlarged and should therefore be investigated. This research aims at demonstrating what the value of culture can be in urban shrinking areas by strengthening attachment of inhabitants. Using a literature study and -survey and case studies of five different art cinemas (Amersfoort, Hilversum, Haarlem, The Hague and Rotterdam) preconditions are defined for the design of an art cinema in an urban shrinking area that serves as a case demonstrating how attachment could be promoted by a cultural facility.

Shrinkage caused by depopulation is a global phenomenon, occurring in both urban and rural areas. In the Netherlands the main reasons for shrinkage are the fertility rate and outmigration in a specific area. Compared to examples abroad, the extent of shrinkage in the Netherland is still quite limited. However, in the future more and more municipalities will deal with this development. Different strategies can be applied by local governments as a response to shrinkage; from trying to redirect developments towards growth, to accepting shrinkage as a fact. In many cases, shrinkage cannot be avoided or reversed. For the continuation of the community it is therefore advised to invest in current residents, services and companies, adopting the strategy of planning for decline. Parkstad Limburg is one of the regions in the Netherlands facing depopulation. Here, depopulation is a result of negative demographic developments and outmigration, leading to a high percentage of elderly in the population. The region has made a paradigm switch to planning for decline, focusing on creating quality instead of quantity to retain or bind the current inhabitants. The success of planning for decline lies in a local approach, yet taking into account the entire region. Engaging current inhabitants in the process is particularly important. However, local governments should first stimulate attachment of these inhabitants with the community before demanding them to engage.

Culture is one of the aspects that can be used to promote attachment of inhabitants with a region. This can be done by either increasing the attractiveness of the area or by strengthening the sense of place. The latter strategy directs its attention at improving the livability and attractiveness of an area for current residents, fitting within an overall strategy of planning for decline. In a context of shrinkage a shortage of public services and amenities could cause more inhabitants to leave the area. Culture could, in that case, provide inhabitants with something positive, dispelling some of the reasons for them to move as well. However small this contribution might be, by improving user experience culture can thus strengthen the sense of place in a region, promoting attachment of the inhabitants. One of the practical things that local governments can do to strengthen sense of place is supporting cultural facilities. These facilities can contribute to improving settlement decisions of existing residents and
stimulate the local economy.

Being a cultural facility around a widely appreciated medium, the art cinema is proposed to be used as a case, to demonstrate how such an amenity could help in a strategy to promote attachment in a shrinking region. Currently, art cinemas actively apply smart programming, management and promotion to stimulate attachment of visitors with the amenity itself. Additionally, by facilitating public encounter and social interaction, offering a diverse film-supportive set of activities, the art cinemas cater for a pleasant experience for a diverse audience. It is assumed that by improving user experience, on the long run the user’s sense of place could be positively influenced, adding to the strengthening of attachment with the location.

It can be concluded that, provided that a few conditions are met, culture can make a small contribution to the attachment (and on the long run the quality of life) of existing residents with a certain shrinking area. Art cinemas can play a part in such an overall strategy to promote attachment. This role is yet quite limited, as an art cinema is only one specific building in an entire region, attracting a limited part of all inhabitants. Many other factors can be pointed out that have a more direct effect on attachment, and finally the quality of life of inhabitants in a certain area. The ‘power’ of a single cultural facility should therefore not be overestimated. Nevertheless, being part of the cultural infrastructure of a region, art cinemas can contribute to the diversity of the total cultural offer, together adding to the attractiveness of the region for current residents and companies. Continuing, the main goal for this research was to formulate preconditions that can serve as input for the design of such an art cinema that would contribute to the attachment of inhabitants in a shrinking area. Eight different categories of preconditions could be distinguished that need to be considered in the design: target groups, setting, program, activities, spatial organization, routing, materialization and cinema characteristics.
## Contents

### Introduction 11
- Motive ................................................................................................................................................ 12
  - Social relevance: Shrinkage in the Netherlands 12
  - Problem description 12
  - Scope 14
- Research design ............................................................................................................................. 15
  - Sub questions 15
  - Methodology 16
  - Case studies 18

### Part 1. Urban Shrinkage 21
1. Urban Shrinkage as Phenomenon .................................................................................. 22
   1.1 Global phenomenon 22
   1.2 Depopulation in the Netherlands 24
   1.3 Policy and strategy 28
   1.4 Conclusions 32
2. Shrinking Parkstad Limburg .............................................................................................. 34
   2.1 Demographic change 34
   2.2 Causes & effects of depopulation 36
   2.3 Responses to shrinkage 39
   2.4 Conclusions 41

### Part 2. Culture 43
3. Cultural identity ...................................................................................................................... 44
   3.1 Definition 44
   3.2 Creating attachment 47
   3.3 Cultural heritage 53
   3.4 The intangible past 58
   3.5 Art and cultural activities 59
   3.6 Conclusions 62
4. The art cinema ........................................................................................................................ 64
   4.1 Type of cinema 64
   4.2 Use and appreciation 67
   4.3 Historical developments 69
   4.4 Parkstad Limburg 71
Introduction

Motive

Social relevance: Shrinkage in the Netherlands

In many parts of the country municipalities experience shrinkage, caused by depopulation. Although the overall population of the Netherlands will continue to grow until 2040, the number of municipalities in the Netherlands dealing with shrinkage is expected to increase as well. The past decade those regions already dealing with shrinkage were primarily concentrated along the borders, with Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, Eemsdelta and Parkstad Limburg in particular (CBS, 2008, in Verwest and Van Dam, 2010, p.12-3).

Shrinkage does not necessarily need to be a negative development, as it also offers some opportunities (Van Dam, 2010). Lower population rates could lead to lower densities of the living environment and less pressure on the housing market for example. Using vacancy rates less attractive neighborhoods and areas can be pointed out. By restructuring shrinking areas more space could be reserved for nature, adding to the attractiveness of the environment. However, these opportunities strongly depend on adopted policies. In turn, these policies should differ for each shrinking region, as depopulation manifest itself mostly on the regional and local scale (Verwest and Van Dam, 2010).

Problem description

The problem discussed in this thesis is twofold. The first part is the phenomenon of depopulation posing difficulties for local inhabitants. Due to lower population rates in shrinking areas the bases for social services decreases. Primary schools face the risk of closing down due to fewer children in the area, and local libraries struggle for their existence experiencing a decline in loans and memberships. Many cultural and sports associations see their numbers of members and volunteers drop, and need to reject redundant buildings, facilities or fields. All these developments can decrease the attractiveness of an area, having a negative effect on the livability, quality of the environment and the social cohesion of inhabitants. Additionally, global developments like individualization, segregation and deindustrialization enhance the local consequences of depopulation (Martinez-Fernandez et al., 2012b). As one of the main shrinking areas of the country, Parkstad Limburg illustrates the relation between these developments clearly. In South-Limburg social structures used to rely largely on two driving forces, the mining industry and the Catholic Church. The mining industry provided work and prosperity for the whole region, while the religion provided a strong community life by shared believes, interests and activities. When in the second half of the twentieth century all mines were closed and its physical structures demolished, it blew a hole in the local economy and job market (Van Dam et al., 2006). Together with other socio-cultural developments this roughly caused
depopulation in the area. Segregation and individualization caused the Catholic Church to lose its part in everyday life, contributing to a decline of social cohesion and integration of the inhabitants.

The second part of the problem description is about the actions undertaken by local governments and private parties. These actions are starting to bear fruits, but appear not yet sufficiently enough to solve the problems faced. Municipalities and governments undertake different actions to react to shrinkage. In Parkstad Limburg collaboration and tuning on the larger regional scale are important elements in preventing competition between municipalities. Strict agreements based on pessimistic population prognoses limit new housing developments. Investing in quality instead of quantity is key, whereby quality can be explained as livability and attractiveness of selected areas, and quantity mostly refers to either the number of inhabitants or businesses. More important than attracting new inhabitants to a shrinking area, it is believed that this way current residents and businesses can be retained in the area. Policies to improve quality of life mainly focus on the housing market, e.g. by demolishing vacant buildings, and on the economic aspect of job creation. However, with policies concerning other than these aspects, communication on the regional scale is often limited. Most of the local governments aim at investing in firms in sustainable energy, but new business areas remain alarmingly empty. The creative industry is seen as the impulse to restructure every neighborhood experiencing problems. This lack of tuning could result in even more competition between municipalities, in this case not on inhabitants, but on tourists or visitors and users.

Investments in culture are also seen as means to improve the attractiveness of an area and stimulate local economy, as to retain inhabitants and business there (Marlet & van Woerkens in Bureau Onderzoek & Statistiek, 2012). Not only top-down investments in culture play a part, but also private initiatives to improve attractiveness of the region and boost developments. Culture, as the cultural sector, is defined as art in all its manifestations, consisting of four branches: the art of entertaining, of making, of teaching and of maintaining. Additionally, for each of these branches specific sectors exist that take care of the promotion and transfer of culture and art. For this research the creative industry and the users of culture and arts are not integrated in the definition of the cultural sector (for a complete definition see p. 44).

Despite investments in culture, the social benefits of it are not always supported by inhabitants, as can be seen outside of the city’s and village’s centers in Parkstad Limburg (Gottschalk, 2012b). It can be stated that identification with culture under local inhabitants is still low, despite relatively high cultural participation rates. There is a need for icons to identify with – in the form of people as well as buildings and institutions – in order to connect the top sector of culture with the lower segments (Gottschalk, 2012b). Culture is not yet experienced as shared good, representing the area and its inhabitants. This, however, could be important to retain inhabitants and businesses, and additionally to restore social cohesion.
Scope

Many policies and strategies aimed at improving quality are developed in response to shrinkage, using terms like ‘livability’ and ‘social cohesion’. In the light of this project culture will be suggested as means to promote attachment of inhabitant with a shrinking area, which ultimately could contribute to re-establishing social cohesion of inhabitants. That this idea is not new can be illustrated with the rise of cultural centers in the 1960s (cf. Grafe, 2010) and more recent examples of cultural initiatives. For culture is a very extensive term, the stress will be on using a specific type of cultural facility, namely the art cinema. Though this type of facility attracts a specific target group, it represents a medium open to a wide audience. Because of its specific set-up, this type of facility allows for many interpretations of promoting attachment, as will be investigated later on.
Research design

The goal for this project is to demonstrate what the value of culture can be, in the form of a specific cultural facility, in an urban shrinking area in respect to contributing to the attachment of local inhabitants with that area, and promoting social interaction between these inhabitants. The research should provide the theoretical ground adopted for a design of a cultural facility that aims at promoting attachment. The research question guiding the project is as follows:

What architectural preconditions can be formulated for a cultural facility in Parkstad Limburg to provide for and contribute to the attachment of inhabitants of urban shrinking areas, promoting social interaction/encounter?

The design for that cultural facility provides a case on how attachment can be strengthened through a building that inhabitants can identify themselves with. To increase support, the cultural facility should accommodate multiple functions and respond to the needs of current older inhabitants and new-comers of Parkstad Limburg, so that their sense of place can be strengthened and attachment of the inhabitants is promoted. The design assignment can be formulated as follows:

To develop a new accommodation for the art cinema in Parkstad Limburg as an exemplary case of how a cultural facility can contribute to attachment by promoting social interaction/encounter based on preconditions derived from research.

Sub questions

To be able to give a suitable solution to the design assignment, several aspects need to be investigated.

1. How can urban shrinkage be described as phenomenon?
   a. What is urban shrinkage and what are its causes and consequences?
   b. What policies or strategies are currently applied by governments in response to shrinkage, promoting attachment?

2. What are the characteristics of shrinking areas in Parkstad Limburg?
   a. What are the main causes of shrinkage?
   b. How is the composition of the population affected by shrinkage?
   c. What do governments in Parkstad Limburg currently undertake to deal with shrinkage?

3. What role can culture play in shrinking areas to create (emotional) attachment and how is it translated?
   a. What is attachment in the built environment and how can it be influenced?
b. In what way can culture play a part in binding people emotionally and functionally in shrinking areas?
c. What role can cultural heritage play in shrinking areas to create attachment?

4. What role can an art cinema play in contributing to attachment in a shrinking area, providing social interaction/encounter?
   a. What is an art cinema and what are its characteristics compared to a regular cinema?
   b. How are art cinemas in general used and appreciated in the Netherlands and Parkstad Limburg in particular?
   c. What is needed for an art cinema to promote attachment by facilitating social interaction/encounter and how can this be translated into design?
   d. What architectural means and limitations in facilitating social interaction/encounter can be pointed out?

**Methodology**

Different methods are proposed to investigate all underlying aspects of the research question. The research can roughly be divided into two parts, a theoretical background and field research.

**Theoretical background**
The theoretical background is formed by a framework of existing concepts on the one hand and an inventory of current knowledge on the other. A literature study will be used to investigate urban shrinkage as a phenomenon and the case of South-Limburg in specific, now and in the future. Several target groups will be pointed out through this study. Different ideas on the role of culture and cultural heritage in creating attachment in the built environment are discussed via another literature study, leading to preconditions for the design that will be formed later.

Via literature survey different policies and strategies on dealing with shrinkage will be inventoried, in the Netherlands and elsewhere in the world. Part of the survey is also a demographic study of reports on demographic change in the Netherlands, showing current and expected situations.

**Field research**
The field research is planned to get more information about appreciation and use of cultural facilities by its users. By connecting to the real case of Art Cinema “De Spiegel”, the field research can be limited to specific target groups and functions. A few interviews are planned to investigate the vision of different actors involved in the case of De Spiegel, i.e. the board of the art cinema and the municipal official involved in these matters.

Different case studies are proposed to compare specific initiatives on the field of art cinemas in particular, focusing on reuse and aims to create attachment. The goal is
to find leads for the program of requirements and envisioned appearance for the design assignment of the Art Cinema in Heerlen, in order to ultimately strengthen its position in promoting attachment in the region. By comparing art cinemas in different contexts on building and architectural level input and inspiration is generated for the design, such as other compatible functions, organization models and possible ways to profile the art cinema in the region.

The outcome of this study will be combined with information derived from the location, and supplemented when needed with results from a case study into cultural centers, to form several preconditions for the design of the art cinema in Heerlen.

1. Model of the research in relation to the design of an art cinema for Parkstad Limburg.

Input of several aspects will be used to determine the scope of the research, depicted as the horizontal arrows. The vertical arrows only refer to the order in which the research is carried out, not to any causal relation between the different topics. Source: Thelen (2013).
Case studies

Methodology
The case studies are carried out by analyzing building plans, sections and elevations. All art cinemas are visited to add the third dimension to the analyses and experience the atmosphere of the cinemas. As the visits are planned during the day, it is only partly possible to investigate the operation of the cases. This will be taken into account when drawing conclusions. Interviews with employees at the art cinemas selected are used to determine how the organization is run and what strategies and methods are developed to promote the art cinema. The interviewees were mostly active as Marketing & Communications employees, so their views might be biased. This will be accounted for when drawing the main conclusions from these case studies.

Selection
In order to get seasonable results when comparing the case studies, a selection is made for a maximum of six different art cinemas, based on several aspects. First those art cinemas are selected, that can be found in a municipality comparable to Heerlen, having a regional focus, strong (upcoming) cultural infrastructure and higher education (HBO) present in the region. A research into the potential of the art cinema in Heerlen by Gerard Bunnik (2012) appointed Amersfoort, Hilversum and Haarlem to fit these criteria. Secondly, in regard of the vision and aspirations for the future of the Heerlen art cinema, the art cinema in The Hague is selected as best practice answering to current trends in the field of cinema. Then, as much attention is given to the aspect of social encounter within this research, an art cinema is selected that originated as community centre to look into this social background, namely the old LantarenVenster in Rotterdam. As last option the British Film Institute in London is selected, to see what difference the context of a mayor city would make for an art cinema. This last case study will only be done when the other case studies do not provide sufficient input for the design preconditions.

Questions
1. How is the art cinema housed?
   a. What are the differences in relation to the context?
2. How does the art cinema present itself?
3. What is the program?
   a. What is the focal point of the cinema?
4. How does the art cinema deal with different user groups?
   a. What and where are the specific meeting places?
5. What role does materialization play for either social interaction or attachment?
6. What compatible program can be derived from this?
1. What preconditions can be formulated for the design?
Urban shrinkage is a global phenomenon, occurring in many cities and urban regions in the developed countries. The first part of research will go into the characteristics of this phenomenon in the Netherlands, finally zooming in on one region in particular, Parkstad Limburg.
1. Urban Shrinkage as Phenomenon

Across the globe plenty of research is directed on the topic of urban shrinkage, caused by depopulation. The field of research is too large to cover completely, therefore this chapter will mainly focus on giving a brief overview of the phenomenon occurring in the Netherlands. To give an idea of the significance of the topic discussed, the chapter will first go into the ‘normal’ lifecycle of cities and urban regions, fitting shrinkage into the bigger picture. Causes and effects of depopulation within the urban and rural regions of the Netherlands are discussed in section 2. The last section goes into strategies applied to deal with or react to shrinkage. As a large variety of shrinkage policies exists, the focus will be on those strategies adopted within planning for decline, as will be explained later.

1.1 Global phenomenon

Shrinkage is a global phenomenon, occurring in many urban regions as well as rural areas in the developed countries. Martinez-Fernandez et al. (2012a) explain how urban shrinkage fits in the global development of cities. Over the past decades, globalization resulted in a concentration of resources, key infrastructure and intellectual assets in ‘global cities’, which are magnets for population and skills. A gradual shift in the global economic structure (among others the rise of the ‘BRIC-countries’) has led to a new system of global production, manufacturing, distribution and consumption, resulting in new urban forms through the revolution in logistics and new technologies (Martinez-Fernandez et al., 2012a). While some cities blossom, others experience the outflow of capital and human resources, suffering from a lack of entrepreneurship, low innovation levels and intellectual engagement. Especially those cities depending on a single industry or single sector activity for their development see themselves faced with these globalization processes. Combined with an ever-increasing competition on a wider scale, some cities are losing out and therefore experience urban shrinkage.

The causes of urban shrinkage differ from region to region, as well as the magnitude of its effects. The city of Detroit in the U.S. is the most striking example of urban shrinkage, suffering severely from the departure of the motor industry that once thrived in the region. Although the city’s many attempts to restore the balance, the city still deals with a major decline in population, lack of employment and as a con-
sequence a decay of many inner-city areas, e.g. see figures 2-3. Recent journals even report that the city has filed its petition for bankruptcy, not able to pay off a debt of 14 billion euro (e.g. see Reijn, 2013). Detroit is only one of many American cities in the so called ‘rust-belt’ area, where the disappearance of the main industry catalyzed a decrease in population and wealth, leading to alarming images of ‘ghost areas’ of extreme high vacancy of residential and business property.

In many cases, urban shrinkage can be attributed to the shift of post-industrial societies from manufacturing to service industries, leading to unemployment and outmigration, as is the case in Detroit and several former industrial cities in the United Kingdom (Hollander et al., 2009). Other factors that could influence shrinkage on a local level include suburbanization, high aging or low-fertility rates, war, natural or human-caused disasters, and the dissolving of socialist regimes, like in former East-Germany and Russia. In former East-Germany cities like Dresden and Leipzig experienced high outmigration due to changes in the economic situation. High unemployment rates in the region caused many inhabitants to move to West-Germany after the reunification of the country (Hollander et al., 2009). Because of this, large parts of the city were almost abandoned, creating perforations in the urban tissue. Already a few decades back these cities started to develop responses to shrinkage in order to restore some of the city’s vitality. By now analyses can be run on whether these different strategies could be seen as successful or not.

The shrinkage occurring in the Netherlands is not so extreme, when comparing it to American or German examples. However, it does pose some relevant questions for policy makers, planners and designers having to deal with its consequences.
1.2 Depopulation in the Netherlands

Many regions at the outer ends of the country, along the borders in the northeast, southwest and far south, encounter the problem of shrinking municipalities due to negative demographic change or depopulation. Some of these regions already experience it for quite a few years, like Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, Eemsdelta and Parkstad Limburg in particular. The overall population of the Netherlands is expected to continue to grow, until from 2038 a slow population decline will set in. In the mean time the amount of municipalities dealing with depopulation is expected to increase, to over one third of all municipalities (Verwest and Van Dam, 2010), see figures 4-5.

Depopulation can occur in different forms, differentiating between a decline in absolute numbers of inhabitants or households, in the composition of households (in size, income, or stage of life), and in the diversity of the population (e.g. according to age or ethnicity) (Van Dam et al., 2006). A decline in composition can be explained as the thinning of households, caused by divorces, high life expectancy and less children per household. This type of decline does not necessarily mean a decline in absolute household numbers and thus vacancy in housing. It can however denote selective migration, such as the outflow of youth or households with higher incomes. When focusing on decline in the diversity of the population it becomes even clearer that depopulation is a selective phenomenon. Population decline in specific age groups is most common, noted by the ‘de-greening’ of areas due to less natural supplementation of youth, age 0-20 years, and by the moving of the future working force, age 20-30 years (Van Dam et al., 2006, p.22-3). This development often occurs together with the overall rise in the ageing population, together resulting in a strong increase in the number of elderly people in society. In the scope of this research depopulation will be understood as a decline of absolute household numbers and a decline in the diversity of the population, for these forms have most spatial effects.

Causes
The causes of depopulation in the Netherlands can be divided into three categories: socio-cultural developments like emancipation and individualization, economic developments of employment and activity, and planning decisions on primarily the housing market (Van Dam et al., 2006). Socio-cultural developments occur globally, affecting the natural demographic change of fertility and mortality rates. Due to developments like emancipation and individualization women become pregnant at a much higher age, and the average number of children per household has declined (Van Dam et al., 2006). In combination with a higher life expectancy, this led to de-greening and extreme ageing of the population. Locally, also the development of segregation plays a part, enhancing the effects of depopulation. Economic and planning developments influence migrational movements of certain groups in society. An example of such an economic development playing a significant role is de-industrialization. The attractiveness of a certain area plays an important part for migration, taking into account characteristics on all scale levels of region, city or municipality and neighborhood. The attractiveness can be defined as job opportunities.

on a regional scale, the offer of amenities among others on a city and municipality level, and the quality of the housing stock and social and physical characteristics on a neighborhood level (Visser & Van Dam, 2006, in Van Dam et al., 2006, p.24). This roughly comes down to the fact that the less attractive an area is for a certain generation, the more negative the migration rate will be in that area. Migration is therefore not only selective on the part of the migrating person, but also on the location.

The causes mentioned occur simultaneously, and have a rather complex and reciprocal relation. Economic factors that is, also play a part in de-greening and extreme aging of society (Van Dam et al., 2006). What can be concluded is that the main driving forces of depopulation are the fertility rate and the migration in an area. As many global and local developments have an influence on these forces, the exact causes leading to shrinkage differ from region to region, and even on different levels of scale.

**Consequences**

The consequences of depopulation in the Netherlands negatively affect multiple levels of society, first the hardware (the physical and countable aspects, including housing stock and offer of amenities), secondly the software (socio-economic quality of local communities) and last the mindware (the way of organizing society). Below, the three levels of effects of urban shrinkage are explained in more detail.

The city’s ‘hardware’ is expressed as all physical, visible and countable aspects. The direct consequences of depopulation in the Netherlands on the physical environment are limited, for other developments in behavior, environmental planning policy and wealth have a more prominent influence on spatial developments (Van Dam et al., 2006). Additionally, depopulation is not yet so severe as compared to examples abroad, also limiting the extent of its effects. Concerning the housing market, depopulation means refitting the current stock to both changes in and a decrease of demand. Nationally, the number of households will continue to grow, due to an increase in single-person households, forcing the housing stock to be adapted in both size and type to meet the needs of smaller households. On the city level developers and housing corporations are forced to aim at quality of housing instead of quantity. When depopulation occurs in the numbers of households, this will lead to a more relaxed housing market that is demand-driven (Van Dam, 2010). In turn, this could lead to lower housing prices and theoretically more movements. However, this could also lead to a surplus and eventually vacancy of housing, primarily in the most unattractive neighborhoods.

A widespread statement holds that shrinkage leads to a degradation of (the offer of) amenities. The base, viability and use of amenities in shrinking areas, though, is mainly affected by developments other than depopulation, notably on the side of the offer instead of the demand (Van Dam, 2010). Depopulation only has a differentiate effect, by intensifying or slowing down current developments such as up-scaling, centralizing, and suburbanization of the offer of amenities. The exact effect also depends on the type of amenity. Conversely, the disappearance of amenities could cause depopulation, affecting the attractiveness of an area (Van Dam, 2010).
The local economy is also part of the city’s hardware. The relation between local economic developments and depopulation is a bit complicated, as the economic developments can also cause shrinkage. Besides that, developments in wealth and consumer behavior have a strong influence on the economy as well, if so not even more (Verwest and Van Dam, 2010). It can be stated that a decline in numbers of people and households can lead to a smaller market for those sectors that strongly depend on the population for their sales, like retail and catering, in turn leading to vacancy of property. The fear of empty shops causing a decreased livability and further depopulation is, however, unfounded and not relevant (e.g. see Verwest et al., 2010b). Changes in the composition of the population, e.g. in income, could also negatively influence the market.

When the working population of an urban area declines, this can lead to a smaller offer of employees or even competition and shortage, in particular in more labor intensive sectors like the service sector (Verwest and Van Dam, 2010). Depending on the developments of labor participation and productivity of the working force, the consequences are less negative and could even compensate the population decline. In a way, depopulation could lead to less unemployment. However, because of a misfit between job offer and demand in shrinking regions, this is mostly not the case. Regarding the economic activity researchers disagree whether urban shrinkage stimulates the moving of companies and decreases the demand for business parks. Both statements can be supported by research, in favor or against it (e.g. see Verwest and Van Dam, 2010).

The second level of society, the urban ‘software’, consists of the norms and values of the local people and the ways they act and interact. As depopulation is a selective phenomenon – the economically stronger young generations tend to migrate, leaving the older underprivileged behind – the socio-demographic structure in a shrinking city changes (Hospers, 2013). Research indicates that in aging societies entrepreneurship, innovation and creativity emerge less easily, making it more difficult for these regions to regenerate. Additionally, shrinkage can weaken or dissolve existing social networks. When many inhabitants leave a certain area, the social commitment of the stay-behinds can be frustrated, lowering the community morale even further (Hospers, 2013).

By causing vacancy, as described before, shrinkage can have a negative effect on the quality of the surroundings. Conversely, a low quality of the surroundings can also cause or enhance depopulation, leading to a further decrease in livability, social cohesion and livelihood in the neighborhood (Van Dam, 2010). Continuing, segregation could occur of certain parts of the population, as the socio-economically strong move out and the underprivileged stay behind, also leading to a social instable neighborhood. This is again negative for the social status and image, the cohesion, and the safety of the area. Positively, shrinkage can be a good indicator of the level of appreciation for certain living environments, providing input for developers. There is also an opportunity to create lower densities and more space for nature, when unattractive areas are being restructured. These green spaces need to be improved consciously, however, to render any positive effect (e.g. see Dreijerink et al., 2012).
The last level affected by shrinkage is the urban mindware. Urban ‘mindware’ is expressed as the image of a city, important when discussing and addressing urban shrinkage. Being known as a shrinking city is not very helpful, both internal as external. Shrinkage has a negative connotation, influencing the way outsiders see a shrinking city. However, when existing inhabitants start to be influenced by these negative notions as well, a “diminished sense of self-worth” could occur (Leo and Anderson, 2006, p.169 in Hospers, 2013). Continuing, addressing shrinkage is important for strategies to have an effect, but by doing so it could also work as a self-fulfilling prophecy, what Hospers (2013) calls the “communication paradox”. By identifying it, suddenly every undesired development and vacant house is explained as and by shrinkage, no matter what the actual cause might be. To avoid this, researchers and governments aim at developing alternative and more appealing concepts to describe the phenomenon, such as “lean cities” (Sulzer, 2007, in Hospers, 2013).

1.3 Policy and strategy

Over the globe many policies and strategies are developed as a response to de-population, causing a large variety on the matter. The scope of these policies depends on the fundamental attitude of governments towards the topic, diverging from trivialization, counteraction, and acceptance, to planning for decline and, even further, taking advantage of it (Hospers, 2010). Traditionally, planning instruments and strategies strongly focus on growth. For multiple reasons these strategies often appear not to be suitable in situations of shrinkage. Therefore, governments are in search for new planning models, ultimately away from the growth paradigm. Initially, these strategies mainly focus on strengthening the housing and economic markets – two fields under governmental influence – to keep existing residents and companies and attract new ones (Van Dam et al., 2006). This fits within the scopes of denying and counteracting shrinkage. In counteracting shrinkage governments try to redirect developments towards growth, by stimulating demand or supply (Verwest and Van Dam, 2010). In doing so lies the risk of only moving problems to neighboring areas, for governments then compete on the same offer of inhabitants and companies.

Currently, a paradigm shift can be noted from counteracting shrinkage towards planning for decline. This means accepting shrinkage as a fact and adjusting supply or demand to the changing situation (Verwest and Van Dam, 2010). This way, changes in demographics and the built environment can be integrated, and competition between governments may no longer be an issue. Efforts of demolishing property to decrease the offer, limiting plans for new developments and restructuring regions are all examples of planning for decline applied on dwellings and industrial buildings. The different notions of shrinkage policies are shown in figure 6.

Plenty of research is carried out and discussions are being held to gather best practices and enlarge the body of knowledge on shrinkage policies (Hollander et al., 2009; Hospers, 2013; Martínez-Fernandez et al., 2012a). The OECD LEED Program 2012 on demographic change points out several aspects crucial for sustainable shrinkage policies: long-term perspective, local scope, multidisciplinary approach
and sharing responsibilities by all actors (Martinez-Fernandez et al., 2012b). One of its findings is that the local level becomes increasingly important as target scale for approaches and strategies to focus on, as the causes and effects of shrinkage differ from place to place. In line with this, Verwest and Van Dam (2010) stress the urgency of regional communication and collaboration in areas of shrinkage. In shrinking areas in the Netherlands many local governments aim, strikingly enough, at improving the attractiveness of the living areas and attract the same economic sectors (e.g. tourism, healthcare, innovative and sustainable businesses), thus enhancing the risk of competition between municipalities. Through regional collaboration this can be prevented.

