

# **LOVING ART RATIONALLY: MOVING BEYOND**

## **THE GOOD**

## **THE BAD**

## **AND THE UGLY**



## **A Critical Analysis of the Dutch Cultural Budget Cuts**

Name: Dieuwke Boersma

Student Number: 3011860

Date: 3 October 2011

First Supervisor: Dr. Marta Zarzycka

Second Supervisor: Dr. Iris van der Tuin

Master Thesis Comparative Women's Studies in Culture and Politics, University of Utrecht

## Preface

My thesis is the result of refusing to mourn as an act of resistance against the Dutch cultural budget cuts and as an act of loving arts. I felt uncomfortable to show my affection to and the potential of art in a negative, angry and sad way. I have been quite disillusioned by the art field reactions to the neoliberal government budget cuts and to current Dutch politics in general the last year, but this frustration has given me my inspiration to write. I would like to thank Karlijn, Clare, Anna, Maartje, Jesse, Leonie, papa, mama, Joris, Casper, and Philipp to think with me, inspire me and help me the last years with my dyslectic struggles of putting every sentence, paragraph and chapter together. Last but not least, I would like to thank deeply all professors at the Comparative Women's Studies in Culture and Politics Studies at the University of Utrecht that have taught me to think and act critically and creatively. In particular I would like to thank Marta for her support this year and Iris for the last years and my very first inspirational encounter with Gender Studies.

Further, the image on the front page is a picture of artist Jamie Warren, currently to see at the art gallery MAMA in Rotterdam curated by my dear friend Jesse van Oosten. When I saw the picture at Warren's website (<http://www.dontyoufeelbetter.com/>) I immediately had to laugh, because it reminded me of my thesis. I will not tell how it reminded me of my thesis because I would like that the picture stimulates your imagination. While reading, I suggest you think once in a while about this picture, and wonder why I had to laugh.

## Content

<b>Introduction .....</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>1. Valuing Art - the Neoliberal Solution and Problem .....</b>	<b>8</b>
1.1 The Neoliberal Solution: Loving art in Healthy Rational Numbers .....	8
1.2 The love of art under the dictatorship of the majority.....	12
<b>2 Consuming art - Creating the Rational Self.....</b>	<b>16</b>
2.1 Cultural Institutions as Factories of Reason .....	17
2.2 The Changed Social and Imaginary signification .....	18
<b>3 The Dutch Nationalist Essentialist Imagined Community of Freedom .....</b>	<b>20</b>
3.1 The Dutch international climate .....	20
3.2 The Clash of Civilizations 2.0 .....	23
3.3. Critiquing the Dutch Nationalist Essentialist Imagined Community .....	28
<b>4 Imagining Non-Citizenship, Imagining the ‘Other’ side.....</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>5. Recognizing Pain of Citizens, Reinstalling the National Utopia.....</b>	<b>34</b>
5.1 The art field: recognizing pain, loving people .....	35
5.2 Rereading the Neoliberal Gesture .....	36
5.3 Elitist Gestures of Love.....	37
<b>6. Moving Beyond the Good the Bad and the Ugly .....</b>	<b>39</b>
<b>Bibliography .....</b>	<b>42</b>
<b>Annex 1.....</b>	<b>46</b>

## Introduction

This year Halbe Zijlstra, the Dutch state secretary of Education, Culture and Science presented drastic changes in the funding system of cultural institutions. Zijlstra reasons that the budget cuts are a rational decision in order to make the cultural climate in the Netherlands healthy again and let the Dutch culture flourish. The Dutch and international art field<sup>1</sup> have reacted with shock and argued that the harsh budget cuts are not rational at all and will lead to an extinction of the artistic and cultural imagination of the future.

My thesis ‘Loving Art Rationally, Moving Beyond the Good, the Bad and the Ugly – a Critical Analysis of the Dutch Cultural Budget Cuts’, is not about choosing sides between the art field and the government. Rather it is a critical intervention in our expectation of art and cultural institutions to create us as rational citizens. In my thesis I will assert that in the Netherlands, Western political ideas of mastering one’s own meaning prevent perceiving aesthetic expressions as a critical social analytical tool that engenders an active ethics of loving art. I will uphold this argument by analyzing the current heated debates between the (inter)national ‘art field’ and the Dutch government about why art and culture matters to society. Both dictate the affection to art in a rational and moral matter. However I will show that the affection is not rational as it is based on false assumptions. Namely, they are grounded in how white westerns man loves himself and how we all should love him to be considered rational and civilized. I propose to subvert this love by creating a horizontal experience of art indebted in ‘the politics of location’ and the ‘philosophy of wonder’.

### The Chapters

In the first chapter ‘Valuing Art- the Neoliberal Solution and Problem’ I will demonstrate why according to Halbe Zijlstra, the state secretary of Education, Culture and Science drastic changes in the funding system are necessary to make cultural climate in the Netherlands healthy again and let the Dutch culture flourish. In the second part I will show that government has wrong democratic understanding of ‘the public’. *The* public does not exist; the public is fragmented and not accessible in one

---

<sup>1</sup> In my thesis I understand the art field as the ones who have supported and initiated different protests against the cultural budget cuts.

way. It is thus not the public but the majority of people that decides. As a result I will show that the taste of the majority, in combination with a static idea of art and culture, will from now on dictate the very process of orienting ourselves towards art. As a consequence only the 'traditional' culture will flourish and all other aesthetic expressions will be oppressed.

The question is how is it possible that neoliberal government breaks down the cultural infrastructure so drastically and oppresses marginalized imaginations of the future? Instead of turning to the art field for an answer that has asserted the neoliberals as not civilized, I will first locate the thought of why cultural institutions should serve the citizens, and how should they? As a result I will explain what has constituted the either/or relation between the art field and neoliberal government and bring in slowly how these apparently opposites are have the same imagination of how and who can join the public and who cannot.

In the second chapter, 'Consuming Art – Creating the Rational Self', I will return to the romantic modern understanding of sovereignty. Because this understanding puts forward the idea that citizens need the help of institutions to create one self rationally. In this chapter I will explain why so. Further I will explicate the way institutions should serve the citizen is inspired by a specific social and imaginary signification. I will show that it is the social and imaginary signification that the art field and the neoliberals are opposites. But before I will explain the social and imaginary signification in more detail, I will first clarify the historical role of cultural institution in western modern nation-state societies.

The section will set apart how looking at art has been and is (!) interpreted as an important way to become civilized. I shall highlight the prohibition of wonder and show how it precludes someone to take ones own background in experiencing art. Keeping the prohibition of wonder in mind, I will exposes how experiencing art in a rational civilized way disciplines how we must love art and should feel about what we see. Moreover it sets our relation to art in which no other relations than the 'civilized one' are allowed. Subsequently I will demonstrate that the answer to: 'how can the neoliberal government take away cultural institutions and 'our' ways to become civilized', is because 'civilization' no longer signifies the importance of social imaginary, but capitalism has broken the ways how to become civilized and has spit out it commodities and exchange values.

In the following chapters I will show that the art field instead of putting forward the argumentation that I have stated in the first chapter returns to the romantic modern sovereignty understanding and asserts in a nostalgic way a ‘civilized’ art loving future. The art field protests are among invisible but very present nationalist, essentialist, racist and elitist lines and reproduce excluding narratives modern sovereignty. In addition I will show that these lines are not ‘solved’ but strengthened by current neoliberal politics.

