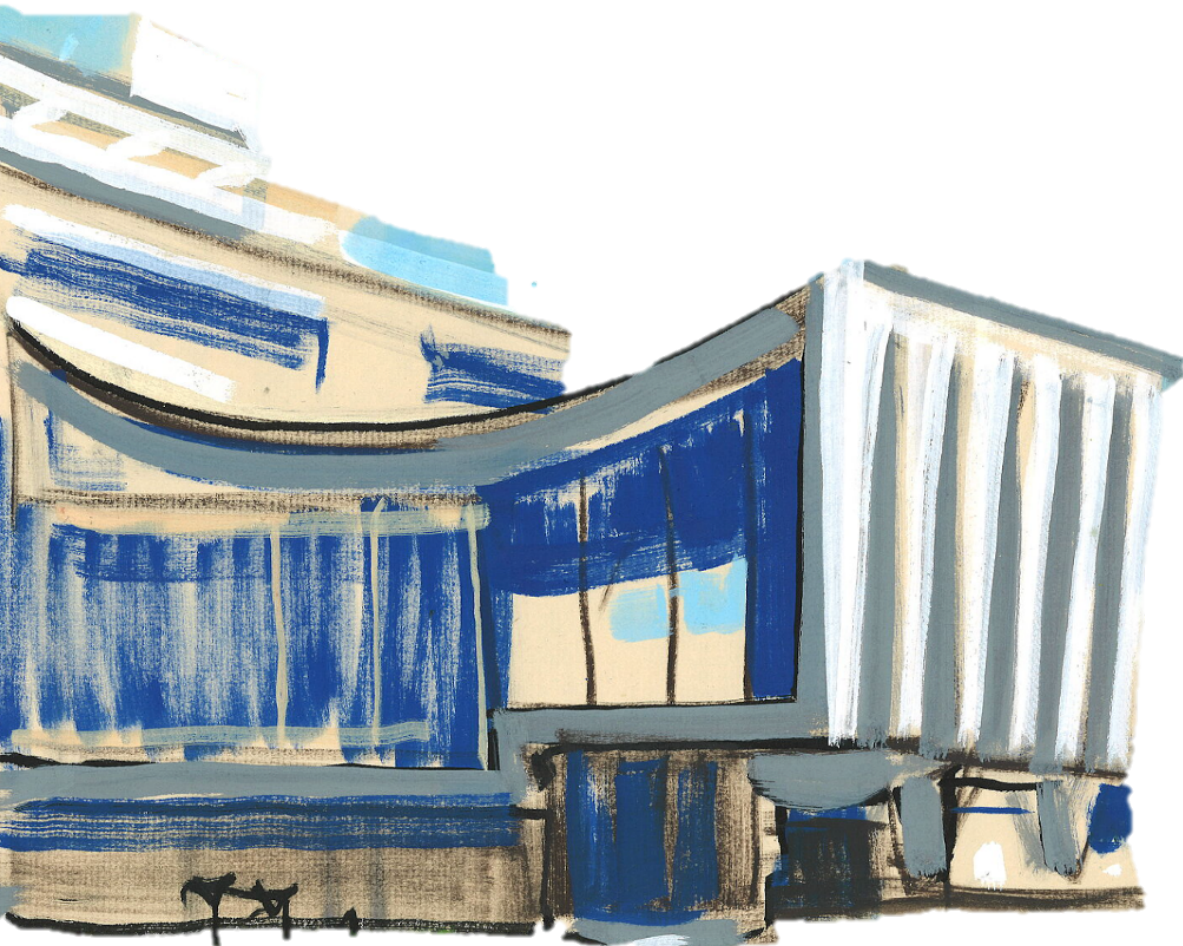


Producing Social Capital in a Transient State
The Impact of Displacement on a Cultural Institute in Amsterdam

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Cover page illustration (De Appel, 2023)

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Abstract

The displacement of cultural spaces across Amsterdam is understood here as the effect of rapid urban regeneration and the issuing of temporary leases. This research provides a case study into how displacement impacts the ability of De Appel, a renowned cultural institute in Amsterdam, to produce social capital. This research analyses the impact of De Appel's insecure spatial circumstances through the concepts of gentrification, civic engagement and social networks. A temporal scope tracks the effects of its relocation from the centre six years ago to its current residence in Nieuw-West and reflects on its upcoming relocation next year. A mixed-method approach establishes a two-fold perspective, consisting of interviews with De Appel team members and a Likert-scale questionnaire given to attendees of their public events. The results provide insight into how De Appel's transitory state conflicts with its expectations to operate effectively as a 'learning institute', identifying temporariness as the central source of friction. This case study argues why this is the case and how spatial permanence could alleviate the issues De Appel is facing. Since displacement is a widespread concern for cultural spaces in Amsterdam, further comparative research into the impact of temporariness is advisable for establishing appropriate future planning solutions.



De Appel (Author, 2023)

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Figure 1 Photograph of De Appel at Broedplaats Lely in Nieuw-West (Author, 2023)



Figure 2 Photograph of De Appel at Prins Hendrikkade, 2012 to 2017 (Lizt.nl, 2017)

1. Introduction

Today, entering De Appel's exhibition space involves navigating between construction fences and shipping containers. Cranes looming overhead miniaturise the Aula of Broedplaats Lely's unique convexed structure (Figure 1). De Appel is an internationally renowned contemporary art centre based in Amsterdam, characterisable by its deep commitment to "mutual exchange and learning" with diverse local and national communities (De Appel, 2023). Since its foundation in 1975, De Appel has inhabited various locations across the municipal region of Amsterdam (Figure 3). Comparing Figures 1 and 2, it is evident that De Appel's visual image today starkly contrasts that of its last residence on the Prins Hendrikkade from 2012 to 2017. Despite having experienced three relocations in the past 15 years alone, De Appel will be relocated again in 2024.



Figure 3 De Appel's residency history in Amsterdam since its foundation in 1975 (De Appel, 2023)

De Appel's pending move from its residence in Nieuw-West is the product of urban renewal forces and the issuing of short-term leases to cultural spaces. The institute's current residence is in Nieuw-West, a district still thoroughly experiencing Amsterdam's "large-scale socio-spatial restructuring" beginning in the early 1990s (Mepschen, 2019, p78). This peripheral area is undergoing strategic transformation to become a centre-urban environment (Green Real Estate, 2023), intending to increase livability whilst setting in motion the process of gentrification (Mepschen, 2019). This development coincides with the end of De Appel's temporary lease issued under the 2000 Broedplaats Action Plan. The policy grants start-ups, cultural organisations, and related enterprises three to five-year short-term leases in affordable, unused spaces in Amsterdam (Bongers, 2017). Such temporary leasing in an area subject to intense urban renewal

makes cultural spaces like De Appel particularly vulnerable to displacement, wherein changes in the immediate surroundings force residents and businesses to relocate (Grier and Grier, 1978).

Cultural spaces in Amsterdam are left vulnerable as they become increasingly subject to such displacement forces. The relevance of this research comes from the need to demonstrate how this vulnerability threatens these spaces' existence. This phenomenon is demonstrated by the intriguing parallel between De Appel and De School, another cultural space just two kilometres away. Both 'Broedplaatsen', or 'creative incubators', host blossoming cultural programmes in repurposed school buildings and will be forcibly relocated at the year's end. Their simultaneous displacement underscores the immediacy of this problem for cultural spaces in districts like Nieuw-West. Last year, both organisations hosted separate conferences, 'Envisioning Free Space' (Frei(T)räume, 2022) and 'Permanent Temporary' (De Appel, 2023), to generate necessary multi-disciplinary discourses about the issue. This research focuses not on the reasons for the displacement of De Appel but on how the institute experiences this precariousness. The scientific relevance is to include this overlooked dynamic in discourse about the social value cultural spaces offer urban societies. The relationship between cultural spaces and the production of social capital tends to focus on the social conditions they can create, but little about how their spatial circumstances impact their capabilities of doing so.

This research bases itself on the suspicion that present spatial circumstances conflict with expectations upon De Appel to generate a particular kind of social capital. Consistently securing funding plays a key role in the precariousness of being a governmentally-supported institute. As a non-profit, financial stability relies on successfully implementing recommendations of national cultural advisory boards, such as Raad voor Cultuur (RvC). The 2020 Raad voor Cultuur Report explicitly expresses the expectation for De Appel to operate effectively as;

"A learning institute [...] time and space for experimentation, long-term relationships, commissioning, and a diverse audience from local neighbourhood residents to international Appel followers" (RvC 2020).

This definition describes the kind of social capital De Appel is supposedly capable of and therefore expected to produce. This research poses the following questions to investigate the friction between such expectations and the institute's spatial circumstances;

How does displacement impact De Appel's ability to produce social capital?

- I. How does displacement affect the nature of De Appel's civic engagement?
- II. What effect does displacement have on De Appel's social networks?
- III. How does displacement situate De Appel in the processes of gentrification?

Answers to each sub-question are explored in the paper's results section, identifying precisely how social capital production is impacted by displacement using a temporal scope. The

theoretical framework explains how gentrification, civic engagement and social networks are relevant to researching a cultural institute in this context. The subsequent methodological section justifies the chosen means of data collection and analysis. A discussion offers recommendations on how to align De Appel's spatial circumstances with the expectation to thrive as a 'learning institute' in Amsterdam. The conclusion lays an explicit foundation for further discourse about overcoming the challenges that De Appel and other alike institutes experience in their efforts to make valuable contributions to urban societies.

2. Theoretical framework

As stated in the introduction, this research bases itself on the theoretical claim that art and cultural centres like De Appel can positively contribute to the societal fabric. UNESCO's 2021 Cities, Creativity and Culture (CCC) Report connects the potential of culture and creativity in facilitating sustainable urban development and inclusive growth, citing cultural spaces as uniquely significant in their ability to act as places of

“exchange and innovation, promoting social cohesion” (UNESCO, 2021, p34).

2.1 Cultural Spaces & Gentrification

De Appel's case exemplifies the complex relationship between cultural spaces and the processes of urban development. In the context of its current presence in Nieuw-West and its pending relocation, De Appel is subject to the dominant critique of cultural spaces when used to spur development in economically weaker areas. The criticism situates their role as a “colonising arm” catalysing gentrification and eventual displacement of existing residents (Grodach et al. 2014, p4). A 2013 study of Studio K, a cultural space in Amsterdam East, exemplifies theoretical engagement with this critique of using cultural spaces as part of neighbourhood revitalisation strategies in economically struggling areas. Upon investigation of Studio K's original aim of stimulating “community building” for the neighbourhood residents, the study found it was instead “creating a home” for a selective middle-class group and excluding the residents (Boersma et al., 2013, pp 46-48). The Studio-K study adheres to the dominant critique, concluding that the cultural space contributed more to gentrifying development patterns than neighbourhood revitalisation.

Deploying this study is necessary to illustrate how this generalising critique associating cultural spaces with gentrification stands for further examination. Previous research has proven a relationship between the type of cultural space and the nature of the neighbourhood development they encourage (Grodach et al. 2014). Studio-K is an exemplary “commercial arts” space, which includes “film, music and design-based sectors” (Grodach et al. 2014, p5). Commercial art spaces are more closely linked to rapid gentrification when used to spur neighbourhood redevelopment, supporting the findings of the Studio-K study. (ibid.). Alternatively, research shows that introducing “fine art” spaces for the same purpose tends to initiate slower-growth processes of neighbourhood revitalisation (ibid.). De Appel falls into this study's characterisation of fine arts, which includes performing arts, museums, and art schools. Calling upon this distinction does not discount De Appel from the gentrification critique; instead, it presents the idea that there is a direct correlation between the cultural institute's activities and the development it encourages in the surrounding area. The following sections, 2.2 and 2.3, of the theoretical framework draw attention to how cultural spaces' nature dictates the social relations they produce.

2.2 Cultural Spaces & Civic Engagement

The CCC Report cites the promotion of civic engagement and active participation as critical aspects of culture's role in the sustainable development of cities (UNESCO, 2021, p29). Academic

tradition states such qualities are key to the democratic functioning of modern society, with theorists like Robert Putnam demonstrating the risk that declining networks of civic engagement pose from a North American perspective (Putnam 1995). In the significant publication 'Use or Ornament? The Social Impact of Participation in the Arts' Francois Matarasso concludes that the arts are beneficial for promoting civic engagement and are

uniquely placed over *"non-creative approaches to social policy"* (Matarasso, 1997, p89).

The justification of this claim is rooted in the arts' ability to foster a specific quality of engagement, arguing the development of desirable personal and practical skills made accessible by artistic practice is crucial for opening routes into the broader democratic process (ibid.). However, participation in cultural activity alone does not guarantee the production of such skills and social capital (Flinn and McPherson, 2008, p13). A 2009 paper by Stern and Seifert draws out a theoretical distinction between "individual arts programs" and "programmatically efforts"; it illustrates how the degree of societal impact dramatically depends on the nature and quality of the civic engagement (Stern and Seifert, 2009, pp. 12-13). Both act as productive tools of civic engagement; individual programs or ad hoc arts do so via fostering the public sphere in building social capital but lack the long-term benefits presented by programmatic efforts (ibid.). Programmatic efforts are mission-driven, ongoing, and rely on networks with the community. They argue that this approach has the potential for a community in a "given locale" to develop the ability and relationships required to address its own unique challenges, a concept known as "community capacity" (ibid.). The self-sufficient nature of community capacity is central to Matarasso's argument that participation in arts presents a viable solution to

"tackle serious social problems and the disempowerment which results from them"
(Matarasso, 1997, p89).

This theory underscores the need to analyse the quality of civic engagement generated by cultural institutes. It demonstrates the necessity of ensuring well-established art institutes can engage the public at their full capacity, which in De Appel's case, translates to effectively operating as a "learning institute" (RvC 2020).

2.3 Cultural Spaces & Social Networks

As illustrated throughout the paper thus far, existing research demonstrates that engagement in the arts speaks to broader ideas about civic engagement, suggesting its contribution is valuable to society. This research aims to supplement existing theory by posing questions about how cultural spaces' spatial circumstances may impact their ability to generate said social engagement. In order to trace the impact of displacement, this study uses Nahapiet and Ghoshal's (1998) three interrelated dimensions of social capital. Calling upon a distinction between the structural, cognitive and relational dimensions demonstrates a relationship between the tangible and intangible aspects of social capital (ibid.). The structural dimension is tangible, referring to the "existence of network ties" (Claridge, 2018, pp. 2). As the conceptual model (Figure

4) illustrates, this dimension directly influences the development of the intangible dimensions of social capital, the cognitive and relational (1998, pp. 251). Their intangibility alludes to what is unobservable, consisting of how people feel and experience a particular social network. Therefore the structural dimension serves as the primary connector between factors implicated in the displacement of cultural spaces and the production of social capital (Figure 4). Social capital theory assists in understanding how the displacement of De Appel impacts its

“network of access to people and resources” and thus its “capability for resource exchange” (Claridge 2018).

This broad, interrelated framework is used as it accounts for the multidimensional benefits that participation in the arts offers individuals and communities and the intangible aspects of social capital that would otherwise be unintelligible (Matarasso 1997).