Shrinkage is not an isolated development, but a product of the interplay of other developments of globalization, de-industrialization and demographic change. Thus, in order for strategies to have an effect, the challenge is to develop policies adjusted to the local situation, and at the same time consider the interplay of the global developments (e.g. globalization, inclusiveness and knowledge shifts) in the affected local rural or urban area (Martinez-Fernandez and Weyman, 2012). This means adopting a multidisciplinary strategy, focusing on not just one aspect and including a multitude of efforts. Another aspect pointed out by OECD is the involvement of actors at all levels. Focused primarily on the execution part of policies and strategies, this will increase effectiveness of delivery and implementation by local actors (Martinez-Fernandez and Weyman, 2012). Hospers (2013) points out that particularly the engagement of existing citizens is important for the success of a shrinkage strategy. Financially spoken, governments will depend more on the willingness of citizens to help and participate when redeveloping shrinking areas, as traditional fiscal returns mostly do not apply in these situations. As civic engagement is difficult to achieve, “the authorities of Europe’s shrinking cities should first enable their citizens to care for their community before asking them to do so”, (Hospers, 2013).

**Shrinkage strategies**

In the following section a few examples of planning strategies applied in shrinking cities are discussed, all based on the notion of planning for decline.

**Shrinking Green**

A practice within urban shrinkage responses that has gained attention over the recent decades is that of ‘smart shrinkage’ or ‘smart decline’. Across the globe many
examples can be found of smart shrinkage and various institutes appointed to study them. One of such an initiative is “Shrink Smart”, assigned by the European Commission and running from 2009-'12 (Rink, 2012). This research collaborative studied policy and governance system responses to urban shrinkage in seven different types of shrinking regions across Europe, in order to conclusively define policy recommendations for different constellations of urban shrinkage, on different levels of scale.

The strategy of smart shrinkage can best be explained using the definition given by Popper and Popper (2002, p.23 in (Hollander, 2011)), saying that “smart decline is planning for less; fewer people, fewer buildings, fewer land uses”. This means rightsizing the scale and size of the city or urban region, “leaving behind assumptions of growth and finding alternatives for it. In particular, smart decline requires thinking about who and what remains” (Popper & Popper, 2002 in Buis, 2013). Strategies of shrinking smart offer cities a way to effectively deal with the physical aspects of shrinkage such as vacant buildings and land, ultimately managing the negative effects of depopulation on the soft aspect of society (that is social structures, livability, etc.) (Hollander, 2011).

An example in line with the previously mentioned strategy is Youngstown, West Virginia, that adopted a plan to not only shrink in a smart way, but also green and sustainable (Pallagst, 2012). Youngstown is one of the cities in the USA Rust Belt suffering from the downturn of the steel industry. From 1960 onwards its population was cut in half, resulting in the disappearance of the older quarters of the city and high vacancy rates in industrial and housing property (Wiechmann and Pallagst, 2012). Depopulation demanded for other methods than those adopted in the more thriving days of the city, hence the development of the “Youngstown 2010” policy process: a combination of a vision on the future and an action-oriented plan for urban conversion based on that vision (Urban Strategies Inc., 2000 in Pallagst, 2012, p.43). An important part of the vision was that the city accepted to be smaller due to shrinkage, and tried explicitly not to focus on growth. The vision stated that Youngstown should become the role model for sustainable medium-sized cities and find its position in a new regional economy no longer dominated by heavy industry. The image of Youngstown should be improved to being a better and healthier place to live and work in. The plan based on this vision aimed at rebuilding the city in a sustainable way on a downsized scale. By a land-management pool it seized the opportunity to create more space for parks and open green spaces in the city (Pallagst, 2012). Fitting within the notion of planning for decline Youngstown focused on local quality instead of quantity, hence strengthening the existing local businesses in health, education, culture and public administration (Wiechmann and Pallagst, 2012). Regional governance and inter-local cooperation were important aspects as well.

Dealing with Perforated Cities
A strategy that lies somewhat at the border between the previously mentioned models is that of Dessau-Rosslau, Germany, as part of the International Building Exhibition Urban Redevelopment Saxony-Anhalt 2010 (IBA Stadumbau). This East-German city lost 27 percent of its population since 1989, and will continue to experience
decline up to a loss of totally 41 percent of inhabitants by 2025 (Wiechmann and Volkmann, 2012). Demographic change led to rising vacancy in housing, industrial and business buildings. When after some years of demolishing actions the population would continue to decrease, the municipality sought for special urban development strategies fit for shrinkage. As the city lost its dominant city centre after WWII, the challenge was to prevent disordered perforation of the shrinking city. With the theme “Urban Cores – Landscape Zones” the objective was to stabilize the vital urban cores on the one hand and to implement new landscape zones as connecting elements on the other hand. This led to a new city form, which could only be implemented effectively by a combination of broad plans and small-scale initiatives, involving an open-minded view of the inhabitants (Wiechmann and Volkmann, 2012).

**Temporary use**
Next to the long-term, top-down implemented policies on depopulation concerning the improvement of quality of life, there are the short-term holding strategies and bottom-up initiatives of temporary use of vacant land and property. When redevelopment is for any reason not possible, these efforts can promote stability and maintain the value of adjacent property (Hollander et al., 2009). An example of a holding strategy is landscape beautification: cleaning up and applying simple landscaping, mostly just by using grass and trees, to feign the presence of surveillance and control. In a research into the effects of such a greening strategy cleaning and greening vacant lots turned out to increase adjacent property value by 30 percent (Wagner, 2005 in Hollander et al., 2009, p.14).

Temporary use is short-term and low-cost, activating vacant land or property without hindering any future functions. Research already dedicated many positive social, economic and cultural effects to temporary use. It offers possibilities for local start-ups, tourism and enhanced quality of life and provides local entrepreneurs a chance to envision and realize innovative spatial experiments (Hollander et al., 2009). An example of temporary re-use is Hotel Neustadt in Halle-Neustadt, Germany. In a former residential tower 100 teenagers created a hotel and offered a wide variety of activities and entertainment. Not only did the hotel attract almost 3,000 guest in just two months, it also helped to put Halle-Neustadt – a small shrinking industrial town – on the map as major tourist destination (Rick, 2005 in Hollander et al., 2009, p.16).

Oswalt, Overmeyer and Misselwitz (2013) conducted extensive research into temporary (re)use and published it in a book on different strategies of temporary use, most suitable locations for it and patterns of successful initiatives, named “Urban Catalyst”. The possibilities for temporary use are endless, however it is limited by legal regulations, liability concerns and objectives of owners nearby (Hollander et al., 2009). The book provides guidelines to enable temporary use, aiming at less regulation and more help for ‘grassroots experimentation’ that could pose new chances for urban regeneration.
1.4 Conclusions

Shrinkage caused by depopulation is a global phenomenon, occurring in urban as well as rural areas in many developed countries. Compared to examples abroad, the extent of shrinkage in the Netherlands is still quite limited, however it is expected that by 2040 over one-third of all municipalities will experience or have experienced a form of depopulation.

The main reasons for shrinkage in the Netherlands are the fertility rate and the outmigration in a specific area. Many other factors such as de-industrialization, suburbanization, secularization, and local planning decisions have an influence too. The factors causing depopulation mostly occur simultaneously and influence one another. As all factors mentioned vary on a local level, the exact causes of depopulation are different from region to region, and even on level of scale.

The consequences of depopulation in the Netherlands are visible on multiple levels of society, affecting the hardware, the software and the mindware of society. The direct spatial consequences of depopulation are limited, for other developments in behavior, environmental planning policy and wealth have a more prominent influence on spatial developments. In figure 7 a schematic overview is given of the relation of causes and consequences of shrinkage in the Netherlands.

In many cases, shrinkage cannot be avoided. When trying to do so, the risk exists of only moving the problem to another neighboring region, and of creating competition between regions on the same groups of inhabitants and businesses. Therefore, the best possible strategy for municipalities dealing with depopulation is to adopt planning for decline. This means accepting shrinkage as a fact and refitting supply or demand to the changing situation, improving quality of life for existing residents. By doing so, demographic developments can be integrated in planning policies, and competition between municipalities may no longer be an issue.

In order to successfully implement planning for decline, municipalities should aim at developing policies adjusted to the local situation, however overlooking the entire region. At the same time the interplay of other global developments within their region should be considered. Crucial aspects that need to be integrated as well are a long-term perspective, a multidisciplinary approach and the sharing of responsibilities by all actors. The engagement of existing citizens is particularly important for the success of a shrinkage strategy. However, as civic engagement is difficult to achieve municipalities should first stimulate attachment of the existing citizens with their community before demanding them to engage in the process.
2. Shrinking Parkstad Limburg

After having discussed the phenomenon of urban shrinkage, this chapter will go into the situation within one of the main regions in the Netherlands experiencing shrinkage, Parkstad Limburg. Sections 1 and 2 will discuss the characteristics of urban shrinkage in Parkstad Limburg, including causes and main consequences. The last paragraph explores policies adopted by (local) governments as reaction to shrinkage.

2.1 Demographic change

Parkstad Limburg is one of the regions in the Netherlands with the highest density and urbanization (Parkstad Limburg, 2012). The region is governed as a special county, existing from representatives of all eight municipalities taking part: Heerlen, Kerkrade, Landgraaf, Brunssum, Voerendaal, Simpelveld, Onderbanken and Nuth. Parkstad Limburg is characterized by a relatively large amount of small urban settlements set in a green environment of the stream valleys and hills of Limburg. The area was formerly known as the Eastern Mining area. During the coal mine period between 1900 and 1965 the region transformed rapidly, with villages turning into urban and suburban areas (Elzerman and Bontje, 2013). Most settlements emerged on the higher grounds near the coal mining activities, leading to an urban sprawl (Van Dam et al., 2006, p.132-3). Now, not much reminds of the former mining glory, as most traces of the industry have been erased. Only the remaining urban sprawl and some workers’ houses and structures refer to the history of the area. The demographic change occurring in Parkstad Limburg can be categorized as form of urban shrinkage. Four of the municipalities in this region are rural, the rest is urban, see also figure 8.

Depopulation is not a new phenomenon in this part of Limburg. It has been on issue since the end of the 1960s, when the mines in the area closed down. While the major source of jobs and income disappeared in the period between 1966 and 1973, the region was left with 45,000 unemployed and a mental setback of the lost mining identity (Elzerman and Bontje, 2013). Consequently, former mineworkers moved to other (inter)national regions where employment was higher. Municipalities anticipated a large migration of inhabitants from the area to accompany the economic decline. Despite governmental stimuli the following years, for example by transferring GO’s to the region, restoring economic development by reorientation turned out to
Urban Shrinkage

be difficult. The population only slightly increased during the 1980s, mainly due to low housing prices stimulating international immigration, not a succeeded industrial reorientation (Chkalova and Nicolaas, 2009). Even now, the area strongly depends on an industrial sector that experiences heavy competition from lower-wage countries, expressed in the Nedcar affair a few years ago. Unemployment rates in the area are still above the national level, and the educational level is relatively low (Van Dam et al., 2006). It was only until 1997 that depopulation in this region was commonly recognized as an alarming development. Over a period of almost ten years most municipalities in the south of Limburg experienced a 5% decline in population, while the overall population in the country increased with the same percentage. Between 1995-‘05 South-Limburg alone counted 6 of the 10 municipalities with the largest relative demographic decline (Van Dam et al., 2006, p.40-1). Municipalities that were hit the hardest in absolute numbers included Heerlen, Kerkrade and Landgraaf.

Future prospects of CBS expect the population of Parkstad Limburg to decline further between 2008 and ‘40 with 16 percent, and the number of households with -12 percent. The potential working class will decrease significantly as well. To compare, Eemsdelta will see a decline of 17 percent in population, and 10 percent in households over the same period, Zeeuws-Vlaanderen a population decline of 12 percent and a decline in households of 6 percent (Verwest and Van Dam, 2010). Of all areas in Parkstad, Heerlen and Kerkrade will experience most shrinkage (de Jong and van Duin, 2010).
2.2 Causes & effects of depopulation

Depopulation in Parkstad Limburg has to do with a negative natural growth and (inter)national outmigration, causing municipalities to shrink (Van Dam et al., 2006). The depopulation is mostly expressed as the thinning out of households in the region. The young generation leaves Parkstad Limburg to study in the Randstad, the city belt of North-Brabant or Maastricht. After graduation only a few return to their native region. Besides that, the ones studying in the south tend to migrate after graduation as well, even across borders. Lower housing prices in neighboring countries form an attractive reason for inhabitants to settle abroad, while remaining to work in the Netherlands (de Jong and van Duin, 2010). Those who are left in Parkstad Limburg are mainly the lower educated and those with lower incomes. Depopulation in Parkstad Limburg thus takes place in specific segments of the population, strongly affecting its composition. The ageing of the baby-boomers leads to an even higher percentage of old inhabitants and pensioners. It is expected that by 2040 South-Limburg will be one of the areas with the highest percentage of elderly (de Jong and van Duin, 2010), see also the table and figure 9 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Absolute numbers</th>
<th>% of total population</th>
<th>Absolute numbers</th>
<th>% of total population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>2012</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>2040</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age group 0-20</td>
<td>115.425</td>
<td>19 %</td>
<td>87.770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-30</td>
<td>72.678</td>
<td>12 %</td>
<td>50.920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>122.468</td>
<td>20 %</td>
<td>171.650</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Despite the fact that the total population in Parkstad is shrinking, a trend can be singled out of individuals settling in the area. The people moving to Parkstad appear economically weaker than those who leave (Das and De Feijter, 2009). Economically weak can be explained as those who make no or only a limited contribution to the economy, because of lower incomes, but also because of allowances or pensions. This however does not mean they are automatically underprivileged, as the many ‘new-generation’ pensioners – having more capital to spend over a longer lifespan – can form an interesting group for future policies (Das and De Feijter, 2009).

What is also interesting to mention, is the amount of former inhabitants of Parkstad between the ‘newcomers’. In absolute numbers, the former inhabitants of 25-34 years old return most often to their native region (Smeulders (UvA) and Latten (CBS), 2009). This age group has to make many important turning point decisions, affecting their choice for location of settlement. Relatively speaking, former Parkstad Limburgers in the age group of 55-69 years old are seen as most likely to return to Parkstad Limburg. Parkstad Limburg has picked up these developments, by including the goal to attract former inhabitants back to their native region in their shrinkage policies.

Consequences
The consequences of depopulation causing the municipalities of Parkstad Limburg to shrink can also be divided over two categories: hardware and software. On the hardware level of society vacancy is one of the main issues. As Parkstad primarily deals with household-thinning, depopulation was not able to counterbalance the housing shortage in the area (Van Dam et al., 2006). Changing living demands, an aging and de-greening population, and an increased wealth caused a change in housing demands, where the current housing stock cannot supply for. The region therefore deals with a surplus in certain cheaper and outdated housing complexes, imminent degradation of neighborhoods due to vacancy, and a shortage of more expensive single-family dwellings.

Besides the effects on the housing market, the offer of amenities like schools and retail, is at risk of degradation too. As the number of children in the region decreases, primary schools need to merge to be able to offer a certain level of quality. Heerlen used to have the largest offer in retail of the Netherlands. However, with aging shop owners having difficulty to find a successor, and existing retail property that does not fit the changing demands completely, this extensive offer now results in high vacancy in the city centre (Van Dam et al., 2006). This development, however, is not only caused by depopulation. Last, the decrease in population and households in Parkstad poses difficulties for the maintenance of a strongly scattered pattern of amenities that originates from the urban-sprawl of the region.

On the software level of society the livability and quality of the living environment is at stake in some of the already troublesome neighborhoods. By causing vacancy and degradation of the environment, shrinkage is seen as one of the reasons for the more capital part of residents to move away from these areas to better neighborhoods (Van Dam et al., 2006). As they are replaced by economically weaker inhabit-
ants (or not replaced at all), the risk exists of segregation, causing the social status of these neighborhoods to drop even further. Some of the most downgraded neighborhoods in Kerkrade and Heerlen have therefore already been regenerated.

When we believe Parkstad Limburg, the consequences of shrinkage in the region are many. Some developments however cannot directly be attributed to depopulation. They find their origin in other factors such as the changing user behavior, as was explained in the first chapter. A schematic summary of all causes and consequences attributed to shrinkage in Parkstad Limburg is shown in figure 10.
2.3 Responses to shrinkage

After many years of denial, municipalities in the south of Limburg finally made a transition from trying to counter shrinkage to adopting planning for decline (Van Dam et al., 2006). By accepting depopulation for an accomplished fact, the district aims at maintaining a certain level of quality for the existing inhabitants and businesses. Province and municipalities developed a policy to deal with shrinkage consisting of eight elements, that can be divided over in several categories of planning tools. As not all elements are relevant for this research, only the most important ones will be discussed.

Traditional tools

In order to prevent competition on inhabitants, public services and companies, the eight municipalities of Parkstad Limburg decided to intensify regional cooperation as one urban area. A public agenda was formulated consisting of four pillars (Van Dam et al., 2006): economy (job market and activity), social (culture, health care and livability), spatial planning (spatial structures, infrastructure and living environments), and strategy (provincial tuning and national lobbying). Compared to other regions in Limburg, policymaking in Parkstad is far out the most integrated approach and the most advanced in terms of planning for decline. Despite these efforts, Elzerman and Bontje (2013) state that the complex regional relations and the fragmentation of identities in the area still make it hard for local governments to prioritize regional interests over local ones. Most of the municipalities aim at attracting new businesses of the same sectors, and at improving the living environment by investing in neighborhoods for the same type of inhabitants (Van Dam et al., 2006). This is problematic, as the local short-term political interests hinder the development of long-term strategies beneficial for all municipalities of Parkstad Limburg (Elzerman and Bontje, 2013).

Parkstad Limburg works hard to try and change the persisting negative image of shrinkage, in order to see it as an opportunity rather than a threat (Van Dam et al., 2006). Elzerman and Bontje (2013) point out that, now that shrinkage is accepted by most of the policy-makers in Parkstad Limburg, demographic changes play an important part in the development of future perspectives. As depopulation cannot be stopped, it is crucial to focus on current and future inhabitants, giving them the opportunity to find jobs, start enterprises and live in pleasant neighborhoods. Strengthening the image of the region and revitalizing the regional economy are therefore important elements of Parkstad Limburg’s policy. The region invested time and money in retrieving an identity, after having lost it with the mine closure. This resulted in the new identity as ‘Parkstad’, translated park city, referring to the urban sprawl set in a green environment (Van Dam et al., 2006).

In order to revitalize the local economy Parkstad Limburg looks for new economic sectors to support the region, taking tourism, sustainable energy and the elderly as new sectors of attention (Van Dam et al., 2006). Parkstad wants to stimulate tour-
ism in the region, by connecting to the offer that is already available. Branding, marketing campaigns and other incentives set up by Parkstad and South-Limburg are aimed at attracting visitors to the area. In attracting companies in sustainable energy, Parkstad refers to its economic history in the energy sector. The region explicitly overlooks municipal borders to improve the settlement climate for sustainable companies, stimulating international cooperation of businesses in the Euregio Meuse-Rhine. However, differences in legislation and obstructing bureaucracy make it difficult to realize a border-crossing market (Elzerman and Bontje, 2013).

Besides revitalizing the economic developments, a large part of the strategies formulated focuses on the housing market. The point of attention lies at decreasing quantity and increasing quality of the housing offer. Through the collaborative initiative of Parkstad Limburg municipalities defined a restructuring envelope to come to a stable housing market by 2020 (Elzerman and Bontje, 2013). This results in demolishing and restructuring a large part of the existing housing stock, and adding new dwellings fit for elderly and the changing demands of other current inhabitants. Through this envelope municipalities reduced their goals for new expansions and developments. However, most of these goals still aim at a too high demand for housing (Verwest et al., 2010a).

Finally, Parkstad Limburg aims at clustering public services in order to maintain a diverse and qualitative offer for the region (Van Dam et al., 2006). The idea is that sharing exploitation costs could help services to survive, despite the decrease of inhabitants. However, when one service falls out in such a cluster this could catalyze problems for the others too. This for instance happened with Kerkrade Campus (e.g. see Gillissen and Sekhuis, 2013) that should have become the center for creativity and education just outside the village, but now is just an empty complex waiting for demolishing.

Soft planning tools
As mentioned in chapter 1, in order for shrinkage strategies to be effective it is important to engage local inhabitants in redevelopments. Parkstad Limburg makes a start by using special target group policies aimed at attaching the youth and elderly by responding to their needs and creating an attractive environment to live and work (Van Dam et al., 2006). Phillip Oswalt points at the importance of using ‘soft’ planning tools in revitalizing neighborhoods, referring to the social aspect of regeneration assignments (Oswalt, 2005, p.12-17 in Elzerman and Bontje, 2013, p.14). He formulated three types of soft planning tools in shrinking cities: art & culture, communication strategies, and empowering local networks. These tools are useful to raise public awareness for the topic, create civic involvement and to stimulate micro economic activities.
2.4 Conclusions

Like other regions in the Netherlands facing this phenomenon, depopulation in Parkstad Limburg is a consequence of demographic developments and outmigration. Typically for Parkstad, the loss of its main industrial sector had an important influence on depopulation, as the region’s major source of jobs and income disappeared in the 1960s. Initiatives to restore the regions balance only partly succeeded. The region deals with a negative natural growth, combined with a strongly aging population, and outmigration of the younger, privileged part of the population. Depopulation in Parkstad Limburg therefore has a selective character, leading to a high percentage of elderly in the region, that will continue to increase.

When policies are concerned, Parkstad Limburg likes to position itself on the forefront of dealing with shrinkage in the Netherlands. The region already made the paradigm switch to planning for decline, by accepting its shrinkage as an accomplished fact. Their main focus of policy is not to attract new inhabitants, but to keep or bind the existing ones, aiming at quality over quantity. Caused by a surplus of vacant property, a second shift is made from solely reacting to the physical aspects of shrinkage to incorporating the more soft social aspects.

As was concluded in the first chapter, regional collaboration is important when trying to deal with shrinkage. Parkstad Limburg made a good start with its inter-municipal collaborative to set shared goals, among others for the economy and housing market. However, the implementation of these policies is still hard to establish in order to truly prevent competition between municipalities.
Promoting attachment of inhabitants can be done in several ways. This part will look into adopting one specific aspect in such a strategy, namely culture. In particular, the role of one cultural facility in promoting attachment is investigated in more detail.
3. Cultural identity

To continue on one of the statements made in the previous section, this chapter will look into the role of culture in creating attachment of inhabitants, by strengthening the identity of shrinking areas. In order to understand the scope of this chapter, first a definition of culture will be given. Continuing, the relation between creating attachment within the built environment and strengthening identity is explained, by stressing its potential for shrinking areas. After discussing the why, the second section goes into the how, exploring different theories on creating attachment, including a brief definition of the term ‘sense of place’ within the context of culture and identity. In the last section the influence of several aspects of culture on identity is explored more deeply, including cultural heritage, new icons, cultural activities and functions.

3.1 Definition

Culture is a very wide term spanning from civilization to art, what is an expression of that civilization. Thus, to be able to examine the role culture can play in creating attachment a definition is needed. For this research the definition given by Brouwer and Thomsen is largely adopted. Brouwer and Thomsen (2007) take culture as the cultural sector. They define different categories and activities within the cultural sector, starting with art – being the basis of change and preservation of culture – and rounding off with the creative industry. Art plays a central part in culture, appearing in a numerous amount of forms, with several implementations that sometimes could even be labeled as art themselves. Four branches concerning art are singled out, namely the art of entertaining, of making, of teaching and of maintaining. These branches each have specific sectors that take care of the transfer and promotion culture and art. The consumers or users of culture and art do not form a part of the definition. It is namely exactly this group that the research is about, trying to identify ways they can utilize culture in shrinking regions. The sectors of culture and their coherence are explained in figure 12.

The other half of Brouwer and Thomsen’s definition of culture is formed by the creative industry, that can be divided into the same four branches, see figure 13. The creative industry, though, lies outside the scope of this research. As it has its own specific influences on society and the creation of attachment, it would take too far for the purpose intended. Only when needed examples of activities from the creative industry will be used to clarify statements made.
12. Definition of culture and the coherence between different aspects of art, according to Brouwer and Thomsen. Source: Brouwer and Thomsen (2007).

Identity and attachment
As discussed in the previous chapters, already a few shrinking areas act out of a shrinkage paradigm, adopting planning for decline. This implies investing in quality instead of quantity, where the demand side is more important than the side of the offer. As a consequence, the housing stock is trimmed to better fit the demand and prices are dropping. By investing in quality the shrinking region hopes to retain current residents and businesses. In other words, the region aims at attaching these inhabitants and businesses to the region itself in order for them to stay. Investing in quality can apply to different aspects. One aspect is improving or strengthening the settlement climate of the area, which is not only relevant when attracting new people and companies, but also important to make sure that these will not leave again. A second aspect is the social climate for current inhabitants, one that is feared for most when discussing the possible negative consequences of depopulation. The social climate has to do with the offer of all kinds of practical amenities, such as schools and sports centers, but also with more social and psychological concepts as livability. Investing in quality, whether it is for the settlement climate or the social climate, can on the long run also attract new inhabitants and companies.

Before we continue, a remark has to be made about the inhabitants of shrinking areas. Though depopulation implies that many inhabitants leave the affected area, it does not necessarily mean that all residents would move when the quality of life decreases. For many of them there are also other practical aspects, like employment, that bind these residents to the shrinking area.

Closely related to the last aspect of investing in quality is the assumption that when one invests in quality to improve the social climate, this could strengthen and/or restore the pride of current inhabitants for that certain area, making sure they are not likely to leave. In other words, by investing in quality the region can once again become a place where inhabitants like to identify themselves with. A key element in this process is the identity of the region itself, hence also the extensive effort recently being put into city branding and other marketing campaigns run by shrinking regions.

Culture, in all its facets, is one of the ‘tools’ that can be applied when investing in quality in shrinking areas, just like sports. It is assumed that culture can play a part in the quality of life, like other large span concepts as nature and recreation, influencing the process of strengthening the identity of a region, in turn promoting attachment of inhabitants (cf. Wijn, 2003, p35-36), see also figure 14. Because culture is a concept covering many things, there are multiple ways it can have an effect, as will be explained further in the following sections.

14. Relation between culture, identity and attachment. The assumption is made that culture can positively influence the process of strengthening the identity of a region, in turn promoting attachment of inhabitants. Source: Thelen (2013).
3.2 Creating attachment

Governments and local policymakers have signaled culture to be an important aspect in developments in the built environment. Currently, a lot of attention is for instance given to the rise of the cultural class, seen as a group of businesses and individuals with the power to vitalize every area in distress. Not only the shrinking areas in particular, but also those neighborhoods more generally in need of restructuring experience the benefit of culture as driving force behind developments. In 2008, for example, the Dutch government developed a plan to upgrade derelict neighborhoods in a integrated, nationwide project of urban regeneration (Brouwer and Thomsen, 2007). Before that time, a small but central part of the government’s regeneration projects was the cultural impulse, focused mainly on integrating culture in the planning process. In the new course of the neighborhood regeneration project the cultural impulse got a more prominent role and extended beyond purely attention for archeology, cultural history, architectural and urban heritage within planning (Brouwer and Thomsen, 2007). As creator of value, culture was intended to increase the value of the neighborhood, achieving a more profitable and sustainable development.

To create attachment in shrinking areas roughly two roles can be identified for culture. On the one hand culture can be used to increase the attractiveness of an area. On the other hand culture can be deployed to strengthen the sense of place of that area. However similar these roles may seem at first, each concerns different target groups and therefore different strategies. In practice, often the tactics used to carry out the one strategy overlap with tactics from the other. Their outcome, though, is determined by the underlying goal of how culture is deployed. In the following, both roles of culture will be explained and illustrated with examples.

Increasing attractiveness

When culture is used to increase the attractiveness of an area, the underlying goal is mostly to attract new inhabitants and businesses. It is believed that attracting the creative class will improve factors of settlement for new businesses and inhabitants. When in 2002 Richard Florida published his theory on the creative class, this strongly influenced state and municipal policymakers. Florida pointed out that the creative class – a segment of the workforce consisting of knowledge workers, intellectuals and various types of artists (Van den Hoogen, 2010) – is an increasingly important factor in the national economy. He proposed that “local economic growth is driven by the location choices of creative people” (Richard Florida, 2002, p.223 in Van den Hoogen, 2010, p.259). Furthermore, he identified several settlement criteria of the creative class, summed up as the ‘Quality of Place’ (Van den Hoogen, 2010). The presence of amenities, in the form of cultural and artistic facilities, plays an important part in these criteria. With companies nowadays relying on settlement decisions of the creative class, this implies that cities try to provide a good milieu for creativity, answering to the criteria. By doing so, they wish to attract this creative class, improving the climate for new businesses.
Recalling Florida, urban planners soon tried to use the attractiveness of the creative class in the upgrading of degraded neighborhoods. After the settlement of the creative class in a certain degraded neighborhood, cultural life emerges in the neighborhood at interest. This in turn attracts new people to the area, often the young urban professionals having more capital who are willing to invest in restoring the dwellings in the neighborhood. This process of upgrading deprived neighborhoods into economically sound areas is called gentrification. That gentrification can also have a negative outcome can be seen in Berlin, where the process was pushed so far that housing prices increased that much that the original residents were forced to move out (Marlet et al., 2007).