Chapter 3 ‘The Dutch Nationalist Essentialist Imagined Community of Freedom’ describes that the art field just as the neoliberals have a nationalist understanding of the value of art. The art field puts the international progressive character forward as inherent to being Dutch and a free Netherlands. I will describe that this is problematic, as the state of war that follows, is in contrast to the transnational value of art. Moreover, I will show that mourning about the budget cuts becomes an act of building love for the nation and falls back on a false glorified shared past. As a result the art field fails loving art beyond the imagination of loving a nation-state.

Chapter 4 ‘Imagining Non-Citizenship, Imagining the ‘Other’ side’ describes what the art field imagines when it can no longer express itself as it desires and thus no longer can become civilized. I will show how that although the art field places itself in contrast to the neoliberal government in multicultural debates, art students show no consciousness of why they imagine their future as a death black one. Moreover, I will critique the protest in a postcolonial matter and show that it is not only the relation to art that is imagined as civilized, the not-relation is also claimed as an uncivilized slavery position.

Chapter 5 ‘Recognizing Pain of Citizens, Reinstalling the National Utopia’ illustrates how the imagined slave positions are saved by the art field or the neoliberal government. The rhetoric of the art field and neoliberal government assert to be able to save people from their slave positions and reinstall the utopia of national freedom of no pain. However, I shall indicate how their actions affirm the victimized weak positions of the citizens. Additionally, I will show as well how the action affirms an outside higher power of the ‘civilized project’ of the art field or the illustrated ‘individual freedom project’ of the neoliberal government. Moreover, these actions of taking away pain affirm an elitist relation to art and citizens. Namely the art field and neoliberal government decide FOR people how they should act and feel when looking

at art and how they should act and feel in relation to others. I will state that this negative relation to art, the lack of power to determine the relation to art is only possible because Dutch citizens let themselves suffer by ideas outside them. Therefore as I result, I will, last, in chapter 6 ‘Moving Beyond the Good the Bad and the Ugly’, propose a new way to relate to art that no longer led the outside determine how we should love art. In so doing I will use the ‘politics of location’ and the ‘philosophy of wonder’ to establish horizontal experiences of art and active ethics of loving art.

## 1. Valuing Art - the Neoliberal Solution and Problem

In this chapter I will demonstrate the grounds of the Dutch government to change the cultural funding system drastically. The government presumes the funding system to be an old one that does not fit today's society of individualization and freedom of choice. As a consequence 'a cultural shift in culture' is envisioned in which the government is no longer the primary funder and the public -the market- decides what cultural institutions are valuable. I will show that according to the state secretary of Education, Culture and Science Halbe Zijlstra the drastic changes will create a cultural healthy climate in the Netherlands and will make the Dutch culture flourish. Moreover, experts no longer decide what kind of art society should love, but society decides what kind of art *they* love. I will show that the majority of Dutch people, in line with the government, love art as cultural heritage or entertainment.

In the second part I will show that the government's understanding of culture in combination with a false understanding of the public, leads that art loses its critical voice. *The* public does not exist; the public is fragmented and not accessible in one way. It is thus not the public but the majority that decides. As a result I will show that the taste of the majority will from now on dictate the very process of orienting ourselves towards art. As art in order to be profitable, must speak to the majority of people. Consequently we loose, as the art field addresses, the artistic and cultural imagination of the future, for the reason that the majority decides art's beneficial factor to society, when it reflects the traditional constructed image of Netherlands (Descartes in Ahmed, 2004, 4). As a result, the majority considers art to be valuable to society by how well the object fits in the 'known Dutch' framework. As a consequence the Dutch culture will not flourish but only be more of the 'traditional' same. What is problematic is that the culture of the majority is presumed to as a healthy rational decision. Subsequently, others become emotional and ballast to the real lovable Dutch culture. But before I come to that point: how does the Dutch government envisions their plans, what is their argumentation exactly?

### ***1.1 The Neoliberal Solution: Loving art in Healthy Rational Numbers***

This year, the state secretary of Education, Culture and Science, Halbe Zijlstra introduced his plans for the cultural sector, entitled: 'More than quality: a new vision

of the cultural policy' (2013-2017)<sup>2</sup>. According to the government the budget cuts in the cultural sector lead to saving 200 million of which about €125 million are a direct subsidy from the government to cultural infrastructure, the cultural institutions and other funds. The total amount is reduced from 900 million to 700 million.<sup>3</sup>

The reason why Zijlstra stops a great part of the funding is because he wants to achieve the upcoming years a 'cultural shift in culture'. That means that every artist or the institution is himself or herself responsible for acquiring the biggest part of the income and should no longer expect that the government is the primary funder.<sup>4</sup> He argues when cultural institutions are less dependent on the government they are more flexible and powerful.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, Zijlstra describes the current '[...] dependence on subsidy not healthy for a creative industry.'<sup>6</sup>

To make the creative industry healthy again, Zijlstra introduces strong market mechanisms, which will determine what cultural institutions are valuable to society. This fits the larger belief of the government; 'trim to grow'<sup>7</sup> (snoeien om te groeien), a metaphor used, which means that death or overgrown or unwanted parts of the tree are cut in order to make the tree flourish and healthy again: As Zijlstra: asserts

In 2017 the surplus will be gone, while the connection with the public and society will be strengthened and other financial flows will arise. In the short term there is pain, in the long term the cultural sector will grow much stronger.<sup>8</sup>

The Council of Culture (de Raad van Cultuur), a statutory advisory body to the government and parliament in the field of arts, culture and media<sup>9</sup> urged not to continue in the proposed way, as it would be dramatic for the cultural climate. The Council instead advised the 'cheese slice method', in which everyone has to hand in something. Zijlstra did not take up the council's advice and reasons: 'if I asked them

---

<sup>2</sup> Halbe Zijlstra is member of the VVD, the liberal party of the Netherlands and part of the minority government that exist out of the Christen Democrats (CDA), with the support of the populist anti-Islam party Party for the Freedom (PVV)

<sup>3</sup> More than Quality: a new vision on cultural policy. 2011, 2 (Meer dan kwaliteit, een nieuwe visie op cultuurbeleid)

<sup>4</sup> More than Quality, 2011, 2 and Bockma 'Er zit pijn in', ibid.

<sup>5</sup> More than Quality, 2011, 2.

<sup>6</sup> Donker and Stokmans 'Gezellig was het niet'

<sup>7</sup> [http://vorige.nrc.nl/binnenland/article2635747.ece/Rutte\\_zoekt\\_samenwerking\\_met\\_oppositie](http://vorige.nrc.nl/binnenland/article2635747.ece/Rutte_zoekt_samenwerking_met_oppositie)

<sup>8</sup> Bockma; 'Er zit pijn in' ibid.