2.4 Conceptual Model

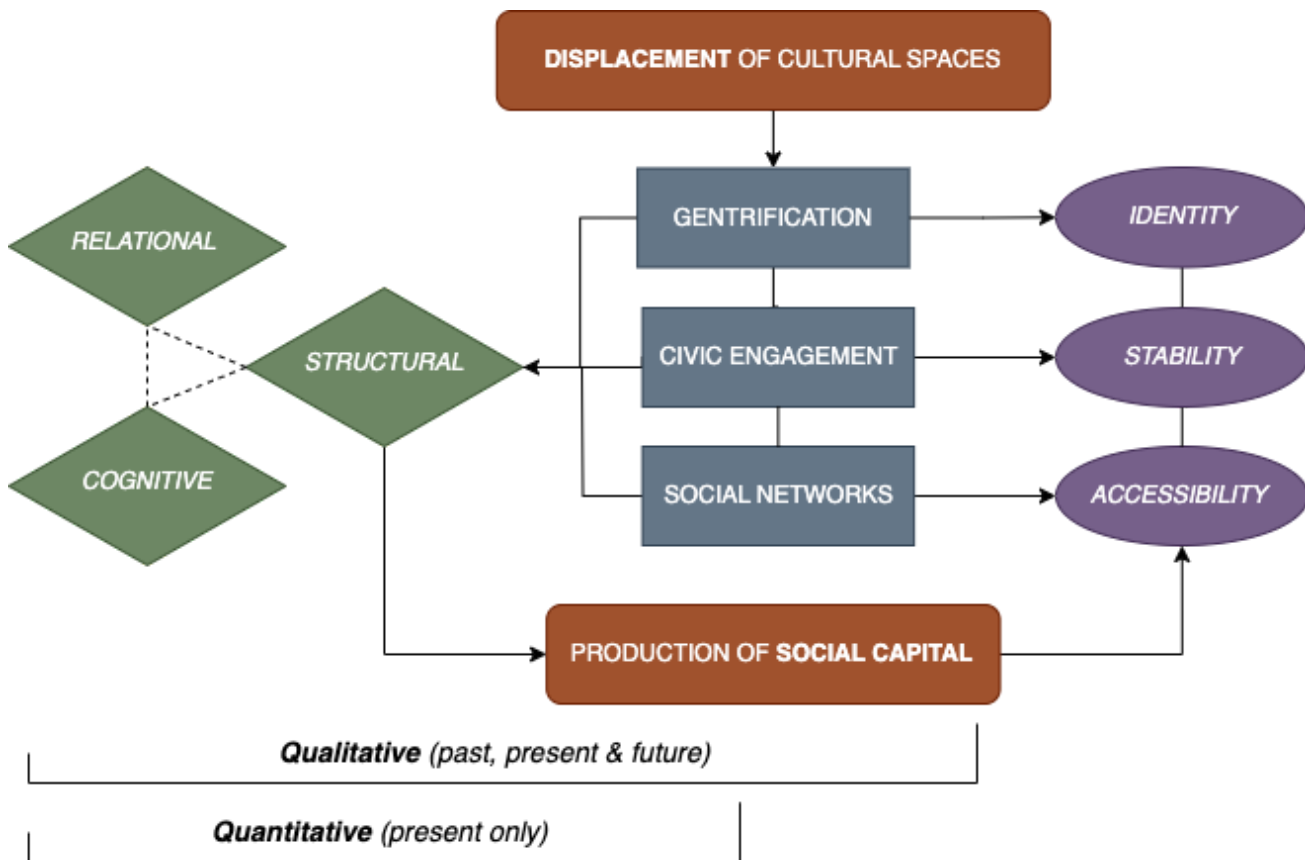


Figure 4 Conceptual Model

Analysing the impact of displacement on De Appel in this research takes a temporal perspective to track change from past spatial circumstances to future speculations concerning gentrification, civic engagement, and social networks. These changes impact the structural dimension of social capital which in turn affect the intangible dimensions (Nahapiet and Ghoshal 1998). The research identifies stability, accessibility and identity as the main impact factors of displacement on De Appel's ability to produce social capital.

2.5 Research expectations

This research suspects that recurrent displacement changes De Appel's networks and ties. The inflicted pressure upon its social networks subsequently influences its social capital production, ultimately limiting its ability to serve as an effective 'learning institute'. If the results of this research support this expectation, it would speak to Zygmunt Bauman's influential claims that

social forms today *"decompose and melt faster than the time it takes to cast them"*
(Bauman, 2006, p1).

The conditions of neoliberal society mean institutes like De Appel are subject to existence in a transient state where temporariness becomes permanent (Bauman, 2006). Proving displacement harms the institute's ability to act as a site of innovative resource exchange and social cohesion would challenge dominant discourses today that praise adaptability and criticise permanence in contemporary urban environments (UNESCO, 2021, p34). The Broedplaats concept described in the introduction exemplifies the spontaneity, energy and efficiency that make temporary cultural spaces attractive in urban regeneration efforts. However, a more comprehensive narrative would consider the effect temporariness has from the perspective of the institute itself (Beekmans and de Boer, 2014, p263).

3. Methodology

The design of this methodology constructs a two-fold perspective from inside De Appel, that of De Appel's managerial team and members of the public attending their events. The quantitative aspect takes the form of a Likert-scale questionnaire (Appendix A) completed by event attendees; the results of the questionnaire gather objective insight into De Appel's present state of social capital production. The qualitative element is semi-structured interviewing (Appendix B) conducted with people who comprise different parts of De Appel's managerial team. The interviews reflect the team's subjective perspective regarding what kind of social capital the institute produces, not only presently but also regarding past and future circumstances. Both approaches address the institute's current social capital production; however, the qualitative element supplements the data by accounting for events outside the limited research time frame and present circumstance. The data is analysed interchangeably in the results section of this paper, collectively providing an overview of how De Appel's ability to produce social capital has changed over time from the institute's perspective.

3.1 Questionnaire

The researcher approached attendees of different events held at De Appel between April 20th and May 12th, requesting they fill in physical copies of the questionnaire, available in Dutch or English. Sampling at a range of different types of events attempts to account for De Appel's wide variety of functions (Table 1). Overall, a total of 41 questionnaire responses were collected.

Type of Event	Description of Event	Collection Dates
Archive	<i>Public access to De Appel's collection of books, ephemera, video, audio, manuscripts, correspondence, witness accounts and art.</i>	April 20 - 26
Film Screening & Panel	<i>Rotterdam-based collective, Sarmad Platform, hosts a curated film screening and discussion</i>	April 22
Exhibition	<i>"After the Last Sky"; an audio-visual exhibition on colonial violence by Inas Halabi</i>	April 19 - 26
Movements Class	<i>An energy practice class based on Chi Kung exploring the dynamics of being present.</i>	April 26
Artist Exhibition Tour (Figure 5)	<i>Guided exhibition tour of "After the Last Sky" by Inas Halabi</i>	April 26
Artist Panel	<i>Panel discussion hosted by De Appel with artist Inas Halabi</i>	May 12

Table 1 De Appel events where data collection was performed (De Appel, 2023)



Figure 5 Artist Exhibition Tour (Author, 2023)

3.1.1 Demographic Data

To gain demographic insight into the type of audiences De Appel's public events currently attract, questions 0 and 0.1 of the questionnaire ask about the attendees' age and where they reside. Obtaining the location of the respondents' residences involved attendees circling their postcode on a GIS-generated map of the municipal region of Amsterdam, specifically to avoid the ethical concern of respondents indicating their precise locations. An occurrence the map's design did not account for was the attendees coming from outside Amsterdam. In these cases, the categories 'national' (Netherlands) and 'international' (abroad) were collected by word of mouth and documented by the researcher.

3.1.2 Social Capital Data

The second section takes on a Likert scale format. Attendees state how much they agree or disagree with statements designed to capture the type of social capital they perceive at the event. Every four questions equate to one dimension of the three in Nahapiet and Ghoshal's (1998) social capital theory (section 2.3). Q1 to Q4 relate to the structural dimension, Q5 to Q8 to the cognitive dimension, and Q9 to Q12 to the relational dimension. Table 2 demonstrates the arbitrary value assigned to each Likert-scale option. These values constitute the numerical data in comparative Mann-Whitney test analysis across different variables on SPSS, available in the following results section of this paper.

Strongly disagree	-2
Disagree	-1
Unknown	0
Agree	1
Strongly agree	2

Table 2 Likert scale questionnaire values

3.2 Interviews

The four interviewees (Table 3, Figure 6) are key managerial team members of De Appel. All of them are involved in managing the institute's functions which produce social capital. This study focuses on De Appel's education, archive and presentation pillars, excluding the Curatorial Programme as it lacks relevance for this theoretical framework. Of the four interviews (Appendix C), half occurred online and the other half at the institute, each ranging between 20 and 45 minutes in duration. The interview guide (Appendix B) uses a semi-structured format to explore how and why De Appel's ability to produce social capital may be affected by its spatial circumstances. The guide features six questions that guide a temporal discussion about De Appel's past, present and future circumstances; the questions permit the team members to discuss whatever impact factors they deem critical. All the interviewees drew attention to changes in De Appel's network of access to people and resources; the structural dimension of social capital production (Claridge, 2018).

Name	Position at De Appel	Pillar of Institute	Duration of Employment
David Smeulders	<i>Curator Education</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>6 - 7 years</i>
Djuna Spreksel	<i>Communications Manager</i>	<i>All pillars</i>	<i>1 - 2 years</i>
Lara Khaldi	<i>Creative Director</i>	<i>Presentation</i>	<i>Less than 1 year*</i>
Nell Donkers	<i>Curator Archive</i>	<i>Archive</i>	<i>Over 20 years</i>

Table 3 Overview of Interviewees

*Lara Khaldi is also an alumni of De Appel's 2013 - 2014 Curator Program



Figure 6 Photos of De Appel Interviewees.

Top left; Lara, right; Nell and Bottom left; Djuna, right; David (*LinkedIn and De Appel 2023*)

3.2.1 Main codes

The deductive codes used in the Atlas Ti. 23.1.2 analysis of the interviews are derived from the three dimensions of social capital (structural, cognitive and relational) outlined in the theoretical framework and a temporal perspective (past, present and future). As the coding tree indicates (Figure 7), inductive coding identified the main impact factors of displacement as *stability*, *accessibility* and *identity*. The sub-inductive code, *permanence*, refers to the dominant solution factor located throughout the interviews.

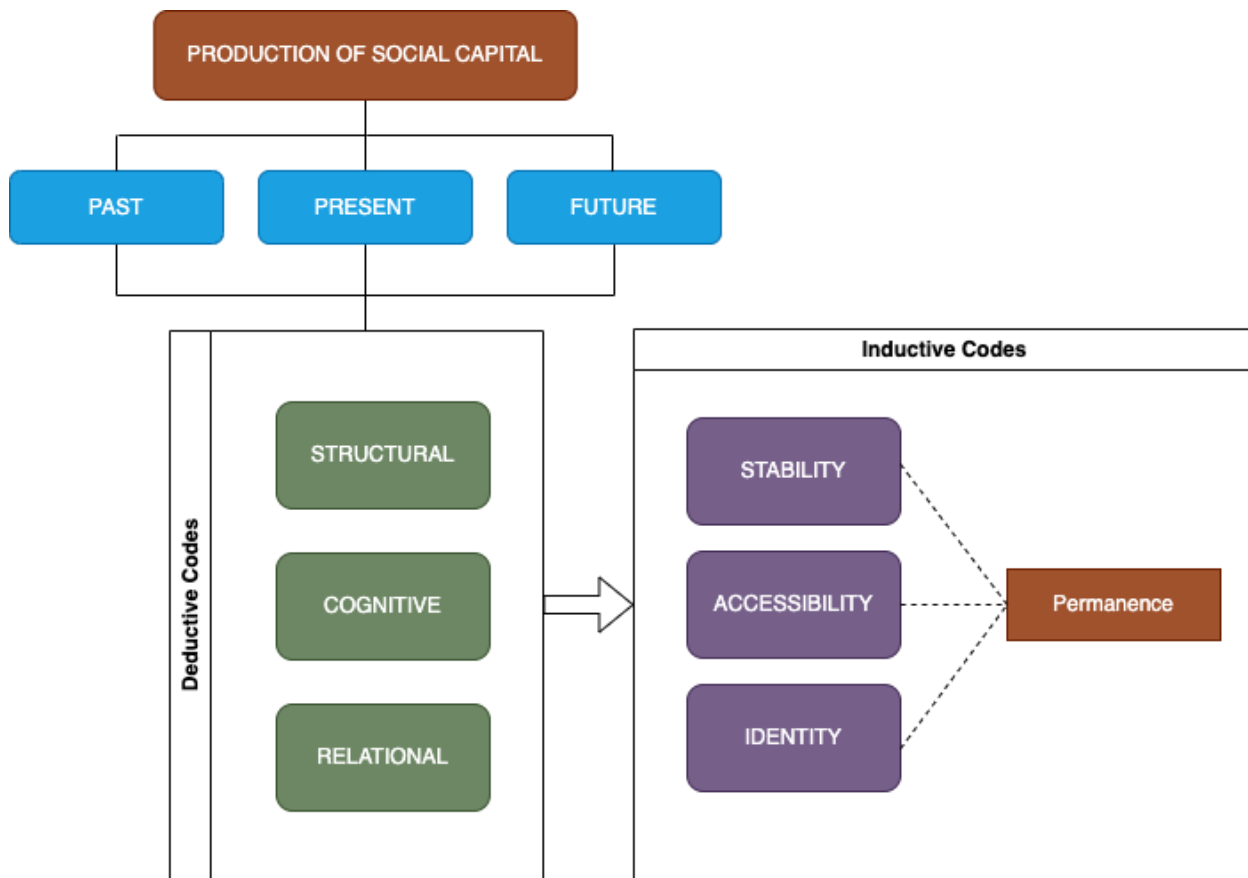


Figure 7 Coding Tree

3.3 Reflection on Data Quality

The subject matter of artistic content at the sampled events influences the data by attracting a particular audience interested in the topic. Most of the events involved Inas Halabi, the exhibiting artist exploring the theme of colonial violence. Less biased sampling would occur throughout a more extended period across different exhibition themes. Additionally, the initial intent of the research was to carry out a multiple-case analysis with De School. A last-minute research rejection meant adapting to a single case study in which the idea to investigate the impact of urban displacement arose inductively via the interviews conducted with the De Appel team. Although this is a strength of the research as it led to discovering a critical phenomenon, had it occurred earlier in the process the questionnaire would feature questions about the institute's spatial circumstances. The data would be more reliable if it included attendees' perspectives on the impact of displacement in addition to De Appel team members. Also, there was a degree of non-random sampling bias regarding the questionnaire as the researcher approached attendees directly at the event. An improved sampling technique would involve distributing questionnaires to all attendees and receiving responses randomly and voluntarily.

3.4 Ethical Considerations

Respondents involved in the interviews or questionnaire were not asked any personal details beyond what was deemed necessary for the research. The interviewees agreed to be identifiable, but the questionnaire data were processed anonymously following GDPR, as stated in the form's introduction (Appendix A). All data collected is stored on a password-protected drive and deleted upon project completion.

4. Results

4.1 Stability

4.1.1 Past

Of all the locations De Appel has had over the past 50 years, it was “most successful” on the Prins Hendrikkade (Djuna) (Figure 2). The fact that it served as a place for people to “meet people” is primarily attributed to the central location of the “prominent” and “solitary” building (Nell).