When it comes to attracting new inhabitants, Dutch researchers proved Florida's theory to be partly applicable for the Dutch situation. Indirectly, the creative production – not the creative sector as a whole – influences local economies. Theatre shows, performing-arts events and to a lesser extent cultural heritage influence the settlement decisions of highly educated and creative households, that in turn contribute to the local economy (Kloosterman, 2005, p.97 in Van den Hoogen, 2010, p.264).

In the years after publication Florida’s Creative Class theory sparked much debate and received a lot of criticism. In his doctorate Quirijn van den Hoogen (2010) pointed out that Florida’s theory is not clear about what comes first in the causal connection. Is it a question of the creative sector coming to blooming and diverse artistic environments, or do artists settle at places where knowledge workers are present to test their expressions on? Additionally, already in 2005 researchers studying the possible application of the theory on the Netherlands found another drawback for the local city administrations relying on Florida. Boschma et al. (2005, in Van den Hoogen, 2010, p.264) urge that the creative class does not exclusively cluster in Dutch cities, but also around them. However, the presence of amenities has little to do with that:

* Differences in the presence of socio-cultural facilities turned out to have no demonstrable effect on the distribution of the creative class. Municipal councils that believe they can attract a creative class by means of investing in cultural facilities will thus probably be disappointed. In contrast, investment in social infrastructure and the facilitation of tolerance have more chance of achieving this goal. (Boschma et al., 2005, p.27 in Van den Hoogen, 2010, p.264-5)*

What can be noted is that this way of using culture is largely driven by the growth paradigm. Attracting new businesses means a stimulus for the local economy, thus promoting growth.

**Strengthening sense of place**

Using culture to strengthen the sense of place in an area aims mostly at restoring and/or maintaining a certain level of livability for the people and companies at place. This is based on the notion that, as Trienekens (2012) points out, culture and the arts have the means to visualize local history and identity, adding to the experience of the environment. Within this context culture is adopted to visualize and reconnect to
the spatial identity of an area. When discussing identity soon the term sense of place turns up. In order to understand the influence of culture on ‘sense of place’ this term first needs to be clarified.

Different definitions are used to explain the term ‘sense of place’, depending on the field it is applied to. Often the term is (incorrectly) exchanged with genius loci (see Glossary), however to prevent mixing up definitions in this research only ‘sense of place’ will be discussed. In many theories sense of place is used to refer to the intangible perception or experience of place, related to a certain notion of quality or attractiveness of that place (cf. Isaacs, 2000 and J.B. Jackson in Jivén and Larkham, 2003, p.68). Some theories concerned with the understanding of a sense of place take this a step further, focusing on the notion of physical aspects that need to be incorporated as well. An example is Kropf (1996, in Jivén and Larkham, 2003, p.78), stating that it is necessary to see any physical characteristics in the context of other aspects such as activities and intensions. David Canter (1977) continues on this view, integrating principles of environmental psychology with architectural design to explain the principle of sense of place. He discerns three facets of place, whose interaction positively affects the significance of that place: the physical locale, the activity performed there, and the meanings given to that combination of place and activity. When making a design all three aspects should be taken into account to be able to define a place.

After Canter urban planners and designers soon picked up the term, giving research a more practical scope. The focus was on factors influencing sense of place in order to integrate it in design and planning. Billig (2005) for example tried to identify behavioral and affective variables that define the sense of place of old and redeveloped residential neighborhoods, singling out effects of different social factors and the physical environment. She describes sense of place as the particular prevailing atmosphere in a certain area, mainly being established by its residents. Billig states that because of this subjectivity, sense of place is affected by the perception of the physical characteristics of a place, the feeling and behavioral pattern of its residents, and by the interactions in and between groups of residents. This is in line with Kropf and Canter, stating that physical aspects, activities and meaning all together define a sense of place. Note as well the key role given to the user/perceiver of a place in the formation of sense of place. The relation between the different theories on sense of place is showed in figures 15-16.
When using the concept of sense of place in architectural and urban design, attention has to be paid to the following. Currently, in many urban planning documents the importance of strengthening or celebrating sense of place is emphasized (see for example Salah Ouf, 2001), often using the past as base for the identity that is strived for. Jivén and Larkham (2003) argue against a tendency of aiming at creating a sense of place by using elements of historical forms. In their eyes this contradicts with the theories explained earlier, suggesting sense of place emerges from individual and collective perception, values and experience of those occupying and/or using a certain place. Jivén and Larkham (2003) conclude that the people, as individual or society, form a sense of place by integrating the features of *genius loci* (see Glossary) through their value system. In other words, a designer or planner can only stimulate certain conditions under which user experience is improved, for example by adopting environmental design as Canter (1977) suggests further on in his theory, and sense of place can emerge. Trying to create a sense of place using historical elements would in their view at best lead to well identifiable and recognizable places, but not necessarily to the aspired sense of place (Jivén and Larkham, 2003).

For the sake of this research it is assumed that if sense of place cannot be created, the existing sense of place should be influenced instead to create attachment. Holding that a sense of place is formed out of the three aspects distinguished earlier – the physical, activities and meaning – one should thus aim at strengthening these aspects in order to improve user experience. For urban planners, governments and architects the physical and activity aspects are most relevant to focus on. Research directed by Brouwer and Thomsen (2007) into the cultural impulse discusses what physical elements are at hand when facing urban development tasks. They state that culture can strengthen the spatial identity, identification and thereby attachment to a certain area. They distinguish four spatial elements that can be used to achieve
this: heritage and protected city sceneries, new monuments and industrial heritage, art in the public space, and parks and squares. As tangible icons in the built environment, heritage and new monuments add to the economic and emotional value and strengthen the identity of an area. From the economic point of view, housing prices in neighborhoods containing heritage are 20 to 30 % higher than those in neighborhoods with less or no heritage (Brouwer and Thomsen, 2007). Investing in monuments therefore generates value for the building itself and its surroundings, offering potential for other developments in the area. Notably, when there is a lack of registered and potential monuments, Brouwer and Thomsen (2007) argue that other (iconic) buildings can instead be transformed and restructured to become a creator of value for the area.

The influence of the two other elements is less clear to determine. Matarasso and Landry investigated effects of community art1 in Great-Britain. They found out that art can have an effect on community empowerment, for one thing increasing social interaction for the creation of a common identity and social capital, for another empowering local communities leading to collective efforts (Matarasso and Landry, 1996; Matarasso 1997 and 1998, in Trienekens, 2012). As community empowerment is slightly outside of the scope of this research, the one thing that can be concluded from this is that social structures can be strengthened through art, affecting sense of place through the collective perception. Being the fourth influence, parks and squares can create an identity for a region as places of public encounter. Take for example Central Park in New York, or the many squares of Barcelona that were the starting point of the city’s renewal. In the Netherlands traditionally parks and squares aren’t used so intensively, and are therefore often neglected in areas in distress (Brouwer and Thomsen, 2007). However, when restructured and upgraded they could play a central part in deprived areas.

Strategies fitting within the goal of strengthening sense of place are often adopted within neighborhoods in need of redevelopment and upgrading. In the Netherlands such a strategy can be found in the cultural impulse already briefly mentioned in the beginning of this section. The cultural impulse, as argued by Saris (2011a), revolves around sense giving by inhabitants, something that is a specific feature of culture. It is intended to activate the cultural capacities of the inhabitants, resulting in the creation of cultural and social capital and ultimately a self-organizing and independent neighborhood. Additionally, the cultural impulse also has a positive effect on the livability and image of a neighborhood and the economic value of land and property (Saris, 2011a).

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1 Local and small-scale cultural interventions aimed at urban development and seeking interaction with society for their production, stimulating the economic and/or social dynamics in an area (Trienekens, 2012).
An example of a succeeded cultural impulse is the neighborhood Klarendal in Arnhem. This city brands itself as Dutch city of fashion, investing in all kinds of initiatives and projects related to the industry and art of fashion design. Klarendal is a working-class district with a still visible military history, that dealt with several problems of criminality and drug users. To restore the livelihood in the neighborhood the municipality decided together with housing corporation “Volkshuisvesting” to invest in culture. The goal behind the upgrading of the neighborhood was twofold: on the one hand improving the identity of Klarendal on the level of the city; on the other increasing the self-confidence of inhabitants of the neighborhood (Van Bemmel and Saris, 2011).

The military past formed the basis for the redesign of the neighborhood. A cultural facility was moved from the city centre to one of the monuments in Klarendal, the old “Menno van Coehoorn” Barracks. The barracks were transformed into a multifunctional accommodation, embedded in and by the neighborhood (Van Bemmel and Saris, 2011). A central element in the projects was the creation of a public square where visitors from the city and inhabitants of the neighborhood meet each other, giving an impulse to the whole area (Van Bemmel and Saris, 2011). Gerrit Breeman, director of Volkshuisvesting, points out that the project succeeded by the accumulation of cultural activities, smaller projects and amenities. The inhabitants are proud of their neighborhood again, highly valuing the combination of social property in a monument (Saris, 2011b). A great deal of the exploitation of the public square and amenities is also left to the inhabitants, to make sure identification with the project is stimulated. While connecting to the past, the project was designed as open-ended, being able to respond to future developments and changes in demand (Van Bemmel and Saris, 2011).

One remark has to be made about the example of Klarendal. As much as this neighborhood suffered from a loss of inhabitants due to a negative image, the city Arnhem as a whole does not experience depopulation. This means the exemplified tactics cannot be copied directly to a situation of shrinkage, without taking into account the possible influence of these different conditions.

To sum up, culture can be used either to attract or to preserve inhabitants within an area encountering difficulties. Contrary to focusing on new inhabitants, the second role of culture directs its efforts on improving the quality of life and attractiveness of an area for the existing residents. This fits within an overall strategy of planning for decline. For Parkstad Limburg it is therefore suggested to use culture to strengthen the sense of place. As sense of place could be interpreted as aspects of the physical, activity and meaning, for planners, designers and governments the first two aspects are most relevant. Therefore, these two aspects will be discussed more deeply in the following sections.
3.3 Cultural heritage

As Brouwer and Thomsen point out, cultural and industrial heritage can be important elements to strengthen the spatial identity, identification and attachment. In their view heritage takes up the role of an icon, adding value to the area it is in and strengthening the identity. For Brouwer and Thomson mainly look at value from an economic point of view the importance of heritage for shrinking areas is explored further.

The task of builders and designers is directed more and more towards reusing and redeveloping the existing building stock, instead of developing new buildings. After the disappearance of their original function, new content needs to be found for these vacant buildings in order to maintain them. In the Netherlands plenty of knowledge and experience is already developed on reusing and transforming the industrial part of all heritage, see for example the former harbor areas in Rotterdam and Amsterdam. Global developments such as individualization, secularization and the extreme developments of the service economy put the Dutch Heritage Council in front of new challenges, considering the transformation of disused religious, agricultural and military heritage (Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, 2011). Brouwer and Thomsen (2007) see another challenging task is the reassessment of the 1950s and 60s building stock, in order to have these buildings being publically appreciated for redevelopment and reuse.

Heritage and shrinkage
In many ways policies concerning heritage relate to planning for decline. Both have to do with livability and the spatial quality in a certain area, and when not taken care of consciously both aspects of policy can cause a negative spiral of decay, indeed affecting one another (Kennis- en projectenbank herbestemming, 2011b). In figure 18 the location of national and international heritage in the Netherlands is shown. Areas dealing with depopulation are marked as well, to search for a possible relation. When looking at the spread of cultural heritage in the Netherlands, it is clear that most heritage is concentrated along the coast, the main rivers and the former Zuiderzee, where the oldest cities and villages of the country can be found. As discussed in the chapter on shrinkage, those areas dealing with depopulation lie mostly at the borders with neighboring countries.
It is not possible to see a clear causal relation between the presence of heritage and the occurrence of shrinkage. However, in many areas dealing with shrinkage there is also a fair amount of heritage. These areas therefore have to include both aspects in their policy, and often pay attention to the relation of both. The Dutch government even notes that it is an important opportunity to embed cultural heritage in local shrinkage policies, in order to benefit from both. Discussions have been held about the Dutch government’s Vision Heritage and Space (Visie Erfgoed en Ruimte) on new strategies of dealing with heritage in shrinking areas (Kennis- en projectenbank herbestemming, 2011b).

Concerning the benefit of cultural heritage for shrinking areas again roughly two different roles can be pointed out. First, monuments appeal to the creative industry, the high-educated and the self-employed – all sectors where currently lies most hope to revitalize a local economy – as locations for settlement. Heritage can thus be used to clearly profile a shrinking region, in order to attract or preserve these target groups and stimulate certain economic activities (Kennis- en projectenbank herbestem-
The former marl quarry caves in Valkenburg are an evident example of branding applied for tourism and recreation. Secondly, heritage can be used to give a new zeal to a shrinking region. In this case, a region is regenerated or restructured going from its identity, which finds its shape largely through heritage. This can in turn spark (other) developments in the area. An example are the *Internationale Bauausstellungen* (International Building Exhibitions, IBAs) in Germany. In many of the IBAs heritage played an integral part to give a boost to the identity and stimulate urban developments in the region at interest (Kennis- en projectenbank herbestemming, 2011a).

**IBA Emscher Park – Jahrhunderthalle**

Originally, the *Internationale Bauausstellung* (IBA) was introduced in Germany to demonstrate new trends in construction, urban design and architecture. From the 1950s however, the IBA transformed into ambitious urban and regional restructuring assignments and programs. These IBAs included more than only physical building and renovation projects, using publications, marketing campaigns and meetings to raise public awareness. One of the larger IBAs is IBA Emscher Park, running from 1989 to 1999 to restructure the Emscher region, “marked and damaged by its industrial history”. IBA Emscher Park was intended to contribute to the economic, social and ecological transformation of the Ruhr region.

One of the programs within IBA Emscher Park focused on improving the settlement climate for companies in the region by creating high-standard business areas intertwined in a green environment, reusing industrial landmarks and improving infrastructures, named “Arbeiten im Park”. The IBA used two types of projects: development catalysts, and owners- & technology centers. The catalyst projects had the potential of becoming cultural and cultural-economic hubs, with high-quality industrial architecture and an appeal stretching beyond the region. Zollverein in Essen is a well-known example of such a catalyst project, the Westpark and Jahrhunderthalle in Bochum a lesser known, regional grafted little brother.

The Westpark is developed on the former Krupp cast-iron factory site in Bochum, forming the stimulus and quality standard for the redevelopment of the entire region. The plan of the 35ha. park was the outcome of a design workshop, consulting residents and experts. It comprises three terraced areas, linked by a 2km long path and three distinct pedestrian and cyclist bridges. The heart of the park is formed by the Jahrhunderthalle. This industrial demountable hall was designed in 1902 by Heinrich Schumacher as exhibition pavilion of the Bochumer Verein at the 19\textsuperscript{th} International Exhibition in Bochum. It was later reassembled as Jahrhunderthalle in Bochum. The Jahrhunderthalle is an example of a temporary architectural structure that provides a cultural and social platform for events and exhibitions. Its demountable design allows it to be easily transported and reassembled at new locations, enabling the further development of cultural heritage and tourism.

an industrial and commercial exhibition in Düsseldorf\(^7\). After the exhibition, the building was relocated to the steel factory in Bochum, where it served as gas-power house until 1968. When the factory closed, the grounds were acquired by the NRW Urban Redevelopment Association assigned to redevelop the area. Demolition of the hall was prevented and instead the Jahrhunderthalle was first reused in 1994/95 as public performance venue\(^8\).

In the years to follow its significance in the cultural life of the region grew steadily, until in 2002/03 Petzinka + Pink Architekten suggested to reuse the now listed monument as central complex for the Ruhr Triennale, as theater and festival hall\(^9\). The building was thus transformed into a high-quality cultural venue, representing the IBA concept of replacing industry for art and culture\(^10\).

The Jahrhunderthalle is now an anchor point in the Industrial Route through the Emscher region, and one of the leading contemporary festival theaters attracting many visitors from in- and outside of the region\(^11\).

Further developments, after the IBA had already finished, included the addition of new office buildings, the redevelopment of the historical clearing basin, cooling towers and water tower, and extension and renovation of the former pump house as a visitor centre\(^12\). Additional workspaces, workshop areas and storage space were created in the buildings around the Jahrhunderthalle. At the borders of the industrial park retail and office space was developed for private investors.

**Notes:**

5. Idem.
Impulse for urban development

As discussed, buildings can be creators of value in a city or neighborhood, even when they are not yet listed as heritage. It is not just their esthetical and historical value that play a part, but also their meaning for the inhabitants and the surroundings (Van Bemmel and Saris, 2011). There are multiple examples of redundant buildings that are saved from being demolished, because they were appreciated for any reason by the inhabitants of a neighborhood. Because of this, heritage can form an important element in urban redevelopment tasks, stimulating social and economic regeneration. The effects for economic regeneration have been discussed by Brouwer and Thomsen (2007), linking the revitalizing capacity of a neighborhood to the presence of heritage. They state that buildings that people can recognize and identify themselves with have a positive influence on the capacity of neighborhoods to revitalize themselves, ensuring a sustainable redevelopment. The social aspect has to do with the fact that heritage helps to strengthen the spatial identity of an area, through which identification of inhabitants and visitors with the area is promoted, thus stimulating attachment of these people with that area. Heritage and monuments, however iconic or plain, have certain characteristics that make it stand out from other buildings. They refer to a shared, local, history that people can connect to, creating a feeling of continuity and unity in a region (Kennis-en projectenbank herbestemming, 2011b). English Heritage (2005) adds to this that the historic environment promotes quality of life and “enriches people’s understanding of the diversity and changing nature of their community”, giving a region its character or local identity.

Many local and national governments already pin point heritage as integral element in sustainable redevelopment tasks, focusing on more than just the physical aspect. The Dutch Cultural Heritage Agency aims at linking their policy to other developments, instead of only focusing on collecting and protecting valuable objects and structures (Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, 2011). By connecting heritage to other challenges and interests from different sectors and actors (e.g. urban development tasks), both policies can benefit from one another. Van Bemmel and Saris (2011) point out that the redevelopment of a monument can only be effective when a connection is made between heritage and the local community, either physically by facilitating spaces for interaction or programmatically by providing activities that appeal to the inhabitants. By doing so, the monument is embedded in the community as an icon that can become the impulse to regenerate the area.

Cultural heritage in Parkstad Limburg

Unfortunately, Parkstad Limburg has disposed itself of much of its (potential) heritage. After the mines were closed at the end of the 1970s, most buildings and structures connected to the mining industry were demolished, to literally make a clean start. The region is therefore in desperate search for new icons “to boost the élan”. Architect Jo Coenen, born and raised in Heerlen, explains in Tegenlicht how the region of South-Limburg is in need for new icons to restore the pride of its inhabitants. He believes culture can play an important role in fulfilling that task. With his plans for new cultural facilities in Sittard he tried for example to provide this city with
a new driving force to uncover, discover and if necessary even renew the identity of Limburg (Kijne, 2010).

Schunck* or the Glass Palace (Glaspaleis) is one of the few iconic buildings in the city centre of Heerlen that relates to the mining history. The building was originally designed in 1934 as a warehouse for the textile company of Arnold Schunck and his son Peter. Peter Schunck intended to merge all shops they had established in the city center of Heerlen into one building. He assigned Frits Peutz to design a “high and large covered market” (Heusschen, 2001), where he could sell his goods, visible to the world outside. The result was a highly transparent stacked warehouse, turning out to be one of the finest examples of modernism in the Netherlands. The mining industry proved a lucrative business for Schunck, who developed himself to one of the few textile producers to be specialized in mineworkers outfits (Schunck*, 2013; Nijsse, 2005). As almost all mineworkers’ wives turned to Schunck for workers pants and other textiles, the warehouse acquired an important position in the Eastern Mining Area, also because of its extraordinary appearance. Notably, with the closing of the mines in the 1960s, the warehouse Schunck also had to disappear from its location at the Pancratius square (Nijsse, 2005). This led the Glass Palace into a period of decay, until in 1999 a final renovation restored the warehouse in its former glory, giving it its present day function as warehouse for culture.

3.4 The intangible past

As mentioned earlier, also non-monumental buildings can become an icon that strengthens the identity of an area after being restructured. When a building is valued by its surroundings, be it aesthetical, emotional, historical, or even programmatic, it will be recognized as such, becoming a symbol that creates value for its environment. This also counts for public spaces such as parks and squares.

Following this line of argument, the creation of new icons could also strengthen the identity of a region. When no physical recollection of the past can be made or the use of heritage is somehow problematic, in some cases a link can be drawn
through program or use. This can for example be applied in former industrial or military areas, where the recollection of the past still lives on in its residents. When a connection can be made to this collective memory via the physical environment, the memory can be recalled and preserved for later generations. Memorials and commemorative plates are the most obvious examples of such a connection, but also new buildings using direct or indirect references to the former use of an area are imaginable. A green technology company on a former mining site is such an example. Whether or not such a new development will be accepted as a new icon, depends on how well the link to the collective memory is experienced as a success by its surroundings.

An example of such a new icon is *Gen Coel* (‘the mine’ in Heerlen dialect) in Heerlerheide, one of the neighborhoods in Heerlen that suffered severely from the closing of the mines. Here a cultural center is developed that draws back to the old coal mines surrounding the neighborhood, in appearance as well as in building physics. The building is shaped like a cooling tower, making it a recognizable center for the neighborhood. Like in the past gaining energy is the main theme, now using renewable sources instead of coals. The former mine shafts that are now completely filled with water play an important part in the buildings’ heating system, through a mine water power station designed by the housing corporation exploiting the centre (Bodenstaff and Alijk, 2013).

### 3.5 Art and cultural activities

So far, only the physical pillar of culture in the urban environment is discussed, leaving art and activities *inside* the built environment untouched. Nevertheless can these aspects of culture also have an influence on the attachment of inhabitants within an area. This section will go into the role of cultural activities, for example to be found in cultural facilities, and art in the public in- and outdoor space. Cultural action in relation to community development will be left out.

Starting off with the value of art in the public (indoor) space, Brouwer and Thomsen (2007) indicate it is difficult to pin point the exact facts involving this matter. However, they state art is seen as an important topic in relation to urban redevelopment. This can best be explained using the example of Rotterdam. A few years back, the town council of Rotterdam initiated an investment program to upgrade several downgraded neighborhoods south of the Meuse called “Pact op Zuid”, intended to run from 2006-2016 (Huisjes, 2009). The council believes the upgrading of such neighborhoods is more likely to succeed when art is integrated in the process. Art is
therefore an important feature of this project; from local ateliers and creative workstations to art and installations in the public space. Local artists and young talent are the pioneers in the project, assigned to further develop the underlying potential of the deprived neighborhoods together with existing residents. The artists’ open-minded and often even enthusiastic views on the neighborhoods is experienced as refreshing by the residents.

Continuing with cultural activities, research shows that these can strengthen social ties in a neighborhood, because visitors meet each other at cultural centers or work together as volunteers (Marlet et al., 2007). In a society that individualizes in a vast pace, this binding capacity could become more and more important. Not to mention the individual positive effects that research attributes to participation in cultural activities, creating a stronger feeling of self-being and self-empowerment (cf. Marlet et al., 2007).

Again, Brouwer and Thomsen (2007) show that the presence of cultural accommodations and employment can have a positive influence on property value in the surrounding area. In line with this, cultural activities and art can also improve the climate of settlement of households. Marlet et al. (2007) point out that people value having cultural activities in the city and/or living environment, for themselves and other (future) family members. Already the mere possibility of being able to go to a museum or theater is valued. Research points out that especially the performing arts (theaters and concert halls) have a positive influence on household settlement decisions, also primarily attracting those with a higher educational level. The presence of culture is reflected in pride for the city and living environment and in a positive image of the town or neighborhood (Marlet et al., 2007).

From a governmental, subsidy supplier, point of view, these positive indirect and direct economic factors are some of the benefits of investing in local cultural facilities. The Dutch Union of Municipalities (Vereeniging Nederlandse Gemeenten) offers municipalities a model to scale their cultural offer to the amount of inhabitants. The main idea is that the larger the municipality, the larger and more diverse the cultural offer should be in order to satisfy the needs of its inhabitants (Wijn, 2003). The model is shown in figure 26. The first ring corresponds to the ideal offer for municipalities of up to 30,000 inhabitants, the second for municipalities of 30,000 to 90,000 inhabitants, and the outer for municipalities of over 90,000 inhabitants (Stienen, 2010). Standard amenities included in the offer of the largest municipalities are for example a library, museum, theater, cultural centre, ateliers and an art cinema. The exact cultural policy and interpretation of the cultural infrastructure of a municipality strongly depend on the composition of its population (that is age, educational level and income) and the ambitions of the district council itself (Bunnik, 2012).
26. Segment model of Vereeniging van Nederlandse Gemeenten (VNG), also known as the “circle of Wijn”, showing the individual cultural infrastructure of municipalities in the Netherlands according to the amount of inhabitants. Source: Wijn (2003, p.66-7).
3.6 Conclusions

Culture is a very wide concept, that can be defined in many different ways. The definition given by Brouwer and Thomsen is referred to here, for their investigation into the potential of the cultural impulse in urban redevelopment tasks overlaps on many levels with this research. The definition can be explained using figure 27. Culture is seen as the cultural sector, running from art in all its different forms and applications, to the creative industry. The latter though lies outside the scope of this research. Four branches adopting art are singled out for the definition: the art of entertaining, of making, of teaching and of maintaining. Each of these branches have specific sectors responsible for the transfer and promotion of culture and art. The users of culture and art are not integrated in the definition of the cultural sector. They however play a central part in this research, as the means available to this group to benefit from culture in shrinking areas are being investigated.

Culture can be used either to increase attractiveness or to strengthen the sense of place of a shrinking area. When increasing attractiveness the aim is to improve the settlement climate for new companies and residents. This way of using culture is largely driven by the growth paradigm, for attracting new businesses means a stimulus for the local economy, thus promoting growth. The second role of culture directs its efforts to the current residents – contrary to focusing on new inhabitants – improving the quality of life and attractiveness of an area in order to keep the residents where they are. This fits within an overall strategy of planning for decline. As Parkstad Limburg already made the switch to this type of shrinkage policy, using culture to strengthen the sense of place is therefore a suitable option for the region.

Sense of place is a rather complex concept (see also p.48-50). Using Canter (1977), three elements can be pointed out forming sense of place: the physical locale, meaning and activity. Accounting for the theory that sense of places emerges from user experience, strengthening sense of place would mean that one or more of these elements need to be affected to improve this experience. For urban planners, governments and architects it is most interesting to focus on the physical and activity aspects of sense of place. In their research into the cultural impulse Brouwer and Thomsen (2007) investigated the value of this physical pillar, the built environment,
pointing out four spatial elements that can strengthen the spatial identity, identification and thereby attachment to a certain area. Combining the theories of Canter and Brouwer and Thomsen, it is suggested that culture, in the form of the physical and activity aspect, could be used to strengthen sense of place, by improving user experience.

As the physical aspect of this strategy, the four spatial elements mentioned by Brouwer and Thomsen could be adopted: heritage and protected city sceneries, new monuments and industrial heritage, art in the public space, and parks and squares. Concerning activities and art within the built environment, one of the things that local governments can do in promoting attachment is supporting cultural facilities. These facilities can help influencing settlement decisions of existing residents, and can form an economic stimulus in favor of the surrounding area. The types of cultural facilities present in a certain area depend on the size of the municipality, but also on the composition of its population and the cultural policy of the local government. An example of a cultural facility that is available for larger municipalities, like Heerlen, to help promoting attachment of existing residents in the region is an art cinema. This research will continue investigating the role that this specific cultural facility can play in the strategy to strengthen sense of place in shrinking areas.
4. The art cinema

Continuing on Brouwer and Thomsen, this chapter will elaborate on the role of the cultural collective activity to strengthen the sense of place in a shrinking area. As pointed out, cultural facilities can be one element in strengthening attachment in a shrinking area. In line with this argument, one cultural facility is particularly interesting, as it came into being out of a certain demand of its visitors and it has a common profile as potential place for (unplanned) encounter. This facility is the (Dutch) art cinema. It is therefore suggested to investigate the role of this particular cultural facility in contributing to attachment. The following chapter starts giving a definition of the art cinema as a type of cultural facility. The second section examines the use and appreciation of art cinemas in the Netherlands, and Parkstad Limburg in particular. The last part will discuss the development of this facility, ending with current trends in the field of film and cinema.

4.1 Type of cinema

Film is a very accessible medium, fit for multiple types of users and interpretations. Therefore, a large variety of film screeners exists, all specialized in a certain way. In the Netherland three types of screeners can be singled out: traditional cinemas/multiplexes, art cinemas and art houses. Traditional cinemas are commercially driven, screening mainly the ‘larger’ productions from the Hollywood segment and the mayor Dutch film hits. Their top concern is attracting the highest amount of visitors when programming a film. In 2012 there were in total 139 cinemas in the Netherlands, of which most were part of a larger chain of cinemas (Pannekoek and Kulker, 2012).