<sup>9</sup> [http://www.cultuur.nl/The\\_Council\\_is\\_independent\\_and\\_advice,\\_solicited\\_and\\_unsolicited,\\_on\\_current\\_policy\\_issues\\_and\\_funding\\_decisions](http://www.cultuur.nl/The_Council_is_independent_and_advice,_solicited_and_unsolicited,_on_current_policy_issues_and_funding_decisions)

to add one and one and then they come [with the advise] three, then the chances are less bigger that I take that [advise] when the [result] is two. <sup>10</sup>

In other words, what Zijlstra means is that the Council did not listen to him that the government wants to set up cultural funding significantly different. Some cultural institutions *have to* disappear, because they are not profitable and therefore not valuable to society. Instead the Council of Culture advised a way to remain everything how it was, but Zijlstra does not want the cultural infrastructure as it is: He states ‘[...] in a sector that we really set up differently, this is very justified. If you collect 50 million, anyone can capture, but nothing will change substantially.’<sup>11</sup>

According to Zijlstra, there might be pain but the grounds to change significantly are according to the government a rational decision since the funding system is in their eyes an old one that does not fit today’s society anymore:

After the Second World War, the Dutch government got a major role in the financing of culture. The decisions on who should get funding, were left to experts, who often prefer innovative offerings. Because of various social developments, including individualization and the freedom of choice, this model has come under pressure. Additionally, the opinion of experts is no longer accepted as the sole criterion. The support to the current method of funding is therefore decreased: in society and as a result into politics<sup>12</sup>.

Moreover Zijlstra puts forward that with the budget cuts he listens to society, since he observes how society no longer accepts that experts decide for them where their taxes go. It should be citizens that decide about what they love. Thus, the ‘more’ in the title of the ‘More than Quality’ addresses the importance of individual freedom and freedom of choice for the public. No longer do experts decide but ‘the people’. The power of people is increased because they decide with their money what the Dutch public truly loves.

Zijlstra argues that as a result ‘nobody will be safe’ <sup>13</sup> since the governments funding of cultural institutions is no longer an ‘unhealthy habit,’ but a way society to

---

<sup>10</sup> Bockma, ‘Er zit pijn in, dat klopt. Interview Halbe Zijlstra, staatssecretaris voor Cultuur’. *Volkskrant*, Juni 2011, 4. last accessed: 27 September 2011.

<sup>11</sup> Bockma, ‘Er zit pijn in’.

<sup>12</sup> More than Quality, 2011,2.

<sup>13</sup> <http://nos.nl/video/203359-staatssecretaris-zijlstra-over-kunstsubsidies.html> NOS Journal, 6 December 2010: last accessed: 9/21/2011.

decide what is valuable to them. Prime Minister Rutte explains the tone of Zijlstra and the amount of the budget cuts as reasonable in an interview at television.

**Interviewer:** [...] there is nothing wrong with ‘nobody is safe?’

**Prime Minister:** No, because it is people’s taxes! People who are watching now, work hard, they pay taxes, then they are right to expect that Halbe Zijlstra and this government spend their money in a rational way.<sup>14</sup>

Moreover Zijlstra’s decision and Rutte’s defense show a truly neoliberal ideological idea. The belief is that market mechanisms ensure the individual freedom because people themselves decide where they spend their money on (Harvey, 2007, 64). As a consequence the market -the people- decides what is valuable.

The Dutch newspaper *NRC Handelsblad* has done a questionnaire among five hundred people with the research institute Intomarkt GfK<sup>15</sup> to find out what representative opinions about the budget cuts are. <sup>16</sup> The greatest amount of the respondents agree with the budget cuts: almost six in ten Dutch people agree with the government that artists and arts institutions should focus more on the public and the market. It is only one in ten who does not agree. Almost sixty percent thinks that the government should not support movies, concerts and exhibitions that do not attract an audience. Only, fifteen percent thinks the government should do so. <sup>17</sup>

Art is defined by forty percent as ‘entertainment’ and twenty percent labels art ‘cultural heritage.’ This understanding of art matches the personal belief of Zijlstra: ‘art and taste should make you feel happy and give you energy’<sup>18</sup> and the government policy as well. Since Zijlstra’s point of departure is the definition of culture as an indication of ‘where we come from’: [...] ‘Culture encompasses binding, identity and tradition as dynamism, creativity and innovation’, but culture has also an educational role and prepares someone for the future and the role one can play in

---

<sup>14</sup> Rutte Buitenhof, interview with Clairry Polak 16 januari 2011; last accessed: 9/8/2011.

<sup>15</sup> <http://www.intomartgfk.nl/> last accessed: 9/27/2011.

<sup>16</sup> Donker and Kammer, ‘Kunstbeleid Zijlstra krijgt brede steun’ *NRC Handelsblad* 3 September, 2011, 2; Donker and Kammer ‘Kunstenaars moeten naar publiek luisteren’ 2011, Section Zaterdag & Zondag; last accessed:9/27/2011.

<sup>17</sup> Donker and Kammer ‘Kunstenaars moeten naar publiek luisteren’ 2011, Section Zaterdag & Zondag; last accessed: 9/27/2011.

<sup>18</sup> Bockma, ‘Er zit pijn in, dat klopt. Interview Halbe Zijlstra, staatsecretaris voor Cultuur’. *Volkscrant*, Juni 2011, 4. last accessed: 9/27/2011; Donker and Stokmans ‘Gezellig was het niet, Nodig Wel’ Staatsecretaris Zijlstra blikt terug op zijn eerste jaar met ingrijpende keuzes. *NRC Handelsblad*, 2011, July 8. Last accessed: 9/27/2011.

internationalization<sup>19</sup>. Additionally, he explains the important role that culture plays in tourism and economy<sup>20</sup>.

Thus, on the one side, Zijlstra interprets the role of culture in the Dutch society, as essentially descriptive as it can show tourists the true cultural being of the Netherlands, and on the other side he defines culture as a norm that needs to be achieved by its citizens to be ready for the future. This explains why for example Zijlstra does not cut into museums, addressed by Zijlstra as top institutions, as they show our cultural heritage and define who are.

The argumentation of Zijlstra might sound logical or rational at first glance: art is public therefore the public decides what is good or not. However it is because Zijlstra puts forward this simplistic vision of the public forward in combination with a static interpretation of what culture is that culture will not flourish but deteriorates the same.

### ***1.2 The love of art under the dictatorship of the majority***

The art field has reacted with shock: how is it possible that neoliberal politics without any (moral) trouble break down what has been built up dozens or more than a hundred years ago (Ruyters, 2011, 17)? In the following I would like to explain why this shock is in my opinion rectified. However, I emphasize that I do not agree with the explanation the art field puts forward. I will in the following chapter first give my own explanation and come back to the art field's protest specifically later on. But to start with: why is the plan of Zijlstra a bad plan to let culture flourish?

First of all Zijlstra has a wrong idea how democratic the notion of the public is. Nina Möntmann, a curator, critic, writer and professor at the Royal University College of Fine Arts in Stockholm describes in *Art and its Institutions, current conflict, critique and collaborations* (2006) that politicians and sponsors use a homogeneous populist concept of the public sphere and have forced upon the art institutions corporatist institutional logic (Möntmann, 2006, 9). The institutions are forced to produce what the public likes otherwise they are threatened with extinction. Numbers of visitors indicate the success. What is problematic about the homogenous concept of the public is, quiet simply, that a homogeneous "public" does not exist.