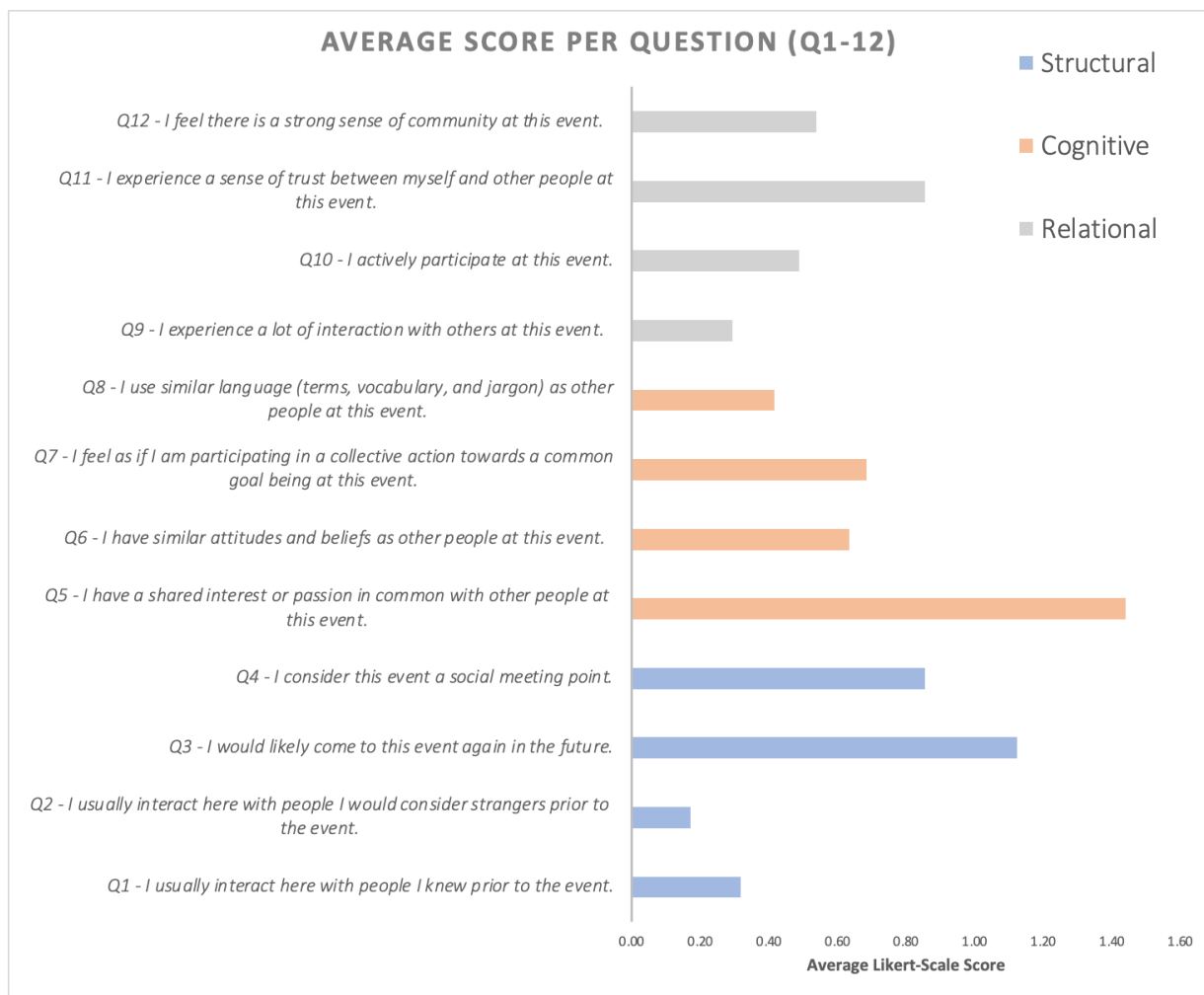


Figure 8 Comparison of average questionnaire scores across all events

4.1.2 Present

De Appel’s location in Nieuw-West contrasts with that of Prins Hendrikkade. Relocating six kilometres away to the opposite side of Amsterdam is said to have changed the demographic of their audiences, explicitly referencing the loss of visitors who are unfamiliar with Amsterdam’s periphery or residents less willing to venture outside the centre (Nell). The quantitative data

support the notion that De Appel's previous centralised location was better suited to facilitate new connections between people; Q2, which inquires into attendees' level of interaction with strangers at the event, scored the lowest (Figure 8). Since the three lowest scoring questions (Q1, 2 and 9) are all related to 'interaction' in some form, it is fair to suggest that De Appel's public events presently do not facilitate interaction as well as other social attributes (Figure 8). In addition to instability caused by relocating to a new district, the institute also faces challenges related to the physical constellation of Broedplaats. The Broedplaats Lely building often experiences functional faults, such as broken windows or heaters, disrupting their work. The uncertainty about their future location is a burden with less tangible impacts, primarily the inability to function and plan with a long-term vision (Nell). For example, the "painful" inability to share and cooperate with other users of the Broedplaats, as everyone faces the same imminent threat of displacement (Nell). Nell offers a valuable perspective, having been with De Appel for 20 years, stating that instability

"stops you from really doing what you can do [...] we do a lot of things ad hoc" (Nell).

David, the education curator, describes the intent of De Appel's education initiatives as facilitating the development of people's skills and passions, giving them

"time and space [to] bloom and to become something" (David).

This assertion underscores De Appel's critical need for geographic stability to stand a chance at achieving its ambitions as a cultural institute.

4.1.3 Future

In consideration of De Appel's future, there is a definite consensus between interviewees about prioritising permanence and continuity. The code co-occurrence graph (Figure 9) indicates that the issue of stability is most pressing regarding their present spatial circumstances and most significantly so in terms of the future. Lara brings up the critical need to start

"thinking about place instead of space" which is key to making "lasting relationships with the community around" (Lara).

Effective public engagement involves having a secure, guaranteed space where De Appel can plan events and programmes with a long-term perspective and communicate them to its audiences with certainty. There is a shared recognition that the tangible and intangible impacts of living under the "threat of being kicked out" (Djuna) restrict the quality and effectiveness of the work De Appel is able to produce as a cultural institute.

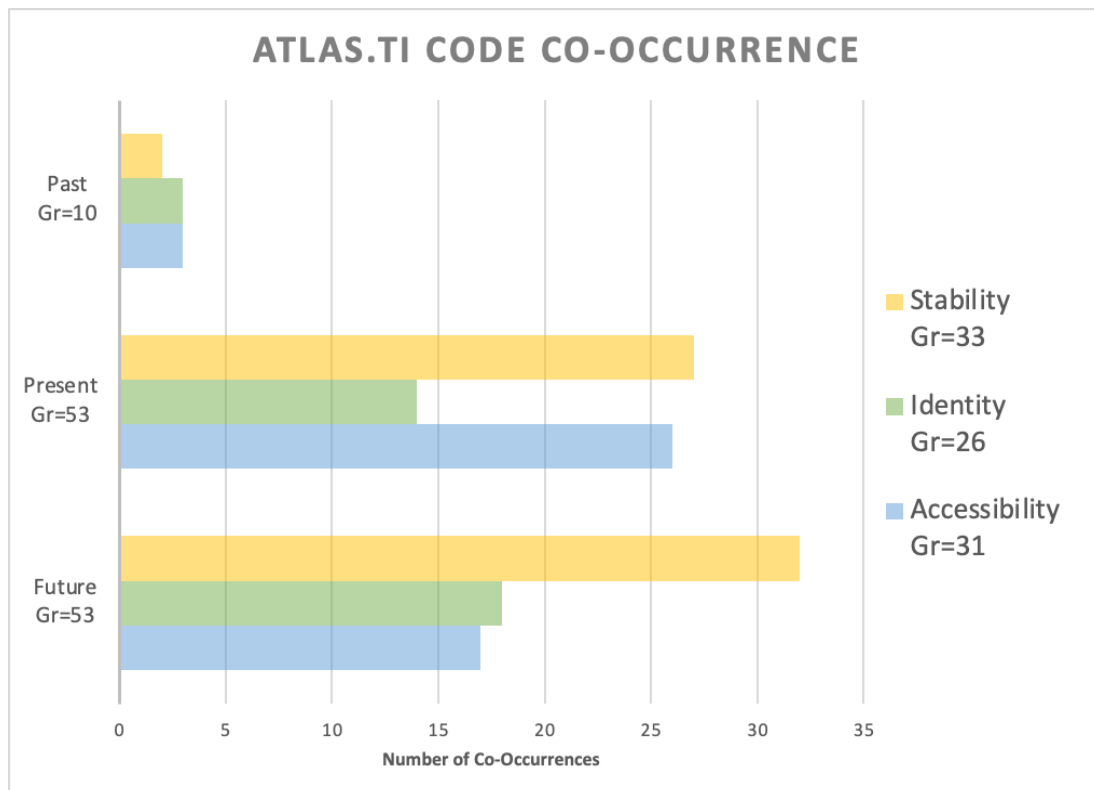


Figure 9 Atlas.Ti Code Co-occurrences (Appendix D.1)

4.2 Accessibility

4.2.1 Past

Being located in Amsterdam's densely populated and touristic centre whilst on the Prins Hendrikkade ensured that the visibility of De Appel was high (Figure 2 and 3). Lara indicates the importance of visibility as an institute, stating that the aim of their presentation work

"is to disseminate the artist's work and to make it available for the general public" (Lara).

Since a location with high exposure to potential visitors presumes greater visibility for the artwork, it is fair to suggest there was greater public dissemination of De Appel's public works at past central locations.

4.2.2 Present

Relocating to Nieuw-West in 2017 has meant not only a less centralised urban presence but also becoming engulfed by the redevelopment of the area, particularly within the past half year (Figure 1). Even after six years, visitors are still surprised by the institutes' new spatial circumstances (Djuna); Lara explicitly states that De Appel

“became invisible because of the construction site” (Lara).

De Appel made distinct efforts to counteract invisibility, exemplified by the work of their communications manager, Djuna. She is part of a working group of institutes in Nieuw-West collaborating on creative solutions to improve their collective visibility in the area, consequently expanding their network in the local area (Djuna). The institute has also embraced the opportunity presented by its geographic context by becoming accessible to and engaging the local community in Nieuw-West. This change speaks to a broader commitment that interviewees agree should play a more significant role in the work of cultural institutes today; that being to

*“acknowledge the art and culture that is already around you” (David) and to encourage
“learning from each other” (Djuna).*

De Appel’s education initiatives and affiliation with neighbouring schools exemplify an effort to make the community part of the institute. Their ‘Teenage Creators Program’ exhibits work produced by young people in the area, and the ‘Westside Tourist newspaper’ highlights local art (David). The ‘Shadows Assembly’ engaged adults in a network of groups interested in working with textiles.

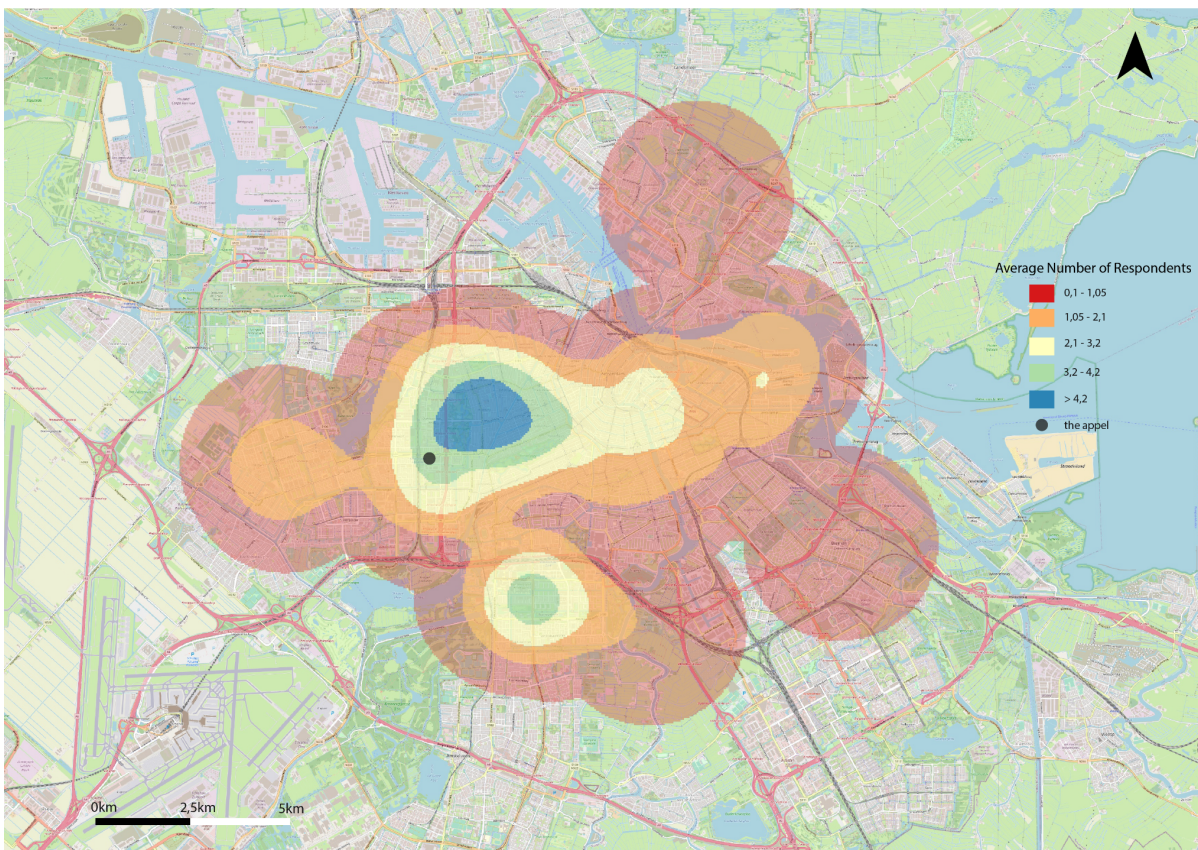


Figure 10 Distribution of De Appel attendee residences in Amsterdam

De Appel's active presence in Nieuw-West has not gone unnoticed, David recalls how people appreciate the ability to

"walk now to a place where [they] can see an exhibition or to follow a program [...] otherwise they always need to go to the centre" (David).

Figure 10, a GIS heat map illustrating the distribution of De Appel attendees' residences, indicates that De Appel engages people in their local vicinity more so than any other area in Amsterdam. The results also suggest that the degree of engagement is more significant for those living closer to the institute than those further away. A statistical test proved that significantly more overall social capital was produced for attendees from within the municipal region of Amsterdam compared to those not from Amsterdam (national and international) (Appendix D.2). Further indicating that those living in closer proximity experience higher levels of interaction (Q9), a stronger sense of community (Q12) and are more likely to interact with strangers events (Q2) (Appendix D.3).

4.2.3 Future

The transitory nature of De Appel's residency in Nieuw-West suggests that the relationship between themselves and the local community nurtured over the last six years will potentially cease to continue next year. David reflects on the belief that

"the area needs more art and culture institutions" hoping that "maybe another institution can host [the programmes]" (David).

De Appel will likely relocate to De Pijp, one of the most gentrified areas in Amsterdam, having to once again adapt to a starkly different local demographic. The main concern appears to be

"to not lose everything that we've built up here" (Djuna).

4.3 Identity

4.3.1 Past

Throughout De Appel's 50-year history the institute has become renowned. Its archive has played a critical role in the development of its substantial national and international network which constitute their

"loyal public of people who are interested in contemporary art" (Djuna).

4.3.2 Present

In coherence with its past, De Appel continues to create strong engagement between those with a common interest in particular contemporary issues (Lara). A claim clearly supported by the highest-scoring question being that which refers to having a shared interest or passion in

common with other people at the event (Q5, Figure 8). The results also suggest that the shift towards engaging both the local community of Nieuw-West whilst maintaining their previous audiences to an extent has served the institutes' ambitions of facilitating

"very generative discussions" which emerge when "the audience [comes] with different perspectives and different backgrounds" (Lara).

De Appel actively tries to generate diverse interaction by connecting different institute parts (Djuna), for example, by inviting archive researchers to contribute to public events or by organising events on the same day and using a collective meal and drinks to encourage overlap. The cognitive dimension being the most significant (41%) compared to the structural and relational dimensions (Figure 11) emphasises De Appel's efforts to nurture mutual exchange and learning between people.