Art cinemas in the Netherlands are governmental subsidized, non-profit organizations, run mostly by a handful of on-contract employees and a large pool of volunteers. The main income of an art cinema is formed by subsidies and première-ticket sales, often supplemented by café returns. Where traditional cinemas and multiplexes focus mostly on screening the commercial top film offer, art cinemas see them-

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2 A multiplex is a cinema complex consisting of multiple large film halls, parking facilities and neighboring fast-food restaurants, often located at the edges of a city or periphery (Van den Broek et al., 2009).
Art cinemas and seats per province in 2008. Art cinemas renting a hall at an external accommodation are excluded. Source: adaption from Stienen (2010, p. 18-9).
selves set for the broader task of screening film art (Den Hamer, 2010). Not driven by economical considerations, art cinemas generally aim at unlocking the more vulnerable, alternative or smaller quality film productions, from national, European, or even further origin, that would otherwise not be accessible for the audience. Their offer in films is hence extremely divers, serving both those looking for ‘easy films’ and ‘high culture’. Art cinemas differ in size, organization and exact brief, from small film clubs with no own hall, to complete state of the art accommodations with multiple halls. In 2012 the Netherlands counted 34 large art cinemas with a week program and around 70 smaller ones (Pannekoek and Kulker, 2012). Larger art cinemas are situated in modern or renovated buildings with good seats and high quality vision and sound. They screen daily, in one of their 2-8 halls. Smaller art cinemas screen once or more times a week, having mostly only one hall they either own, share with other cultural organizations or rent at a cinema (Stienen, 2010). Often, the accommodation contains more than just film halls, having a foyer, café or restaurant, exposition space, shop and counter. Besides film, art cinemas organize activities closely related to film such as festivals, QAs (literally questions and answers, referring to public interviews with e.g. producers and artists), lectures and debates. Film education is often also part of their brief.

A third party in the cinema sector in the Netherlands is the art house. Art houses and art-house screeners aim at the market between commercial cinema and art cinema, screening mostly the more commercially attractive, accessible art-house or cross-over film (Stienen, 2010). See also Glossary for a definition of the different film types.

The Dutch cinema sector is organized differently than for example in Belgium, where only some cinemas receive subsidies from the government. Here, specialized profit cinemas called art house cinemas and a small number of subsidized screeners take care of the screening of the smaller quality films (e.g. see Overbergh, 2011). Because the art house operates in a rather grey area between profit and non-profit, this type of cinema will be excluded from further research.

The fact that art cinemas and commercial cinemas can co-exist in most large cities has to do with the local demand (Bunnik, 2012). The local visitors and film distributors decide where which film can be screened best, not the cinemas themselves. An art-house film could therefore just as well be screened at the commercial multiplex, as in the local film theater. Besides, each group of visitors is served differently at either the commercial cinema, the multiplex or the art cinema. Short-stay popular mass-amusement can be enjoyed at a multiplex, whereas a more differentiated and specialized film offer can be viewed at the art cinema, often combined with a longer stay or even a complete evening program.
4.2 Use and appreciation

The Netherlands has a rather tight and successful network of art cinemas and film theaters, next to the commercial cinemas and multiplexes. The two competing sectors supplement each other, focusing on their own market and presenting the visitor a complete offer of cinema (Bunnik, 2012). Over the recent years the amount of visits to an art cinema has increased steadily; its part in the total amount of cinema visits was quite stable, see figure 30. In 2012 art cinemas were responsible for 7% of all cinema visits, 2.4 million of the in total 30.5 million visits (Pannekoek and Kulker, 2012). When looking at the frequency of art cinema visits per visitor, it can be concluded that the total amount of visitors has increased as well, but that visitors go there less often (Grootjans and Lahaut, 2012), see also figure 31-32.

30. Amount of art cinema tickets sold per year (x 1,000). Source: NVB & NVF via Grootjans and Lahaut (2012).

According to Chiaradia and Roelink (2010) art cinemas are one of the cultural facilities that succeed in attracting a diverse audience, from every layer of society, educational level, and social or cultural background. Compared to other forms of art film receives most attention and appreciation. However, the persisting image is that art cinemas are only fit for the older cultural elite. Research by Grootjans and Lahaut (2012) into the mean composition of art cinema audience points out this is not necessarily so. They show that in percentage the young adults (16-29 years) are responsible for the most annual visits, having a reasonable amount of spare time, and in absolute numbers it is the group of 40-54 years old. The most frequent visitors can be found in the categories of 50-64 years and over 65 years old. Overall, the mean age of art cinema visitors has indeed increased, from 34 in 1999 to 40 in 2007. The main characteristics of the art cinema visitor can be found in the tables below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Non-visitor</th>
<th>Incidental art cinema visitor</th>
<th>Frequent art cinema visitor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolute amount (in 2007)</td>
<td>13,192,059</td>
<td>1,060,242</td>
<td>436,930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of population</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>6-15 years and 65+</td>
<td>16-23 years, 30-39 years</td>
<td>24-29 years, 40-54 years, 55-64 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part of the country</td>
<td>South</td>
<td>East and West part, four main cities</td>
<td>Four main cities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overview of different characteristics of non-visitors, incidental visitors and frequent visitors of art cinemas in the Netherlands. Source: Adaption of Grootjans and Lahaut (2012).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Non-visitor</th>
<th>Art cinema visitor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% of population</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urbanization</td>
<td>Medium to low</td>
<td>Strong to very strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household</td>
<td>Married couples with and without children</td>
<td>One-person households, unmarried couples with and without children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive cultural participation</td>
<td>Lesser extent than art cinema visitors</td>
<td>Commercial cinemas, museums and pop concerts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active cultural participation</td>
<td>Lesser extent than art cinema visitors</td>
<td>Drawing, painting, graphical work</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overview of several characteristics of non-visitors and visitors of art cinemas in the Netherlands. Source: Adaption of Grootjans and Lahaut (2012).

When combining these figures with the outcome of the research into groups affected by depopulation in Parkstad Limburg, three target groups can be singled out. One is the group of local older and retired inhabitants of the region, currently the most frequent visitors of the art cinema. The other group consists of newcomers settling in this area, newly pensioners likely to visit the art cinema quite regularly. The last group are the young adults (former or current inhabitants of Parkstad Limburg) who incidentally visit the art cinema.
4.3 Historical developments

As mentioned before, the Netherlands has a tight network of art cinemas and film theaters. The oldest film theater in the Netherlands is “De Uitkijk” in Amsterdam, situated in a former warehouse along the canals. The film theater was initiated in 1929 by the Dutch “Filmliga” and was inspired by the French avant-garde cinemas (Filmtheater De Uitkijk, 2013). Films were selected by artists and film connoisseurs to guarantee their quality. Their main objective was to show art, not entertainment.

Most art cinemas emerged around the 70s out of discontent with the offer of the traditional cinemas. One of the early examples was art cinema “’t Hoogt” in Utrecht, established in 1973 (Stienen, 2010). Most of the art cinemas started as amateur film screeners on the attic of some building, or they rented a hall at the local cinema or theater. In the decades to follow, attention for the quality film grew and independent foundations were established throughout the country. As audiences kept increasing in the 90s, the temporary accommodations often did not suffice any more, causing the art cinemas to look for larger, preferably their own, locations to hold their film screenings. From then on, most art cinemas experienced a complete metamorphosis. The offer became more diverse, projection techniques professionalized, additional activities like lectures and education were developed, and often interesting architectural designs were made to fit their ambitions including an attractive ambiance (Chiaradia and Roelink, 2010).

Current trends

Contrary to most other European countries, film screening in the Netherlands is mostly seen as a city centre facility rather than a periphery commodity in the form of large cinemas or multiplexes. However, commercial cinema is on the uproot too, leading to a more large-scale and one-sided offer. It is often therefore that municipalities refer to the specialized cinemas as a way to strengthen the social climate in city centers, fighting the sobering down and growing poor of the city’s offer (Bunnik, 2012).

The strong growth of the art cinemas and film theaters in the Netherlands over the previous decades can largely be attributed to their smart profiling, in which the offer of other services besides film have become more important. Recent developments show that art cinemas aim at combinations of film with theater, music, debate, lectures, theme programming and/or education, all situated around a trendy and modern café or foyer (Bunnik, 2012). Film and visual arts function as main cultural attractions for an expanding audience, making the art cinema a place to be or public living room where all kinds of activities, meetings, encounters or drinks can take place. Key elements for this new trend are networking, seeing and being seen, and being part of the dynamic urban lifestyle (Bunnik, 2012).

New media and technological developments offer interesting possibilities and opportunities for the cinema and film industry (Bunnik, 2012). Social media and the
development of interactive and digital technologies push cinemas to 24/7 programming of a larger variety of activities, adjusted to the visitors’ demands. Digital media and techniques lead to new forms of film screening, such as short movies, specials, and more experimental cross-overs to other art disciplines.

The successful art cinema profile is also picked up by local and national marketing campaigns of governments and business sector. Research points out that every investment in culture will be tripled in local café and shopkeepers returns (Chiardia and Roelink, 2010). Art cinemas thus appear an interesting asset for the (local) economy and overall cultural infrastructure. The mere presence of an art cinema or film theater in a region is used in the competition with other cities or municipalities, to present oneself as attractive creative region to lure more settlements of creative capital (Bunnik, 2012; Stienen, 2010).
4.4 Parkstad Limburg

From origin, South-Limburg has a strong and diverse cultural infrastructure, going from the Roman thermae to international break-dance events. The main cultural infrastructure of South-Limburg consisting of the larger cultural facilities is showed in figure 33. Roughly three cultural epicenters can be pointed out located in the main cities of this region: Maastricht, Sittard and Heerlen. Most (over-regional) museums are located in Maastricht, whereas Parkstad Limburg holds most pop podia and other music stages. Concerning cinemas, Parkstad is quite well off with three different institutes, all located in the center of the district.

In order for cultural facilities to develop themselves further, the size and ambitions of the cultural infrastructure in a region are an important factor (Bunnik, 2012). The cultural infrastructure of Parkstad Limburg has a clear regional focus, consisting of a high-quality and complementary offer (Gottschalk, 2012b). Besides that, the region currently enjoys a ‘Cultural Spring’, caused by and causing the uplift of public moral, cultural activities and the regions revival. Over the past years Parkstad Limburg has invested a rather large amount of time and money in culture and art in the area. By connecting to the Cultural Spring the cultural infrastructure could be strengthened more and the inhabitants’ pride for the region could be promoted (c.f. Gottschalk, 2012b and Gottschalk, 2012a).

Heerlen is currently the 35th cinema city of the Netherlands based on annual visitors, after Maastricht (nr. 21) and Sittard-Geleen (nr. 16) (Pannekoek and Kulker, 2012). For a municipality with three cinemas the amount of visits is rather low, especially concerning the art cinema. In the tables below an overview of visitor numbers of the cinemas in Heerlen is given for 2012 and 2011. In comparison to 50 large and medium-sized municipalities in the Netherlands the percentage of art cinema visits in Heerlen is rather low, only 6.3 % of all inhabitants attend the art cinema. In most medium-sized municipalities this percentage is around 10 %, larger (student-) cities score percentages of 25 to 40 %.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Art cinema visits</th>
<th>Film visits (50 cities)</th>
<th>Total film visits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>2012</strong></td>
<td><strong>2011</strong></td>
<td><strong>2012</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Netherlands</strong></td>
<td>2,400,000</td>
<td>1,976,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heerlen</td>
<td>6,000 *</td>
<td>5,750</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>The Netherlands</th>
<th>Heerlen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Film visits per municipality (50)</td>
<td>532,120</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Film visits per municipality (43)</td>
<td>303,558</td>
<td>225,00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art cinema visits per municipality (32)</td>
<td>62,500</td>
<td>5,750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visits per art cinema (34)</td>
<td>58,823</td>
<td>5,750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visits per art cinema per screen (93)</td>
<td>21,505</td>
<td>5,750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art cinema visits as % inhabitants (NL)</td>
<td>12 %</td>
<td>6.3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art cinema visits as % inhabitants (32)</td>
<td>25 %</td>
<td>6.3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art cinema visits as % film visits</td>
<td>6.5 %</td>
<td>2.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Film visits per inhabitant</td>
<td>1.8 %</td>
<td>1.5 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Visit numbers in 2011 per municipality, cinema and screen, comparing Heerlen to large (7 cities, including Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Groningen, The Hague, Eindhoven, Tilburg and Utrecht) and medium-sized municipalities (43). Source: Bunnik (2012).

The existing art cinema in Parkstad Limburg contends with several difficulties, causing it to be on the level of smallest film screeners, fit for municipalities of up to 30,000 inhabitants (van Dijk, 2012). The main aspects impeding its operations are the current organizational structure and level of professionalization, the accommodation and limited programming space (Bunnik, 2012). The art cinema is currently run by a few on-contract employees and a fair amount of volunteers. However, more professionalization would be needed for the art cinema to fit an 89,000 inhabitants municipality, let alone to fit for a region of 240,000 inhabitants. Additionally, the art cinema has only one film hall of 90 seats at its disposal, available for merely five screenings a week. For more information on the art cinema of Heerlen see the Design assignment in Appendix 1, p..

According to Gerard Bunnik (2012), right-sizing the art cinema would increase the amount of visitors and strengthen the presentation of the cultural profile of the municipality. However, another explanation for the low visitor numbers in Heerlen could be that the region lacks overall appreciation for an art cinema. If so, upgrading the existing art cinema would not improve visitor numbers. As mentioned before, depopulation in Parkstad selectively affects the composition of the population in the region, leading to a high percentage of elderly, lower-educated and less privileged inhabitants. Possibly, these groups of inhabitants generally lack interest for art cinemas. As the composition of the population in other shrinking areas in the Netherlands is often likewise affected, a comparison can be made between Heerlen and other shrinking municipalities. This comparison could help to illustrate the overall interest for art cinemas in shrinking regions. Municipalities such as Almelo and Delfzijl also experience a decrease in population, related to the downfall of a labor intensive- or industrial-based economy. In a way, their situation is thus comparable to that of Heerlen and Parkstad.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Heerlen²</th>
<th>Almelo³,⁴</th>
<th>Delfzijl⁵</th>
<th>Veendam⁶</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of inhabitants</strong></td>
<td>89,016</td>
<td>72,757</td>
<td>26,305</td>
<td>27,920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Location</strong></td>
<td>Schunck cultural centre</td>
<td>Theater Hof 88</td>
<td>Theater De Molenberg</td>
<td>VanBeresteijn Theater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of seats</strong></td>
<td>90</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>525</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Film screenings</strong></td>
<td>5 per week, ±200 per year</td>
<td>1-2 per week, ±80 per year</td>
<td>± 25 per year</td>
<td>1 per week, ±40 per year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Art cinema visits in 2011</strong></td>
<td>5,750</td>
<td>3,596</td>
<td>4,091</td>
<td>4,675 **</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Art cinema visits in 2012</strong></td>
<td>6,000 *</td>
<td>3,216</td>
<td>2,783</td>
<td>6,078</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Art cinema visits as % of inhabitants</strong></td>
<td>6.7 %</td>
<td>4.4 %</td>
<td>10.6 %</td>
<td>21.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Art cinema visits as % of inhabitants per film screening</strong></td>
<td>1.3 %</td>
<td>2.9 %</td>
<td>8.8 %</td>
<td>21.8 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In the table above Heerlen is compared to Almelo, Delfzijl and Veendam. These cities all have a small art cinema that caters for a region larger than only the municipality. All art cinemas are housed in a larger cultural accommodation, so the amount of film screenings per week is limited. The table shows that despite the decrease of inhabitants in these municipalities, the number of art cinema visits is still rather good, compared to Heerlen and the national average. Indeed, the art cinemas mentioned also experience a slight decrease in annual visits (e.g. see Brandenburg Barlagen 2012), but there are other, economic, factors that influence these developments too. This indicates that shrinkage does not necessarily lead to lower visitor numbers of an art cinema.

The reason for the low number of visitors in Heerlen therefore has to be sought elsewhere. However, without conducting a large-scale inquiry amongst inhabitants of Parkstad this is difficult to determine. Currently, over 20,000 inhabitants of Parkstad/Heerlen go to Maastricht for the art cinema there (R en M Matrix, 2010 in Van Dijk, 2012), so there does seem to be a demand for small quality film screenings in the region. Apparently, the existing art cinema in Heerlen does not suffice to meet this demand and attract more visitors. It is therefore suggested that, should the art cinema of Heerlen be used in the cultural infrastructure to strengthen the sense of place of Parkstad Limburg, a larger and better equipped art cinema is desirable.
4.5 Conclusions

In the Netherlands three types of film screeners exist: traditional cinemas or multiplexes, art cinemas and art houses. In contrary to traditional cinemas, art cinemas are non-profit organizations aiming at screening quality film productions, that would otherwise not be accessible for the audience. They have a diverse offer in films, serving a wide audience. Additionally, art cinemas organize activities that are film related or -supportive, such as lectures, debates and courses.

Most art cinemas in the Netherlands emerged in the 1970s out of discontent with the film offer of traditional cinemas. In a few decades time the art cinemas developed into the places to be, providing combinations of film and other cultural offer, set around trendy café facilities. The art cinemas now function as public living room where networking, and seeing and being seen are important elements. This successful art cinema profile is used more and more by local and national governments in marketing campaigns, promoting the region or city. Foremost being a city center facility, the art cinema is often used by municipalities to strengthen the social climate and diversity of the city centers.

The cultural infrastructure in Parkstad Limburg currently experiences uplift through the Cultural Spring in the region. When this development continues, this would further strengthen the cultural infrastructure and the region’s image could be improved, internal as well as external. Despite this movement, the use of (art-) cinema in Parkstad Limburg is rather limited. Heerlen is currently the 35th cinema city of the Netherlands, after the other main cities in South-Limburg. The low visitor numbers could partly be explained by the current state of the cinema facilities. The art cinema in Parkstad Limburg contends with several difficulties, because of which it is not able to sufficiently serve the city of Heerlen, let alone the total population of Parkstad Limburg. This impedes the art cinema’s application in promoting attachment for the region. Another explanation would be that the general appreciation for art cinemas falls behind in shrinking regions. However, no clear causal relation can be drawn between depopulation and a decrease in visitor numbers of an art cinema. Apparently, the art cinema in Heerlen does currently not suffice to attract more visitors. It is therefore suggested that, should the art cinema of Heerlen be used in the cultural infrastructure to strengthen the sense of place of Parkstad Limburg, a larger and better equipped art cinema is desirable.
In the previous parts several elements are distinguished that are important to promote attachment in shrinking areas. Continuing on the findings of chapter 3, in order for an art cinema to be employed effectively in such a strategy, the facility needs to first be in a building to be proud of; secondly, attach people to the facility and each other; and third, offer them a place for (un)intended encounter. A set of case studies is proposed to check if and how existing cultural facilities already contribute to attachment. By looking at the existing offer of art cinemas, redevelopments of the art cinema set-up, as responses to recent trends and developments, can be studied as well.
5. Art cinema for attachment

In the previous chapters several elements are distinguished that are important to promote attachment in shrinking areas. Investing in cultural facilities is one of the strategies available for local governments to promote attachment by strengthening the sense of place of the area. Continuing on the findings of chapter 3, in order for an art cinema to be employed effectively in such a strategy, the facility needs to first be in a building to be proud of; secondly, attach people to the facility and each other; and third, offer them a place for (un)intended encounter. A set of case studies is proposed to check if and how existing cultural facilities already contribute to attachment. By looking at the existing offer of art cinemas, redevelopments of the art cinema set-up, as responses to recent trends and developments, can be studied as well.

In the following section conclusions are drawn from the results derived from the case studies. These findings are divided over two topics: promoting attachment and social interaction. In section 4 several architectural solutions are given that are suitable to apply in this given context. As a main conclusion different preconditions are formulated to serve as input for the design of an art cinema contributing to attachment. The complete case studies can be found in Appendix 3 as separate booklet.

5.1 Selected art cinemas

The art cinemas studied are film theater “De Lieve Vrouw” in Amersfoort, “Filmtheater Hilversum”, “Toneel- & Filmschuur” in Haarlem, “Filmhuis Den Haag” and the old “LantarenVenster” in Rotterdam. In the scheme on the right an overview is given of the characteristics of these five art cinemas.
### Project name

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project name</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Architect</th>
<th>Year built</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Building type</th>
<th># screens</th>
<th># visitors (2012)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Filmschuur</td>
<td>Haarlem</td>
<td>Joost Swarte &amp; Mecanoo</td>
<td>2001-2003</td>
<td>4,700 m²</td>
<td>Old houses integr., joint venture</td>
<td>2 + 2</td>
<td>102,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Film Theater “De Lieve “Vrouw</td>
<td>Amersfoort</td>
<td>Jonkman &amp; Klinkhamer</td>
<td>1986, extended in 2008</td>
<td>1,700 m²</td>
<td>Former chuch, joint venture</td>
<td>3 + 1</td>
<td>67,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Film Theater Hilversum</td>
<td>Hilversum</td>
<td>Moost Architectenstudio &amp; ARC²</td>
<td>2007, remodeled in 2012</td>
<td>1,008 m²</td>
<td>Newly built art cinema</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Filmhuis” The Hague</td>
<td>The Hague</td>
<td>Herman Hertzberger</td>
<td>1986, remodeled in 2003</td>
<td>Combi with dwelling, offices, retail</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>150,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LantarenVenster</td>
<td>Rotterdam</td>
<td>Bakema - Brouwer &amp; Van Heesen</td>
<td>1907, remodeled in 1949 and 1991</td>
<td>Former comm. centre, joint venture</td>
<td>4 + 2 theater</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Situation

- **Filmschuur**
  - 3D
  - Outdoor

- **Film Theater “De Lieve “Vrouw**
  - 2D
  - Indoor

- **Film Theater Hilversum**
  - 3D
  - Outdoor

- **“Filmhuis” The Hague**
  - 2D
  - Indoor

- **LantarenVenster**
  - 3D
  - Outdoor

### Program

- **Filmschuur**
  - Catering (o.a. ontbijt/lunch/diner/borrelhapjes)
  - Draadloos internet

- **Film Theater “De Lieve “Vrouw**
  - Catering (o.a. ontbijt/lunch/diner/borrelhapjes)
  - Draadloos internet

- **Film Theater Hilversum**
  - Catering (o.a. ontbijt/lunch/diner/borrelhapjes)
  - Draadloos internet

- **“Filmhuis” The Hague**
  - Catering (o.a. ontbijt/lunch/diner/borrelhapjes)
  - Draadloos internet

- **LantarenVenster**
  - Catering (o.a. ontbijt/lunch/diner/borrelhapjes)
  - Draadloos internet

### Foyer type

- **Filmschuur**
  - Multiple screens
  - Ethnic

- **Film Theater “De Lieve “Vrouw**
  - Multiple screens
  - Modern

- **Film Theater Hilversum**
  - Multiple screens
  - Minimalist

- **“Filmhuis” The Hague**
  - Multiple screens
  - Contemporary

- **LantarenVenster**
  - Multiple screens
  - Industrial
5.2 Promoting attachment

The first element investigated is the way the art cinema seeks to promote attachment of its visitors. It proved difficult to find clues for the art cinemas promoting attachment of visitors on the larger, regional scale. Therefore, this study looked at how art cinemas aim at creating attachment of visitors with the facility itself, in order for them to return to the building. On the long run, as user experience is improved, this could influence the user’s sense of place, stimulating attachment with the location. As many strategies can be applied to promote visitor attachment, the case study focused on two aspects, namely the relation of the art cinema to its surroundings and the composition and organization of its program. In the figures 34-35 the main findings concerning these aspects are shown.

Situation

1. Within walk of station
2. At/near square
3. In proximity of cafes
4. Focus on front façade
5. Blend-in vs. complement surroundings
6. Continuation of the street

Program

1. Public ground floor
2. Main organization scheme
3. Daylight for flexibility
4. Flat floor theater
5. Sliding walls
6. Compartmenting
7. Separation of film & technique
8. Theater & film
9. Additional education & podium
Most art cinemas are situated in the city center, close to cafes or other leisure facilities. This way, an art cinema visit can easily be combined with other activities to form a complete day or evening program. Moreover, three out of the five art cinemas lie directly at a square that can be used for outdoor activities. Often, this square is used for joint performances and events combining film, mainly organized by other organizations than the art cinema. Continuing, the art cinemas have a clear focus on their front façade, automatically making the backside less interesting and reserved only for staff and supply.

As art cinemas are often housed in existing buildings, it is interesting to mention how the art cinemas react to their surroundings. None of the subjects (not even the newly built “Film Theater Hilversum”) display a sort of theatrical architecture, exhibiting what is happening indoors and promoting their presence in the existing context. It is rather an interplay of close blending in and subtle standing out which embeds the art cinema in its context. On the one hand, the cinemas somehow react and reflect to the scale, appearance and set-up of their close surroundings. This causes a gradual transition of the city and street into the art cinema, as can be seen most clearly at “Filmhuis” The Hague. On the other hand, by using different materials, style and detailing the art cinemas stand out just enough to be recognized as cultural facility, offering a special program. This often only applies to its front façade.

When looking at the spatial organization of the art cinema’s program, one clear scheme can be drawn, showed in figure 28.2. No matter the diversity of the total program, the ground floor is mainly reserved for public activities. The further into the building, the more private and supportive functions become, mainly not accessible to visitors. This is somewhat intrinsic to being a public amenity, though the way the main program can be accessed directly on or from this ground floor differs. The spatial organization of the art cinema concentrates visitors on the forefront of the building, where they are visible from the main circulation areas and from outside. The foyer, often with adjacent café, plays an important part in this organizational scheme, being the point where most circulation comes together. In the next section this element will be discussed more deeply.

**Additional activities**

This case study follows the assumption, that by offering a more diverse or extended program appealing to different users, a larger variety of people is attracted to the building, forming a larger base to promote attachment on. This assumption is based on the following line of argumentation. As discussed in the chapter on creating attachment, strengthening sense of place can be one of the ways to achieve this aim. Using the theory of David Canter (see p.49-50), it can be argued that in order to strengthen the sense of place one or more of the three aspects forming sense of place – the physical, activity and meaning – should be stimulated. As sense of place is formed through individual or collective perception, this would then mean that the more (different) people are present, the stronger the sense of place could be, in turn leading to stronger attachment.
Part of the case study therefore looked into additional activities that can be used to strengthen the art cinema concept. All art cinemas investigated offer an additional program besides film, adjusted in such a way that it appeals to their current and potential groups of visitors. This is primarily reflected in clever programming and promotion, as the building’s design is only somewhat affected. However, some of the additional activities could have a more prominent role in the art cinema, when given a clear spatial translation. These specific types of activities will be discussed more deeply.

Film and theater turn out to be a beneficial combination. Not only can a theater hall easily be transformed into a film hall by putting up a screen, performances combining both elements are also conceivable. For the case of Heerlen it is however not such a plausible solution to combine the art cinema with a theater, for the city already counts two successful operating independent theaters. Cooperation and co-production however, at for example the theater’s accommodation, is still a good possibility to extend the art cinema’s program.

Besides theater, other additional activities can be pointed out to fit within the strengthened art cinema concept. This is the educational facility on the one hand, and the stage on the other. The educational facility is intended to educate, guide and inform visitors about films and watching film. This comprises of organizing film (-watching) courses, informative school screenings and film related lectures and debates. The largest art cinema studied also includes a multimedia center and film archive in the educational facility. The stage is intended as a platform for users and visitors to showcase and experiment with different applications of art, possibly film-related, to intensify the cultural ‘experience’ in the accommodation. Many of the cinemas integrate a exposition of art and some (small scale) production in the building. The exact interpretation of the stage facility differs from exhibiting cross-over video art to live music performances.

User groups

1. Gradient in seeing & being seen
2. Central visibility
3. Central circulation
4. Differentiate entrances
5. Foyer & entrance: Direct or gradual access
6. Foyer type: Rest space, complementing space or connecting space
7. Competitive café

36. Case study outcomes concerning the way an art cinema deals with different user groups. Source: Thelen (2013).
5.3 Social interaction

A second element the case study looks into is the possibility of social interaction and encounter in the building. In order to determine how the different art cinemas facilitate this, three aspects are looked at: the handling of different user groups, materialization, and presentation. The latter is more than just promotional brochures and therefore a bit difficult to discuss as distinct topic. As mainly the interplay of these aspects is important for social interaction, this will be discussed as well after presenting the main findings. Figures 36-38 show the results from the studies into the three topics mentioned.

Materialization

1. Use of colors
2. Own identity
3. Complementation vs. standing out
4. Remnants of/ reference to past
5. Visibility of climate & structure
6. Distinction of serviced & service space

Presentation

1. Homelike feel
2. Place for special productions
3. Open & (easy) accessible
4. Full café
5. Implicit meeting place
6. Elite regular audience

The art cinema seems to be all about seeing and being seen. The building layout is often done in such a way that visual and physical contact between visitors and other users alternate with each other constantly. Different centers for deliberate and unplanned exchange are created, allowing visitors to choose their whereabouts according to their needs and preferences. Obviously, the larger the art cinema, the easier these different centers can be created. However, the most interesting solutions are viewed at those art cinemas of a medium size, adopting differences in floor and/or ceiling heights.
As mentioned before, the foyer has an important and central role to play in the art cinema. Though it can be configured in different ways, its task is clear: facilitate encounter of users before, during and after the main activities. The foyer is mostly placed on the front part of the building, or anywhere central to the main program, preferably visible to the outside. The foyer can be seen as the key element in the presentation of an art cinema, distinguishing the institute from other (art) cinemas. Its appearance and spatial layout strongly depend on the art cinema’s brief. Often, the foyer is accompanied by a café and/or bar. This promotes the foyer as being a place to linger, over primarily being circulation space. By creating a pleasant atmosphere in these areas the art cinemas try to increase the frequency of visits and to stimulate users to make visits other than film watching. The foyer with bar is thus a medium for attachment and additional income.

**Interplay**

As mentioned before, the presentation of an art cinema is more than just promotional brochures, but includes the entire image the art cinema likes to create of itself. Despite their different character, several common key words appear in the presentation of the art cinemas. All present their amenity as a pleasant place to linger and worth to revisit, and try to create a homelike feel in the public areas of the building to live up to this promise. Openness and accessibility are two other terms used to describe the special character of the cultural facility, reflected in the way public space is organized and the transition of exterior and interior is given shape.