As Möntmann describes the public is fragmented and is not accessible in one way

---

<sup>19</sup> More than Quality, ibidem

<sup>20</sup> More than Quality, ibid.

(Möntmann, 2006, 9). It is thus not what ‘the people’ / ‘the public’ wants but what the *majority* of the public wants. But is it that not democracy that the majority of people decides? Yes, but not in the case of letting culture flourish, particularly because the majority thinks that culture is cultural heritage and entertainment. What do I mean with that?

In order to be profitable and thus let culture speak to the majority, art must speak to the imagination of the Dutch ‘known’. Zijlstra explains himself that a Rembrandt can naturally stay<sup>21</sup>. As a result only one image of the Netherlands will stay, since the Dutch ‘Known’ is what presumed to be natural to someone’s framework of reference and imagination. In order to be profitable, art must speak to everyone’s imagination. As a consequence, art is doomed to be constructed among traditional narratives that most of people can identify with or matches the expectation of the tourist. That is not to say that cultural heritage cannot be critical, but the importance of cultural diversity is denied and the natural being of heritage is assumed. The ‘More than quality’ document states:

The new infrastructure will give no space for the development of institutions in the field of cultural diversity. The government considers this a matter for institutions themselves and does not put forward a specific policy<sup>22</sup>,

Cultural diversity policy is important because the great narratives are undone from their untouchable truth that excludes people from history and the future. This has been for example by bell hooks (1984) put forward as ‘oppositional worldview’ a mode of seeing that is unknown to the white supremacy. Putting cultural diversity forward is particularly important in the art field. Since it does not only trigger the imagination of how things are different, but also acknowledges the experience of others, art objects, narratives to be equally worth to society. Furthermore cultural diversity does not put one image of the Netherlands above all images and does not assert a vertical hierarchal value system. Instead it puts art objects one next to the other and creates a horizontal value system. Cultural diversity has in my opinion not a great chance to survive the violence of the market, because it literally does not talk to the imagination

---

<sup>21</sup> <http://nos.nl/video/203359-staatssecretaris-zijlstra-over-kunstsubsidies.html> NOS Journal, 6 December 2010 : last accessed 9/25/2011.

<sup>22</sup> More than Quality, 2011, 36

of the majority of people as it goes beyond the known Dutch grand narratives. Consequently, a diverse image of the Netherlands has difficulty to be profitable.

Second it will be difficult for artists, especially young ones since their name is not known yet, to be innovative and to be loved by the majority. Since the 'new' is produced from a marginalized position, that triggers your imagination to think beyond the known frameworks. If art is only to be loved when it entertains, then it is difficult to be critical on current frameworks and produce something beyond it. For the reason that feeling happy becomes more important than to joyfully critically think.

Last, according to government, cultural institutions should prepare the citizen for the future. That means that cultural institutions should teach the citizen something today that he or she can apply tomorrow. Today and tomorrow are in this thought assumed to be the same. As a consequence art will not add to the world, since the future to which it is should add is already determined.

Concluding, art loses in the way the government envisions all its potentiality for society. Culture will not flourish but will only produce one image of the Netherlands. Moreover the neoliberal construction of the government creates that the love for art equalizes the love of a true Netherlands as a rational healthy decision. Other expressions become an irrational decision that expresses unwanted 'undutch' production. Moreover, it is thus not art winning Dutch people, it is people in Dutch society losing its critical and creative thought, courage and pleasure to think beyond their own frameworks. The budget cuts will not enlarge freedom, they diminish it, because under constrains of capitalism aesthetic expressions –practical freedom of expressions- cannot be materialized and experienced because it is not profitable. The question is thus indeed how is it possible that neoliberal government breaks down the cultural infrastructure so drastically and oppresses marginalized imaginations of the future?

In the following I will assert that the question to this answer is not the neoliberals are not civilized. This is the argumentation that the art field puts forward and that I will come back to extensively. Rather, I assert that neoliberal; government breaks down the cultural infrastructure because of the changed social and imaginary signification. Moreover, I will first do a step back and locate the thought that cultural institutions should serve the citizen: why should they and how should they? As a result I will explain what has constituted the either/or relation between the art field and neoliberal government and introduce slowly how these seemingly opposites are

the same in who can join the public and who not.

## 2 Consuming art - Creating the Rational Self

To come immediately to the point and locate the thoughts of why cultural institutions should serve citizen, I return to the romantic modern understanding of sovereignty, which means reason is seen as the truth of the subject and the role of politics is to exercise reason in the public sphere (Mbembe, 2003, 13). In this paradigm, to exercise reason is synonymous to exercising freedom, a key element for individual freedom and the well-being of the collective. Namely, as modern political theory of, for example, Hobbes, Locke but also Hegel explain, using reason has as effect that we overcome our inner emotional destructing state of war *and* see the importance of outside power that organizes our sociability. Since, if we would not have an outside power that organizes our relations to one another, our natural affects will take and we will kill one another (Arneil, 1999, 20; Bracke & Puig de la Bellacasa, 2009, 42; Gatens, 1996, 164).

Consequently, sovereignty is defined as a twofold process: self-institution and self-limitation, which means the subject is able to create and decide his or her own limits (Mbembe, 2003, 13). The subject can be master of its own meaning because the individual subject has Cartesian abstract rational mind. The mind takes in a God's viewpoint and has the ability to transcend time and space in order to discover the universal laws of nature and morality. This is the foundation for modern thought, or what some have termed as the Enlightenment project (Arneil, 1999, 19). However, to be able to exercise sovereignty at its maximum, the subject needs help and therefore depends on the society's capacity for self-creation that by the help of institutions can be created. How institutions should serve the citizen is inspired by specific social and imaginary signification (Mbembe, 2003, 13).

I will come back to the social and imaginary signification more specifically and explain how the government and art field differ on this aspect. However, first I would like to explain in more detail the role of cultural institution in western modern nation-state societies and explain that looking at art has been (and is!) interpreted an important way to become civilized. As a consequence going deeper into the understanding of the role of cultural institutions in the nation-state will clarify the standpoint of the art field clearer to later on.

## ***2.1 Cultural Institutions as Factories of Reason***

Museums, art galleries and other cultural institutions rose in parallel to the upcoming nation-states, and taught people civilized forms of behavior that they could use outside the cultural institution, in the broader social body of the nation-state (Abt, 2006, 128; Bennett, 2009, 24-25; Hein, 1998, 3; Möntmann, 2005, 8; Noble et al., 2008, 727, Preziosi, 2009, 488). As a result, cultural institutions might be considered as public spaces they were more factories that delivered trained people ‘ready and set’ for the rational public sphere.

Bennett explains in ‘Civic Seeing: Museums and the organization of Vision’ that the functioning of museums as civic institutions has operated through a specific regime of vision which, informing both the manner in which things are arranged to be seen and the broader visual environment conditioning practices of looking give rise to ‘civic seeing’. ‘Civic seeing’ was a disembodied way of looking at art that prepares one to act rational in the public sphere (Bennett, 2006, 263).