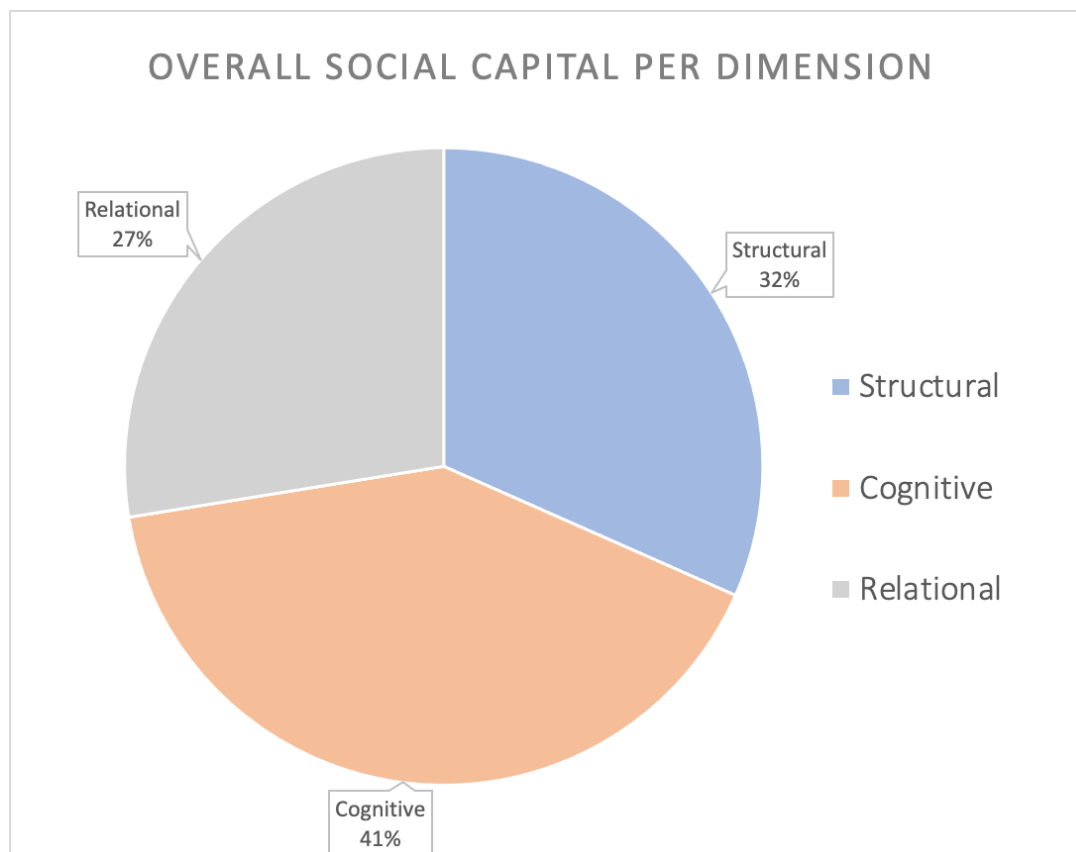


Figure 11 Graph comparing overall social capital scores between dimensions

4.3.3 Future

Despite their efforts to redefine themselves as a cultural institute in its new urban context, all interviewees at some stage recall how its upcoming relocation threatens the identity of De Appel.

The art and culture of the local community have become an integral part of the institute's identity. Moving to a highly gentrified part of Amsterdam poses challenges regarding leaving this community behind as well as with recreating the same valuable engagement between diverse audiences that they have been in Nieuw-West. This upcoming relocation risks De Appel's

identity becoming *"fragment[ed] in peoples' minds"* (Djuna)

Lara describes how critical it is that De Appel's gains more autonomy as an institute, establishing a place where they can

control their *"own fate and make lasting relationships with the community around who are not themselves moving away"* [gentrification displacement] (Lara).

5. Discussion

5.1 Civic Engagement & Stability

How does displacement affect the nature of De Appel's civic engagement?

The research results indicate that spatial instability impacts De Appel's ability to be continuous in its civic engagement efforts in a "given locale" (Stern and Seifert 2009, p12). Drawing upon Stern and Seifert's theoretical distinction, this research suggests that urban displacement restricts their ability to function "programmatically" as a cultural institute (2009, p11). Although valuable, "individual arts programs" lack the clear prior objectives as well as the spatial and temporal continuity that "programmatic efforts" require to generate community capacity (ibid.). Existing in a transient state between locations prevents continuity in De Appel's initiatives and programmes involving the local community in Nieuw-West. Nell describes how temporariness forces the institute to do many things "ad hoc," and David illustrates how the dialogue they are building with local residents demands "time and space". All interviewees argue the importance of local engagement whilst also asserting that the unstable urban environment threatens the existence of relationships they have built with the community. A lack of continuity in De Appel's civic engagement in its given locale limits the potential to build community capacity (Matarasso, 1997, p89). Community capacity building is crucial to achieving the widespread societal benefits that theorists like Matarasso argue that participation in the arts is capable of (ibid.). The expectation for De Appel to be a 'learning institute' capable of generating community capacity requires long-term, goal-oriented social relations, of which it is incapable in its present circumstances. A permanent location brings about spatial and temporal stability, which in theory, permits De Appel to exemplify better that participation in the arts is a highly effective approach to social policy.

5.2 Social Networks & Accessibility

What effect does displacement have on De Appel's social networks?

This research has proved that recurrent relocations impact the demographic composition of De Appel's social networks and ties. This study indicates that the structural dimension of social capital, De Appel's networks of people and resources, is significantly impacted by the experience of displacement. Since relocating to Nieuw-West, event attendee demographics have altered via decreased visibility and increased local community engagement. Displacement impacts who De Appel is accessible to and, therefore, whom they engage (Matarasso, 1997, p89). Aligning these results with Nahapiet and Ghoshal's (1998) three interrelated dimensions helps understand what implications changes to the structural dimension have for the overall production of social capital. Although relocating to Nieuw-West disrupted its existing network, it also permitted the establishment of a new network with its locale. The social capital theory states that the tangible structural dimension directly influences the intangible cognitive and relational dimensions (Nahapiet and Ghoshal 1998). Therefore, it is fair to suggest that these structural changes have

increased the institute's capabilities for effective resource exchange with the local community in Nieuw-West. As the local community faces fragmentation under the pressure of rapid urban redevelopment, De Appel has the potential to serve effectively as a site of social cohesion and exchange. However, crucially, the theory also states that "stable" social interactions are necessary for developing the intangible dimensions of social capital (1998, p252). Due to the temporariness of De Appel's current spatial circumstances, moving at the end of the year will inevitably cause significant instability in their developing local networks and, thus, to the social capital currently being produced. This research suggests that establishing a new local social network in its upcoming residence will prove obsolete without the precondition of a secure, long-term residence.

5.3 Gentrification & Identity

How does displacement situate De Appel in the processes of gentrification?

As a case study, De Appel illustrates how the district that a cultural institute locates itself affects its identity. Lara indicates how De Appel has become part of the "justification process" of Nieuw-West's rapid gentrification in recent years. Their absorption into the redevelopment landscape does not stop at the physical construction (Figure 1), extending into the realm of their identity as an institute and becoming "part of the art space" (Lara). The rapid gentrification of the area that has taken place during De Appel's six-year residence in Nieuw-West associates them with the "colonising arm" of development, which ideologically contradicts their identity as a cultural institute (Lara) (Grodach et al. 2014, p4). It is productive to position these findings against the theoretical argument that the type of cultural space is related to the development outcomes it encourages in the area (ibid.). As a 'fine arts' institute, De Appel should theoretically be associated more closely with "revitalising" development than gentrifying processes (ibid.). However, a critical precondition to this argument is using the cultural space to "spur" development (ibid.). In contrast, De Appel was relocated to the area in 2017, well into the intense redevelopment of Nieuw-West beginning decades ago (Mepschen, 2019). Despite De Appel's particular local engagement efforts, it is arguable that expecting a 'learning institute' to create positive, place-based change in a neighbourhood already consumed by gentrification processes is unrealistic and negatively impacts its identity (Grodach et al. 2014).

On the other hand, De Appel's initial displacement to Nieuw-West led to the foundation of education initiatives and programmes, profoundly impacting its identity via a newfound commitment to local engagement it was lacking when based in the centre. However, De Appel is to be displaced again, potentially relocating to one of the most gentrified districts in all of Amsterdam. This displacement threatens to fragment De Appel's identity as a 'learning institute' if it fails to maintain its orientation towards local community engagement.

5.4 Discussion conclusions

Overall, the strained relationship between De Appel's identity as a 'learning institute' and its recurrent displacement provides clear argumentation for why the geographic placement of cultural institutes requires attention, for planners and city governments to be "more careful with [their] cultural capital" (Nell). This research suggests that gaining more autonomy over spatial circumstances would allow De Appel to consolidate itself by aligning its spatial context with its cultural ambitions. De Appel aims to produce social capital through continuous, effective engagement with members of the public who stand to benefit from it. Additionally, contributing to sustainable processes of urban revitalisation which serve existing communities and not processes of gentrification serving to displace them. This research suggests that the temporariness inflicted by displacement contributes to the decomposition of the institute's social forms, as Bauman (2006) describes. Existing in a perpetual state of change makes De Appel's sense of identity, accessibility and stability vulnerable to eroding faster than it can solidify it.

The counter-argument would assert that temporariness benefits spaces by encouraging them to behave as organisms which "live, breathe, and endure" the changing circumstances (Beekmans and de Boer, 2014, p263). This study supports this claim to an extent, because without being displaced from the centre to Nieuw-West, De Appel may never have developed into the local community-focused 'learning institute' it is today. However, it also supports the argument that relocating again after only six years in Nieuw-West reduces De Appel from a place to a space. This research concludes that an unstable space is not conducive to meeting De Appel's expectations as a cultural institute.

6. Conclusion

In conclusion, this study reveals how De Appel risks becoming trapped in a paradoxical cycle perpetuating its precarious circumstances. The research finds that the temporariness caused by displacement is the dominant source of friction between De Appel's circumstance and its expectation to produce a particular kind of social capital. Displacement impacts the composition and continuity of its social networks and identity as a cultural institute. These impacts affect De Appel's ability to produce social capital as a 'learning institute', which has consequences for how it is evaluated. Evaluations are crucial, not only in the public eye but in the eyes of cultural advisory boards that influence whether they receive a National Basic Infrastructure (BIS) subsidy for example. The transient state produced by recurrent displacement and relocation is inherently precarious. It creates a financial and geographic instability cycle, ultimately restricting what social value a cultural institute like De Appel is capable of offering.

Finding a "collective home" involves "helping institutes consolidate and find their place so that they can build these long-term relationships that are demanded" (Djuna)

This research demonstrates that the issue of temporariness faced by other Amsterdam-based cultural spaces in similar circumstances to De Appel should be examined and addressed. Paying attention to the friction between a cultural space's circumstances and expectations should illustrate that "certain demands require certain actions and certain help" (Djuna). The sense of permanence and community bound to the notion of 'collective home' suggests it is an appropriate starting point for further discourse on the displacement of cultural spaces.

6.1 Further Research and Reflections

In terms of further research, it would be valuable to examine displacement from a land-use and cultural policy perspective to understand better the dynamics reinforcing this cycle. A quantitative study comparing social capital production before and after relocation across different Amsterdam cultural spaces would broaden our understanding about the impact of this issue. Quantifying the value of cultural institutes in terms of social capital makes possible a necessary interdisciplinary engagement on the matter as it increases the intelligibility of displacement's impact.

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Appendices

Appendix A; Questionnaire

Introduction

My name is Anna Croft, I am a 23-year-old Pre-Master student of Spatial Planning and Design at the University of Groningen. By filling in this questionnaire, you are making a valuable contribution to my research on how communities are impacted by unique cultural spaces like De Appel, specifically the degree to which they create social capital. My hope is that this research will be able to provide further evidence of the importance of spaces like De Appel for urban communities.

The data collection complies with the European Union's General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR). All information will be anonymous, stored securely, and erased once the thesis is completed. Thank you for participating.

Introductie

Mijn naam is Anna Croft, ik ben een 23-jarige Pre-Master student Ruimtelijke Ordening en Ontwerp aan de Rijksuniversiteit Groningen. Door deze vragenlijst in te vullen, levert u een waardevolle bijdrage aan mijn onderzoek naar hoe gemeenschappen worden beïnvloed door unieke culturele ruimtes zoals De Appel, met name de mate waarin zij sociaal kapitaal creëren. Ik hoop dat dit onderzoek verder bewijs kan leveren van het belang van ruimtes als De Appel voor stedelijke gemeenschappen.

De dataverzameling voldoet aan de Algemene Verordening Gegevensbescherming (AVG) van de Europese Unie. Alle informatie wordt anoniem en veilig opgeslagen, en gewist zodra het proefschrift is afgerond. Hartelijk dank voor uw deelname.

The Questionnaire

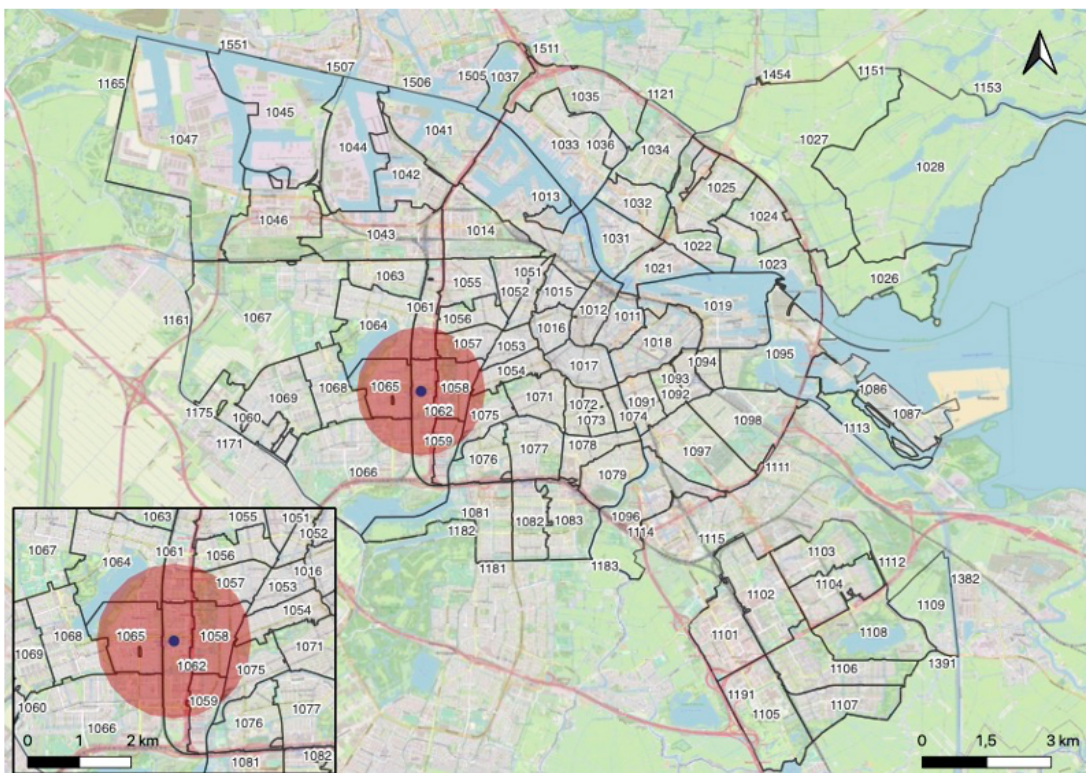
Respondent Number: Function:

Q0, If you live within the circle, please indicate with a cross [X] approximately where on the map.

Als u binnen de cirkel woont, geef dan met een kruis [X] op de kaart aan waar u ongeveer woont.

If you do not live within the circle, please circle your postcode area on the map.

Als u niet binnen de cirkel woont, omcirkel dan uw postcodegebied op de kaart.



Q0.1 How old are you? / Hoe oud ben je?

17 and under

18-34 years

35-64 years

65 and over

To what extent do you agree with the following statements about your experience of this event?

In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stellingen over uw ervaringen met dit evenement?

Strongly Disagree Helemaal niet mee eens	Disagree Niet mee eens	Unknown Weet ik niet	Agree Mee eens	Strongly Agree Helemaal mee eens
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Q1, I interact here with people I knew prior to the event.

Ik ga hier om met mensen die ik voor het evenement al ken.