There appears to be a relation between the use of materials and the handling of users groups in favor for the way an art cinema wants to present itself. The use of different materials, colors, styles of furniture and an abundance of daylight enables the art cinema to not only function properly for all users, but also to create a desired atmosphere and appearance. In two of the studied art cinemas materialization is used to clarify the spatial organization of the building for the different user groups. Different sets of materials and colors are used to make a distinction between public and private areas of these art cinemas. This is a relatively easy and effective way to prevent visitors of wandering off into the service areas. Additionally, the presence of daylight is important to open up public areas and main circulation zones, adding to the readability of the building.

Besides this, there seems to be almost no differentiation in either materialization or presentation to address different types of visitors (Toneel- & Filmschuur Haarlem excluded), as mostly one overall style is adopted throughout the building. All art cinemas try to create a trendy and modern atmosphere in their foyers and cafés. It is suggested that this atmosphere aims at attracting a certain (younger) user group that might otherwise not so easily step inside. By using materialization (and presentation) in a way that appeals to a specific target group, these groups of users are drawn to the art cinema in a very low-key way. Continuing, it is assumed that therefore the cinema does not adapt its materialization to the preferences of its fixed user groups (e.g. being the film fans), as these users would even so go to the art cinema, notwithstanding its appearance. Besides that, having one overall style reflecting the
art cinema’s goals seems to be more important for the identification of the cinema, than distinguishing user groups. The art cinemas do try to create differentiated places in the building using materialization, though prompted by their function rather than a target group.

5.4 Architectural elements

The case studies investigated are all developed as a different interpretation of the assignment of designing an art cinema, plus they are all developed by different architects. Therefore a large variety of architectural means and intentions can be derived from studying plans and sections. In the following table a summation is given of the more successful architectural solutions, divided over the topics of situation, program, dealing with user groups, materialization and presentation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Square</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lively square with touristic spots visible, main walkway kept free;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Accessible logistic square by ‘open’ corner &amp; ramp;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus on front façade</td>
<td>Entrance is set-back in glazed box, fairly eye-catching, but not too inviting;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Completely glazed front &amp; closed back, good for climate &amp; acoustics;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mainly glazed front &amp; closed sides, part of building elevated for more daylight, also main eye-catcher;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No clear back, but closed sides &amp; mainly glazed front. Original entrance slightly set-back, rather visible and inviting;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rather closed all-around, creating introvert, yet grand character. Blind façade &amp; canopy lead to entrance as recognizable &amp; strong inviting gesture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blend-in vs. complement surroundings</td>
<td>Clear border of the square, by slightly higher façade with views through;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Complementing gap in street view;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Embedded in surroundings by corresponding roof height &amp; split-up volume, but standing out through contemporary character;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Embedded in street, but recognizable by distinct ground floor façade.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuation of the street</td>
<td>Outside is brought in by large sliding windows to open-up front acc. to needs, and continuation of tiles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Visual continuation ‘cause of cladding running through &amp; reflection of square as foyer, only separated by curtain wall;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Slight continuation, visually, through lowered café, offering privacy &amp; views. More prominent continuation in design of Spuiftheater;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Slight continuation by tiles running through inside, visually by glazed façade at the back. Ideologically, continuation is key element.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

More successful architectural solutions concerning the relation of an art cinema to the situation it is found in.
More successful architectural solutions concerning the way the program of an art cinema is composed and organized.
More successful architectural solutions concerning the way an art cinema deals with different user groups.
### Materialization

#### Use of colors
- Use of bright colors and neon to highlight areas;
- Color is used for identification & orientation;
- Color is used to create unity in interior;
- Color is used to create contemporary appearance.

#### Complementation vs. standing out
- Complementation of street profile by use of slightly different materials, just distinct enough to stand-out;
- Complementation of street profile by use of modest materials, in a just distinct enough style to stand-out;
- Differentiation of materials to both blend-in and stand-out from urban silhouette;
- Complementing materialization by use of common materials, but just enough deviation of ground floor to stick out.

#### Remnants of/ reference to past
- References to & use of existing structures in columns, roof lights & symmetry. Mostly recognizable for employees though;
- Integration of existing buildings to restore them & embed complex in surroundings;
- Chiefly, building’s shape reacts to history of surroundings by restoring views;
- Original introvert character is restored by adjusting open floor spaces & sliding walls.

#### Visibility of climate & structure
- Climate & structure left in sight for more openness & height, and adds to ‘trendy’ character;
- Climate & structure are mostly hidden, to keep interior as clean as possible;
- Climate is mostly hidden, to keep interior as clear as possible;
- Climate is only visible in service parts.

#### Distinction of serviced & service space
- Offices have a clean interior, public interior is exuberant & colorful. Clear definition of accessible and non-accessible areas & tranquil working space for employees;
- Public interior partly runs on into office spaces to create pleasant environment;
- Every function has own style for good orientation & identity;
- Vague distinction of accessible and non-accessible areas & creation tranquil working space for employees by clean office interior;
- Offices have a clean interior, public interior is more exuberant & colorful.

More successful architectural solutions concerning the way materialization is used in an art cinema.
**Presentation**

**Homelike feel**
- Use of as much natural light as possible & warm colors in public areas;
- Use of ‘warm’ materials, carpet & roof lights;
- Use of warm materials in public areas, natural light as well;
- Use of ‘warm’ materials & recognizable elements;
- Human size is defining scale for public areas. Difference in ceiling height for intimacy or openness.

**Place for special productions**
- Strong image as place to be, because of offer & fitting demands. Focus on film as heart & strongly facilitating “shell”.

**Open & (easy) accessible**
- Open by clear public spaces ‘cause of ceiling height;
- Open by clear public spaces, ‘cause of ceiling height, use of curtain wall & light-weight load-bearing structure;
- Open by curtain wall creating indoor plaza, easy accessible by group-specific program & promotion;
- Open by curtain wall creating indoor plaza, easy accessible by group-specific program & promotion;
- Easy accessible by constant programming of films & rather informal entrance;
- Gradual entry through narrow corridor as gentile transition of out- & indoor.

**Full café**
- Fit user needs by different seating areas, clear signal of café by public terrace;
- High café space-seats ratio, including summer terrace, for full café function. Fit user needs by adjusting opening hours instead of other way around;
- Full café through separate, slightly hidden, entrance, visible from street by sign & terrace;
- Extended opening hours, fully equipped restaurant & bar. By night well discernible entrance by lighting & terrace, currently improving all-day visibility.

**Implicit meeting place**
- Different levels of interaction by height differences in floors & shielded public areas;
- Strong visible connections by different floor levels;
- Mixture of views & shelter for direct & indirect connections by rotating walls, vistas and platforms;
- Different levels of interaction by stairs & height differences in floors;
- Integrated in ideology & social program.

More successful architectural solutions concerning the way an art cinema present themselves.

**Limitations**

The physical architectural environment can only facilitate the platform on which certain social and psychological processes can take place, that in turn could strengthen attachment. When designing, it is therefore important to be aware of this limitation. Other aspects that should be taken into account are the specific situation and context the art cinema is set in, containing the art cinema’s history, organizational structure and professionalization, brief and mission statement. All these non-architectural elements play an important part in the way the art cinema positions itself in the field of social encounter and eventually attachment of visitors. Additionally, an art cinema is only one of the elements that could contribute to attachment in a certain region, next to other cultural and non-cultural facilities. Its effects on actual attachment are therefore limited.
5.5 Conclusions

For it is difficult to determine how an art cinema can contribute to attachment of inhabitants with the region, the case study looked into how art cinemas try to stimulate attachment of visitors with the cultural facility itself. It is assumed that user experience can be improved by facilitating social interaction and encounter in the amenity. On the long run this could influence the user’s sense of place, stimulating attachment with the location.

The case studies make clear that attachment of visitors is primarily seen by the art cinema’s organization as a matter of smart programming, management, and promotional presentation. These aspects affect attachment on a shorter term and demand less large-scale alterations, favoring their application. The art cinemas’ programs are adjusted in a way that they are open to a diverse audience, however, by offering a specific cultural experience the art cinemas promote themselves as a unique link in the total cultural offer of a city. The film-supportive program, such as lectures, debates and courses, gains importance in the operation of the art cinema. Not only is it employed to create enough diversity to appeal to a larger public and distinguish oneself from other cultural facilities, but also as a necessary demand for modernization in response to economic changes in public support. Renting out (parts of) the cinema for other cultural activities brings potential future visitors in contact with the accommodation, creating an incentive to revisit the building for one of the activities offered.

Physical aspects such as the setting of the art cinema, the spatial organization of activities, routing and appearance (notably also presentation), are secondary means to promote attachment. These aspects have a longer time span and demand more large-scale efforts, while the effects on attachment are limited. Only can a place be provided where social and psychological processes can take place, that in turn could strengthen attachment. As the additional film-supportive program gains importance, more attention is given to rightly facilitating these activities in the building, causing a further development of the art cinema concept. Bound by financial and spatial resources, physical alternations are mostly limited to upgrading and/or modernizing the interior fixtures and front façade of the art cinema. The aim is to create a pleasant atmosphere that people can relate to, in order to be as open and easy accessible as possible for a large variety of visitors.

The spatial organization is used to create a building of different layers, allowing for an alternation of visual and physical contact between visitors and other users. The spaces where encounter and interaction of visitors can take place (un)intentionally are crucial to the art cinema concept. Visitors are concentrated on the forefront of the building, visible from the main circulation areas and from outside. In many of the art cinemas studied different areas and levels of interaction are created, so that visitors can see and be seen. Not all solutions offered are as successful as planned, turning into ‘dead’ places that at most function as circulation space.
The foyer takes up a prominent place in facilitating encounter of users before, during and after film screenings. It is the center of the circulation, but above all a place to linger. In most cases, part of the foyer is reserved for a bar or café. This café is seen as an important element to attract passers-by in a low-key way. By providing an appealing atmosphere, the art cinema tries to increase visit frequencies and to encourage not film-related visits. The foyer with bar is thus a medium for attachment and additional income.

Materialization, color and style play an important part for the presentation of the art cinema, inwards and outwards. Despite having a diverse audience, no differentiation is made in either materialization or presentation to address different types of visitors. One overall style reflecting the art cinema’s goals is key to create a desired appearance and atmosphere. This is important for the identification of the cinema, more than distinguishing user groups. By altering materialization slightly, the spatial organization, routing and layering of the building can be clarified.

Preconditions
Continuing on the selected architectural means and limitations, seven different preconditions can be formulated that can serve as input for the program of requirements for an art cinema used to contribute to attachment.

Setting
- Good and safe access to the art cinema by foot, bike, car and public transport is important;
- Lively surroundings such as cafes and other leisure activities help attract visitors;
- A public square near or in front of an art cinema can add to the attractiveness of the amenity;
- To embed the art cinema in its context interplay of blending-in and standing-out is desirable.

Program
- The foyer, with adjacent café, is the most attracting and inviting element of the art cinema;
- The configuration and design of the foyer are important for the presentation of the art cinema as special link in the total cultural offer of a city;
- Compartmenting the program of the art cinema helps to create a clear building layout.

Activities
- By reflecting needs of different user groups in the activities of an art cinema a wider base for attachment could be generated;
- Film has good compatibilities with theater and music performances;
- Additional activities should fit either within the educational facility or the stage, in order to strengthen the art cinema’s concept.
Spatial organization
- The foyer can be organized as either connecting, complementing or rest space. In any case, different centers for (un)planned encounter should be generated to create gradients in accessibility and attractiveness. The right organization of the foyer depends on the brief and desired presentation of the art cinema;
- The foyer is directly or indirectly connected to the entrance and film halls, giving the possibility to create a gradual transition of exterior and interior;
- Public activities should be positioned on and around the ground floor, in order to concentrate visitors on the forefront of the building. The further into the building, the more private and supportive functions become;
- Flexibility in the layout of the film halls (amount of seats, operable windows, sliding walls, etc.) is important to adjust the art cinema to (incidental) changes in demand.

Routing
- Central circulation from or via the foyer ensures a clear floor plan with central visibility of functions and users;
- A distinction between different routes and entrances for different users can improve the readability of the building;
- Attention should be paid to managing the liveliness in corridors to improve user experience and routing (enough views, light and space).

Materialization
- Daylight is important to open up and clarify the main places for public encounter and circulation. Narrow & dark is more private, broad & light public;
- A difference in materialization and color can be used to make a distinction of private and public areas;
- A color and material palette can be put together for unity in the appearance of the art cinema, creating an own identity.

Cinema characteristics
- A division between service & services spaces is common, also for entrances;
- The box-in-box principle is best for (sound)insulation of the halls;
- The box office or counter is the least important element of a foyer, the bar the most;
- Stands can to be designed under a continuous angle or based on optimized views to the screen, both paying attention to the back and front rows;
- Projector rooms can be shared when possible to save space.
Conclusions

Conclusions

Urban shrinkage in the Netherlands
Shrinkage caused by depopulation is a global phenomenon, occurring in both urban and rural areas. Compared to examples abroad, the extent of shrinkage in the Netherlands is still quite limited. However, it is expected that by 2040 over one-third of all municipalities will experience or have experienced some form of depopulation. In the Netherlands, the main reasons for shrinkage are the fertility rate and outmigration in a specific area. Other factors such as deindustrialization, suburbanization, secularization and local planning decisions can also locally influence depopulation, leading to a complex mix of causes. The exact cause of depopulation differs from region to region, and even on a level of scale. The consequences of depopulation are visible on multiple levels of society, affecting the hardware, the software and the mindware, see page 26. The direct spatial consequences of depopulation are limited, in comparison to foreign examples. Other developments in behavior, urban planning policy and wealth have a more prominent influence on spatial developments than shrinkage.

There are different strategies a local government can implement in response to depopulation. In many cases, shrinkage cannot be avoided or reversed. For the continuation of the community, it is therefore advised to accept shrinkage as a fact – instead of aiming at restoring population growth – and invest in current residents, services and companies. The best possible strategy for municipalities fitting this aim is planning for decline. This means refitting supply or demand to the changing situation, improving quality of life for the current residents. By doing so, demographic developments can be integrated in planning policies, and competition between municipalities may no longer be an issue. The success of planning for decline lies in the local approach; adjusted to a specific situation, but taking into account developments in the entire region. Engaging current inhabitants in the formulation and/or implementation of strategies is particularly important. However, as civic engagement is difficult to achieve, local governments should first stimulate attachment of these inhabitants with the community before demanding them to engage in the process.

Parkstad Limburg
Parkstad Limburg is one of the regions in the Netherlands that faces depopulation for already a few decades. Depopulation in Parkstad Limburg is a consequence of demographic developments and outmigration. The termination of all mining activity in the 1960s had an important influence on depopulation, as the region’s chief source of jobs and income disappeared with it. Initiatives to restore the region’s bal-
ance only partly succeeded. Parkstad Limburg experiences a negative natural growth, combined with a strongly aging population, and outmigration of the younger privileged part of society. Shrinkage therefore has a selective character, leading to a high percentage of elderly that will continue to increase.

When policies are concerned, Parkstad Limburg likes to position itself on the forefront of Dutch responses to shrinkage. The region made a paradigm switch to planning for decline, by accepting its shrinkage as an accomplished fact. Policies are focused on creating quality instead of quantity, aiming at retaining or binding the current inhabitants. Regional collaboration is an important element of Parkstad Limburg’s shrinkage policy, in order to prevent competition between municipalities. An inter-municipal collaborative is installed to set shared goals for the economy and housing market. Currently, another shift in perspective can be recognized caused by a surplus of vacant property; from solely reacting to the physical aspects of shrinkage, to incorporating the more soft social aspects. However a good start, the full implementation of regional shrinkage policies is still hard to establish.

Culture for attachment
Culture is one of the means that can be used by (local) governments to stimulate attachment of inhabitants with a certain region. In this research culture is defined using the definition of Brouwer and Thomsen. Culture is understood as the cultural sector with several categories and activities, starting with art. The cultural sector consists of four branches adopting art, that each have specific sectors responsible for their transfer and promotion, see also page 44 and figure 39. The users of culture are not integrated in the definition, having a central role in this research as target group that should be able to benefit from culture in shrinking areas.

When culture is adopted in a strategy to create attachment of inhabitants with a certain region, two different roles exist. On the one hand, culture can be used to increase the attractiveness of an area. Driven by a growth paradigm, the aim is to improve the settlement climate for new companies and residents. On the other hand, culture can be adopted to strengthen the sense of place of an area. In this case efforts are directed at improving the livability and attractiveness of an area for the current residents, fitting within an overall strategy of planning for decline. As Parks-
In Limburg, already made the switch to this kind of shrinkage policy, using culture to strengthen the sense of place would be a sound strategy for the region. Sense of place is a rather complex concept that is not makeable (see p. 48-50), but that can be influenced. In a context of shrinkage a shortage of public services and amenities could cause more inhabitants to leave the area. Culture (as an activity or in physical form) could in that case provide inhabitants with something positive, dispelling some of the reasons for them to move as well. However small this contribution might be, by improving user experience culture can thus strengthen the existing sense of place in a region, promoting attachment of the inhabitants.

One of the practical things that local governments can do to strengthening sense of place, is supporting cultural facilities. These facilities can contribute to improving settlement decisions of existing residents and stimulate the local economy. The types of cultural facilities present in a certain area depend on the size of the municipality, the composition of its population and the cultural policy of the local government. The art cinema is one example of a cultural facility available for larger municipalities like Heerlen, that can help in a strategy to promote attachment of existing residents in the region.

**The art cinema**

The art cinema is one of the three types of film screeners in the Netherlands. In contrary to traditional cinemas, art cinemas are non-profit organizations, aiming at screening quality film productions that would otherwise not be accessible for the audience. They have a diverse film offer, serving a wide audience. Besides screening films, art cinemas organize additional activities that are film related or -supportive such as lectures, debates and courses. Emerged in the 1970s, the art cinemas have developed into places to be, set around trendy café facilities where networking, and seeing and being seen are important elements. Foremost being a city center facility, the successful art cinema profile is often used by municipalities to strengthen the social climate and diversity of the city centers.

Heerlen is currently the 35th cinema city of the Netherlands, after the other main cities in south-Limburg. Despite having three screeners, the use of (art-) cinema in Parkstad Limburg is rather limited. The low number of visitors could partly be explained by the current state of the cinema facilities in Heerlen. The existing art cinema contends with several difficulties, because of which the art cinema is not able to sufficiently serve the city of Heerlen, let alone the total population of Parkstad Limburg. This also impedes the art cinema’s application in promoting attachment in the region. Parkstad Limburg currently experiences a Cultural Spring, boosting the region’s cultural infrastructure. Such being the case, it would be advisable to look into the current problematic situation of the art cinema in Heerlen. Particularly now Parkstad Limburg agreed to start an IBA in the region (cf. IBA Emscher Park – Jahrhunderthalle at p.32), perhaps additional funding could be reserved for such a project. It is therefore suggested that, should the art cinema of Heerlen be used in the cultural infrastructure to strengthen the sense of place of the region, Parkstad Limburg should invest in upgrading the art cinema.
Implementation of cultural attachment policy

Using case studies of five different art cinemas the implementation of an attachment strategy through culture is investigated. For it is difficult to determine how an art cinema can contribute to attachment of inhabitants with the region, the case studies looked into how art cinemas try to stimulate attachment of visitors with the cultural facility itself. It is assumed that by facilitating social interaction and encounter user experience can be improved. On the long run, this could influence the user’s sense of place, stimulating attachment with the location.

The case studies make clear that art cinemas actively apply smart programming, management, and promotion to stimulate attachment with the amenity. These aspects affect attachment on a short term and demand few large-scale alterations, favoring their application. Only secondly, physical aspects are integrated in such a strategy, used to influence the presentation of the institute. The direct effect of physical aspects on attachment is limited. Mainly a place can be provided where social and psychological processes can take place, that in turn could strengthen attachment. The setting of the art cinema, the spatial organization of activities, the circulation and materialization are some of the physical aspects employed for attachment. The spaces where encounter and interaction of visitors can take place, intentionally and unintentionally, are vitally important for this strategy. The foyer takes up a prominent place in facilitating encounter of users. Often, part of the foyer is reserved for a bar or café. Together this ensemble serves as a medium for attachment and additional income. Materialization, color and style play an important part for the presentation of the art cinema, inwards and outwards. One overall style reflecting the art cinema’s goals is key to create a desired appearance and atmosphere.

The film-supportive program gains importance in the operation of the art cinema. It is used to create enough diversity to appeal to a larger audience and to distinguish oneself from other cultural facilities. Moreover, it is also necessary in response to changes in economic public support. Renting out (parts of) the cinema for other cultural activities brings potential future visitors in contact with the accommodation, creating an incentive to revisit the building for one of the activities offered. Recently, more attention is given to rightly facilitating the additional activities in the building, causing a further development of the art cinema concept. Bound by financial and spatial resources, this is still mostly limited to upgrading and/or modernizing the interior fixtures and front façade of the art cinema. The aim is to create a pleasant atmosphere that people can relate to, in order to be as open and easy accessible as possible for a large variety of visitors.

General assessment

The research pointed out that culture can make a small contribution to the attachment (and on the long run the quality of life) of existing residents with a certain shrinking area, provided that a few conditions are met. Art cinemas can play a part in such an overall strategy to promote attachment, as was already mentioned before. This role is yet quite limited, as an art cinema is only one specific building in an entire region, attracting a limited part of all inhabitants. Trying to reach more inhabit-
ants by combining activities and meeting different demands with the amenity would slightly increase the range of the cultural facility, but this also has its limitations and pitfalls.

Nevertheless, being part of the cultural infrastructure of a region, art cinemas can contribute to the diversity of the total cultural offer, together adding to attractiveness of the region for current residents and companies. This cultural infrastructure is therefore one of the conditions that should also be taken into account.

Continuing, many other factors can be pointed out that have a more direct effect on attachment, and finally the quality of life of inhabitants in a certain area. Employment and the provision of good quality housing are only a few of the other factors influencing local attachment. The ‘power’ of a single cultural facility should therefore not be overestimated. By making culture part of an integral strategy, considering all of these factors, governments would have the most effect on local attachment. Attention though needs to be paid to the feasibility of such a comprehensive strategy.

**Preconditions**

The main research goal was to formulate preconditions that could be used as input for the design of a cultural facility in Parkstad Limburg, that would provide for and contribute to the attachment of inhabitants with that shrinking area. Accounting for the limitations such a cultural facility has in the total process of promoting attachment, eight different categories of preconditions could be distinguished: target groups, setting, program, activities, spatial organization, routing, materialization and cinema characteristics, see figure 33. In the table below all preconditions are summed up, split in more general demands affecting the content of the art cinema, and physical demands affecting the form of the art cinema.

40. All preconditions that should be considered when designing an art cinema as part of a strategy to promote attachment of inhabitants in a shrinking area. Source: Thelen (2013).
## Conclusion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-condition</th>
<th>General demands</th>
<th>Physical demands</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Target groups</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Older and retired existing inhabitants (frequent visitors, up for more);</td>
<td>- A gradient in attraction and openness should be created to address each target group accordingly.</td>
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<td>- Newcomers settling in the area, most newly pensioners (potential regular visitor);</td>
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<td>- Young adults, current and former inhabitants of Parkstad Limburg (looking for leisure and public encounter);</td>
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<td>- Course members, attracted for the additional film-supportive program.</td>
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<td><strong>Setting</strong></td>
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<td>- Good and safe access to the art cinema by foot, bike, car and public transport is required;</td>
<td>- A well designed public square near or in front of the art cinema adds to the attractiveness of the facility;</td>
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<td>- Lively surroundings such as cafes and other leisure activities are important to help attract visitors.</td>
<td>- To embed the art cinema in its context interplay of blending-in and standing-out is desirable.</td>
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<td><strong>Program</strong></td>
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<td>- The foyer is the most attracting and inviting element of the art cinema;</td>
<td>- The configuration and design of the foyer is important for the presentation of the art cinema as special link in the total cultural offer of a city;</td>
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<td>- Part of the foyer should be reserved for a café or bar that can be run indepen- dently.</td>
<td>- Compartmenting the program of the art cinema helps to create a clear building layout.</td>
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<td><strong>Activities</strong></td>
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<td>- Film has good compatibilities with theater and music performances;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Additional activities need to reflect the demands of different target groups to generate a wider base for attachment. Together with widening opening hours more a diverse use of the complex is possible.</td>
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<td>- To strengthen the art cinema’s concept additional activities should fit within the educational facility or the stage;</td>
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<td><strong>Spatial organization</strong></td>
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<td>- In the public space different centers for (un)planned encounter should be generated to create gradients in accessibility and attractiveness.</td>
<td>- The foyer should be organized as complementing space, directly connected to the entrance and film halls, leaving most opportunities for public encounter through seeing and being seen;</td>
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<td>- Public activities should be positioned on and around the ground floor, in order to concentrate visitors on the forefront of the building. The further into the building, the more private and supportive functions become;</td>
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<td>- Flexibility in the layout of the film halls (amount of seats, operable windows, sliding walls, etc.) is required to adjust the art cinema to (incidental) changes in demand.</td>
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<td>Routing</td>
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<td>o Central circulation from or via the foyer ensures a clear floor plan with central visibility of functions and users.</td>
<td>o A distinction between different routes and entrances for different users can be adopted to improve the readability of the building; o Attention should be paid to managing the liveliness in corridors to improve user experience and routing (enough views, light and space).</td>
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<td>Materialization</td>
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<td>o Daylight is important to open up and clarify the places for public encounter and main circulation. Narrow &amp; dark is more private, broad &amp; light is public; o A difference in materialization and color should be used to make a distinction of private and public areas; o A color and material palette can be put together for unity in the appearance of the art cinema, creating an own identity.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cinema characteristics</td>
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<tr>
<td>o The box office or counter is the least important element of a foyer, the bar the most; o Projector rooms need to be shared when possible to save space; o Logic numbering of the film halls ensures an almost natural readability of the building.</td>
<td>o A division between service &amp; services spaces is common, also for entrances; o The box-in-box principle is best for (sound)insulation of the halls; o Stands should be designed based on optimized views to the screen, paying attention to the back and front rows.</td>
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</table>

Consideration is needed to effectively use the given preconditions. The preconditions cannot simply be copied when designing an art cinema. It is not possible to equally account for all preconditions in the design task, for this could cause the design to become rather fragmented. It is therefore important to weigh the preconditions and translate them to the design context and situation.
Recommendations for further research

The initial goal for the research was to investigate if and how culture could be implemented in a strategy to create or promote attachment, and further how this strategy could be translated to architecture and the built environment. This last part turned out to be rather difficult to investigate and evaluate, and perhaps even too ambitious. However, using principles of environmental psychology this part could potentially be dealt with in future research.

The research focused on the possibilities of a specific physical cultural facility, the art centre. Continuing the lines set-out in the project, it is suggested to further look into the role of other spatial elements mentioned in strengthening attachment: heritage and protected city sceneries, new monuments and industrial heritage, art in the public space, and parks and squares. Furthermore, a different and maybe more widely accessible cultural facility could be chosen as a case for the research, creating a stronger base to promote attachment on.

Another direction the research could be extended into is that sense of place, using the theory of David Canter. According to Canter three aspects form sense of place, of which two are taken into account in the research. However, exactly the effects of the third aspect, meaning, should not be underestimated. This concerns the meaning of the location, but also of the meaning of the activity and accommodation for the selected target groups. Deliberately this aspect had been disregarded in the research, for it requires more in-depth knowledge of psychological models and theories. Partly, this could be overcome by doing interviews with current and previous inhabitants about their motivations for settlement and/or migration, their opinion about the region in general, and their view on about culture and cultural activities. For the outcome to be of any use, however, multiple interviews should be held and a diverse set of people should be selected, causing the research to become rather complex. Continuing on sense of place, the research only discussed strengthening the existing sense of place. However, what the sense of place of Parkstad Limburg would be has not been included in the research, because it is a difficult aspect to grasp as architecture student. Therefore, it is not exactly clear if culture is the right aspect for Parkstad Limburg to adopt when strengthening attachment, for it could have just as well been sports, or leisure for instance. This could thus be investigated further.

The final recommendation concerns the feasibility of the suggested strategy and approach. One cultural facility is only a small element in a complete strategy to promote attachment in a shrinking region. Other external factors are currently not accounted for in the research, though they could play an even more important role in creating and strengthening attachment with a specific region. Such a factor is the exact composition of the population, including age, educational level and income, but also personality, social background and mentality. The economic situation in a region and specific governmental decisions also play an interesting part. Addition-
ally, the physical and accessible characteristics of the region itself are important to incorporate, including the tangible and collective history of the region. Therefore, it is suggested that these external factors should be mapped first, and their direct influence and that of the interplay of these factors is incorporated in a strategy concerning attachment.
Glossary

Some of the key concepts used in the research are explained here, in order of appearance.

**Demographic change**
Demographic change is the whole of natural developments occurring within a population, nation or worldwide, that deal with its composition and/or numbers. Currently, some of these developments take on unprecedented forms and paces, requiring the review and adaptation of policies (European Commission, 2013). These changes are an ageing population, low birth rates, changing family structures and migration.

**Urban shrinkage**
To explain urban shrinkage in the European and Dutch situation, the definition given by Martinez-Fernandez et al. (2012a) for a shrinking city is used. According to Martinez-Fernandez et al. a ‘shrinking city’ is defined as ‘an urban area – a city, part of a city, an entire metropolitan area or a town – that has experienced population loss, economic downturn, employment decline and social problems as symptoms of a structural crisis”. Urban shrinkage is more than just the simple linear process following deindustrialization of city regions, being a multidimensional phenomenon with multidimensional effects.

**Attachment**
In this research attachment is referred to as a feeling of connection and identification with a specific place or location, generating a certain loyalty to that place.