The public access to art must thus not be interpreted as a way to open up a space for a different phenomenological experience of art, in which people can wonder around and look at art, bring their own background and connect to what they see. Quite the opposite, the experience of looking at art has been constructed under strict epistemological conditions that enabled the new visitors with the right cultural techniques of seeing, to experience art in the right way (Iseminger in Adajian, 2005, 386). For example learning to look along side objects and be capable to interpret the historical natural development of objects, or understanding the use of national schools, and transcend the displayed Spirit of the nation, were lessons in using reason appropriately (Abt; 2006, 128, Bennett, 2006, 268; Pfisterer, 2006, 80)

White women and the white lower social and economical classes were allowed to come into this new public sphere to learn how to exercise reason. “Non-whites” were there to be looked at as objects, as they were considered to be closer to animals dangerous to the freedom of public sphere and therefore considered as objects (Bennet, 2006, 271; Buikema, 2009, 77).

I would like to stress that looking at art, with the thought that it enables rational civic seeing, forbids at all times to wonder. Since wondering shows the incapacity of knowing. Wondering was a vulgar low-class way of looking at art (Bennett, 2006, 274). Moreover wondering showed that a person was not capable to

exercise power in the public sphere because he or she did not appropriate optical and epistemological vantage point of looking sufficiently that would qualify him or her to become full citizen.

The prohibition of wonder is in my opinion extremely problematic and I will come back to the importance of wonder in my conclusion. The exclusion of wonder precludes someone to take ones own background in experiencing art. Namely, wonder starts when something does not fit your own framework and is thus not about being disinterested or dumb, on the contrary; it is being open to be moved by the unexpected (Irigaray in Grosz, 2005, 167). Keeping the prohibition of wonder in mind, exposes how experiencing art in a rational civilized way disciplines how we must love art and should feel about what we see. Moreover it sets our relation to art in which no other relations than the ‘civilized one’ are allowed.

This is not a yesterday’s understanding of experiencing art in the right way. As stated in the art field’s ‘manifest’ in which is described were the Dutch art field is in favor it states: ‘we are in favor of the return of creative courses in education because you must learn to look and think about art to appreciate it’<sup>23</sup>. The art field does thus not assert that creative courses are meant to learn how to express oneself differently than all other courses in school. Children will not learn to relate to the object from their own experiences and feelings. Instead the art field asserts that to truly appreciate art you must learn to look. As what becomes slowly clear now is that it is because of the modern romantic of sovereignty of the art field that the budget cuts are seen as the worst moral act: how can the neoliberal government take away cultural institutions and ‘our’ ways to become civilized?

## ***2.2 The Changed Social and Imaginary signification***

The answer to this question is that ‘civilization’ no longer signifies the importance of social imaginary, but capitalism has broken the ways how to become civilized and has spit out it commodities and exchange values (Roberts, 2007 121). As a result, creating one’s own meaning is no longer an exercise of the rational mind but can be bought. Rationality has become equalized to spending your money freely and to have the possibility to buy what you like. As Kaplan in my opinion addresses correctly:

‘if nations and museums were the florescence of the late nineteenth and twentieth

---

<sup>23</sup> [http://www.schuileninhetrijks.nl/?page\\_id=40](http://www.schuileninhetrijks.nl/?page_id=40) last accessed: 9/21/2011

century, the twenty-first century promises to challenge the identities that came to be assigned and defined by the cultural institutions as ideas and places, imagined and experienced physically (Kaplan, 2006, 153).

Thus what the 'More than Quality' paper does remark accurately is that signification of the social imaginary has changed under the influence of individualization and freedom of choice. The institutions should no longer provide art that can make us civilized, but instead should produce what we like. As a result, the cultural institutions become a true factory producing what is questioned, preferable cheap and lot. As I have shown in the last chapter this is very problematic because only one image of the Netherlands will be produced under the dictatorship of the majority.

Nevertheless, in the following I will show that the art field instead of putting forward the argumentation that I have stated in the first chapter returns to the romantic modern sovereignty understanding and asserts in a nostalgic way a 'civilized' art loving future. I will illustrate that the art field protests are among invisible but very present nationalist, essentialist, racist and elitist lines and reproduce excluding narratives modern sovereignty. In addition I will show that these lines are not 'solved' but strengthened by current neoliberal politics.

### 3 The Dutch Nationalist Essentialist Imagined Community of Freedom

As I have described in the first chapters the neoliberal government with the support of the majority of the Netherlands puts culture forward as cultural heritage or as entertainment. Culture is a mirror of where you come from. Different well-known curators and critics describe the Dutch cultural future in horror as one that returns back to wooden shoes, tulips and provincial culture<sup>24</sup>. This is contrary to the Dutch international cultural tradition of civilization as they known it. In the following I would like to give some examples of statements that will make clear how the art field perceives the Netherlands and its known cultural climate. Second I will explain why the international character is assumed to be inherent to being Dutch or the Netherlands, Consequently I will illustrate that the art field is just as essentialist nationalist as the neoliberal government. Last I will clarify why this nationalist approach is problematic, particular in our relation to art.

#### *3.1 The Dutch international climate*

When the budget cuts were announced, the Dutch art field led by well-known and influential people, such as Ann Demeester, Guus Beumer, Maria Hlavajova, Arno van Roosmalen<sup>25</sup> addressed and experienced the financial actions as a ‘coup d’etat’. Various institutions and individuals in the arts, all of which concerned about the future of the whole cultural field in the Netherlands, responded in an international appeal:

Speaking from the position of our field, we find it essential to point out that what we are facing is in fact an end of an internationally valued cultural climate, which we dare say is unparalleled anywhere in the world. In and outside of the Netherlands, the art world has benefited from the existence of a cultural system of generosity towards

---

<sup>24</sup> See for example Elena Filipovic’s respond in, *Metropolis M* Augustus/September, 2011, 22 [...] the Netherlands may be at the brink forever losing one of the most qualities that characterized its culture today; not tulips or canals but a vibrant commitment to the arts that will be entirely undone if State Secretary Halbe Zijlstra has his way’. Or Dieter Roelstraete in *Metropolis M* Augustus/September, 2011, 22 states: ‘[...] if the draconian budget cuts, that now hang like a sword of Damocles over the artistic sector is indeed admitted to do its destructive work, the Netherlands will not only loses it for decades fought position at the top of the global artistic pyramid, but also risks to be flashed back to a pre-war state of for provincialism – and I am not talking about the Second world war.’

<sup>25</sup> Representing *De Zaak Nu*, various institutions and individuals in the contemporary visual arts all of whom are concerned about the future of the whole cultural field in the Netherlands

the artistic and cultural imagination of the future, which today finds itself under threat of extinction.<sup>26</sup>

Hans Ulbrich co-director of the Serpentine Gallery in London and well-known art critic describes internationally valued cultural climate as well and argues: ‘The Netherlands has an outstanding tradition in the visual arts from the Northern Renaissance up to the present. But the projected cut of 2.000,000 Euros of the entire cultural budgets seems like suicide’ (Hans Ulbrich Obrist 2011, 32). Ann deMeester director of contemporary art institution de Appel argues: ‘The Netherlands, which has been perceived as one of the world’s most progressive social democracies [...] is rapidly allowing the civil rights and social infrastructure upon which it had once prided itself to erode, and even be eliminated (Demeester 2011, 21). Jos Houweling, former director of the Sandberg institute states: ‘The Netherlands becomes the best highway of Europe. Previously, people came to the Netherlands for its original, daring and free culture for inspiration’.