Q2, I interact here with people I would consider strangers prior to the event.

Ik heb hier om met mensen die ik voor het evenement als vreemden zou beschouwen.

Q3, I would likely come to this event again in the future.

Ik ben eerder naar dit evenement gekomen en/of kom waarschijnlijk in de toekomst weer.

Q4, I consider this a social meeting point.

Ik beschouw dit als een sociale ontmoetingsplek.

Q5, I have a shared interest or passion in common with other people at this event.

Ik heb een gedeelde interesse of passie met andere mensen op dit evenement.

Q6, I have similar attitudes and beliefs as other people at this event.

Ik heb vergelijkbare opvattingen en overtuigingen als andere mensen op dit evenement.

Q7, I feel as if I am participating in a collective action towards a common goal being here.

Ik heb het gevoel dat ik deelneem aan een collectieve actie naar een gemeenschappelijk doel als ik hier ben.

Q8, I use similar language (terms, vocabulary, and jargon) as other people at this event.

Ik gebruik vergelijkbare taal (termen, vocabulair en jargon) als andere mensen op dit evenement.

Q9, I experience a lot of interaction with others at this event.

Ik ervaar veel interactie met anderen op dit evenement.

Q10, I actively participate at this event.

Ik neem actief deel aan dit evenement.

Q11, I experience a sense of trust between myself and other people at this event.

Ik ervaar een hoge mate van vertrouwen tussen mijzelf en andere mensen op dit evenement.

Q12, I feel there is a strong sense of community at this event.

Ik merk dat er een sterk gemeenschapsgevoel is op dit evenement.

[End of Questionnaire] Thank you very much for completing the questionnaire.

[Einde van de vragenlijst] Hartelijk dank voor het invullen van deze vragenlijst

Appendix B; Interview Guide

1. Can you reflect on how De Appel's [pillar*] encourages similar groups (regarding aspects such as interests and beliefs) to engage with another?
2. On the other hand, how does the [pillar] create cohesion between diverse groups?
3. Via the [pillar], are there any ways in which you specifically try to engage the local community around New-West?
4. In your experience with [pillar], has De Appel's relocation from the centre affected its social relations? If so, how?
5. Do you think that the geographical location of De Appel within the city is important for the degree to which [pillar] can create social value for people?
6. What do you think can be done to better support cultural centres like De Appel? Can you reflect on the perspective from within the institution itself and in terms of external actors?

**Pillar refers to the pillar of De Appel that the interviewee works with, either archive, education, communications or presentation.*

Appendix C; Interview Transcripts

Transcript 1: David Smeulders

Anna: [00:00:00] Okay. So, uh, essentially my, uh, what you maybe read the researchers about, it's about the, uh, social capital generated by cultural institutions like Apple and what it brings to the community, uh, especially in the context of everything going on around here. And, uh, yeah. So essentially the education stuff that you do, I think is very unique and very important for engaging with the local community, in a way that yeah, a lot of other institutions. Don't do. Um. Mm-hmm. So, yeah, I was just wondering if you could, uh, talk about how you engaged the, uh, local community in, uh, new Westburg through your initiatives. Yeah.

David: Um, yeah, it was actually mainly starting from this question, like what kind of social value can the Apple play or what kind of value can the apple be for people living around the Apple? Cuz when we moved here, we were like a new identity, like. A [00:01:00] new space and, um, you mean

Anna: relocating from the center?

David: From the center, yeah. Six years ago. And then the question arises like, do we continue with, um, with the activities and the exhibitions that we. And we're doing in the center, or do we change actually also the institution knowing like who is actually living around us and also making their art and culture also part of this institution?

Yeah. So I started with asking questions about what kind of role the Apple could play within, uh, these neighborhoods. Um, and I started to ask these questions to the schools, community centers, individuals,

families, artists. Living here. And from there we built up the, the education program. Mm-hmm. And it was mainly, uh, things like community building and talent development that came out of it.

And based on these things, we started to organize the programs that we are still running now. [00:02:00] Um, okay. Like, uh, the West Side tourist, that's a newspaper there, uh, which is highlighting the art and culture from children in the, uh, children that live here in the neighborhood, highlighting the art and culture they find important in, um, the surroundings here.

We have the Teenage Creators Program and the program actually exhibitions and, uh, public programs here at the Apple, uh, young people from the neighborhood. And then we have also The Shadows Assembly, which is, uh, different groups of, um, adults, uh, who work with textile. Who came together and wanted to broaden the network to know more people who are working with textile.

Mm-hmm. And we brought them together on their, like the Shadows Assembly Collective. Okay. And they learned new skills of textile and then made an artwork also of textile, which was presented here at the Apple, and then later also in other [00:03:00] exhibitions. And now it's part of the. Uh, collection of the Amsterdam Museum.

Museum also. Oh, really? Yeah. Cool. Um, and in this way we try to support actually what's already here and to actually support it and to facilitate it also, and give it time and space here at the Apple to bloom and to become something and, and to help people on their journey of becoming who they want to come. Yeah. Pretty cool.

Anna: Yeah. And the, so the situation with, obviously it's very precarious with the mm-hmm. Where apple's gonna be mm-hmm. Next year and in the coming years. Yeah. Um, what do you like, uh, because obviously there is a lot of schools around here, could who really clearly like to engage in these initiatives. Do you think that the geographical location at Apple is. Like a critical part of it, if that makes sense. In terms of, if you say were to move either back to the center or to east or something, would you, do [00:04:00] you think that being here is very important to the, to the work that you do, if that makes sense?

David: Uh, yes. It, it's just very, I think it's important if you are located. Uh, as an art center in a certain neighborhood, you really, uh, take time and get to know your neighbors and yeah, and, and see who's around you, and acknowledge also the art and culture that is already around you and not like program things and, and say to the neighbors and the neighborhood, like, this is the art and culture that you need to see.

Yeah. Yeah. It's, it's a dialogue that you. Builds. Mm-hmm. And I think if the apple moves to a different location, then it needs to be rebuilt. Mm-hmm. I think it's just in general, important for art institutions that, uh, acknowledge also, um, the knowledge and experiences that is around them and also [00:05:00] of the people that are, that want to visit and their institute also.

Anna: Yeah. Yeah. So say, uh, sorry, I know you cut it. Last question. Um, Um, if, um, if you were to leave here mm-hmm. And this space is then no longer, taken by you, do you think that the community will feel a, feel the gap of you not being here anymore? Because obviously the initiatives with the schools may.

David: Well, yeah. Um, it's not that Apple is like this gigantic player. Yeah, yeah. But, um, um, yeah, I think we do create meaningful experiences and programs and, and now we are thinking like how to leave them maybe behind if we, if the apple moves mm-hmm. And maybe another institution can host it and, and then it becomes maybe something new.

Um, yeah. So. I do believe that this neighborhood could use like an [00:06:00] arts institute actually, uh, like, uh, working around visual arts and, um, when the apple moves wait. And, um, because a lot of schools and, and people from around us also said like, wow, it's so nice that we can walk now. Yeah. To a place where we can see an exhibition or to a follow a program. Yeah. Which is very, otherwise they always needs to go to the center. Yeah. So there's, so there's definitely like, I think need more for art and culture institutions here in, in, in this neighborhood.

Anna: Yeah. I was talking about with now, like with the better distribution, like the municipality taking a real good look at like, How things are divided up and what is in, like, everyone should have a certain amount of access to an institution based on like on a geographical sort of scale perspective. Mm-hmm. With them. Yeah. Yeah, this was the, that was the main [00:07:00] thing. Ah, okay. Yeah. Yeah, it was just very, it's just, uh, yeah. It's indeed yeah. I really appreciate you, uh, talking to me. No. Okay, great. Thank you so much. No, thank you.

David: You're welcome. Looking forward what comes out of it? Yes. Are you sending us the paper if it's done?

Anna: Yeah, sure. I definitely can do

Transcript 2: Djuna Spreksel

Djuna: [00:00:00] It's, um, it's good to know. Uh, yeah. Um, it's what's really strike me when I, when I came, uh, to the Apple was the, the actually very, um, strong, loyal public that the Apple has. Uh, I think also due to its, Yeah, very peculiar, um, um, profile of being such a well-known cultural institute already since the 1970 fives.

Um, and over the years, I think that that has gained, uh, uh, quite a, a loyal, uh, public of people who are interested in contemporary art. Um, and I think especially, Nell is very well, uh, uh, giving attention to, um, [00:01:00] over the years, um, holding onto, uh, being in touch with a lot of these people and communities and organizations, uh, and also involving them from time to time again, uh, in programs that the Apple does, which I think is, is, is.

Really good and good thing. Um, and when I look very basic, um, it's, uh, we organize of course a lot of public events around, for example, exhibitions that we do. So, uh, right now on the current exhibition after the Last Sky, I mean we've had a lot of artists tours and reading groups, et cetera. I think that are.

Attended by, usually quite well attended by, um, people who are interested in, uh, um, [00:02:00] film and installation art. Um, and, um, yeah, so, and they're usually quite well attended, so people meet and interact, uh, in these kind of events. And also when I look at the other, uh, pillars of the apple, so, so education, archive, curatorial program.

Mm-hmm. Um, um, I think also education of course, has a strong program in which they work together with, um, with schools and with parents and teachers who can meet each other. Um, And the curatorial program in its own way is, um, has a nine months program in which they, um, yeah, I think maybe the overall arch of

that, uh, their [00:03:00] overall goal of that is also partly to, um, make them to, to, um, ground them in a way in the, um, Practice of, uh, curating.

And, um, that's also, especially in the first phase, really being done by, um, studio visits, by, uh, uh, inviting artists and curators to talk to them by, um, going on trips and meeting, uh, like-minded curators and artists. Um, So, yeah, I think a huge part of that is also the meeting of, of, yeah. In a way people interested in the same things, uh, also professionally.

Mm-hmm. Um, yeah. Yeah. That's

Anna: a good, I understand what you mean. And, uh, I guess the flip side [00:04:00] of that is the second question in terms of, diverse groups, so people that maybe Yeah, the meeting of people who don't have that sort of pre Yeah. Um, yeah, that pre binding interest in what you said, like, uh, installation work and stuff and Yeah.

Other people have, their education has been also a big part of that, like bringing the interest to, uh, people that maybe don't have it before and just wondering.

Djuna: Yeah. So, um, yeah, I think, uh, um, when it comes to indeed different people interacting and also, um, um, yeah, maybe attracting people in who usually wouldn't, um, walk into the apple from themselves because they know the place or, um, Um, because they are at ease with going [00:05:00] to institutions. Yeah. Uh, on contemporary art.

Um, I think that's, although in the first place, although we have those different pillars of, um, uh, of exhibition making, of curatorial program, education archive, we also always try to look for ways to, um, Connect those different, um, parts that make up the institute and to, um, um, so we look for interaction overlap.

Uh, engagement for example, in a, in a very practical way. By, um, we had that like two months ago. We, um, we had a, like a Korean collective presenting, um, Um, actually art films, which, which gains a [00:06:00] very specific, uh, international public you could say. And we organized an, like an opening, uh, actually on the same day and a couple of hours before.

Um, We, we were celebrating the opening of an education program, uh, which was kids from, uh, from a high school, uh, actually curating their own exhibition, for example. And, um, and we also really in a way communicated that as, um, like, like a whole afternoon at the Apple where at first, um, Yeah, there was, was the opening and the, the viewing of the films.

And then, uh, after that there was a, um, uh, a collective meal and an opening and drinks and an opening for, uh, [00:07:00] for the, for the education program. And I think that these kinds of things also quite. Yeah, we always look for those connections, I think. Um, and sometimes it's, it is a success, sometimes it isn't.

Mm-hmm. Um, um, but yeah, I, I think we always try to look for ways to make different groups interact and let them be in contact with each other. For example, also by, um, Organizing, uh, uh, programs from the CP or sessions from the CP together with the school children, for example. Um, or, um, inviting people who are doing their research in the archive, for example, to to stay for openings and stay for [00:08:00] drinks.

Um, um, And see what role they could play in whatever other things that we are doing. Hmm. Um,

yeah, so I think we are, we are always looking for connection and it's sometimes successful and sometimes, yeah. Not. Yeah,

Anna: I think that's the, the beauty of it though also, like the, the fact that it's never guaranteed, like some groups that you think wouldn't maybe naturally start a conversation and then they do. And it's, but that's, uh, very interesting that you, with the actual scheduling of the events, that you actually consider this overlap and, you know, kind of try and foster. The, some interactions that happened between the overlapping of events. That's very interesting.

Djuna: Yeah. And one, one more thing that I, that I was thinking [00:09:00] about is that especially actually since Lara, uh, became director, we're also quite actively looking for, um, Partners in a way to, to organize things together, such as platform, bk, uh, um, and also in June we're hosting two weeks of graduation of Art Academy students, um, that are studying artistic research at the University of Amsterdam, actually.

Oh. Um, so, Um, or we've, a couple of weeks ago we have done a, a, a book presentation, uh, together with a publisher and they all, of course, uh, also attracts, um, very different, uh, um, people in. And then of course we at the Apple also have, [00:10:00] have our audiences. And so sometimes you also see that that's. Mix is quite nice, uh, in one event, but mainly then because it is hosted by different institutes, for example.

Anna: Yeah, that's also interesting. One of the themes that I've noticed that has come up with all the conversation, this is i, this idea of a net, like, uh, creating a network with the rest of the city and also also in terms of, um, talking about space more practically in terms of sharing space and resources and yeah.

I think, um, cuz obviously it is extreme, extremely competitive for space at the moment. And if you can find a way to, you know, work together in, in that way, in sort of a network, then maybe that's, um, like in terms of looking in the future.

Djuna: Yeah, I'm, I'm exactly, and I'm also, I'm for communications specifically, I'm also part of a working [00:11:00] group of, uh, different institutes in new vest and actually the municipality to when we come together every once a couple of weeks and we, um, we actually discuss, uh, how we can help each other to, uh, make us all more visible in a way. So, um, they can be really. Basic by sometimes sharing each other's content in your newsletter or on your social media.

Um, but also, um, um, together buying some, uh, advertising space in a magazine and, um, or in a, um, uh, newspaper. Um, or we've also come up with the idea to. Maybe we wanted to make, um, [00:12:00] um, a website for the, um, for anything that concerns art activities in New West. Mm-hmm. Of course for the Apple, it's complicated right now because we're going to leave again.

Um, but I think that's these initiatives, uh, I really like to be part of that group and to think about how to share instead of. Being each other's, uh, competitor. Um, yeah. So that's, um, that's also,

Anna: that's very interesting that you have that collective already. And I think now is, now that you mentioned also that it's complicated that you are leaving, I guess like it's, uh, would be a nice time to maybe talk about that a little bit more. Like how this Yeah. The precarity in, um, in terms of. Lack of permanence, how you have, how you experience that as an institution from your [00:13:00] perspective.

Djuna: Um, what is the question exactly?

Anna: In the work that you do at the apple, like the, this, yeah. This lack of permanence in the fact that you will be moving, like how? Your experience.

Djuna: Uh, yeah. So I think for my departments, uh, it's extremely difficult, uh, especially this part because, um, I, we moved in 2017 to New Wests Yeah. And, um, before that we've been in several different places, but the apple was. Probably most successful when we were at the Prince Hendrick Gala. Mm-hmm. And you notice that even after six years, still people, um, um, connect the apple to Prince Hen and, um, that's usually they are surprised, [00:14:00] uh, when, when they find us at such a completely different part of the city. Yeah. So that's even after six years, that's still sometimes an issue. Uh, and, um, yeah, I'm, I'm also, that's something, something that also worries me in terms of the fact that.

Sometimes I still notice that we are known for being at the while already so long we, we are at a different place and now that we're gonna move again. So what's that's gonna mean? Um, for, uh, um, yeah, also the, the feeling of, um, that the apple doesn't become to feel too fragmented or something in people's minds and how to.