**Genius Loci**
The term ‘sense of place’ is often interchangeably referred to as *genius loci* in literature. Christian Norberg-Schulz, a Norwegian architect and phenomenologist, is a key theorist on *genius loci*. He defines *genius loci* as “representing the sense that people have of a place, understood as the sum of all physical as well as symbolic values in nature and the human environment,” (Jivén and Larkham, 2003). In his definition four levels are discerned: topography, natural conditions, buildings and symbolic and existential meanings. The first two, characterized by periodic fluctuations, indicate *genius loci* as a place in nature. The other two express society’s cultural interpretation of place.

Many theorists do not agree on the interchangeable use of both concepts in design-related contexts. Norberg-Schulz for example makes a clear distinction between sense of place and *genius loci*, that each operate at different levels (Norberg-Schulz in Jivén and Larkham, 2003, p.74). To explain this subtle distinction Jivén and Larkham (2003) give a historical overview of the use of the latter term. *Genius loci* originally is a Latin term that was used in classic times to describe the guardian divinity of a place, rather than the place itself. In earlier literature from the 18th century...
the term was translated as the genius or spirit of a place, referring to its influence. It was used to develop a new aesthetic appreciation of new rural and garden landscapes. The concept then developed from this romantic and landscape approach towards a wider application. Not limited to a specific type of landscape or place, the urban context currently dominates the use of this concept. It is somehow used to describe the atmosphere and quality of the environment. For the current use Jivén and Larkham also refer to J.B. Jackson (Jackson in Jivén and Larkham, 2003, p.68). He explains how sense of place became “an ambiguous and awkward translation” of the original Latin term genius loci, adopted primarily by architects and then taken over by urban planners and interior decorators.

Within this research the term ‘sense of place’ is used where possible to avoid confusion.

**Cultural centre**

A cultural centre can be defined as a building or complex of buildings with culture as the general theme of their activities and practices. In the third quarter of the previous century this type of building was a widespread phenomenon in many European countries, as well as in America and Australia. In Western Europe the cultural centers can be seen as part of the ‘fulfillment’ of the welfare agenda, proposing an egalitarian society of the redistribution of material and an evenly spread access to education and culture (Grafe, 2010). In his doctorate thesis Christoph Grafe (2010) suggest that the cultural centers were a unique attempt to create places offering access to culture and simultaneously offering the possibility to overcome social and cultural boundaries, forming a temporary sense of common purpose. The higher goal of their conception and construction was to re-create societies in West-Europe by changing the conditions for access to cultural production. The freedom in defining their program and the specific architectural qualities linked to that allowed visitors of a cultural center to be actively stimulated to engage with various social and cultural practices. The more successful examples showed that this way different user groups could be absorbed and a collective experience could be constructed.

In a rather short period between the late 1950s and the mid-70s this cultural institution emerged, blossomed and eventually almost completely disappeared. In the 1980s and 90s many of the cultural centers experienced extended neglect and decay. Some were even replaced by semi-commercial institutions, that no longer aimed at exploring its role in redefining culture and offering it to a wide audience, but rather at making profit (Grafe, 2010). Grafe (2010) explains how the aspirations of the cultural centre to modernize society turned out to be too optimistic, causing its downfall. He continues however that the idea of the cultural centre as places temporarily not dominated by commercial laws, social privilege and distinction, has kept its relevance. Culture, in the form of creative expression, debate and dialogue, still offers potential in providing a common ground for society (Grafe, 2010). Agreeing with Grafe, it is therefore stated that the original concept of the cultural centre could reclaim importance, especially within the social and cultural dynamics occurring in current societies.
Cinema film, art house-film and vulnerable quality film

Using the “Guideline Film Theaters and Cultural Policy” (*Handreiking Filmtheaters en Cultuurbeleid*) (Stienen, 2010) three types of film can be discerned:

- **Cinema film**: This type of film is almost exclusively screened in traditional cinemas, and not in art cinemas. The film offer is aimed at an economically attractive and hence sufficiently wide audience. This type of film is produced by majors (e.g. Universal Pictures) and independents, sometimes in over 150 prints. Examples are Lord of the Rings; James Bond; The Hangover.

- **Art house-film or cross-over film**: This type of film is screened in traditional cinemas, art cinemas and art houses. The offer aims at a less large, but still reasonably economical attractive size of audience. Art house-films are produced by majors, independents and some subsidized distributors, in 10 to 40 releases. Examples are Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon; Intouchables; Amélie Poulin.

- **Vulnerable quality film**: This type of film is almost exclusively screened in art cinemas. The film offer has a limited reach through film festivals and -theaters. These films are produced in 1-5 releases by subsidized film distributors and some independents. Some recent examples are: The Hunter; The Circle; Kandahar.
References


CENTRAAL BUREAU VOOR DE STATISTIEK 2012. Demografische kerncijfers per gemeente, Den Haag: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek


HOSPERS, G.-J. 2010. *Krimp!*, Amsterdam, SUN.


REIJN, G. 2013. Detroit, stad van verval, is failliet. *De Volkskrant*, 20 July.


**Interviews and site visits**

**“Filmhuis De Spiegel”**
Rinus van Dijk & Thijs Deckers (interim management of De Spiegel)
Schunck*, 5th floor
Bongerd 18, Heerlen
23-6-2013, 11.30 – 13.00h;
21-10-2013, 14.00 – 16.00h

**“Filmtheater Hilversum”**
Stef Sluimer (director) & Naïma Geels-Jaouna (financial administration)
Herenplein 5, Hilversum
3-9-2013, 10.00 – 11.30h
“De Lieve Vrouw”
Ronald Vis (currently volunteer, former interim director and involved in the squatting of the building)
Lieve Vrouwestraat 13, Amersfoort
12-9-2013, 14.00 – 15.30h

“Toneel- & Filmschuur”
Kirsten Bootsma (head Marketing & Communications)
Lange Begijnestraat 9, Haarlem
14-10-2013, 10-11.30h

“Het Filhmuis”
Josien Buijs (head Marketing & Communications)
Spui 191, The Hague
8-10-2013, 10-11.30h
Appendices

1. Design assignment of art cinema De Spiegel
2. Interview with art cinema De Spiegel
3. Art cinema case studies

1. Design assignment

To demonstrate how a cultural facility can contribute to attachment and promote social interaction/encounter art cinema “De Spiegel” in Heerlen is chosen as a case. In this section the value of “De Spiegel” for the city of Heerlen and the region of Parkstad will be examined more deeply. The first paragraph will go into the current debate on a suitable accommodation for this art cinema. Additionally, a brief overview will be given of the historical context. The aims and aspirations for the future of the art cinema as a central facility in Parkstad Limburg are discussed in the next paragraph, giving also part of the design brief. To conclude, some points of attention are given to strengthen the potential of this art cinema in the region.

1.1 Art cinema “De Spiegel”

Art cinema De Spiegel is the only institute in Heerlen specialized in offering film art and -culture. The organization was founded in 1986, but the film tradition in Heerlen already started in 1968 with the young adults education center Inpoet, as one of the first in the Netherlands screening alternative films (L’Ortije, 2013). The history of the art cinema is characterized by a search for opportunities, resulting in an expansion of the institute and moving multiple times to a better location. A brief overview of the history of the art cinema focusing on the aspect of its accommodation is shown in figure 41.

![Figure 41: Brief overview of the history of art cinema “De Spiegel”, focusing on the aspects of accommodation. Source: adaption of Baak (2011).]
De Spiegel currently contends with several difficulties, causing it to be on the level of smallest film screeners, fit for municipalities of up to 30,000 inhabitants (Van Dijk, 2012). The art cinema is hindered in further development by the present organizational structure and level of professionalization, the current accommodation and a limited programming space (Bunnik, 2012). The organization of the art cinema consists of five on-contract employees and over 40 motivated volunteers. Each of the five board members manages one specific sector: programming, projection, promotion, counter & foyer, and education (Baak and Vannuys, 2011). In 2009 Roy Salden was appointed as director of the art cinema to professionalize the organization and look into the issue of a future accommodation (Baak, 2011). However, mid 2012 the art cinema ended the collaboration with the director over a difference of opinion on the mentioned issue (Dagblad De Limburger, 2012). An interim board thus had to take over the organization until a new director had been found. End of 2013 a new director has not yet been appointed. If the art cinema should successfully cater for the 89,000 inhabitants municipality, further professionalization is thus needed, let alone to cater for a region of 240,000 inhabitants. Continuing, the current accommodation, Schunck*, is also an impediment for further development of the art cinema. The art cinema uses the multifunctional hall located at the top two floors of the building. Except for some display space on the ground floor, the art cinema is therefore not visually present in the public space. This reduces the chance of attracting passers-by to the institute for a quick visit. Moreover, having to share a single film hall of merely 90 seats with the other co-tenants in the building, De Spiegel can only hold five screenings a week. Therefore, a limited number of films can be screened each year, demanding for a strict selection and leaving virtually no space to prolong successful screenings (see Van Dijk in Interview Filmhuis De Spiegel, p.82). Instead of the offer being flexible, now visitors have to adjust their schedule to that of the art cinema. This has an inhibiting effect on potential visitors, hindering the growth of the art cinema.
1.2 Vision and mission statement

Art cinema De Spiegel wishes to be the center for (motion) pictures and sound in Parkstad Limburg, providing visitors with a complete offer of information, activities and of course screenings (see Interview Filmhuis De Spiegel). Therefore, the next step needs to be made in the art cinema’s development: increasing the number of screenings and achieving a fully-fledged art cinema facility. In its mission statement four clear functions are identified for the art cinema (Van Dijk, 2012): a cultural function (screening quality and art-house films), a guiding function (organizing educational activities), a social function (catering for certain target groups), and a regional function (offering a platform for regional talent and local history). Particularly, expanding the guiding and regional functions are points of attention in the vision of De Spiegel. The art cinema aims at strengthening ties with other cultural institutes in the region, to extend their offer of additional activities and to strengthen the cultural infrastructure of Parkstad. Through these combined activities and events the art cinema tries to reach more people. Concerning their function as a guide, the art cinema has the potential of becoming an information center on film art and media-education and -knowledge. Therefore, De Spiegel aims at structurally doing more with vision and sound, for instance by exhibiting cross-over film art or showing data visualizations, exploiting the possibilities of old and new media (Van Dijk, 2012). This way the art cinema can profit from new media developments.

A summary of the vision for 2013-2016 of art cinema De Spiegel is presented in the scheme below.

<table>
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<th>2013</th>
<th>2014</th>
<th>2015</th>
<th>2016</th>
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<tr>
<td>C status – Location Schunck*</td>
<td>A status – new accommodation</td>
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<td><strong>Activities</strong></td>
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<td>Programming</td>
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<td>o Current film program</td>
<td>o Film festivals</td>
<td>o Premiere screenings</td>
<td>o Multimedia performances</td>
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<td>o Classics</td>
<td>o Avant Garde weekend, etc.</td>
<td>o Lectures, courses</td>
<td>o Debates, lectures</td>
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<td>o Specials</td>
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<td>o Classics program</td>
<td>o Video art/ exhibitions</td>
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<td>o Festivals: Dutch Mountains Film Festival, Belgian-</td>
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<td><strong># screenings</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Receipts</strong></td>
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<td>returns, film courses</td>
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<td>Goals</td>
<td>Circuit (learning, producing, promoting, inciting)</td>
<td>Reach/participation</td>
<td>Cultural heritage</td>
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<td>o Podium &amp; MovieZone</td>
<td>o Senior- and school screenings</td>
<td>o Cooperation with:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Film courses</td>
<td>o Thematic screenings</td>
<td>o Rijckheyt (archive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Regular &amp; target groups program</td>
<td>o Talent of Limburg (Made in Europe, Cinesud)</td>
<td>o LGOG (Limburgs Geschied- en Oudheidkundig Genootschap)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Accessible &amp; high quality films</td>
<td>o Mines</td>
<td>o Mines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Summary of the vision of art cinema De Spiegel for 2013-2016, showing the additional activities or efforts per year. Source: Van Dijk (2012).
Design brief
To be able to hold more screenings and achieve a fully-fledged facility, the art cinema needs to be expanded. However, at the current location this is not possible. As their main future aspiration De Spiegel therefore wishes to have an accommodation of their own, consisting of three film halls. This is expressed in the following concept design brief (Salden and Besselink, 2010):

**The film halls**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Hall 1</th>
<th>Hall 2</th>
<th>Hall 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seats</td>
<td>100 (10 x 10 seats)</td>
<td>54 (6 x 9 seats)</td>
<td>30 (5 x 6 seats)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aisle depth</td>
<td>1.25 m (incl. seat)</td>
<td>1.25 m (incl. seat)</td>
<td>1.25 m (incl. seat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safety corridors</td>
<td>1.1 m (2)</td>
<td>1.1 m (2)</td>
<td>1.1 m (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Screen</td>
<td>7 x 3.75 m</td>
<td>6 x 3.2 m</td>
<td>3 x 1.6 m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Height</td>
<td>5.5 – 6 m</td>
<td>5.5 – 6 m</td>
<td>4.5 – 5 m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Width</td>
<td>8.2 m</td>
<td>7.6 m</td>
<td>5.8 m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depth</td>
<td>18.5 m</td>
<td>12.0 m</td>
<td>10.25 m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total m²</td>
<td>152 m²</td>
<td>92 m²</td>
<td>60 m²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Attention needs to be paid to light traps in-between the film hall and its access, consisting of two opposing double doors.

**Projection room**
The projection room needs to fit the latest demands and thus be equipped with a 35 mm projector and a digital projector per hall. Recently, the transition has been made from analogue to digital film, but not all older films are yet available digitally. Therefore having both projectors is necessary. The projection room also requires sufficient workspace and some storage space. A minimum size of 12 m² is thus demanded.

**Bar and foyer**
The art cinema should be a meeting place with a pleasant atmosphere where a film community of visitors and other users can be built-up. The bar and foyer are key elements in this matter. The art cinema is an easy accessible and contemporary cultural facility, with a foyer that is inviting and clearly visible from the public space. The mix of employees and visitors should be dynamic and pleasant. The bar is the place where tickets are sold and where film fans meet each other before and after a film screening. Overall, foyer and bar should be a place where a wide audience can feel at home. The bar returns will contribute in the exploitation of the art cinema. The bar will be used to sell hot and cold drinks and snacks. An extensive kitchen is thus not necessary. The bar will be operated by a limited number of employees, 2-3 persons at a time. The foyer needs to be capable of anticipating a rush hour, determined by the film hall of 100 persons. Including storage a floor size of 100-120 m² is thus required.
**Walk-in vault**
As 35mm film tins are transported during the night, a separately accessible walk-in vault is used to store the film tins before being picked up. Currently, the walk-in vault of H5 cinema is used, however on the long run an own vault would be desirable.

**Additional spaces**
Additional services are needed for the art cinema to fully function. These are the sanitary units (6 ladies, 2 gents, 4 urinals, 1 disabled toilet), in total 40 m², technical space for installations etc. of approximately 10 m², and circulation space of app. 45 m².

The total amount of floor surface needed for an art cinema of 3 halls is around 530 m². A schematic overview of the concept program is shown in figure 43.

---

43, Schematic overview of concept design brief of art cinema De Spiegel, compartmented in three sections. Source: adaption of Salden and Besselink (2010).
1.3 Strengthening its potential

As is mentioned in chapter 4 (see p. 72), investing in right-sizing the art cinema could increase the number of visitors, and by doing so the presentation of the cultural profile of the municipality as a whole could be strengthened. To identify the future potential of such an upgraded art cinema, De Spiegel had an inquiry made by an external bureau, comparing the situation in Heerlen to that in other municipalities in the Netherlands. The municipalities investigated all have a strong regional focus, the presence of higher education (HBO) and a strong (upcoming) cultural infrastructure. The comparison can be seen in the table below. Heerlen clearly scores under the Dutch average as well as under the average of the three compared municipalities. Using the comparison Gerard Bunnik (2012) gives a prognoses of potentially 40,000 to 50,000 art cinema visits per year, providing that the art cinema is expanded with one hall.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>NL</th>
<th>Heerlen (240,000)</th>
<th>Amersfoort</th>
<th>Haarlem</th>
<th>Zwolle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inhabitants per municipality</td>
<td>210,000</td>
<td>90,000</td>
<td>145,000</td>
<td>150,000</td>
<td>120,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Film visits per municipality</td>
<td>303,558</td>
<td>225,000</td>
<td>450,000</td>
<td>535,000</td>
<td>306,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art cinema visits per municipality</td>
<td>58,823</td>
<td>5,750</td>
<td>55,000</td>
<td>102,240</td>
<td>60,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visits per art cinema per screen</td>
<td>21,247</td>
<td>5,750</td>
<td>18,335</td>
<td>51,120</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art cinema visits as % inhabitants</td>
<td>26 %</td>
<td>6.3 % (0.02)</td>
<td>38 %</td>
<td>68 %</td>
<td>50 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art cinema visits as % film visits</td>
<td>11 %</td>
<td>2.5 %</td>
<td>12 %</td>
<td>19 %</td>
<td>19.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art cinema screens per municipality</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Indication of numbers of visitors that is potentially available for the art cinema in Heerlen, using the numbers of 2011. Source: Bunnik (2012).

These prognoses have no meaning if there is no interrelation between upgrading the art cinema and an increase of visitor numbers. Bunnik (2012) argues that an expansion of the compared art cinemas indeed led to more visitors for these amenities. However, this could also be caused by external factors. Nevertheless, Stienen (2010) points out that in most cases visitor numbers of art cinemas increase when either a new accommodation is realized, the interior is modernized or the amount of film halls is extended. Therefore, upgrading the art cinema of Heerlen seems a feasible investment to stimulate further development of the amenity.

The inquiry also pointed out that a combination of external and internal factors attributes to the success of upgraded art cinemas (Bunnik, 2012). The internal factors can be influenced by the art cinema itself. Upgrading De Spiegel means that the amount of film halls needs to be expanded, so the number and frequency of screenings can
be increased. Additionally, full café facilities are needed to support the film activities. The organization would need to further professionalize, as the workload would increase as well. Last, the art cinema should offer a combination of film and other activities. This last condition will be discussed in more detail in the last part of this section. The external factors attributing to the success of an upgraded art cinema rely primarily on local policy decisions, and cannot be influenced so easily. The success of an art cinema thus strongly depends on the local market and whether local cultural policy and population demand for more diversity and quality in the local cultural infrastructure (Bunnik, 2012). The investments made by Parkstad Limburg in culture and the cultural infrastructure of the region are therefore a key aspect in the further development of the art cinema in Heerlen.

Additional activities
The art cinema of Heerlen is suggested to be part of a larger strategy to promote attachment of existing inhabitants of Parkstad Limburg, strengthening sense of place. Therefore, the amenity should offer a more diverse or extended program that appeals to different visitors. This way, a larger variety of people can be attracted to the building over a larger part of the day, forming a wider base to promote attachment on. The case studies therefore looked into additional activities that are already offered to strengthen the art cinema concept. Using the theoretical approach behind strengthening sense of place (see p. 48-50), these findings can be supplemented with activities defined from the perspectives of ‘physical locale’, ‘activity, and of ‘meaning’. Figure 44 shows these additional activities. The additional program defined from the perspective of meaning can be explained as local institutes and initiatives. Such additional activities reflect the ideals and briefs of other (cultural) institutes. Activities defined from the perspective of the physical locale refer to the present target groups, meeting their needs. The stage facility is one of such an additional activity. The additional program defined from the perspective of activity is related to film. The educational facility, found in the case studies, is an activity that belongs to this type of additional program. In line with the findings from the case studies, it is therefore suggested to use those additional activities related to film (reflecting ‘activity’) and the target groups (reflecting the ‘physical locale’) to both strengthen the art cinema concept and help strengthening sense of place. These activities also fit within the vision of De Spiegel to become the center for (motion) pictures and sound in Parkstad Limburg.
44. Target sectors of additional program for the art cinema in Heerlen, related to film, the target groups, or local initiatives.
### 1.4 Location selection

**Weighing of design locations**

As Parkstad Limburg already deals with high vacancy rates, the new accommodation of art cinema De Spiegel will be sought in one of the vacant buildings, instead of creating a new facility. In order to find a suitable new accommodation therefore several vacant buildings in and around the city centre of Heerlen are compared. Key aspects to consider are the exact location of the property, the context it is located in, good access, and a positive historical and/or architectural value. By weighing all these aspects the best suitable design location can be chosen.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Former HEMA warehouse</th>
<th>Former HTS complex</th>
<th>Former mine school</th>
<th>Geleenhoef Estate</th>
<th>H. Drievuldigheid</th>
<th>Peutz office flat</th>
<th>St. Claracollege</th>
<th>St. Joseph church</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Architect</td>
<td>Dirk Brouwer</td>
<td>Jozef Seelen</td>
<td>Theo Boosten</td>
<td>Eugene Hoen</td>
<td>Frits Peutz</td>
<td>Office building</td>
<td>Alfonso Boosten</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building type</td>
<td>Warehouse</td>
<td>School</td>
<td>School</td>
<td>Square estate</td>
<td>Church</td>
<td>School</td>
<td>Church</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Situation</td>
<td>City centre</td>
<td>Residential neighborhood, just southwest of centre</td>
<td>Residential neighborhood, just southwest of centre</td>
<td>Rural area</td>
<td>Residential neighborhood, just northeast of centre</td>
<td>Residential neighborhood, just southwest of centre</td>
<td>Just outside city center</td>
<td>Residential neighborhood, far northwest to centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connectivity</td>
<td>Foot</td>
<td>Bike</td>
<td>Public transport</td>
<td>Car</td>
<td>Foot</td>
<td>Bike</td>
<td>Public transport</td>
<td>Car</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Along main road 8 min. from station</td>
<td>18 min. from station</td>
<td>7 min. from station</td>
<td>15 min. from station</td>
<td>Along main road 14 min. from station</td>
<td>6 min. from station</td>
<td>9 min. from station</td>
<td>Private parking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Side street of main road</td>
<td>18 min. from station</td>
<td>7 min. from station</td>
<td>12 min. from station</td>
<td>Along secondary road 14 min. from station</td>
<td>6 min. from station</td>
<td>9 min. from station</td>
<td>Private parking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surroundings</td>
<td>Own block with square</td>
<td>Own block, including private greenery</td>
<td>Own block, with private greenery</td>
<td>Acres</td>
<td>Own block, including semi private square, public greenery</td>
<td>Block corner, relatively high density surroundings</td>
<td>Half a block, private squares and bit greenery</td>
<td>Compact block with small private square, private greenery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical value</td>
<td>Part of oeuvre famous architect</td>
<td>Part of mineworkers village</td>
<td>Part of historical estate, one of oldest sites</td>
<td>Catholic church</td>
<td>Part of oeuvre famous architect</td>
<td>Part of historical estate, one of oldest sites</td>
<td>Catholic church, part of mineworkers village</td>
<td>Historical monastery school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architectural value</td>
<td>Example of 'Nieuwe Zakelijkheid'</td>
<td>Iconic building complex</td>
<td>Part of &quot;Boosten triangle&quot;</td>
<td>Historical detailing and ornaments</td>
<td>Historical detailing and ornaments</td>
<td>Historical detailing and ornaments</td>
<td>Historical detailing and ornaments</td>
<td>Typical Boosten sr. design</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Functions in neighborhood</td>
<td>&quot;Cultural triangle&quot;</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Café, restaurants, rental spaces, primary school</td>
<td>City center</td>
<td>City center</td>
<td>City center</td>
<td>Typical Boosten sr. design</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-tenants</td>
<td>No current co-tenants</td>
<td>Temporary use with co-tenants</td>
<td>Several firms</td>
<td>Law firm, winery</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part of project</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes: living, working, sports, culture &amp; leisure. Currently looking for users</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes: social accommodation, multifunctional. Currently initiative/ design phase</td>
<td>Also within entrepreneur promotion zone</td>
<td>Potentially: looking for match of bottom-up initiative and vacant building</td>
<td>Potentially: reuse and/ or transformation, target living, education, museum, leisure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plans available</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
<td>Partially already in possession</td>
<td>Difficult</td>
<td>Difficult</td>
<td>Difficult</td>
<td>Partially already in possession</td>
<td>Difficult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Risks/ challenges</td>
<td>National heritage, limited additions</td>
<td>Large complex of buildings</td>
<td>Large building</td>
<td>National heritage, limited additions</td>
<td>High volume (heating)</td>
<td>Partly national heritage, limited additions</td>
<td>High volume (heating)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opportunities</td>
<td>Stable concrete structure</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Stable and flexible concrete structure</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Could be partly demolished, only façades restored</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total**

- No. 1
- No. 4
- No. 3
- No. 7
- No. 2
- No. 6
- No. 5
- No. 8

Comparison of possible locations for the future accommodation of the art cinema in Heerlen.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Connectivity</th>
<th>Surroudings</th>
<th>Historical value</th>
<th>Architectural value</th>
<th>Space for interaction</th>
<th>Suitable for film</th>
<th>Functions in neighborhood</th>
<th>Co-tenants</th>
<th>Part of project</th>
<th>Risks / challenges</th>
<th>Opportunities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>St. Joseph church</td>
<td>1950 Alfons Boosten Church</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Driewuldigheid</td>
<td>1953 Eugene Hoen Church</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office HTS</td>
<td>1954 Frits Peutz Office building</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former Mine school</td>
<td>1963 Theo Boosten School</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former HTS complex</td>
<td>1922 Jozef Seelen School</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former HEMA warehouse</td>
<td>1919 Dirk Brouwer Warehouse</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Clara college</td>
<td>1920 / 1950 School</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geleenhof Estate</td>
<td>1688 Estate</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 4 9 1 9 7 10 8 -2
1.5 Target location

Building history

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year built</th>
<th>Architect</th>
<th>Style/appearance</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Year built</th>
<th>Architect</th>
<th>Style/appearance</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>Dirk Brouwer</td>
<td>Functionalism, with traces of New Objectivity</td>
<td>Warehouse for “HEMA”</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>H.F.J. Stoks and A. Schwencke</td>
<td>Distinctive façades partly closed and windows blinded</td>
<td>Addition of restaurant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Ton Vandenbergh</td>
<td>Restored to original style</td>
<td>Furniture store for “Schols Meubelen”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Office for employment agency “Randstad”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Description

The building originally consists of three parts, each having an own architectonic expression, namely warehouse, office and restaurant. The warehouse is the mean part of the complex, having large shop windows, overhanging canopies and a curved façade at the back of the building. The offices are set back from the façade on the top floors of the building. The materialization of the building consists of brick, concrete and glass. White glazed tiles are used to clad most of the building, the rest is covered in white plaster. The interior of the building is mostly intact, including the monumental stairwell and square concrete load bearing columns (Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, 1999).

The building is categorized as national heritage, having an important cultural-historical value:

- Architectonically, the building can be held exemplary for the oeuvre of architect Brouwer, because of the extraordinary esthetical qualities of the design, exceptional materialization and ornaments;
- The building is representative for the New Objectivity;
- The warehouse forms an essential part of the ensemble of buildings around the Raadhuisplein, that in turn are important for the development and prestige of the city centre of Heerlen;
- Last, the building has common value because of a fair amount of architectonical integrity of the exterior, and architectural-historical and typological rarity (Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, 1999).
2. Interview Filmhuis De Spiegel (NL)

Naam: Rinus van Dijk & Thijs Deckers
Organisatie: Filmhuis De Spiegel
Functie: Interim management van De Spiegel
Locatie: Schunck*, 4e verdieping
Datum: 23-06-2013
Tijd: 11.30 – 13.00 uur

2.1 Questions (NL)

Achtergrond
- Wat is uw functie precies binnen De Spiegel?
- Hoe staat De Spiegel tegenover de bevindingen in het rapport van Bunnik, kunt u zich hier in vinden?
- Kunt u iets zeggen over de (vaste) klantenkring van De Spiegel? Ziet u hier ook recente ontwikkelingen in qua leeftijd, inkomensgroep, opleidingsniveau, etc.?

Profilering
- Op welke manier wil De Spiegel zich focussen in de toekomst op haar positie en profiel als gedifferentieerd filmaanbieder (aldus rapport Bunnik)?
- Hoe positioneert De Spiegel zich binnen Heerlen?
- Welke positie wil De Spiegel innemen binnen het culturele aanbod van Parkstad Limburg?
- Wat is volgens De Spiegel haar meerwaarde voor de directe omgeving? Wat kan zij voor de omgeving betekenen?
- Wat zijn filmhuizen (binnen Nederland) waar De Spiegel zich aan zou willen meten / een voorbeeld aan neemt?
- In hoeverre is een grotere huisvesting/ andere huisvesting de juiste of enige oplossing om te groeien?

Toekomstige huisvesting
- Hoe staat De Spiegel tegenover de voorgestelde doorstart met/ in Royal?
- Wat voor soort / welke locaties heeft de gemeente naast Maxim en Rivoli onderzocht voor een doorstart?
- Op welke plek in de stad ziet De Spiegel het liefst haar toekomstige locatie, is dat in de wijk of in het centrum, of zelfs buiten Heerlen?
- Tot nu toe zat De Spiegel altijd ondergebracht in een andere, reeds bestaande accommodatie, zodat zij weinig over de uitstraling te zeggen had. Wat is de uitstraling die De Spiegel in een toekomstige accommodatie voor ogen heeft als zij daarover kan beslissen?
o In ons vorige gesprek gaf u al enkele functies / programmaonderdelen aan die in een toekomstige accommodatie van belang zouden zijn, zoals horeca en nieuwe media. Kunt u aangeven wat beide voor De Spiegel inhouden / hoe zij zouden worden ingezet?

o Ook sprak u over ruimte waar ‘community’ kan worden opgebouwd, vrij vertaald naar ruimte voor discussie en interactie. Kunt u nader toelichten wat u hieronder verstaat?

o Hoe zou deze ruimte er voor De Spiegel uit moeten zien, of moet het zelfs geen speciale ruimte zijn?

o Wat zijn belangrijke randvoorwaarden of vereisten aan deze ruimte?