Also artists showed their disdain about the budget cuts. Dutch Artists 2011, a group of hundreds of artists and sympathizers, placed an advert in the New York Times (figure 1). The artists stated that they wanted to draw attention to the “trans-border value of the Dutch arts” and the advertisement had been placed as a wake up call to the world: ‘The destructive cuts by the Dutch government will have an international negative effect.’<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>26</sup> [http://www.dezaaknu.nl/nieuws/2011/06/18/dutch\\_coup\\_d\\_tat\\_in\\_art\\_and\\_culture](http://www.dezaaknu.nl/nieuws/2011/06/18/dutch_coup_d_tat_in_art_and_culture) 9/23/11

<sup>27</sup> <http://www.rnw.nl/africa/bulletin/dutch-artists-boycott-netherlands> last accessed: 9/23/11

**Do not enter the Netherlands**

**Cultural meltdown in progress**

Dutch government decimating support for the arts. Severe damage will be done. Dutch arts can no longer hold their unique position on the world stage. Disgruntled Dutch artists t. +31 6 13517169

**ON THE WEB**

**BRIDGE**

**The Times Book Review**

Figure 1: ‘Do not enter the Netherlands- Cultural Meltdown in Progress - Dutch Government decimating support for the arts. Severe damage will be done. Dutch artists can no longer hold their unique position on the world stage’, protest of Dutch Artists 2011, advertisement New York Times on 23 June 2011

In addition, Dieter Roelstraete curator of MHKA in Antwerp and editor of *After All* describes a cultural meltdown of the Netherlands as well, he states in the words of Thilo Sarrazin: ‘A Netherlands that is determined to abolish itself’ (Roelstraete, 2011, 20). It is a quite remarkable choice to choose Sarrazin to clarify the backward provincial situation. Sarrazin argues in his book ‘Deutschland schafft sich ab’ that Muslim immigrants in Germany are socially, culturally and intellectually inferior to almost everyone else.<sup>28</sup> But artists who protested in February 2011 would understand what Roelstraete is trying to say. Different artists sheltered, which was more like an occupation, in the Rijksmuseum (Schuilen in het Rijks), because ‘a country without art is a country without identity’<sup>29</sup>. Moreover the international character of Netherlands and the internationally known Dutch progressive culture is addressed many times in the argumentation of different curators and artists to show that the budget cuts are a step back in time. Although the art field argues to be opposite in its views of the neoliberal government in defining what is culture, the international character of the art field is put forward in an inherent part of the identity of the Netherlands.

<sup>28</sup> <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/11/13/world/europe/13sarrazin.html> last reviewed 9/28/2011

<sup>29</sup> [http://www.kunstbeeld.nl/00/kb/nl/0/nieuws/15537/Kunstenaars\\_gaan\\_schuilen\\_in\\_het\\_Rijksmuseum\\_m.html](http://www.kunstbeeld.nl/00/kb/nl/0/nieuws/15537/Kunstenaars_gaan_schuilen_in_het_Rijksmuseum_m.html): last reviewed: 9/28/2011

That does not mean I deny the high international position of the Netherlands in art field, on the contrary. But although the art field looks beyond the Dutch borders, these Dutch borders are affirmed and are claimed to have value in itself. As a consequence the Netherlands should not be entered anymore, because it does no longer shares the value of the old days. As a result, asking to boycott the Netherlands and subsequently state the transborder value of art is contradictive. How can top Dutch artists develop themselves and how can they behold their unique position when they are neglected? ‘Trans’, meaning across borders, is opposition to the way the Dutch artists affirm the borders of the Netherlands as real. Consequently, to ask for a boycott would only devalue’ transnational’ value of art, since ‘the Dutch artist’ cannot contribute to the world anymore.

Again, that does not mean I deny borders, but to put the international progressive image of the Netherlands forward as a reason why there should be no budget cuts, enables an essentialist praising non-critical nostalgic mode of the old days that used to be better and freer than today. Since the budget cuts undermine the natural assumed international position and shakes the vast grounds the budget are interpret as a criminal act. As Elena Filipovich, curator of the WIELS Contemporary art centre in Brussels verbalizes:

When one considers that Dutch society would thus be robbed of so many of the various institutions that helped make it a model abroad, the brutality of the gesture, which would decimate internationally reputed institutions that have flourished with public support and brought so much back to society, is nothing both criminal (Filipovic, 2011, 29).

Moreover, because the art field feels the budget cuts as a criminal coup d’état that undermine the international position of the Netherlands, a war has been declared to the neoliberal government: in which the values of the art field, which equalizes to civilization, must be defended to reinstall the values of a better and freer past.

### ***3.2 The Clash of Civilizations 2.0***

I would like to point out that culture can only be defended or die when there is an essential understanding of it and can be separated from other things. As, quite simply,

something can only die when it assumed to live and something can only be defended as it is experienced as real. The essentialist understanding of culture led to different nationalist warlike protests and expressions that I will show in the following.

First of all different artists, professors, directors of cultural institutions and other who worried about the budget cuts occupied the Museum Boijmans van Beuningen in Rotterdam and spoke about the importance of art. The protest put forward that the fragile position of cultural institutions must be protected and defended against the ‘new politics’. As the orange, the national color of the Netherlands, sticker represents (figure 2).



figure 2: action sticker ‘boymans occupied ‘boymans bezet’<sup>30</sup>

The day was about to become a historic day, according to Anna Tilroe speaker and professor at the Radboud University Nijmegen in Art History.

A day in our memories and those of Dutch cultural history will live on. A day in the spirit of June 26, 1963 when John Kennedy, standing before the Berlin Wall, said: Ich bin ein Berliner. We, artists of all disciplines, creators, thinkers and lovers, we are here for the symbolic wall that is built by the present government between the arts and society. And each of us say it loud and proud: I am a fellow fighter!

In other words, professor Tilroe makes a reference to a questionable grand narrative of freedom that expresses that others must be fought to protect the Dutch freedom. The art world continued their visual warpath by a march of civilization, people

---

<sup>30</sup> <http://www.schadekaart.nl/person/3866/nl>: last accessed 9/23/2011

walked from the Boijmans in Rotterdam all the way to The Hague. This march is once more an expression of being in a state of war as a march has military connotation. The ‘March of Civilization’ (figure 3) had been commentated by the government, not for being a march but for claiming to be civilized.



figure 3 March of Civilization

Another expression of a state of war is the ‘art bomb.’ The art bomb organization stated: “Express the value of art! [and] show your support for culture!”.<sup>31</sup> The organization describes further;

‘[...] this visual act will be a sign of resistance against the growing disdain for the arts within societies and governments worldwide, and a sign of support for colleagues who face major cutbacks. Now is the time to act to show your appreciation and the necessity of the arts!’<sup>32</sup>

Figure 4 shows the Rijksacademy of visual arts (Rijksacademie van Beeldende

<sup>31</sup> <http://www.artbomb.nl/> last accessed: 9/22/2011

<sup>32</sup> <http://www.artbomb.nl/> last accessed: 9/22/2011

kunsten), who chose also for orange, the national color of the Netherlands. In addition, again the international character of the Netherlands is emphasized because the art bombs exploded all over the world (figure 5).