Clearly, uh, um, clearly communicate, uh, where we're going when we are going there. [00:15:00] Um, uh, yeah, to, to visually connect also the apple to the new, the new building again, because I've seen how difficult it has been the past six years, and I've only been here a year. But, um, um, Yeah, I think, uh, temporarily, temporarily, temporarily, locations, uh, it's ex extremely difficult for your visibility.

Yeah. And, and especially the, the parts also where we've been, um, the last six years. Um, because usually it's quite difficult to finance us. Um, And especially since the last half year we've been in a construction site. So, um, that makes it even harder. Um, yeah. So that is definitely, [00:16:00] uh, something that requires a lot of attention.

Yeah. Um, and at the same time, you can also think about ways to make to, in a way, uh, make a theme out of that. Uh, precarity and, uh, these, these, the, the temporary, um, location. Um, also perhaps in your, in your communication and around, uh, around our movement moving, for example, by organizing maybe a program around it or, um, yeah, so also connecting it to that, that collective.

Uh, um, collective situation that's actually bigger than the apple. Yeah. Um, but that's, that's maybe a different question. It's, it's mainly, um, mainly complicated. Yeah. I thinks [00:17:00] location wise and communication wise.

Anna: Yeah. What you said about the, um, the fragmented appearance and then like how people perceive that. The, so the things I picked up in terms of themes. So it's definitely like identity is something that is a real problem, as in it. Um, Lara also brought up this idea of, you know, when an art institute moves to a new place and then this whole gentrification process that follows and everything, and when you are, when you lack control over these things, your identity kind of becomes subsumed in whatever process you're sort of caught up in. Yeah. And uh, so I thought that that's a really interesting, uh, point. And from a communications perspective, how do you, how do you convey that to your community?

Djuna: Yeah, yeah, definitely. When I, um, I think when the Apple moves to New West, actually a big [00:18:00] part of their identity, of the identity of De Appel, the game that.

We, um, we, we try to be an institute in a new place. Um, try to find, find a home in a way. And, um, that we wanted to do that together with the local community and especially I think these ties with, with, with, um,

Fellow institutes, uh, schools, uh, uh, inhabitants of new, new vest, and also, um, listening and learning from each other and not being like an institute, uh, above, uh, that is, that is inaccessible, but, but being as accessible as possible in that, that story was actually quite important I think when we, when [00:19:00] we moved and we, and it was also, it became the theme of a, of, of an, of an, of an education exhibition, which of which the theme was literally, uh, um, how to, how to, how to find a home.

What does it mean to be at home? Um, can we also make a collective home? Um, so, uh, that, so that tie, that's, that's, that's part of the, in identity of the apple became strong. And then what happens when you have to move? Uh, um, does that, um, does that part of your identity. Transform, does it become less important?

Does it, uh, where does it go? That's, uh, um, that's I think, uh, a really interesting question. And, um, in a sense, I think [00:20:00] that has always been, uh, like, uh, a core mission of the apu. Um, um, We just have to find new ways also when it seems like we're going to De Pijp right now. Oh really? Yeah. It's not, uh, not official yet, but, um, I think we will know somewhere this week or next week.

Um. Yeah. And how, how we can be, start to be grounded there. And also, um, I was a bit skeptic to be honest, uh, about this place, especially in regard to this part of the identity of the apple of local communities, because to me it's, yeah, it's, it's, it feels like the pipe is so already like gentrified already.

Um, [00:21:00] In a way it felt like the opposites of the, the place in town where we are right now. Yeah. Um, but as I understand of it, it's um, it also has a lot of interesting fellow institutions and schools and um, um, places. Um, but I think also the big challenge is how to, how to not lose everything that we've built up, uh, here in us, actually.

Um, because it is of course important to, uh, to get grounded there again, and to, to build up new ties in, uh, with our direct surroundings there. Um, but I think for example, for the. For the education department, it's gonna be quite, [00:22:00] it's gonna be difficult and it's gonna also gonna be difficult for perhaps for the story that we tell about this institute.

Anna: Yeah. You also have to think about what you're leaving behind and then how you, how you leave it behind says a lot Yeah. About you as an institution and, but you also have so many other things to deal with, so it's like, it's really, yeah. I think it's a very interesting. Question. And I think in terms of, I'm quite interested to know your feelings.

Maybe this leads on also nicely to the last question about in terms of what could be done better in terms of this process, because if you've been involved with all those, these funding, uh, applications and also this, yeah, I must

Djuna: say I'm, I'm only starting to do that a bit right now, so that's actually quite new that I'm gonna write part of the Kunsta plan, for example. Mm-hmm. So I'm feeling that's this question was, I felt the least confidence Yeah. [00:23:00] About to say anything about it. Yeah. Um, because my, I'm, I've just been too sh too shortly, uh, involved in this, I think. But what I understand from it is, um, That's, um, that temporary location or, um, uh, permanent locations for art institutes such as we are, um, is just not very high on the priority list of for example, the, the municipality. Um, so I know that we've been. Reaching out. Um, of course. I mean, of course they are, they are funding us. But yeah, that's something different than finding, helping institutes, uh, consolidate and find their, um, place so that they can build actually these long-term relationships [00:24:00] that are demanded.

Yeah. Um, and um, yeah, as I understand it, There have been a lot of, um, we've, we've been reaching out a lot, uh, for help from the, the municipality and they, they haven't been helping, uh, that much in the question of housing. Um, so I, I, um, I think it, it, it needs to be, uh, I think it would be good if the, it, it would be, they would be well aware that the fact that certain demands require, um, uh, certain actions, certain actions and certain help, and, um, I think that's [00:25:00] connection sometimes it really is missing right now, for example, in the Apples, uh, uh, search for, for. Uh, for new housing. Um, and I don't know when it's, it comes to, to Amsterdam. I'm not sure about the rest of the country, but I think also we, I think we have a problem of with, um, um, I don't know. Yeah. Consolidating, uh, spaces for for, um, art institutes and creative hubs that are, um, yeah, actually always have to be transformed into, um, um, um, residence, uh, places just for inhabitants or, uh, uh, offices [00:26:00] or companies or, um, there's very few. Um, parts in town that can be just, uh, places where people can be creative. Mm-hmm. Without, um, yeah, without the threat of, uh, of being kicked out.

Anna: I find that an interesting duality between, they praise the flexibility also of these spaces. They're like, hell, they can be anywhere they. Like this whole pop up thing. And then it's also the thing that really, uh, burdened these places as well. So it's quite an interesting, um, binary there between, between those two processes.

Djuna: Yeah, definitely. Yeah.

Anna: Yeah. So I guess, would you say if from your own perspective, that geography in the city. Because at least for now, it seemed more like she felt that the [00:27:00] Apple deserves a more prominent location in the city. Like she was insinuating that yeah, being in this area and um, in West is not, it doesn't match the identity and history of the apple.

But would you say maybe that geography, um, is, the location is not as important as. The security element in terms of, cuz I guess in, in terms of communicating with the municipality is quite like, are you asking for a better location in the sense that it's more visible to, you know, tourist people that are more likely to be in those areas?

Or is it more about Yeah, uh, um, certainty.

Djuna: And who did you say? Who did you say mentioned that, uh, that it, that, uh, part of New West didn't fit the identity of the, who, who was saying that?

Anna: Um, it wasn't that exactly New [00:28:00] West. It was Nell. But she was saying in terms of with the, um, the, I guess the construction and also the Broedplaats Like it's the, the difficulties there. It doesn't like match the kind of, I don't wanna quote her incorrectly, but she just, I think she's insinuating more that the place in the center was more appropriate when, uh, where you said it was, uh, thriving the best on, uh, [street name] .

Djuna: At least it was when, when the Apple had the most money. Yeah. And we were the biggest, you could say, most well known. Yeah. I'm, I'm not sure. I think that also, Uh, institutes change. Yeah. So, uh, um, yeah, that it, that something doesn't match the history of an institution. That's not always, I think that's not always relevant to me.

I think, um, uh, in a [00:29:00] certain way, the apple changed a lot in its identity when it's came here six years ago, but it's, it gave. It gave, I think more back to the local community than it has done in very long

before. Yeah. Uh, so in, in that way, I would say also like, um, Uh, uh, I, I, I think the apple has changed and, and, and also for the goods, uh, I think it became more accessible.

I think that we changed our language to, to, um, cuz that's something that also before when I started working here, but I tried to do it as well. To be, be accessible, to be personal, not to talk in, in, in, in, uh, difficult art concepts. That's, that's that 90% of the people don't understand. And they, uh, um, um, they give up. Um, [00:30:00] um, Um, I lost your question a little.

Anna: It was more than, oh wait. I think my meeting's also gonna, I might have to quickly call you back, if that's all right. And for a new one. Yeah. Also, if you need to go, that's also totally fine. We can wrap it up also.

Djuna: Um, yeah. Um, so maybe if, if, if, if I can read quite quickly, then I think we can, we can wrap it up. I think, uh, there's an extremity in the difficulty for De Appel right now in terms of accessibility on a geographical level and that's just quite difficult so it would be good to have permenace, I think permancy is more important than your place in the city. I think that geographical location is less important than the question of permanency and consolidation.

So it is, if it were up to me, not really an issue for de Appel to be outside of the [00:31:00] city center. Your audience will be different due to this, that is for sure, but institutions change.

Also, Amsterdam has an enormous problem with spreading facilities and tourists. So preferring a place in the city centre also has a downside: it makes this city less livable.

Transcript 3: Lara Khaldi

anna: [00:00:00] Hi, Laura .

lara: Hi Anna.

anna: Thank you so much. Sorry this was so complicated. Sure. Great. Thank you. Um, okay, well, I'll get right into it because I know you are super busy. Um, okay. So I thought I would start off by, um, just explaining a little bit what my research question is so you sort of know the context a little bit more. Um, so my research question is how does the apple, a cultural space in Amsterdam West produce social capital in the face of urban precarity? And, um, yeah, the urban precarity part kind of developed as I was there based on what I talked about with Nell about. Um, having to move locations, um, in the last five years. Then also the construction around and how that was affecting, um, the runnings of the apple. Uh, so that's kind of a new element to it that I, uh, that has grown as I have done my research. Um, so yeah, that is essentially, uh, [00:01:00] the gist of it and I am sort of looking into the past present and then the future of, uh, yeah, the context.

lara: Anna, maybe, maybe you can, uh, explain more about what you mean by social capital and the use of Yeah, yeah. So the, yeah.

anna: The first question was, can you reflect on how the Apples exhibition, so that's your, uh, main, uh, point of, uh, involvement in the Apple rights, the exhibitions in the creative side. Um, how does it encourage similar groups so the interest, beliefs, um, commitments to engage with one another?

lara: Well, you know, Anna, I've just started. Yes. And this is where I've been not, not so convinced that I should, uh, speak to you because, you know, your research is more about what, uh, the apple has done so far, not about, uh,

anna: well, there is, there is the element of the, the present. So yeah, talking about the past, that was more with now. [00:02:00] Um, so it's more about, uh, presently the sorts of things that the Apple is doing, and then also in the future how, uh, yeah, how to look forward on this. So yeah, anything that you, uh, your perspective would be definitely useful, even if it's not Yeah. Doesn't involve the past as much. It's also great.

lara: And, and, and your, your research in general is, is about, uh, maybe you can explain a bit more.

anna: Um, yeah, so social capital is like the main theoretical, uh, basis of my, uh, research. And I'm sort of looking at how, um, in the context of like, uh, precarity for arts spaces in terms of, uh, Uh, geography in the city as in have it moving from the center to New West. Um, obviously you don't know as much about that because uh, yeah, you just started up, but it's more about, yeah, the current, I have the present section, which is how does [00:03:00] Apple currently generate social capital, which is what my questionnaire that I was giving out to people was also trying to capture, um, regarding the structural, cognitive and relational elements of social capital. If that makes sense.

lara: But how do you define social capital in your, in your work?

anna: Yeah. It's the, so I used, um, yeah, a theory which split it up into structural, cognitive, and relational. Structural is sort of more about like facilitating people's meeting and like who goes and whatnot. And cognitive is more about, yeah, shared understandings, um, shared beliefs, things that binded together. And then relational is more about sort of the nature and the quality of the relationships versus structural is more about social structure. So sort of looking at it in those three dimensions.

lara: All right. So how, again, your question, yeah. How does the exhibition, how do [00:04:00] exhibitions play a role in, in social capitalism, right? In, in, yeah.

anna: So the first question is encouraging similar groups, so people with similar interests, beliefs, like how does that, how does the Apple help to facilitate engagement with the people who already have similar interests and beliefs?

I mean, I guess, yeah. Speaking, uh, speaking about, uh, the current exhibition, um,

lara: I mean, it's, uh, you know, by, by inviting artists who are making work that is engaging with the question that they interested in, is. Discuss about, or, or sometimes that there isn't a discussion about them, that they feel that generation, they feel that they, they, um, they need a discussion about, but also about, [00:05:00] uh, inviting works and artists that are experimenting form as well. Right. Because this is like, it's a similar community. So we're talking about a community of artists maybe now. Um. Uh, but in general for a wider community Yeah. It's also, yeah, and I think just by working in with artists that, uh, take on, um, issues that are related to social, political, uh, Um, current debates and discussions, um, will, will, I mean, the idea is to

invite in, uh, an, an audience, uh, through that also, through the, through the issues that are just not only the artwork, uh, Uh, yeah.

anna: Yeah, yeah. That makes a lot of sense. So it's also, yeah, it's the subject matter of the exhibition withdraws [00:06:00] in a specific, uh, yeah. Group of people. Mm-hmm. Great. Yeah. And then I guess the flip side of that, the second question is, uh, what is the kind of work that Apple does, do you think that creates cohesion between maybe more diverse groups, people who don't have that binding similar interest in certain topics?

lara: Well in the public program, I see that happening more in discussions, a few discussions with debate also, uh, through the education program. So bringing, bringing. Audiences together, uh, to, to see, uh, or to hear one particular, um, uh, take on things. Or like the, you know, the teenage curators projects. Cause that was an exhibition, it was public artists. A lot of artists came to the exhibition. Also people from the neighborhood that had nothing to [00:07:00] do with artists mostly were, uh, were there, um, So there was also this event related to Pope and where, um, and like a writer. Uh, who was, who had just published a book, um, about, um, political correctness, um, and speaking about gender in the Netherland, um, where a lot like the audience was extremely diverse and it was a very generative discussion because it was, um, like, uh, audience were coming with different perspectives and different backgrounds. So I see this happening through bringing like, uh, groups, so like the artists, the community in the, in the neighborhood, um, to, to the. To bring them to, for a particular discussion, [00:08:00] uh, to, to engage in, in discussion.

anna: That's, uh, kind of leads right onto the next question in terms of, um, how is the local community specifically engaged? And you mentioned the, uh, education program. And so Nell also said that the education was the way that the local community is most, um, Specifically engaged, and I also spoke to David, so yeah, I, I know, uh, about that, which is great. Um, but I guess in terms of the exhibitions, is there any way specifically that you try to, uh, I guess reach out to the local community in New West? I'm also talking to, uh, your, the communications team, which is nice also for that. Um, but yeah, just from your perspective, is there any, um, specific local engagement that you can, uh, think of through the kind of work that you are involved with? Besides what you've already mentioned.

lara: Again, it, it's too, uh, too, too short [00:09:00] to answer, but, uh, I think it's not only the, the because we are, we're also moving, huh? Yeah. So we, uh, I, I just started and we're also moving, so it's very difficult to answer this question. I just, I could say that, uh, it's, you know, That this also doesn't necessarily need to be only through the educational program and that the educational program is also an artistic program. Um, so I, I see it, uh, I see, I think in working more with, uh, community for, and I just like a kind, some kind of embedded art, right? Where it's not about making the exhibition, but it's about working with, uh, a particular community. And then presenting it in the absence.

anna: Yeah. Yeah. And I think what you said, you know, you were like, it's a very difficult question to answer because we're moving. That's kind [00:10:00] of the whole point of, um, I think what my research is leading to this idea that the, uh, yeah, the, the precarious situation in terms of. Like physical stability. Um, it really, well, that may end up being the argument that it really, uh, puts a strain on building that sort of like long-term tie with the community if, you know, you can't have a stable place and you can't make a five, 10 year plan in terms of, uh, yeah how to develop this relationship. Yes. I think that's what at least it's leading to so far. So, uh, Yeah. Mm-hmm. I would say, yeah. The next question was also, do you think that the geographical location of the apple within the city is important for the type of, uh, Social capital that it generates or is able to generate in that sense?