**Multifunctionaliteit**

o Uit rapport Bunnik blijkt dat De Spiegel samenwerking moet zoeken met andere creatieve en culturele aanbieders. Gebeurt dit op het moment en zo ja, op welke manier met welke instellingen? Zo nee, waarom dan niet?

o Is het denkbaar om de toekomstige huisvesting te delen met deze of andere, al dan niet cultuur, instellingen? Zo ja, welke instellingen zouden dat dan bijvoorbeeld kunnen zijn? Zo nee, waarom dan niet?

o Wat ervaart De Spiegel als nadelig aan een multifunctionele accommodatie? En hoe zouden die nadelen weggenomen kunnen worden?

o Wat ervaart De Spiegel als positief aan een multifunctionele accommodatie? En hoe zouden de kansen daarvan beter benut kunnen worden?

**2.2 Conclusions (NL)**

Naar aanleiding van het gehouden interview met de heren Van Dijk en Deckers van Filmhuis De Spiegel kunnen de onderstaande conclusies worden getrokken ten aanzien van diens visie op een toekomstige accommodatie van het filmhuis.

o Filmhuis De Spiegel wil een locatie in het centrum van Heerlen, bij voorkeur binnen de Culturele Driehoek van Thermenmuseum, Nieuwe Nor en Parkstad Theaters.

o De huidige locatie voldoet niet langer aan de eisen. Niet alleen laat Schunck* bouwtechnisch aan de wensen over, ook qua zichtbaarheid van het filmhuis vanaf de straat is er veel te verbeteren. De Spiegel ervaart veel nadelen van het onderhuurschap, onder andere door de sterke beperkingen in het zaal- en foyergebruik voor voorstellingen en het stimuleren van de discussie.

o De Spiegel is gematigd positief over het idee van herbestemming. Dit heeft deels te maken met de beperkingen die een bestaande locatie de ontwikkelingen oplegt. Daarentegen heeft Heerlen bewezen niet al te hoogstaande nieuwbouw te realiseren, waardoor herbestemming toch een interessant alternatief kan bieden.

o Een geschikte alternatieve locatie is nog niet gevonden. De plannen voor een doorstart in Rivoli en Maxim, de meest interessante optie, zijn door de gemeente afgewezen. Voor de aangedragen locatieopties geldt dat zij veelal te ver uit het centrum liggen of te duur zijn.
Mede dankzij de ervaringen met Schunck* staat De Spiegel negatief tegenover een accommodatie die gedeeld moet worden met andere organisaties. Met name het afstemmen van ruimtegebruik wordt als een knelpunt ervaren. Ook kleeft er een groot risico aan een dergelijke exploitatie, dat wanneer een van de exploitanten wegvalt, de overige vaak in de problemen komen.

De Spiegel richt zich daarom op een accommodatie waarin film de hoofdmoot is, in tegenstelling tot een cultureel centrum met allerlei andere culturele instellingen. Men ziet kansen in het creëren van een niche centrum voor bewegend beeld en geluid door het toevoegen van extra functies die het filmhuis als zo-danig kunnen versterken.

Wel is De Spiegel geïnteresseerd in het vraagstuk van duaal ruimtegebruik, om alternatieve invullingen aan te kunnen wijzen voor momenten van de dag dat het gebouw niet in gebruik is. Echter, wanneer dit tot afstemming met andere organisaties zou leiden, is dit een nadeel.

‘Verhalen vertellen’ in de vorm van beeld en geluid vormt de leidraad voor De Spiegel. Hierbinnen zou een eventuele samenwerkingspartner moeten passen, net als aanvullende functies.

De Spiegel wil in de toekomstige locatie beschikken over minimaal twee zalen. Een horecavoorziening in de vorm van een foyer is ook onmisbaar.

Als aanvullend programma voor De Spiegel, naast filmvoorstellingen, worden filmmeducatie, lezingen en tentoonstellingen aangedragen. Het filmhuis zou verder moeten fungeren als kenniscentrum voor film, en een gidsfunctie vervullen voor beeld en geluid.

Een mogelijke samenwerking ziet De Spiegel in de nieuwe media en beeldende kunst. Echter moet dit niet geforceerd worden, maar zou er eerder incidenteel in ruimtes moeten worden voorzien. Momenteel wordt op projectbasis al samengewerkt met maatschappelijke instellingen.

Kleinschaligheid, toegankelijk voor een breder publiek, eenvoud en ruimte voor binding, discussie en ontmoeting zijn enkele beoogde kenmerken van de toekomstige accommodatie.
2.3 Interview (NL)

Achtergrond
Wat is uw functie precies binnen De Spiegel?

VAN DIJK: Thijs en ik doen samen het interim management nu. Of ja, het interim management, we doen het al een hele tijd.

Enige tijd geleden is het contract van de directeur van het Filmhuis, dhr. Van Salden, niet verlengd. Kunt u iets meer vertellen over de organisatie op dit moment?

DECKERS: Dat was half november van het afgelopen jaar inderdaad [2012, red.].

VAN DIJK: We zaten op dat moment allebei in het bestuur. Toen zijn we uit het bestuur gestapt en hebben we die functies een beetje verdeeld, waarbij Thijs de interne zaken doet, en ik meer de externe zaken. Voor de rest zijn het allemaal vrijwilligers. We zitten nu op een stuk of 43, toch?

DECKERS: Ja, zoiets. Misschien zijn het er iets meer nog, dat schommelt een beetje.

VAN DIJK: We hebben 3 of 4 werkgroepen met vrijwilligers. Een groep voor de programmering en een groep voor de kas en de foyer.

DECKERS: Daarnaast nog de projectie en de PR. Verder hebben we ook vrijwilligers die de financiële administratie doen, maar dat is meer individueel.

Toekomstige huisvesting
In het kader van dit afstudeerproject ben ik op zoek naar een bestaand gebouw dat als nieuwe accommodatie voor het filmhuis in Heerlen kan gaan dienen. Ik heb een aantal locaties geselecteerd die in mijn ogen geschikt zouden zijn om her te bestemmen tot een filmhuis. Kunt u aangeven wat uw eerste reactie op deze locaties is?

VAN DIJK: Wat is er gebeurd met de ambitie om iets nieuws neer te zetten, dat iedereen gaat voor een herbestemming? Ik vind het wel een beetje teleurstellend, vaak is het namelijk ook duurder dan nieuwbouw. Het is leuker toch als je zegt, ik maak een programma van eisen, waarin je zegt van dat en dat en dat moet er allemaal in, gaat kijken wat je gaat doen. Neem dit gebouw als voorbeeld. Dit gebouw was een warenhuis en is volledig ongeschoikt voor expositieruimte, kantoor en filmhuis. Zo’n kantoortuin is namelijk toch ook alweer verledentijd. Het is hier bloedheet.

DECKERS: Klimatologisch is het een ramp hier. In de winter is het veel te koud, in de zomer veel te heet. Er is veel te veel glas.

VAN DIJK: Ja, dat is dan de ellende vaak. Wij hebben alleen nog geen leuk gebouw gevonden in Heerlen.

VAN DIJK: Natuurlijk zitten we met de vraag wat er beschikbaar is. De gemeente heeft gezegd dat zij geen panden voor ons gaan kopen. Daarom gaan we er vanuit dat de nieuwe accommodatie of gemeente-eigendom is of voor een redelijk bedrag gehuurd kan worden. En ja, die redelijke bedragen huur, dat valt bij de meeste panden ook tegen. De gemeente heeft ook niet meer zoveel panden in zijn bezit. Behalve natuurlijk degene die ze binnen het bestemmingsplan hebben beoordeeld voor het nieuwe stads­kantoor.

VAN DIJK: Verder moeten we nog onderzoeken wat er met de gebouwen van het Arcus College gaat gebeuren. Arcus, het ROC hier in de regio, heeft in de binnenstad een stuk of vier, vijf vestigingen.

DECKERS: Hierachter richting het station zit Horeca, en daar tegenover zit Zorg en Dienstverlening. Dat zijn twee panden, een oud kloostergebouw en een modernere uitbreiding. Achteraan de Willemstraat, dat is iets verder weg, zit ook een vestiging. Verder zit in MSP [wijkcluster van Meezenbroek, Schaesbergerveld en Palemig, red.] zit iets van ICT.

VAN DIJK: Het is wel een groot aantal gebou­
wen dat straks leegkomt te staan, want Arcus is met nieuwbouw bezig buiten het centrum.

DECKERS: De gebouwen van Arcus moeten ook worden herbestemd. Het is alleen niet aan de gemeente om dat te doen. Die gebouwen zijn namelijk, volgens mij, juist niet in eigendom van de gemeente.

VAN DIJK: De gemeente bemoeit zich vooral met de gang van zaken. Twee weken geleden stond er al een oproep van de gemeente in de krant, om ideeën in te dienen voor die herbestemming.

DECKERS: De gemeente heeft inderdaad wel kaders bepaald. Binnen die kaders moet gezocht worden naar herbestemming.

VAN DIJK: Ik vind dat wel een interessant onderzoek. Die schoolgebouwen zijn aangepast aan hun bestemming. Nu is het moeilijk om in eenzelfde soort bestemming te denken. De vraag is dus, wat je nu moet met de oude gebouwen.

DECKERS: Apparatementen kun je echt vergaten, en kantoorruimte ligt heel moeilijk in Heerlen op dit moment. Wat betreft appartementen is er een enorm overaanbod, zodat extra woningen toevoegen geen optie is. Kantoorruimte is ook ruim beschikbaar in de gemeente. Daarom, denk ik, moet je wel interesse hebben in een creatieve invulling. Het Arcus College denkt daar zelf waarschijnlijk ook zo over. Het gaat alleen nog niet zo rap met de herbestemming van de scholen. Ik heb gehoord dat een van de vestigingen een basisschool wordt. Een andere school staat op de nominatie om gesloopt te worden. Met de rest van de vestigingen is nog niets gebeurd.

VAN DIJK: In het centrum heb je ook geen kerken die leegstaan. Bij de schouwburg staat wel nog een mooie. Die staat op de Heerlense monumentenlijst.

DECKERS: Die kerk is een paar jaar geleden opgeknapt. Hij wordt nu gebruikt om evenementen in te houden.

Hoe zit het met de ontwikkelingen rond de oude Scala bioscoop, waar nu het casino in is gehuisvest?

DECKERS: Ik heb gehoord dat ze daar wel iets nieuws willen ontwikkelen. Ze willen het platgooien en hebben altijd al plannen gehad om daar iets nieuws neer te zetten. Maar het schiet in ieder geval nog niet echt op. Het is de bedoeling dat het in een keer wordt meegenomen met de ontwikkeling van het Maankwartier. Volgens mij wordt de oude Scala binnenkort ook echt gesloopt. Er waren plannen om daar een supermarkt heen te trekken, volgens mij de Aldi, maar die hebben er op een gegeven moment toch vanaf gezien, omdat er te weinig parkeerruimte is. Volgens mij zitten ze nu ook met de handen in het haar.

Op welke plek in de stad ziet De Spiegel het liefst haar toekomstige locatie, is dat in de wijk of in het centrum, of zelfs buiten Heerlen?

VAN DIJK: Ja, dan zitten we met het punt van ons programma van eisen. We hebben gezegd dat we in het centrum een voorziening willen hebben. Als je kijkt naar de culturele driehoek in Heerlen-Centrum van Schouwburg, Thermenmuseum en [poppodium, red.] de Nieuwe Nor, dan is het toch wel erg gewenst om ook in het centrum te zitten. We hebben het ooit eens met Geerd Simonis [adviseur bij C’Magne, conceptontwikkelaars gebiedsontwikkeling in Heerlen, red.] over de HTS gehad [één van de aangedragen locaties, red.], maar dat is het gewoon te ver uit het centrum.

VAN DIJK: Bij de schouwburg ligt de uiterste grens zo’n beetje voor onze nieuwe locatie. Je moet sowieso aan de goede kant van het spoor zitten. De verkeerde kant en de goede kant van het spoor, daar spreken ze in Heerlen altijd over.

Wat zijn de voornaamste redenen dat jullie het Filmhuis in het centrum willen hebben? Het Cultuurhuis van Heerlen schijnt het toch goed te doen buiten het centrum, in de wijk
Interview De Spiegel

VAN DIJK: Hier in het centrum van Heerlen, als cultureel centrum voor heel Parkstad, speelt alles zich zo’n beetje af in die culturele driehoek. Wanneer je daarbuiten gaat zitten, dan krijg je het communicatief gewoon een stuk moeilijker om de mobiliteit op gang te krijgen. Het Cultuurhuis heeft daar ook mee te maken. Zij moeten zoeken naar hele andere doelgroepen, maar hun opdracht is dan ook anders dan de onze. Wat je ziet, is dat het winkelende Heerlen een beetje weg aan het sterven is en alles uitgaan is geworden. Kijk bijvoorbeeld naar het Pancratiusplein, met al die kroegen. Het is dan wel logisch om ook de culturele voorzieningen in het centrum te houden, want daar zit de beweging nu. Een wijk als Meezenbroek [waar één van de aangedragen locaties ligt, red.] is dan sowieso al heel ver weg.

VAN DIJK: Wat wij als filmhuis nodig hebben om bestaansrecht te krijgen, is een vrij groot verzorgingsgebied. Je moet dus wel centraliseren. Willen we bestaansrecht hebben, dan hebben we een verzorgingsgebied nodig van zo’n 200.000 mensen, en dat kan alleen in Parkstad, breed. Het schiet niet op, om in een achterhoekje te gaan zitten en vooral te proberen daar in de buurt de mensen te mobiliseren of erbij te betrekken. Het heeft dan ook geen zin om in Meezenbroek te gaan zitten, want dan ben je helemaal geïsoleerd en afhankelijk van die doelgroepen daar. Deze kaders hebben er bij ons zo’n beetje toe geleid om in het programma van eisen op te nemen dat we inderdaad in de culturele driehoek moeten zitten, en als dat niet kan dan op z’n minst redelijk dichtbij. Een locatie ergens in de bushbush kan wel, maar dan heb je dus ook veel meer geld nodig om dat goed weg te zetten. Kijk bijvoorbeeld naar de mega bioscopen, die gaan allemaal op de industrieterreinen langs de randen van de steden zitten. Maar in dat geval gaat het echt om een hele massa mensen. Die bioscopen hebben een verzorgingsgebied dat gewoon 25 km in diameter is. Terwijl voor ons geldt, dat je het met een straal van 10km wel zo’n beetje gehad hebt, wil je voor dit soort activiteiten iets kunnen doen. Dus de actieradius waar hun zij op richten, is veel en veel groter.

DECKERS: Die mega bioscopen kijken ook naar Sittard en Maastricht. Daar willen ze ook publiek vandaan halen.


Een andere stelling binnen mijn afstuderen is, dat De Spiegel ook iets voor de omgeving zou kunnen betekenen. Juist door buiten het centrum te zitten, zou het filmhuis dan meer contact zoeken met de wijk. Hoe staan jullie hier tegenover?


VAN DIJK: Ik vind het prima om dingen te doen; we willen dat als filmhuis ook wel. Alleen moet je doen waar je goed in bent, en dat moet je op jouw manier doen. Dan kunnen we vervolgens bekijken hoe ver we

DECKERS: Praktisch gezien is het ook niet echt handig om zoiets te doen. Onze reikwijdte is Parkstad en niet een specifieke buurt, laat ik het zo zeggen. Het is voor ons van belang dat we op een herkenbare plek zitten. Een bereikbare plek, ook met het openbaar vervoer, dat is toch wel van belang.

Op welke manier wil De Spiegel zich focusSEN in de toekomst op haar positie en profiel als gedifferentieerd filmaanbieder (aldus verslag Bunnik)?

VAN DIJK: Film is een medium dat erg toegankelijk is. Je kunt er heel veel mee doen, in de zin van overdracht van kennis en van cultuur. Het is makkelijker dan beeldende kunst, en makkelijker dan de hoge cultuur. Muziek is een nog beter medium natuurlijk. Maar film staat op de tweede plaats om waarden en normen onder de aandacht te brengen.

Multifunctionaliteit

Uit Bunnik blijkt dat De Spiegel samenwerkING moet zoeken met andere creatieve en culturele aanbieders. Daarnaast is een van de stellingen van dit afstudeerproject het aspect van multifunctionaliteit, en de mogelijkheid voor het opzetten van een toekomstige locatie met andere partijen. Werkt u op het moment samen met andere instellingen?

VAN DIJK: We hebben ooit eens met het Kunstencentrum [Singe, red.] gekeken of het iets was om, wanneer het pand dan groot genoeg was, een combinatie te vormen. En voor de rest, met een andere cultuurinstelling hebben we dat niet echt, dat is niet echt zo vanzelfsprekend.

DECKERS: Die zijn ook al heel lang zelfstandig. Ze hebben ook allemaal al een locatie.

VAN DIJK: Hier zitten we ook tussen allerlei instellingen in dit centrum. Dat Schunck*, dat is ook min of meer multidisciplinair.

Hoeveel voordeel behaalt De Spiegel nu concreet aan de multifunctionele accommodatie waar zijn momenteel is gehuisvest, Schunck*?

DECKERS: Niks. Alleen maar nadelen. We moeten de zaal delen, ieder heeft zijn eigen hokje. We zijn gewoon een huurder eigenlijk.

VAN DIJK: We zijn onderhuurder. We hebben wel eens gekeken of iets te integreren is met de andere huurders. De vorige directeur zei, dat dit het Centre Pompidou moest worden van Heerlen. Nou, het Centre Pompidou bevat ook een heleboel etages film. Een filmbibliotheek, filmzalen, van alles met film. Dus ik dacht, nou dan zitten we goed! Maar dat viel vies tegen.

Maar het Centre Pompidou is dan ook ontworpen volgens een hele andere visie. Onder andere zitten alle transportfuncties aan de buitenkant, heel anders dan in het reeds bestaande Schunck*.

DECKERS: Dat hadden ze hier ook moeten doen, want dat scheelt al heel wat voor ons. Dan hadden ze de trappen apart erin gemaakt, en de liften aan de buitenkant.

VAN DIJK: Coenen en Arets, de grote jongens uit Heerlen, die zetten dus iets wat licht nodig onder de grond, en iets dat donkere nodig heeft, dat zetten ze op het dak. En de
kunst leggen ze in de kelder.

DECKERS: En de bibliotheek doen ze achter veel glas. Alle vocht en licht is echt niet goed voor die boeken.

VAN DIJK: Om geïntegreerd iets te doen binnen Schunck*, dat is best moeilijk, omdat er veel op het bord ligt van dit centrum. We moeten jeugd, we moeten zus, we moeten zo. Dan worden de activiteiten niet echt geïntegreerd natuurlijk, maar loopt alles eerder naast elkaar. Met het filmhuis hebben wij altijd geroepen: jullie bestaan pas 5 jaar, wij bestaan al 35 jaar. Laat eerst maar eens zien wat jullie ervan maken, voordat we echt eens verder gaan met samenwerken. Maar ja, deze accommodatie valt dus erg tegen, dus zoeken we iets anders.

Om uw verhaal samen te vatten, een cultureel centrum ziet u dus niet zo zitten. Geldt dat ook wanneer het een soort Centre Pompidou voor Heerlen wordt?

VAN DIJK: Ja, dat valt onder 1 organisatie, dat is iets anders. Maar laten we eens kijken naar andere cultuur centra. Ik ben benieuwd hoe het in de Timmerfabriek [in Maastricht, red.] gaat aflopen, dat zal ook moeilijk zijn. ECI in Roermond gaat ook moeilijk, daar gooiden ze op een gegeven moment ook alle disciplines bij elkaar. In Venlo ook, maar daar begint het toch ook moeilijk te worden. Wan- neer een discipline valt, valt de rest ook.

Bij de Campus in Kerkrade, met o.a. muziekschool en kunstacademie, leek het lange tijd toch goed te gaan, ware het niet dat bouwkundige fouten in de fundering het bestaan van het complex bedreigden. Was die multifunctionaliteit hier dan ook een (onderliggend) probleem?


DECKERS: De muziekschool, de vrije academie en het middelbaar onderwijs werden omwille van het project naar het industrieterrein verplaatst. Je hoort nu al dat mensen uit Kerkrade het een zegen vinden dat de muziekschool gewoon weer terug in het centrum zit. Dit zit nu in een voormalig kantoorpand, ook een vorm van herbestemming, alleen sjiek is het niet echt geworden. Maar het is wel heel prettig dat het terug is in de stad. Ik denk ook niet dat we dat ooit nog gaan veranderen.

VAN DIJK: Ik vind het heel aardig van die gecombineerde voorzieningen. Ik begrijp best dat overheden dat willen, want die menen dat het goedkoper is vanwege minder overhead. Maar in al die gevallen, wanneer je kijkt naar de ECI, straks ook de Minerva in de Timmerfabriek, wordt de overhead groter in plaats van kleiner. Want je hebt opeens allerlei extra functies, dat zie je in dit gebouw ook. Opeens zijn er vijf of acht directeuren die allemaal ellende willen, met hun eigen evenementen.

Wat is dan het beeld of de uitstraling die De Spiegel in een toekomstige accommodatie voor ogen heeft om zich te kunnen profileren als gedifferentieerd filmaanbieder (aldus verslag Bunnik)?

VAN DIJK: Het motto is, hou het klein. Dan wil ik liever kleiner, zuiniger en goedkoper bouwen, met simpeler constructies. Wij hoeven geen super-de-luxe filmhuis met marmeren vloeren en weet ik wat. Als we het heel simpel kunnen maken, dan is het ook toegankelijk voor een breder publiek. En dat kan, met eenvoudige middelen kun je heel veel bereiken, denk ik. Het is de uitdaging voor een bouwkundige om een weerwoord te vormen tegen al die ambitieuze ambtenaren en wethouders. Want die hebben het over mooie façades. Maar ik denk juist, die façade
hoeft niet zo interessant te zijn, die moet je interessant maken. Je moet zorgen dat het weerbaar en toegankelijk is en daar heb je gewoon een aantal eisen voor. En wat dat dan betekent, dat is interessant. Je moet dan niet zomaar het model volgen van die nieuwbouw dingetjes van dezelfde typen, zoals zo’n verbouwing bij de ECI. Het is hartstikke hip en ziet er hartstikke goed uit, maar ja, origineel is het niet. En ik denk dan, met zo’n herbestemming kan je misschien best leuke dingen doen. Leuke, gekke dingen, met van die uitsneden bijvoorbeeld.

VAN DIJK: Nu hadden we zelf voor Rivoli en Maxim al een vrij gedetailleerd plan gemaakt, maar dat wordt niet ondersteund door de gemeente. Dit had wel alle voordelen in zich: het was eigendom van de gemeente, het was een bioscoop en daar kun je gemakkelijk weer een bioscoop van maken. Dit was dus de goedkoopeste variant. Maar nu dit niet kan, moeten we naar iets anders gaan kijken. Maar het moet wel levend blijven, in plaats van een steriel gebouw. Heerlen heeft niet zo’n geweldige reputatie, in de zin van ‘architectuur’ bouwen. Dat roepen ze wel altijd, maar er wordt me wat rotzooi gebouwd. Ze hebben zich groot voorgehouden, we gaan alleen maar goede dingen bouwen, maar ja...

Programmaonderdelen
In het vorige gesprek met de heer Van Dijk gaf u al enkele functies of programmaonderdelen aan die in een toekomstige accommodatie van belang zouden zijn, zoals horeca en nieuwe media. Kunt u nog andere onderdelen noemen die belangrijk zijn om de positie van De Spiegel te versterken (zie ook Bunnik)?

VAN DIJK: Die andere dingen staan voor ons beschreven in het Programma van Eisen. We hebben een ontmoetingsplek nodig waar je mensen, die bezoekersgroep beter kunt binden. Dat zijn met name filmmiefhebbers, maar je kunt het ook uitbreiden. Je kunt natuurlijk best veel doen met tentoonstellingen die film gerelateerd zijn. En als je een ruimte hebt, kun je ook zeggen binnen filmeducatie een rol spelen. Aan filmeducatie kom ik nu bijna niet toe. We hebben nu een filmcursus een keer per jaar, vooral op volwassenen gericht. We zijn nu ook aan het uitzoeken wat we in samenwerking met scholen kunnen doen in de richting van filmeducatie. Het ligt er dan een beetje aan wat een school wil, sommige scholen zitten op een bepaald onderwijsniveau waarbij je naar de scholen toegaat, en op een ander moment moet je de school zelf naar je toe kunnen halen. Dat heeft ook consequenties voor de ruimte en de locatie.

Is het een optie voor De Spiegel om bijvoorbeeld zelf over een volledige horecavoorziening te beschikken, zodat het complete avondje uit onder één dak plaatsvindt?

VAN DIJK: Ja, in de vorm van een foyer, zeker. Dat hebben we ook in het programma van Eisen staan.

DECKERS: Ik denk dat het belangrijk is om zo’n ruimte te hebben, met een barretje erbij.

VAN DIJK: Een goede foyer is sowieso belangrijk. Nog niet eens zo voor de baromzet; voor sommige filmhuizen is dat heel erg belangrijk als een toch wel structurele bijdrage in de exploitatie. Dat zal in het Heerlense wat moeilijker zijn.

DECKERS: De bezoeker vraagt ook om een foyer. Men verlangt dat er een plek is waar je vooraf de film kunt voorbespreken en het achteraf ook nog een keer over de film kunt hebben. Dat is ook het onderdeel dat een filmhuis juist anders maakt dan een bioscoop.

VAN DIJK: Op het moment dat het bijvoorbeeld centraal geregeld wordt, maar dan voor verschillende disciplines, is het veel moeilijker. Dan is er een uitbater die het moet regelen, zo’n foyer of café. Zo’n uitbater kan zeggen van “goch, die mensen van het filmhuis die drinken veel te weinig, daar kan ik geen personeel op zetten, dus ik sluit om 11 uur”. Dat is de consequentie, dat zie je in Venlo, en dat zie je op veel verschillende plaatsen gebeuren. Als je dit, zoals wij het voor ogen hebben, met een vrijwilligersorganisatie redelijk kunt bestieren en je er zelf-

Eerder sprak u ook over ruimte waar ‘community’ kan worden opgebouwd, vrij vertaald naar ruimte voor discussie en interactie. Zou dit een speciale ruimte kunnen zijn, naast de foyer, die ook overdag kan worden gebruikt om het aanbod aan activiteiten uit te breiden?

VAN DIJK: Ik denk dat je wel een soort kenniscentrum moet gaan opbouwen, waarin je gaat kijken naar de ontwikkeling in die nieuwe media. En natuurlijk de ontwikkeling in film, want dat is onze hoofdmoot en dat zal ook nog wel heel lang zo blijven. Daarnaast zie je andere ontwikkelingen waar je expertise voor in huis moet halen en waar je dingen en activiteiten omheen kunt bouwen. Wat nu sterk in opkomt, is de interactieve documentaire, verder je ziet cross-overs van gaming naar film, dat soort dingen. Daarvoor zul je een soort kenniscentrum moeten worden en tegelijkertijd moet je proberen er een goede plek aan te geven. Dat kan in de vorm van tentoonstellingen zijn, dat kunnen interactieve schermen zijn in de foyer of weet ik waar, zodat mensen ermee kunnen spelen, kunnen onderzoeken, en ermee aan de slag kunnen. Je kunt er lezingen aankoppelen, en van alles doen. Dit soort activiteiten kan, denk ik, belangrijk zijn als poot naast puur het vertonen van films, wat de hoofdmoot blijft. En je zult iets moeten doen met film-educatie, zoals ik al aangaf, maar je zult ook iets moeten doen met wat er gebeurt in de hele wereld nu, en de nieuwe ontwikkelingen binnen beeld en geluid.

DECKERS: Je moet bijvoorbeeld ook denken aan een plek voor een leestafel, waar mensen wat magazines kunt lezen omtrent film en dat soort dingen. Dat hoort er allemaal bij.

VAN DIJK: Bij de commerciële bioscopen vind je dit niet. Daar gaan ze er vanuit dat er genoeg in de kranten en op televisie heeft gestaan om de film te promoten, maar daar doet die bioscoop niets voor. Die bekijken gewoon wat een film in de bioscoop in Amsterdam heeft opgebracht, en willen dan de best draaiende ook hebben. Wij hebben dus een andere missie, een andere taak, waarin we keuzes maken in het kader van films die aansluiten op dit verzorgingsgebied, films van de derde wereld, en artistiek bijzondere producties, in de zin van vormgeving. Die keuzemix, dat is typisch iets wat het filmhuis doet. Dat is dus niet alleen inhoudelijk en verhaaltechnisch gezien, maar betreft ook filmtechnische aspecten of wereldzaken die je aan de orde wilt stellen. Dat zijn dingen die je ook kunt uitbouwen. We hebben nu bijvoorbeeld een samenwerking met Amnesty International, waarbij we een film draaien, waar een regisseur over komt praten. Dit is dus iets dat je vanuit een maatschappelijke doelstelling programmeert, en niet zozeer filmtechnisch.

Multifunctionaliteit (2)

VAN DIJK: Om nog eens terug te komen op de vraag met welke partijen we zouden kunnen samenwerken: ik weet het nog niet zo. Het enige dat ik in het Heerlense zou kunnen bedenken is misschien Egid met zijn Social Bèta [stichting met projecten in het kader van digitale cultuur binnen de Euregio, red.], dat onder andere actief is met nieuwe media. Nieuwe media, zeg maar, is nog wel een dingetje dat zou aansluiten. Dat is bij ons misschien maar 10% van onze activiteiten, maar daar kan ik me nog wel iets in voorstellen. Daarnaast zie je dat in de kunstwereld kunstenaars steeds meer multidisciplinair werken, dus ook met audiovisueel iets doen. Daarin zie ik ook nog wel wat mogelijkheden. En of dat nou met Schunck* is of met kunstencentrum Singe, of weet ik wie daar nog
druk mee is; daar zie ik nog wel een relatie. Dat is ook een inhoudelijke relatie dan. Maar om het gebouw nu weer te verdelen, zij van 9 tot 1, wij van 5 tot 8, daar word ik niet zo blij van.