Figure 4: Art Bomb at the Rijksacademie voor Beeldende Kunsten, Amsterdam Roy Taylor<sup>33</sup>

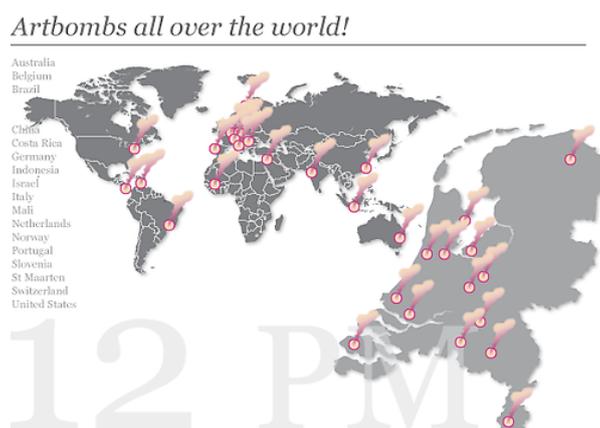


Figure 5 Art Bombs all over the world<sup>34</sup>

This might be peaceful in the sense that nobody gets physically hurt; the expression of the art bomb is truly aggressive. It expresses not the value of art, but the aggression towards other people who want to ‘touch’ art that is considered to be of the art field. Moreover the actions of the art field became more and more that ‘we’ must act in the glory of the Netherlands otherwise the true freedom culture of Netherlands will die. The “Sad Dutch Sad Flag” (figure 6) of artist Constant Dullaart published in the art magazin Metropolis M depicting a Dutch half-mast flag shows a similar imagination. The flag suggest the symbolization of the consequences of the Dutch

<sup>33</sup> <http://blog.frieze.com/a-7.3-billion-road-to-nowhere/> last accessed: 9/23/2011

<sup>34</sup> <http://www.artbomb.nl/page/293/en> last accessed: 9/22/2011

budget cuts in the cultural sector as a moment of silence in time and space in which we mourn the bodies that have sacrificed themselves for the freedom of the Netherlands but have regrettably been killed.



Figure 6: “Sad Dutch Flag” by artist Constant Dullaart <sup>35</sup>

The artwork shows a traditional narrative in which freedom and nation-state becomes intertwined. This visual expression is among all the examples that I have given the strongest expression of the art field’s ‘imagined community’, which is a very strong emotional identification with essentially abstract idea of the nation-state and the assumption of naturally belonging to it (Mak and Waaldijk, 2009, 210).

The expression that something essential of the Netherlands will die or has died is also visible in the action of the organization “no culture no future”. They initiated wrapping public art, statues, monuments and cultural institutions in black with a white cross on it (figure 7). The cross symbolizes the- no more-, the loss of status of the object. But of course the cross is also a sacred sign in Christianity. The black plastic wrapping paper, appear as body bags, in which the art corpse is captured. In other words, because of the lack of funding culture is doomed to die: the future ends with the death of culture.

---

<sup>35</sup> Published: in Metropolis M, August/September, 2011



Figure 6: Protest of ‘No culture no Future’, Co Broerse <sup>36</sup>

### ***3.3. Critiquing the Dutch Nationalist Essentialist Imagined Community***

But what is ‘wrong’ with these expressions? Is the Dutch art field not internationally known, is the artistic and cultural imagination of the future not under the treat of extinction? Yes, it is for the explanation that I have given in the first chapter: the process of orienting ourselves towards aesthetic expressions is dictated by the imagination of the majority that values art when it fits their frameworks, not when it moves beyond their framework. The future can therefore never be open, because what is presumed to be good is known.

The art field does not move beyond the nationalist framework of imagination either, but instead falls back on modern-state ideas that cultural institutions give you the capacity to become civilized. As I have shown the in last chapter, who can become and cannot become part of rational public sphere is the result of an oppressing history in which wonder is forbidden. This history is now completely denied, because the art field becomes a utopian world of freedom that is in contrast to the uncivilized neoliberals. The art field’s community is imagined as frontrunner of Dutch civilization in which loyalty and affection to the Netherlands is shown when

---

<sup>36</sup><http://www.google.com/imgres?q=no+culture+no+future&hl=en&client=firefox-a&hs=CPk&sa=X&rls=org.mozilla:en-US:official&prmdo=1&biw=1091&bih=606&tbn=isch&prmd=ivns&tbnid=owRwcPCvplmEgM:&imgrefurl=http://www.flickr.com/photos/fconcrete/page8/&docid=jHs-Fzw6rHIjJM&w=500&h=334&ei=km98TuWXAoOOpG0rfAP&zoom=1&iact=rc&dur=737&page=1&tbnh=146&tbnw=155&start=0&ndsp=17&ved=1t:429,r:12,s:0&tx=64&ty=95> last accessed 9/23/11

one fights or mourns. As a consequence what is problematic is that again is decided how one has to orientate oneself to art: we must love art for the civilization of the Netherlands. If you do not love art, and thus now do not mourn, you do not love the progressive character inherent to the Netherlands.

As pointed out, these thoughts and actions are in contrast to the transnational value of art that makes loving art go beyond the imagination of loving a nation-state. Moreover, mourning becomes an act of building love for the nation and falls back on a false glorified shared past. The art field fails to imagine the value of art beyond multiple axes of mobility flows of people and commodities (Cresswell; in Braidotti 2004, 131), and instead imagines the love for art as modern nationalist essential act of civilization. In the following I will show what the expression of the art field in imaging to be no longer able to love art as they do. As result I will show that the grounds on which modern sovereignty has determined who can become a rational civilized subject still dictate the imagination of today.

## 4 Imagining Non-Citizenship, Imagining the 'Other' side

What happens if the art field can no longer express themselves as they desire and no longer can become civilized? In this chapter I will give answer to that question and show that although the art field places itself as opposite of the neoliberals in the debate of multiculturalism<sup>37</sup>, there is no awareness, mostly among art students, why they express themselves as they do.

First of all, let us return back to the resistance symbol of the art field: a white cross on a black surface. The black surface represents the budget cuts that will put the Dutch citizen back in time and the white cross is the civilized gesture of the art field saying 'no'. There is thus a black and white dichotomy connotation in which black signifies backwards and white signifies civilized. The expression is problematic since the symbol continues to install black as inferiority and white as superior.

Second, the protests became, particularly of Dutch art students a representation of Black Death. Hundreds of art students in Amsterdam performed death on the street (figure, 7), and represented with their protest how they are negatively affected by the budget cuts. The students imagine their bodies as things that are possessed by neoliberal politics and therefore cannot act freely anymore (Mbembe, 2003, 22). Also in Maastricht a cultural funeral procession was hold to show the loss, the no-more status of art.