Like the, yeah, the physical location in a way. I guess we've sort of already just talked about that

lara: well, no, I think there, there is a particular angle, well, I think, I think that, [00:11:00] uh, it is important, but it is more important to stay in that location for. A long time in order to, to engage, because I think even if, you know, because, you know, there, there has been a lot of engagement of the, since the last six, seven years. You know, I was, I'm also an alum of the program of the curator program. I know it quite well from 10 years ago as well, so, so when it was in a different location and it had a completely different network, um, and I can see the difference, right? The issue is that even though it's been there for 7, 6, 7 years, Through David's program. There has been a lot of work in the neighborhood and with the schools and the community, but they also don't necessarily come to the other exhibitions at the right. Yes. There is a type of also, um, like, um, like a kind of divide [00:12:00] of what, what happens with switch programs, right. Uh, what. What, what, uh, you know, what they particularly visit and what, what they don't, but, so there, there needs to be a lot of like, yeah questions also asked about, you know, how, how this work with the community is address. Is it, is it because, is it so that they become an audience or is it. Is that also the education? It's about approach and framework. Is it that the educational program is also one way of making public or dissemination of, of art or, uh, or also, uh, absorbing and, and not only absorbing, but like, um, because it's a question of not us. Because, yeah, like this move and the location I think is very important in the, in the sense that to this gentrification in, in Amsterdam mm-hmm. [00:13:00] The, the reverend of the cultural, uh, centre or, or art space becomes to bring culture to the people. And this is a very, um, uh, kind of, um, I would say, um, uh, Like, uh, high art, uh, uh, kind of approach where, you know, you bring a culture to the people as if the, the people don't already have a culture, right? So it's, it's also about what they bring into the, the art space. But it's, it's about not becoming like the art space, becoming the, the, you know, like the, the sign of gentrification. I think that people have learned, like in the UK a lot, people have learned in, in Berlin as well. If, if an space starts in their neighborhood, then it's going [00:14:00] to be followed with like our system I space then, then it's just a first sign of gentrification, of, of developers coming in of, and we don't want to be part of that, right? We don't want to be part of that in two, in two ways, in that we don't want to, to be the, you know, the bad news for people, uh, in terms of, you know, the gentrification because we are, you see in, in New West. We are surrounded with, uh, the construction um, it's being completely redeveloped and now we have to move out even for us that we are used also for, for this justification process. And, and it becomes also of the art space, which is not, uh, which is not ideologically something that, uh, we would necessarily agree to. So, um, So location is important, but it's important in the sense that we, uh, we can find a location where we are not moving every [00:15:00] few years. We have, uh, autonomy, and, and we can kind of control our own faith and, and make the lasting relationships with the community around, which is not themselves moving away. Right. And we, we might be moving away in, uh, in this kind of, uh, Something very, uh, present. Yeah. So I hope this makes sense.

anna: Yeah, it does. And I think it's really interesting what you said about, like, you, you, you feel like you are kind of being used as part of this, uh, wider issue with in terms of development, but it's mm-hmm. It's so far away from your ideological standing as an institution, which I find is, it's a very, uh, interesting point and sort of looking forward, like how to, how do you separate yourself from that and I think David said something really interesting when he, when I was speaking to him about the education program. Mm-hmm. And when you also said like coming into an area instead of imposing your artistic, like what culture you [00:16:00] believe they should, uh, absorb, um, going out into the community and he said he did a lot of field work in terms of asking people what they find interesting, what is, like, what is art to them and also the, uh, the newspaper documenting what in the area they find, um, yeah, to be art and whatnot. Mm-hmm. Which is, uh, yeah, I think it's a really great approach and, uh, yeah, I think the key part to all of this is that sense of longevity, right? Like it takes a long time to build trust and, uh, yeah, reciprocal engagement, I guess with the place and. And, uh, also in terms of like building relationships with, um, I don't know, have in terms of more making your plans for the future. And, you know, museums sometimes take what, like 10 years to, you know, develop certain things and you don't really have that luxury if you're constantly Yeah. On the move. Um, yeah. Yeah. [00:17:00] Uh, yeah. And that leads really well onto, I guess my, uh, oh, one thing I wanted to ask was, you said, um, you could really tell that there was a difference between, uh, when the, the apple was in the center versus now in terms of, I'm guessing you meant like demographics of who was there. And things or is that, what did, what did you mean by you could, like perceive a difference?

lara: Ah, no, it's, it was different because, uh, at the time, you know, it was quite a fancy building and [street name] and it was kind of turning into a small museum. Yeah. So, so like, um, yeah, uh, it's, it's more in history like in, in the seventies, more kind of, um, Uh, has to do with, uh, with a more kind of progressive artist. [00:18:00] Uh, I think, uh, it's like also more in touch with the sociopolitical movement, uh, around, so in, in terms of also, you know, where it is. How it looks as well, I think.

anna: Yeah, yeah, yeah. Now also said that like it was obviously when it's in the center, you get a lot of people sort of stumbling across in a way that doesn't happen when you are in the west, cuz you have to, you go with intention to be there. Especially now, you have to even really look, look for it because it's surrounded by, uh, construction of course.

lara: And, uh, yeah. Do, yeah. Indeed. But I think that also, this is not, uh, this is not so like fair for the artists that we invite in. No. The apple because the idea from an exhibition is to disseminate the artist's work and to make it available for the general public. So, um, if, if, [00:19:00] if, if the apple is invisible, then the arts that present in the are invisible. So I think we, we owe it, uh, to the artists to be in a place where it's acceptable, more accessible. Uh, Yeah. To, to a wider public as well. Yeah.

anna: Do you feel like there is, it's like a, it's a perceivable thing in sense of, um, the current situation, like the way it visibly looks and feels in the area. Do you feel like you can feel that on either the people that attend or the artists hosting? Like Ines, as I'm not specifically quoting her or anything, but I mean in terms of obviously the environment is very important for, you know, how the atmosphere that is created and whatnot. Um, do you think that's something that you can feel or is it not so present .

lara: Sorry, again, again, um, with the

anna: with the current situation with the construction and everything, and, you know, Uhhuh, [00:20:00] you said it's all about accessibility and right now it really doesn't have that sort of Yeah. Uh, feeling. Do you, can you sense that in, um, I guess you've only been creative director for, since it's been like this. So it's, it's, you don't have a before and after sort of perception, but um, yeah, I guess Is it like something that people discuss a lot, I guess maybe or, yeah. Something with the artist that comes up often.

lara: Yeah, yeah, of course. That, that we are now covered by a construction site completely. But even, even the artists who knew where the apple was, like it became invisible because of the construction site next to it. Everyone that arrived at the Apple, uh, speaks about how difficult it was to find it, but also how, uh, how ma massive the development is in your work. It completely kind of, Um, yeah, it's like swallowing the entire area. Swallow. Yeah. Absolutely. Yeah. Yeah, yeah, yeah. Yeah.

anna: [00:21:00] That's great. Um, well, not great, but it's, that's really sort of the point, um, that I was Yeah. Feeling and yeah. If I had more resources and stuff, I think it would be great to also discuss this with people, um mm-hmm. In a more personal level. But I, yeah, I don't have the time and resources to do so, but I would like to definitely insinuate that this is, uh, This is a, this is happening. Mm-hmm. Yeah. And I guess my last question is more in terms of looking forward, um, and what do you think could be be, well, you mentioned it a little bit in terms of, uh, having the finances and having the long term stability. So what do you, what do you think could be better done to support slash provide stability for cultural centers or institutions like the Apple? In the future, like I guess both from within, uh, as a, as an institution? Like anything that you guys could do with assistance or in terms of policy or, yeah.

lara: Mm-hmm. Well, I think that, that, [00:22:00] uh, yeah, we should, um, yeah, like make, make, make it clear that the, this. Issue of, of space and housing is a collective issue in Amsterdam and to work towards,

uh, towards, um, more permanent, um, uh, place. I'm thinking about place instead of space, right? Like, uh, yeah, if, if we are expected to. Make, uh, lasting relationships with, uh, with community. And if we want to, and we do, then we, we, we need to think about permanence of, of place and what does that mean, right? What does that mean? Also to, to own or to co-own, um, um, space in, in, in Amsterdam. Um, uh, yeah, I think it would, [00:23:00] it would really. Like thinking towards, um, having a, a stable, um, place location for a long time, like thinking about the long haul would really help, uh, the Apple sustain itself. Uh, all the artists that are, are, are showing, uh, uh, you know, make again, make lasting, um, relationships with, uh, community around. So I think it's, um, It's about putting our energy into, um, thinking and, and, uh, making, uh, yeah, turning into reality and also speaking with other. Institutions and artists about this issue and kind of collective thinking around it, whether it's about, um, speaking to municipality on the public kind of level, or informing cooperatives that, uh, you know, that where we [00:24:00] can kind of, um, work on on a long term plan.

anna: Yeah. This is also like the whole reason I wanted to do this research. Obvious. I'm doing a master's, I'm going into my master's in, uh, Spatial sustainability studies, and I find this very interesting in terms of, uh, I did a degree in, um, art and culture before, so it's kind of like mixing these two things, like understanding the importance, but then also the, that idea of. Space versus place. It's, it is kind of a nuance that you have to really get inside of to understand. And yeah, I think it's a, it's a really valuable thing. So I don't think I'm doing it full justice in terms of, as I said, with resources, but I think it's nice to, you know, start the conversation at least on for yourself in that way. And, uh, I think, um, also what you said, uh, I feel like it's a bit of a paradox because I was also reading like the funding report, um, for the Apple in terms of, I think it's, is it [00:25:00] RA Raad for culture? Like they give a, they look. Mm-hmm. Yeah. They an um, yeah, do a bit of a report. Yeah, I guess, and I thought one of them were saw, one of the points was in terms of needing to engage the community more. More diverse, da da da. And I thought, okay, this is quite a paradox then. Okay, so how are you asking in order to get funding to, yeah, to secure funding. You need to engage the community more, but then you're being moved around every five years. How are you, how are you supposed to do that? Um, I thought that was quite a key. Uh, um, I thought, yeah, I thought it was an interesting thing to see in the report. Um, yeah.

lara: Uh, Anna, when, when is your, um, In your paper, uh, due, is it, uh, or is this your thesis?

anna: Yeah, it's a pre-master thesis. So I'm in Groningen currently doing a pre-master for spatial spatial design. And, um, yeah, then I'm moving back to [00:26:00] Amsterdam in the fall. But the, the paper is due mid-June, so half a month.

lara: Okay. Yeah. And, uh, would you, would you be up for presenting it to, uh, to, to the team, uh, after you are done?

anna: Oh my gosh, yeah. That would be amazing. Yeah. Yeah. Yeah. I would love to do that.

That would be great for us actually.

Yeah. Oh, fabulous. Yeah, I don't think, like, in terms of, I have do have some like statistically proven like, uh, yeah, with statistics in terms of the questionnaire, but I only got. 40, 41 in total. So it's obviously not like a, and it's over the course of a two week with the same exhibition. So it's not gonna be a, you know, a, a, how do you call it, representative of the entire, you know, institution in terms of the scope, um, yeah, I would, I would totally love to present it. That would be really lovely.

lara: No, I think it would be nice to get an insight of someone who is outside and has been looking closely. So [00:27:00] I think, uh, I think it would be nice for everyone to, to, to hear about your reflections as well, and, uh, And, uh, the research one is, uh, yeah. When your paper is, is done, we would, we would love that. Um, so let us know when you're, when you're done, and we can find the date, like, uh, during a staff meeting, maybe you can, we can do it for half an hour during a staff meeting.

anna: Yeah. Make a little presentation and Yeah, yeah, yeah.

lara: That would be lovely. Thank you very much. Great. No thanks. Thank you. I'm sorry it's been so difficult to

No, it's all right.

anna: I under totally understand and uh, to be honest, I was so very late to this as well. Like I had a lot of difficulty figuring out my direction and everything. So it's, yeah. It's not just you, it's also here. Yeah. Okay. Brilliant. Thank you so much. I, you gave some really valuable insight and I know that you were hesitant about your Yeah. Because of only being for three months, which is very fair, but, It was very interesting to talk to you, so thank you very much.[00:28:00]

lara: Same here. Thank you. Great. Thank you. Have a good week. You too. Bye bye. Bye.

Transcript 4: Nell Donkers

anna: .So, um, the first question I have for you is, um, can you reflect on how the archive encourages similar groups, uh, regarding interests, beliefs, backgrounds, to engage with each other in the space? How the archive plays a role in that? Ah, yeah. I,

Nell: uh, yeah, I, I feel what happens when you're in the archive, like different visitors meet each other here and then, um, I think these materials that are here because they ooze knowledge. Yeah, joy and art and philosophy that that encourages people to talk anyway. So it happens all the time that people meet here and then they start to talk because it's easier to talk when you have a common interest. This Yeah, but also the background. Yeah. You know this, uh, because there's even. If you're just talking about a book or, or, or what an archive is or what is archiving or, [00:01:00] so I think, uh, an archive makes people, uh, meet. Yeah. Yeah. Yeah.

anna: And would you say it's more Yeah. People who have Yeah. The same sort of interests that are coming here, or do you get a lot of diversity in people that come in meeting or It's more about bonding the people that already have a similar.

Nell: Yeah. Well it is, uh, if some people come here and never have been to an archive, you know, we have groups.

Some people it's like really a surprise to be in an archive. Yeah. Uh, and they might fall for it, you know? But the people that come that make, uh, an appointment are already interested. Yeah. Yeah. There's also a lot of ways, of course, to, to make that interest. Yeah. Because for instance, uh, the athlete from education, he brought works from the collection, unintended of the apple.

He brought it to the schools in neighborhoods. Mm-hmm. And [00:02:00] they made a presentation in the school and they had classes about his works. Yeah.

anna: So people who aren't already, they don't have that pre interest in it, but it's, it's a way of Yeah. Drawing that interest in.

Nell: Yeah. And also making people aware that archiving is, Something that people do or try to do every day on their phone, let's say.

Yeah. You know, people are really struggling with, with their amount of, of, uh, the amount of data that they have themselves already. Yeah. And what is an archive? And these things can teach people how to deal with data and knowledge and, and history.

anna: Yeah. Okay. Thank you. Yeah, that's a good answer. Um, and my next question is, um, via the archive, do you specifically try to engage the local community in New New West in any way?

Nell: That's mostly via education. Yeah. Yeah. That's really, but [00:03:00] also walkins, like the archives open, uh, Wednesday and Thursdays in the afternoon for people to just pass by and if they, sometimes when they, the hosts. Uh, from the exhibition, hotel, Hey, the archives open. Then they wander ring like, oh, what's happening here?

And sometimes they turn around and gone. Yeah. That happens too, because it's, I can see it's a bit intimidating

anna: when you Yeah.

Nell: It's particular,

anna: you know, you have to love books.

Nell: Yeah. Um, uh, but uh, the community is also, uh, art schools or universities mm-hmm. And also international. Um, institutes or art lovers or, yeah, so there's a, this community from the archive goes, you know, it has this, it's a big

anna: network.

Nell: Yeah, yeah, yeah. So you say it operates more in a, in the network rather than Yeah. Yeah. Who is, yeah. Yeah. Yeah. [00:04:00]

anna: That's great. And, um, do you, yeah. Do you think that the geographical location of the apple. Is important for the type of social capital that it generates, or do you think that if it could be anywhere and it would generate the same kind of social relations and things that it does?