DECKERS: De vraag is ook of je het dan onderdaad moet institutionaliseren. Wil Egid dat zelf ook? Dat je voor die mensen momenten in het jaar creëert waarop ze hun ding kunnen doen, dat lijkt me heel goed. Ik denk alleen niet dat Egid dat zelf ook zou willen doen. Waar hij juist zijn motivatie uit haalt, is namelijk dat hij zich van de ene naar de andere plek door het centrum verplaatst.

VAN DIJK: Ik denk wel dat je een potentiële samenwerking daarin moet zoeken. Wanneer je het verzorgingsgebied dat Parkstad breed is bekijkt, dan zie je dat er een aantal disciplines ondervertegenwoordigd is. Dat heeft met nieuwe media te maken, met internetbedrijven. Er zijn wel wat website-bouwers in Heerlen, maar echte innovatie zit daar nog niet. Kijk, wat in Amsterdam Mediamatic doet [stichting voor kunst, nieuwe media en maatschappij, red.], daar schuurt Egid een beetje tegenaan. Ik denk dat daar wel een kans en een behoefte voor is hier, zodat je dat ruimte kan geven. Ook zie ik dat inhoudelijk nog wel dicht bij het filmhuis zitten. Maar wij gaan dat niet organiseren! En wanneer je dat er dan meteen bij wil bouwen, en iemand het dan maar moet oppakken, dan werkt dat natuurlijk ook niet. Maar alle andere disciplines, daar kan ik me niets bij voorstellen qua samenwerking.

VAN DIJK: Ik snap wel waar die behoefte naar een zo efficiënt mogelijke indeling vandaan komt. Wanneer je een gebouw hebt, dat driekwart van de tijd leeg staat, wat kun je dan doen in die tijd? Daarover hebben wij natuurlijk ook onze kop gebroken, over wat er aan behoeftes zijn in de stad. Om te bepalen waar nog een zaal voor nodig is. Zijn dat optredens, zijn dat lezingen, zijn dat conferenties? Dat is uitzoekwerk, maar volgens mij zijn het er sowieso al veel te veel in deze streek.

DECKERS: Ja, en voor de zakelijke markt is het hier denk ik ook al verkadigd. Het idee is vaak dat je filmzalen gaat verhuren aan derden, en dat zal ook voorkomen.

VAN DIJK: Substantieel zal dat weinig in de exploitatie uitmaken. Als ik zie wat er geïnvesteerd wordt hier in de buurt...

DECKERS: De megabioscoop heeft ook al gezegd dat ze zich gaan richten op conferenties.

VAN DIJK: Ja, en dan hebben we al driehonderd plaatsen erbij. Dus ja, daar kun je niet tegenop. Je kent het Patronaat, die moet ook zien dat die z’n dingen rond krijgt en niet verloederd. Straks zit je ook met de Royal die allerlei dingen wil.

DECKERS: En hotels, die zitten overal en hebben ook zalen en dat soort dingen.

Gesproken over het Patronaat; het viel me op dat er daarachter nog een kleine drumkeet staat, waarvan de gebruiker niet in het theater mogen oefenen.

DECKERS: Ja, dat is een drumband ja. Ik weet niet precies hoe dat zit. Ik denk niet dat ze in het Cultuurhuis willen. Want die keet is van henzelf, en daar hoeven ze ook niets voor te doen. Ja, misschien wel met de gemeente misschien. Het is wel hun eigen stek op dit moment.

VAN DIJK: Maar ik kan me er wel iets bij voorstellen. Want stel je voor, je moet zo’n zaal exploiteren. En opeens is er zo’n groep die dat dan claimt voor een aantal avonden. Dan kun je niks meer organiseren, en daar komt niemand op af.

DECKERS: Maar het Cultuurhuis heeft dat, denk ik, dan misschien wel afgestemd met de gebruikers.

VAN DIJK: Maar je gaat niet vastleggen dat ze bijvoorbeeld elke maand een keer moeten optreden. Dat werkt natuurlijk niet.
DECKERS: Maar ik denk ook dat die drumband blij is dat ze een eigen kantine hebben, daar krijgen ze ook opbrengsten van. Anders moet je daar allemaal afspraken over maken. Dat is lastig, ja. Net als bij een voetbalvereniging is de kantine heilig. Dat kan nu ook zo zijn.

VAN DIJK: Nee, maar het is wel goed om erover na te denken. Een overheid die zit met een stel scholenpanden, die zijn in het weekend dicht, en de vraag is dan wat er in het weekend kan gebeuren. En dat zal ook zo zijn bij een nieuwe locatie van het filmhuis. Dat staat elke ochtend leeg, wat kan er dan gebeuren? Het is goed om daarover na te denken. Je loopt alleen het risico, dat wanneer je ruimtes moet gaan verdelen en beheren en lijsten moet gaan maken, je dadelijk twee groeperingen hebt die gehandicapt zijn. Kijk, als wij ‘s ochtends films kunnen draaien voor school, als daar behoefte en markt voor is, dan gaan we dat doen. Maar o wee, nee, we hebben het verhuurd aan weet ik wie, ja dan gaat het mis.

VAN DIJK: Maar voor de rest dus beeldende kunst, iets met nieuwe media. En als je andere dingen gaat doen, dan is dat niet eigen meer. Dan is het ook heel moeilijk om dat een smoel te geven, en om dat uit te dragen. Ik hoef niet Filmhuis De Spiegel te heten, het maakt me niet uit hoe het heet, maar het moet wel gaan over beeld en geluid en over de impact van beelden. Verhalen vertellen, en weet ik wat, dat moet er zijn! Wat ook over die andere disciplines geldt.

DECKERS: Maar kijk eens naar filmzalen, filmzalen die hebben altijd een tribune, een scherm. En er is ook niet heel veel meer. Je kunt er ook niet heel veel andere functies aan geven, laat ik het zo zeggen. Misschien dat je in een foyer nog wel wat andere dingen kunt doen, maar verder...

VAN DIJK: Nee, ik kan het me wel voorstellen dat je af en toe een uitstapje maakt naar theater of zoiets. Als je toch aan het verbouwen bent, moet je dus zorgen dat je volume hebt. DECKERS: Ja, maar daar moet je dan wel rekening mee houden bij de bouw.

VAN DIJK: Ja, dat bedoel ik. Daarom is het ook interessant als je nu gaat kijken naar zo’n zaal. Nu wordt gewoon tegen de muur een scherm gehangen en dan de stoelen zo dicht mogelijk erbij, omdat je die ruimte moet volboeken. Dan heb je dus geen podium. Je kunt er ook over nadenken, als bouwkundige, hoe je dat flexibel kan maken.

VAN DIJK: We hebben nu het Berlin Symfonie met het Grossstadt de 18 juni. Daar wordt dan ook weer de muziek bij gemaakt. Maar of dat dan nu ook meteen allemaal moet in dat nieuwe gebouw. Nee, dat is in MSP, misschien een of twee keer per jaar, snap je. Dan kun je natuurlijk ook verhuizen naar een ruimte die daar wel geschikt voor is. Maar je zou wel moeten nadenken over wat er gebeurt als ik een lezing wil organiseren. Is daar ruimte voor om een panel neer te zetten, en kan ik ook beamen? Dat zijn fysieke omstandigheden waar je wel rekening mee moet houden. En niet van oh, ik ga een filmzaal bouwen, pats.

Wensen toekomstige locatie
Tot nu toe zat De Spiegel voornamelijk ondergebracht in andere, reeds bestaande accommodaties, zodat zij weinig over de uitstraling te zeggen had. Wat is de uitstraling die De Spiegel in een toekomstige accommodatie voor ogen heeft als zij daarover kan beslissen?

VAN DIJK: We hebben een eigen gebouw gehad, op de Akerstraat. En dan ook door vrijwilligers gebouwd. Maar op zich was dat prima. Ik had in Heerlen een caféruimte en een zaal. Dat had een sfeer, en ook wel een eigen handtekening. Dat soort dingen is wel belangrijk, denk ik, om een community op te bouwen. En ik denk dat het nu in het kader moet staan van story telling, verhalen vertellen. Dat kun je op allerlei manieren doen, maar film moet daar wel leidend in zijn. De sfeer moet zo zijn, dat het een plek is waar je een lekkere kop koffie kan krijgen en waar je om me heen van alles ziet dat met beeld

VAN DIJK: Over presenteren gesproken: er is een paar jongens geweest, van de Design Academy in Eindhoven, dat een hele mooie interface heeft gemaakt voor het filmfestival in Nijmegen. Het is een soort touch screen waar je naar het programma kon, maar ook de diepte in kon. Informatie over de film, en dat soort dingen. Volgens mij is het wel een leuke uitdaging om erover na te denken hoe je dat met de gezamenlijke filmhuizen kunt maken. Zoiets. Het is niet alleen maar de IMDb of cinema.nl waar je naartoe gaat, maar je kunt die informatie op een andere manier stroomlijnen, en toegankelijker maken. Je moet dan nadenken over hoe je dat gaat doen. Zijn dat touch screens of grote schermen. En wat doe je met short films? Hier draaien 1-minute films. Zoiets vind ik ook belangrijk. Ik denk niet dat we de productiekant op moeten, maar het is wel interessant om te kijken of je niet een programma kunt bieden, ja, een ontmoetingsplek kunt zijn voor jonge filmmakers.

DECKERS: Ja, dan gebruik je in ieder geval de nieuwe talenten.

VAN DIJK: Al is het maar de ontmoetingsplek, zodat je het netwerk bent. Je kunt ze een podium geven.

Hoe ziet u dat netwerk bieden voor u? Moet daar een specifieke ruimte ook voor worden geboden in de accommodatie?


Regionale positie

In hoeverre ervaren jullie concurrentie van Maastricht? Daar zit immers sinds kort de Lumière in een nieuwe huisvesting in de Timmerfabriek.

VAN DIJK: Best wel. Dat hebben we nu ook al. De mobiliteit van mensen die stijgt natuurlijk. Er zijn nu iets van 8.000 mensen die jaarlijks van Parkstad naar Lumière gaan. En die willen we ook wel graag naar ons toe halen.

DECKERS: Dat is ongeveer zoveel als we nu in het hele jaar bij elkaar krijgen. Dat geeft wel wat aan.

VAN DIJK: Dus die behoefte is er wel. Maar waarom komen ze niet naar ons, omdat we de films te laat krijgen. We hebben maar een zaal. Dus we staan onderaan de lijst bij de distributeur. Als ze overal geweest zijn, dan komen pas ze bij ons. Gemiddeld zijn we drie maanden later. Dus je lift niet mee met
De publiciteit die zo’n film haalt. En echte filmliefhebbers, die willen hem meteen zien en gaan dus naar Maastricht.

DECKERS: Want neem bijvoorbeeld de film van vanavond, die draaien we maar een keer. En als je net niet kunt op die dag, dan heb je pech. Terwijl in Maastricht de films misschien wel drie keer per week draaien. Dan ga je wanneer het jou uitkomt. Maar bij dit filmhuis moet jij je eigen agenda aanpassen op die van ons. Dat vraagt nogal wat van de mensen. De maximale periode dat wij een film draaien is nu zes dagen. En bij andere filmhuizen gaat dat over weken. Als het bij ons net in de week of het weekend is dat je niet kan, dan mis je ‘m.

VAN DIJK: Ik heb over een aantal films nog telefoontjes gehad, met de vraag of die nog draaide. En dat deden ze niet meer, en dat is dus is iets dat zich door praat. Vandaar staat de eis in het programma van eisen voor minimaal twee zalen. Zodat je ze wel langer kunt vertonen. Want nu komen er per jaar 350 films uit die je zou willen vertonen, maar daar kunnen we er 100 van vertonen. Als we dan een film langer willen laten draaien, gaat het ten koste van drie anderen.

DECKERS: Dat is een keuze die je moet maken.

VAN DIJK: Wil je een fatsoenlijke programmering maken, dan is het belangrijk dat je twee zalen hebt. Want dan kun je er mee spelen. Dan kun je ook zeggen, die film die zetten we in de kleine zaal nog even een paar weken door.

DECKERS: Ja, die draai je dan zolang totdat er geen publiek meer komt.

VAN DIJK: Dus dat is de context waarin we denken dat het Filmhuis een belangrijke rol kan spelen binnen dat Parkstad gebeuren. En daarin een hele eigenzinnige poot kan zijn. Hier is niet iedereen ervan overtuigd natuurlijk dat het nodig is. En dus moeten we uitleggen dat als je alles wilt hebben dat met film te maken heeft, dan moet dat toch een plek krijgen.

Wat is volgens u het potentieel voor De Spiegel, wat kan zij betekenen voor Heerlen en wellicht de directe omgeving?

VAN DIJK: Op de manier zoals het nu is, met vijf voorstellingen in deze context, kunnen we niet groeien. Dat is duidelijk. En los van het aantal voorstellingen dat je meer wilt, en het publiek dat je daardoor kunt vergroten, moet je ook nog een eigen smoel hebben, een eigen foyer of een eigen café om een goede relatie met je publiek op te bouwen. Om hen het gevoel te geven dat ze erbij horen en dat ze op de een of andere manier er ook inbreng in hebben. Verder moet je zorgen dat ze goed op de hoogte zijn van wat er allemaal speelt en dat ze daar ook keuzes in kunnen maken.

VAN DIJK: Ik denk dat het makkelijker is om een filmhuis neer te zetten, dan een multicultural centrum waar ook film in zit, of ook nog dit en ook nog dat. In bouwkundig oogpunt, maar ook qua façade en qua nog beeld, zodat je een centrum hebt waar films draaien, maar waar ook nog van alles is over beeld en geluid. Waar ook nog eens een tentoonstelling is van een kunstenaar die veel gebruik maakt van film. Daarin kunnen we ons onderscheiden, ook van Lumière. Er zijn vele kunstenaars die veel met film doen, een Matthew Barney. Arnold Mick. Als je daarnaar kijkt vanuit het Heerlense, dan is die cross-over naar kunsten mogelijk. Wanneer je die combinatie kunt maken, dan vind ik dat voor Heerlen veel significanter en ook veel logischer dan voor Maastricht. Omdat Maastricht die cross-over relatie niet heeft. Dat zijn eilandjes: je hebt de Jan van Eyck Academy, het Bonnefantenmuseum, en je hebt het filmhuis. En hier is het wat flexibeler om die uitstapjes te maken. Maar dat kan wel een goede façade zijn: bewegend beeld, dat is het motto. En dat is makkelijker dan wanneer op de vijfde etage dit zit, daar de muziek, en dat daar de beeldende kunst. Dat is promotioneel dan ook niet slim, want het gaat tenslotte om bewegend beeld. En of dat nu televisie is, of het internet, of een mooie zaal met goed
geluid en een mooie projectie; dat moet er ook vooral zijn. Daar zitten volgens mij de kansen. Net door het heel specifiek te maken, en niet gewoon alles op een hoop.

VAN DIJK: Ik snap dat het dwars ingaat op de efficiëntie. Ik denk dat het heel goed zou zijn, om er echt een heel scherp punt van te maken. Waarvan duidelijk is dat het gaat over verhalen vertellen en bewegend beeld, punt. Dan kun je duizend uitstapjes maken, maar dan heb je iets om mee te beginnen. Dan heb je het artistieke verhaal, het vormgeving verhaal, en het inhoudelijke verhaal, en daar kun je het dus mee doen. En negentig procent zou gewoon het vertonen van internationale gemaakte films zijn. Want dat is onze opdracht.

_Hoe staat _De Spiegel_ tegenover de bevindingen in het rapport van Bunnik, kunt u hier een reactie op geven?_

VAN DIJK: We hebben een vergelijking gemaakt met Deventer, Enschede en nog een paar steden die ongeveer van gelijke grote zijn. We hebben gekeken naar wat daar gebeurt en of dat ook in het Heerlense kan gebeuren. Verder hebben we bekeken hoeveel proef je er van hebt dat er in Heerlen ontzettend veel commerciële bioscoopzalen zijn. Er zijn er opeens 13. Die zullen ook steeds meer art housefilms gaan draaien, dus zullen wij moeten gaan nadenken over onze expertise en waar onze kracht zit om daar wat tegenover te stellen. De art house films die veel publiciteit trekken, die gaan bij de commerciële bioscopen draaien. Exploitatietechnisch en budgettair is het wel een nadeel. Alle filmhuizen draaien op drie, vier films per jaar die volle zalen trekken. De meeste overheden subsidiëren weliswaar de filmhuizen, maar zij roepen steeds meer dat ieder zijn eigen broek moet ophouden. En daar wringt het natuurlijk op het moment dat de commerciële bioscopen de populaire films wegpakken bij de filmhuizen. Dan wordt het gewoon moeilijker.

DECKERS: Tot nog toe hebben we een heel trouw publiek, moet ik zeggen. Ik zie dat de top van het art house filmsegment nog steeds uitverkocht raken, op het moment dat zo’n film toch drie, vier maanden later bij ons binnen komt. Tot nu toe gaat dat wel goed, maar je weet niet wat de toekomst ons gaat bieden.

VAN DIJK: De macht van die commerciële bioscopen is natuurlijk heel groot. De locale exploitant heeft bij de distributeur al geprobeerd te zorgen dat een film niet in het filmhuis komt.

DECKERS: Als hij bij hen is geweest, mag het niet nog bij een ander filmhuis in de regio. Ja, exclusiviteit dus.

VAN DIJK: En dat soort dingen krijg je natuurlijk. Je hebt grote kans dat er een aantal films dadelijk gewoon exclusief naar die commerciële gaan. Het is dan heel interessant om de reactie van overheden hierop te zien. En hoeveel plek de kunstzinnige film dan nog in hun beleid heeft.

DECKERS: Ik weet dat Nelie Kroes vanuit de Europese Commissie wel weer een hele andere hoek op gaat. Daar wordt volgens mij nu flink voor gelobbyd. Nu is het nog zo dat films het eerst draaien in de bioscoop, daar draait hij een halfjaar; dan heb je een tussenperiode en dan komt hij op dvd uit; en dan heb je nog een tussenperiode en dan komt ie op pay-tv uit, dat zijn betaalde zenders van Ziggo. En nog een halfjaar later wordt hij misschien eens bij RTL 4 op zaterdagavond om 8 uur uitgezonden. Nelie Kroes wil er eigenlijk voor gaan zorgen dat direct vanaf het moment dat de film klaar is, iedereen in principe toegang heeft. Dat kan ook inhouden dat je gewoon via internet voor € 1,50 een film kunt bekijken.

VAN DIJK: Voor € 30 kun je nu alle films op het moment dat ze uitkomen via live-stream zien.

DECKERS: Dat wil ze dus helemaal gaan vrijgeven. Daar heeft ze voor gepusht, dus dan zal daar ook wel deels voor gelobbyd worden.

DECKERS: Maar je kunt je voorstellen dat de Ziggo’s en de UPC’s dat dan ook willen hebben, meteen.

VAN DIJK: Ja, het is een moeilijke wereld om daar dan ook een exploitatie omheen te bouwen en dat financieel een beetje gezond te houden. We blijven dat roepen: het gaat om de kwetsbare films, het gaat over een algemeen goed. Het is een kunststroming die toch zwaar onder druk staat, en je moet zorgen dat je podia blijft hebben. Want als dat wegvalt, dan valt er een grote brok van algemene kennis, algemene vaardigheden, ideeën en inzichten, dat valt dan weg. Daarom moet het gesubsidieerd blijven.


VAN DIJK: Daarom is het belangrijk voor alle filmhuizen om te bekijken hoe ze hun repertoire kunnen uitbreiden. En hoe kunnen we ons sterk maken, vooral naar overheden toe. Hier roept de commerciële bioscoop iedere keer tegen de wethouder, dat deze dat filmhuis geen geld hoeft te geven, want hij draait die films wel. Dus draait ze maar de nek om. Maar geheid, wanneer het dan zover is dat we geen subsidie meer krijgen en moeten stoppen, dat hij dan ook stopt met die films draaien. Ja, want dat levert hem vijf mensen op. Dat is niet zijn kern.

DECKERS: Het is een financiële afweging, wat brengt hem het meeste op. En dat zijn toch niet die films die wij draaien.


DECKERS: Zo’n film als we vanavond draaien, dat is in samenwerking met Amnesty International. Dat is voor een commerciële bioscoop een heel groot risico. Het kan best zijn dat je een paar honderd euro op zo’n avond verlies draait.

VAN DIJK: Dus terug naar de locatie en het programma van eisen. In godsnaam niet in een buurt, niet in een kerk ergens.

DECKERS: Het zou aan de rand van het centrum nog kunnen.

VAN DIJK: In het Aambos, daar mag je wel een filmhuis bouwen. Dat wil ik nog wel, zo’n paviljoen.

DECKERS: Ik had gehoord dat er iemand was gaan lobbyen om daar een soort boscafé te maken. Want er zou genoeg parkeerruimte zijn. Maar dat heb je voor een filmhuis ook nodig. Voor ouderen, en mensen met een handicap.

Wat zijn filmhuizen (binnen Nederland) waar De Spiegel een voorbeeld aan zou willen nemen?

DECKERS: Ja, EYE Amsterdam natuurlijk.


DECKERS: Zij zetten zelf ook echt extra programma’s op, buiten puur film. Dat is wel te waarderen.

VAN DIJK: Dat is waar wij nu een beetje mee aan het stoeien zijn. We zijn nu bezig met bu-
itenvoorstellingen, om te kijken hoe je langzaamaan weer nieuws publiek kunt bereiken. Het zijn toch niet allemaal van die hele moeilijke, intellectuele films die binnen het filmhuiscircuit gedraaid worden. Daar moet je publiek een beetje voor warm maken. Vorige week hadden we in Vrieheide, als je het dan over buurten hebt, in een openluchttentheater “Looking for Eric” gedraaid. Dat is een heel toegankelijk sociaal drama, met wat humor, dat dan toch wel inslikt inhoudelijk.

VAN DIJK: Het is maar een klein gedeelte, maar daar moet ook plek voor zijn. Die andere dingen moet je anders verkopen. Daarom vinden we het leuk om dat vaak gewoon op locatie te doen. Zodat ze dan misschien het vooroordeel een beetje kwijtraken, dat het elitair is.

Kunt u iets zeggen over de (vaste) klantenkring van De Spiegel?

VAN DIJK: Ik geloof daar niet in, in doelgroepen. Dertig jaar geleden kon je dat nog heel goed zeggen. Als die en die met die opleiding, en die interesses, dan gaat hij die boeken lezen. En dat is nu allemaal zo onduidelijk geworden. Dus in die zin vind ik het wel een interessante ontwikkeling om te gaan kijken van, hoe ga je daar als filmhuis mee om. En hoe kun je mensen in een vroeg stadium al een beetje interesse kweken. Want je moet een film kunnen leren lezen. Je hebt een bepaalde bagage nodig. Dat hoeft niet, ik bedoel, je kunt een film op vijf niveaus beleven. Je kunt gewoon het verhaaltje volgen en dan ontroerd raken; je kunt ook gaan nadenken wat er is gebeurd; je kunt gaan richten op de techniek, in de zin van waar heeft de camera gestaan, hoe is het geregistreerd, hoe is de belichting, hoe met geluid; en je kunt gaan nadenken van hé, dat verhaaltje is wel heel leuk, maar wat heeft dat nog voor een andere betekenis, heeft het een onderliggende betekenis. Dus je kunt op allerlei niveaus diezelfde films bekijken. En dat is iets waarin, ik denk, dat het filmhuis iets uitgesprokener iets mee moet doen. En dan heb je het over die filmeducatieve taak. Want het is zo jammer als je alleen naar het verhaaltje kijkt, en de rest laat liggen. Daar is niets mis mee. Maar ik denk dat mensen enthousiaster kunnen worden en vaker naar de film kunnen gaan, en meer uit films halen, als ze langzaamaan leren films te lezen.


VAN DIJK: Dat is dus de kunst van het programmeren en zoeken naar wat je hebt. En ik denk dat je daar ook prima kan denken wat voor soort programma’s en hoe zou ik zorgen dat het zich verbreedt. Ik noem het altijd maar de strijd tussen ontspanning en inspanning. Je moet af en toe een beetje moeite doen, er even over nadenken, wat heb ik nu gezien. Dat is niet verplicht, maar dan wordt je wel rijker.


VAN DIJK: Volgens mij kan er heel veel als je dadelijk ook mensen voor en na de film in huis hebt. Dan kun je de achtergronden bij bepaalde films ook meegeven. Dat hoef je

VAN DIJK: Gezien de constellatie van Heerlen – Parkstad – culturele infrastructuur... Want we hebben een fantastische schouwburg, we hebben een fantastisch poppodium... En dan hebben we het gehad. Nou, daarbinnen hoort ook een fatsoenlijk filmhuis, denk ik. Centraal daarin is het belangrijk dat, wil je niet met gigantische sommen afhankelijk zijn van de overheid en subsidies, je ook moet zorgen dat je een voorzieningenniveau hebt, een bereik. Maar dan krijg je mensen echt uit Heerlen-Noord niet naar Brunssum, of naar Hoensbroek. Die mobiliteit is anders, snap je? Je gaat naar Lumière in Maastricht als je van film houdt, en je gaat naar Het Domein als je van beeldende kunst houdt. Kijk, voor een commerciële film ga je naar het Roda Stadion, want daar hoef je geen parkeergeld te betalen. Dan kun je tien meter van de ingang je auto neerzetten. Voor een filmhuis is het een andere manier van uitgaan. Hier zitten de terrassen vol. En als het een lange zomer is, dan willen ze na vier avonden op het terras zitten wel eens iets anders doen.

DECKERS: Je ziet het vaak: als de film is afgelopen en het gebouw wordt afgesloten, dan zitten alle mensen als je buiten komt later buiten op het terras.

VAN DIJK: Maar dat kan ook in huis. Dan wordt het interessanter, want dan heb je iets meer om over te praten.

DECKERS: Die behoefte is er bij de commerciële voor mensen is toch minder. Of ja, het is een andere manier van een drankje pakken in zo'n complex. Volgens mij gaat er nu een wokrestaurant naartoe. Dat wordt het grootste restaurant van Limburg, met 1000 stoelen; misschien wel het grootste wokrestaurant van heel Nederland. Dat is heel massaal, met all-you-can-eat en dergelijke.

VAN DIJK: Jij doet onderzoek naar functies, de culturele infrastructuur, en hebt Heerlen als Parkstad. Wanneer je hier de bevolkings-samenstelling, het opleidingsniveau en dat soort dingen gaat bekijken, is het natuurlijk heel anders dan Maastricht. Ook met wat mensen te verteren hebben. Daarom is het belangrijk om te bekijken wat voor functie je aan het filmhuis geeft en hoe je daarin als overheid kunt faciliteren.

VAN DIJK: Het is toch een hele investering. Sinds 1 september is alles gedigitaliseerd, qua film. Dat zijn toch zware investeringen, zo'n projector. Je kunt niet zomaar ergens een 35mm neerzetten, een scherpmpje ophangen en dan loopt het wel. Het is zo € 80.000 wat je aan apparatuur nodig hebt.

DECKERS: Met geluid wordt het nog meer, als je zo'n dolby-surround systeem moet ophangen. Dat hebben we hier niet hoeven doen. We hoefden hier nu alleen die digitale projector te regelen.

VAN DIJK: Dat zijn dus flinke bedragen. Los van de faciliteiten natuurlijk; je moet gewoon goede stoelen hebben, goede belichting hebben en goede akoestiek. Maar er hoeft geen goud aan de muren. Dus er kan heel veel, en dat is wel een leuke uitdaging voor ons.

DECKERS: Het zou ook interessant zijn om eens te gaan polsen wat Arcus van plan is met het schoolgebouw aan de Kromstraat, dat oude gebouw. Ik heb er geen kijk op, ook niet op wat de mogelijkheden van binnen zijn.

VAN DIJK: Maar bij dat soort gebouwen kun je nog wel eens een vloer eruit slaan om hoogte te krijgen voor het scherm. Er kan van alles.

DECKERS: Het is ook niet een gebouw dat je zomaar platgooit. Er staan veel functionelere gebouwen van het Arcus, die niet gespaard zullen worden. Dit is, denk ik, een van de panden waar ze iets mee willen doen.

VAN DIJK: Maar het probleem is natuurlijk ook, dat als je een te groot pand hebt, met teveel vierkante meters, je er weer wat mee moet doen. Dan krijg je weer van die idiote combinaties waarin ik geen zin heb. Kijk, bouwkundig kun je alles oplossen. Als je het echt kunt splitsen vind ik het prima. Maar ik zie het al gebeuren, want dat krijg ik nu ook mee van de Dobbelsteen in Sittard en op andere plekken. Ja, dan komt er weer een directie, een programmeur... Dan krijg je weer zo’n waanzinnige organisatie, waarin iedereen op iedereen let en niemand verantwoordelijk is voor zijn eigen ding. En dan wordt Theo Merkers ontslagen in Venlo, enz. Dan doen we het wel met vrijwilligers, maar dan hangt zo’n filmhuis ook maar te bungelen. Dus dat vind ik het lastige. Ik kan me goed voorstellen, dat als je een grote ruimte hebt daar iemand z’n ding kan doen, maar in godsnaam niet samen. Want we hebben daar slechte ervaringen mee.