Nell: Yeah, this is a bit, uh, annoying of course, because this is not an ideal building at all. No. Uh, the, I think the place is okay, but for me, I, I would think that Apple deserves, um, solitary body. Yeah. Or you have, you know, or you go to that, you go to that building and then you meet people. Yeah. This is something that Apple used to have in the center, in the center in the Canada is it was also the idea of art institutes, of course, because now the upper horse almost 50 years. Mm-hmm. [00:05:00] So it started of course, as a small initiative. You know, but now it's, yeah, you can consider it. I consider it an institute. Yeah. Yeah. I would also, yeah. And, uh, I also think it deserves more prominent, uh, being

anna: in the city. And why prominent, you mean obviously the standalone building and then of course, permanence comes along with permanence. Yeah. Permanent.

Nell: Permanent. But also it's not that, uh, we cannot share, we cannot horse share. Yeah. Like I would. But sharing in this, uh, consolation is in consolation is painful. Yeah.

anna: Why, why, uh, specifically? Is it painful?

Nell: Yeah. Because you are sharing with people that are all in the same situation. They all have to leave. Yeah. At the end of the year. It's already for five years. Yeah. You have to leave the end of the year. Yeah. So there's no contingency you call it. Yeah, exactly. Um, [00:06:00] So that's, that really makes a building like this not, but uh, steady.

anna: Yeah. And I guess those, uh, this idea of making, uh, connections that last like forming the community, you can't do that. Yeah. If you are having to pick up and move every five years.

Nell: Yeah. And, and you know, we, no, but even for five years already. It is at the end of the year at the energy, so you cannot plan. Yeah. And this not only counts for an Institute of the Apple, but also for the artists. Yeah. You know, they also, the half of the year they have to think like, oh, where I'm going.

Mm-hmm. At the end of the year. So that makes it very, uh, unstable. Yeah. And we did work with a lot of artists here in the building. Yeah. But they are long gone already, so. Yeah. Yeah. And of course there's always a. Moving and, uh, but this is more, it has to do with the temporary Yeah. Ity of the, [00:07:00] the setup of the Broedplaats.

anna: Yeah. And, uh, in the new development, I read also that they have saved base for artists and the, I don't know if you know

Nell: Yeah. It's still the Broedplaats . Yeah. So it's, uh, yeah, so they, uh, they, they keep, keep calling it Broedplaats , so that means that temporarily is still in there. Mm-hmm. So it's still not fixed, even the space. Yeah. Okay. And I think, uh, I'm not really sure that the architecture are really interested to have the Apple stay. It's a bit in the air. It's going to take like seven years, seven to 10 years till this is, uh, yeah.

anna: The whole area redevelopment you built.

Nell: Well, no, this building.

anna: Yeah. But is is the, uh, is the plan to have De Appel move? Or that's what you said is not set yet? Yeah,

Nell: well we have to move anyway because this is a, um, monument. So the Aula, the exhibition space and the stairs in the back is [00:08:00] Monument. Mm-hmm. So they have to redo this building or those things. And also the form of the building it's from [name of architect] the architect. Oh, okay. It's a nice building. Um, so anyway, it has to be redone. So we're gonna first gonna finish the building there, and then there's gonna be a building there. And then this building and the architect who won the request the question, uh, like who's gonna do it? This is, uh, pinpointing on the green.

anna: Yeah, yeah. That's called the green. Uh, the company is, isn't it like a Belgium upec? Yeah, I think so. Yeah. Yeah. Looked, yeah, looked very green heavy. Yeah. Yeah. Um, which is good. Yeah. Yeah. Um, yeah, I would say, um, have you, you've been with the Apple for how many years?

Nell: 20 years. 20 years.

anna: So you can [00:09:00] greatly, perfectly answer this question, like how, how do you feel like the change from the center to here has affected the institution?

Nell: In what ways? It has affected. Oh yeah. And it's mostly because of, uh, people in the center don't know their way outside of the center.

anna: Yeah. So So you've lost that. Yeah. The people who maybe weren't coming in for a specific reason, but

Nell: Yeah, like people, there was a lot of people in the center, oh, let's go to the Apple. They have an exhibition, and they stopped coming. And I think that's a bit, uh, I don't know. Spoiled. Yeah. But. Yeah. But then of course because of being here, you get a new, uh, uh, yeah, how you call it? Set of, yeah, set of people.

anna: , like the education at this way more schools around here?

Nell: Yeah. Education, but also younger public that think, uh, it's, it's exciting to have the upper in the blue plant like this, you know, in this area. =Yeah. [00:10:00] And also I think younger people are not so, uh, center. Orientated anymore. Yeah. Because this has, has been changing. Yeah. But the people in the center, they, you know, they are, yeah. They are a bit spoiled.

anna: Yeah, that's a good point.

Nell: Yeah. And they, yeah. If they won't, if they won't come, then they will never learn or see that Amsterdam is, you know, spreading

anna: more than five rings of the Yeah, yeah, yeah. Um, yeah, I totally agree. And, uh, my last question for you is, um, what do you think could be done to better encourage the stability we talked about? Um, for cultural spaces like Apple, like in the face of, uh, this extreme urban development here we are in the middle of, uh, both from like within the institution itself, so like encouraging your own stability and then also from

the outside for [00:11:00] policy. Obviously, I don't, don't expect you to have a policy argument, but just that idea of like internally and also what can be done for you, like to better support.

Nell: Well, I think, uh, that, uh, municipality should be way more careful with our, uh, cultural capital. Yep. Um, and, uh, as I see that they, uh, are really into giving spaces to young, young initiatives, which is really good. But, uh, there's, there should be things between, you know, the museums have their space and the young initiatives, but in between those are really, uh, struggling. Most of the, of the, of our fellow institutes,

anna: You would, uh, characterize De Appel, the in between, even though it's Yeah. 50 years old?

Nell: Like quite a Yeah, it has been because [00:12:00] it's so, the museum, it is, uh, you know, it is, uh, we invite artists to, to make new things and talk about new things. So it's more, it's like between gallery, yeah. Initiative gallery and a museum. And this is also really what, uh, artists stress that they need is in between step to. You know, to build a career. Yeah.

anna: Because the, you can't get to the museum without the No. Yeah.

Nell: So that's, uh, I think that's important. And I think that, um, there should be, uh, you know, when the, when the municipality looks at a map, they should be, you know, in every part of the city, east, west, south, you know, this. Main parts should be an institute like the apple. Mm. So that you have this also distribution, not only, yeah. You don't, it's not only in the city, but also geographically. You have [00:13:00] the museums in the middle with the little artist initiatives, but the art institutes also come from outside. But this should be, um, framed, like have support by this middle institutions, institutions that should be around, uh, Yeah.

Let's say if you, I always see it as the, okay. Yeah. If you see this, so there are some museums are here. Mm-hmm. I would propose art institutes like the Apple Art Institute. Art Institute, like the apple can be anything. So here's HEM. An east is frame of framed. Mm-hmm. So it would be good to have this, you know, that you also, uh, show in your geography how this, uh, supports, uh, network for arts. Yeah. What arts would work.

anna: And then with the, I guess you call it lower lowest to like the young initiatives that you said, where do they fit into?

Nell: They can go everywhere because they are the little, uh, very flexible. Yeah. The little babies, you know, and also artists initiatives have the tendency to not [00:14:00] archive. They just start, they do nice things and then they vanish again.

anna: So they can, because in the popup sort of culture.

Nell: Yeah, yeah. Because it has also to do with, uh, artist initiatives and smaller initiatives. Are mostly, uh, done by artists. Yeah. And they work themselves totally crazy because they have to do a whole instituting themselves for themselves. You know what we do with, with six, seven people? Mm-hmm. Which is also not a lot of people to do all these things. Uh, but after four years, most of the these people that do that are just. Burned outs. Yeah. They don't get to their own practice.

anna: Yeah. So then from, yeah, from that phase, they would like to graduate up to being with someone like, someone like you to then have that support.

Nell: Yeah. And I also, I think you could, you could think about, okay, if there's a building in every, uh, corner of the city mm-hmm. Then you could also think like, Hey, uh, this, this [00:15:00] institute, like Apple will take this little or little, I don't mean, uh, Little, little, little bit smaller initiatives and take it under the, the roof. Yeah. You know, to have, yeah. And also, um, like if you make a, a structure like this, eh, you can like maybe, uh, share here, like say, here's at HEM, there's also a restaurant and here's the apple. And there's also a smaller institute. Uh, artist initiatives or maybe literature, doesn't matter what you can share.

Uh, hosting copier machine, you know, also practical things Yeah. That you have. Uh, but I think this is something that the municipality should have a look at. Like how do you share also this, um, yeah, common, common things [00:16:00] that you need. Yeah, like this reception desk with a bookstore. Yeah. And I would, you know, I would also say I would, um, it would show more also that the, that uh, the city cares about the arts.

anna: Yeah. I guess it's, uh, do you feel like there are priorities, uh, elsewhere at the moment in terms of even thinking beyond the arts? Um, Seems Well, from what I know from doing planning degree, it's uh, yeah. Housing is the, is the,

Nell: yeah. It's of course really hard with, uh, prices. Yeah. But, uh, yeah, don't sell everything. As simple as that, you know? Yeah. Keep, so, yeah. And with, uh, I guess, I don't know how you call it, in a tactical way. Mm-hmm. Because now it's a bit of a hop sn, you know? Yeah. Oh, there's a free building there. Oh, it's cool.

anna: It's like[00:17:00] race for space

Nell: which is a bit of a, yeah. Well, and, and also because I know of course the apple since a work here 20 years, but also through the archive, and I think this is, you know, the Apple has also. Help ed was also shaping Amsterdam, you know? Yeah. And this is, uh, what's gonna be lost. And this is, uh, yeah. So all these, uh, things are very precarious. Yeah.

anna: Which is, could, could you expand a little bit more, uh, just, uh, to finish about, um, what do you mean about shaping Amsterdam? Cuz I completely agree with you, but just in, uh, how you see it.

Nell: Uh, because it was, uh, you know, it has been the avante garde place of the apple since 74. There were performances. The artists that have been performing or doing things in Apple are now the big names. Yeah. You know, I can name, I can name like 20 [00:18:00] mm-hmm. People that, that started in, even Laurie Anderson. There's a letter of Laurie Anderson asking, Hey, I'm an artist from uh, America, and can I come and play? That evening there were only three people.

anna: Really? Yeah. What year was this? Do you remember?

Nell: 76, I think. Um, yeah. So, uh, this, and now it's a famous, famous, um, this 77. So she has this, uh, audio tape on her violin, and there's words on it, and she plays the words. So it's like a tape recorder, you know, with the round tapes and she can like, yeah, I like rapping this thing violin. Yeah. So, um, yeah, then I think [00:19:00] those are all things to, uh, cherish. Yeah. For the, for the municipality.

anna: So you think that that needs, uh, Yeah. To the history and the value. It needs to be more valued for Yeah. What it brings to the city at large. Yeah. And then that needs to be expressed in its geographical. Yeah. Placement, maintenance. Like keeping it there. Yeah. Yeah, yeah. Yeah. I would have to agree with

you. Yeah, it's very well said. Um, yeah, I guess, yeah, the only thing was, uh, anything more you think that the institution could do for, or you think, uh, the situation is more it's out of your control?

Nell: Well, the thing is, uh, because uh, of course we do a lot and we get a lot of people in and, and, and, but this is also, um, because of this [00:20:00] situation in, uh, Broedplaats , there's always things like. There's no, the, the heater, the mm-hmm. Uh, there's a window broke. Oh, we have to leave. You have to find a new building. Oh, no. Oh no. We can stay another year. Mm-hmm. So there's no long-term term planning because there's no, you know, you cannot plan with an artist if you don't have space. Yeah. It's really important to have the space, like, oh, it's gonna be an exhibition, it's gonna be here. Yeah. Um, so this is already five years, a big burden. So it, it only, it only, uh, uh, stops you from, you know, really doing what you can do. Um, and we try, of course we do a lot of things, uh, yeah. ad hoc also. Yeah. Because then you have to do it a d hoc . Mm-hmm. But I think there, there could be more if there's more time, you know, if you can plan like, oh, a long time, you can come next year or the year after. Mm-hmm. And then you have [00:21:00] this. You can also, because of this unstable situation, you cannot really, you know, communicate like, oh, we are talking now to that artist and next year it's gonna be that. So there's another kind of, now it's like this is the invitation. This is coming up and it's, it's coming Friday. So that is a different, uh, way of, um, Like a museum will take five years, you know? Yeah. To make this, uh, work. Mm-hmm. To have, uh, to, to be able to plan. Yeah.

anna: So your ability to do more, um, is contingent on so that intertwined with one another, like you can't move on or grow deeper roots until you know that there is a space for you.

Nell: Yeah, yeah. Yeah.

anna: Agree. Yeah. Okay. Well, thank you so much.

Nell: Yeah, you're welcome. You're welcome to the archive.

anna: Yes, thank you.

Appendix D; Statistical Testing Syntax

D.1 Atlas.Ti original co-occurrence table

		● ◆ Accessibility	● ◆ Identity	● ◆ Stability
	● 31	● 26	● 33	
● ◆ Future	● 53	17	18	32
● ◆ Past	● 10	3	3	2
● ◆ Present	● 53	26	14	27

D.2 SPSS Syntax

*Nonparametric Tests: Independent Samples.

NPTESTS

/INDEPENDENT TEST (total) GROUP (AMS)

/MISSING SCOPE=ANALYSIS USERMISSING=EXCLUDE

/CRITERIA ALPHA=0.05 CILEVEL=95.

D.3 SPSS Syntax

DATASET ACTIVATE DataSet1.

*Nonparametric Tests: Independent Samples.

NPTESTS

/INDEPENDENT TEST (Structural_Q1 Structural_Q2 Structural_Q3 Structural_Q4 Cognitive_Q5
Cognitive_Q6 Cognitive_Q7 Cognitive_Q8 Relational_Q9 Relational_Q10 Relational_Q11

Relational_Q12)

GROUP (AMS)

/MISSING SCOPE=ANALYSIS USERMISSING=EXCLUDE

/CRITERIA ALPHA=0.05 CILEVEL=95.

Hypothesis Test Summary				
	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig. ^{a,b}	Decision
1	The distribution of Structural_Q1 is the same across categories of AMS.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.398 ^c	Retain the null hypothesis.
2	The distribution of Structural_Q2 is the same across categories of AMS.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.010 ^c	Reject the null hypothesis.
3	The distribution of Structural_Q3 is the same across categories of AMS.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.108 ^c	Retain the null hypothesis.
4	The distribution of Structural_Q4 is the same across categories of AMS.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.285 ^c	Retain the null hypothesis.
5	The distribution of Cognitive_Q5 is the same across categories of AMS.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.945 ^c	Retain the null hypothesis.
6	The distribution of Cognitive_Q6 is the same across categories of AMS.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.879 ^c	Retain the null hypothesis.
7	The distribution of Cognitive_Q7 is the same across categories of AMS.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.096 ^c	Retain the null hypothesis.
8	The distribution of Cognitive_Q8 is the same across categories of AMS.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.879 ^c	Retain the null hypothesis.
9	The distribution of Relational_Q9 is the same across categories of AMS.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.025 ^c	Reject the null hypothesis.
10	The distribution of Relational_Q10 is the same across categories of AMS.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.430 ^c	Retain the null hypothesis.
11	The distribution of Relational_Q11 is the same across categories of AMS.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.272 ^c	Retain the null hypothesis.
12	The distribution of Relational_Q12 is the same across categories of AMS.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.002 ^c	Reject the null hypothesis.

a. The significance level is .050.

b. Asymptotic significance is displayed.

c. Exact significance is displayed for this test.