Figure 7: Protest of hundreds of Dutch Art students, Amsterdam 24 June 2011 <sup>38</sup>

---

<sup>37</sup> For example Koen Brams director of the Jan van Eijk Academy a Post-Academic Institute for Research and Production Fine Art, Design, Theory asserts: 'I call on everyone to, not just today, not just tomorrow, but as long as this government exists, take a stand against the xenophobic, culture and civilization hostile ultra-liberal policies' in *Metropolis M* 2011, August/September,

<sup>38</sup> <http://www.ahk.nl/bvo/actueel/nieuws/bericht/titel/honderden-studenten-de-straat-op-tegen-bezuinigingsplannen/> : last accessed: 9/23/11



Figure 8: ‘cultural funeral procession, students, employees and teachers, drama academy, academy of visual art and conservatorium, and other cultural institutions at 17 June 2011, Laurens Bouvrie<sup>39</sup>

Art students in figure 8 show with their sign ‘and then it became quiet’ an episode which seems to be the title of Fanon’s Book: ‘Black skin and white masks’ (1952), their black bodies express their oppressed position, but with their white faces they claim to express the truth and visualizing the death to come.



Figure 9: translated: ‘...and then it became quiet’, group unknown The Hague<sup>40</sup>

Additionally, in figure 9, we see a girl, who wears a black dress that look like a burka,

<sup>39</sup> <http://www.maastrichtaktueel.nl/maastrichtse-kunstacademies-rouw-met-doodskist-op-weg-naar-gouvernement/> : last accessed: 9/22/2011

<sup>40</sup> <http://www.rtv-arnhem.nl/?q=node/885>. Last accessed: 9/22/2011. Although Minjon did not capture this picture she describes the group in her report a protest at 8 October in the Hague. (footnote 42)

in which she expresses her depressing oppression.

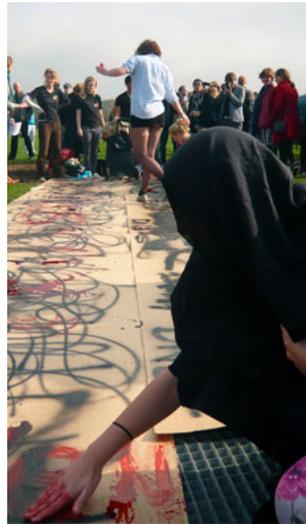


Figure 10: protest 8 October 2010. The Hague <sup>41</sup>

Again the question is: why do in my opinion the aesthetic expressions not show a critical and creative response to the budget cuts? It becomes clear in the images that the art field feels oppressed because, as I explained earlier, the neoliberal government does not share the social and political signification that has set the importance of cultural institutions. The art field expresses that it can no longer master their meaning, because they are governed by the uncivilized, the barbarians or, as Ramses Nasr assigned national poet, would say, ‘Orcs.’<sup>42</sup>

The imagination of the art students, presumed future of the art field, is very questionable since the aesthetic expressions carry an inscribed regime of who can and cannot become civilized subject in the nation-state. Namely the foundation of modern Enlightenment is built on Eurocentric ideas in which the assumption is that black people coming from the ‘orient’ are closer to animals and therefore cannot, or must be taught, to become civilized. As Said (1978) has argued in *Orientalism* the Orient is an invention and necessary for the defining the West as superior. The art field addresses the consequences of the budget cuts as ‘the uncivilized other’, black, death, and veiled. In other words the art students express a slave status: a ‘loss of home, loss of rights of his or her body, a loss of political status’ (Mbembe, 2003, 21).

---

<sup>41</sup> Demonstratie 8 oktober: "waar is de rest?" report in Kunstbeeld of Master student art history: Ilga Minjon  
[http://www.veenmagazines.nl/00/KB/nl/0/nieuws/14545/Demonstratie\\_8\\_oktober:\\_waar\\_is\\_de\\_rest.html](http://www.veenmagazines.nl/00/KB/nl/0/nieuws/14545/Demonstratie_8_oktober:_waar_is_de_rest.html): last accessed: 9/20/2011

<sup>42</sup> <http://www.ramseynasr.nl/web/DDVpagina/Toespraak-bij-de-Mars-der-Beschaving.htm>: last accessed: 9/22/2011

The girl in the black burka expresses her idea as the position of the subaltern other. The idea is patriarchal construct that Spivak has addressed in 'Can the Subaltern Speak'. The voice and agency of subaltern women are erased because she becomes the object of dispute between tradition and emancipation. As a consequence she –the subaltern woman- can only be represented and spoken for by others (Ponzanesi, 2009, 90). Moreover, the demonstrator expresses her disdain about the budget cuts as subaltern woman, speaks with voice that is not her own or that of the subaltern woman. Consequently, the protester does not only erases the voice and agency of subaltern women she also misuses and affirms the constructed position of subaltern women in which needs to be saved by white civilized man.

As a consequence the *not*-relation to art is defined and imagined as well. The nostalgic attitude of the art field express the other side as a black oriental uncivilized slave position and consequently construct its own culture as the most divine freedom . Moreover, because art and cultural institutions are 'lost' the Dutch citizen can no longer master its own meaning and consequently becomes a slave. But as the story continues, slaves can be saved by the ones in power.

## 5. Recognizing Pain of Citizens, Reinstalling the National Utopia

What did I mean with slaves can be saved by the ones in power and what does this has to do with our relationship to art? This chapter shows the rhetoric of the art field and neoliberal government to enable the citizens' freedom and save people from their slave positions. Their actions affirm the victimized weak positions of the citizens and an outside higher power. That higher power is the described 'civilized project' of the art field or the illustrated neoliberal government 'individual freedom project'. Both claim to be able to reinstall the national utopia of 'no pain'. Moreover, I claim that although both assert not to be elitist anymore or not want to be anymore<sup>43</sup>, in their actions they affirm an elitist relation to art and citizens. The art field might wonder, how can one be elitist when one is oppressed by neoliberal politics and when one collaborates with others who are oppressed by neoliberal politics as well, such as the 'sick, immigrants, refugees, children, elderly, artists, 'ordinary' people'?<sup>44</sup> The neoliberal government will probably question my statement as well: how can one be elitist when the budget cuts effectuate individual freedom? How can one be elitist when the pain of the Other is eradicated?

The understanding when pain is considered as true leads back to the heart of a modern understanding of sovereignty in which rationality belongs to the public and emotions to the private. However through sentimental politics, emotions can be considered as rational and to matter to the collective. As Berlant (2000) explains in 'The Subject of True Feeling: Pain, Privacy and Politics' painful feelings are used in the making of political worlds. She addresses the popular belief that a nation can be built across fields of social differences of channels of affective identification and empathy and describes this understanding as 'national sentimentality' (Berlant 2000, 52). Nation is here imagined as a collective life and imagines a free utopian world without pain. Sentimentality politics operate when the ones with power feel the pain of others and recognize how their citizenship is denied (Berlant 2000, 52). How are sentimental politics to trace back in the politics of the art field and in the neoliberals politics of government and how are they elitist?

---

<sup>43</sup> Donker 'de culturele elite wil niet elitair meer zijn' 10 September 2011 NRC Handelsblad.

<sup>44</sup> <http://www.skor.nl/nl/sit> <http://www.artbomb.nl/e/item/open-noodnummer-over-de-nieuwe-politiek-van-cultuur>: last acceswed 9/26/2011.

### ***5.1 The art field: recognizing pain, loving people***

Sentimentality politics can be traced very clear back in the art field reactions. First of all They affirms strongly their own pain as true and express themselves, like I have showed in the last chapter, as the Other. As I have demonstrated as well the reason why the art field acts like the ‘oppressed’ is because ‘their’ cultural institutions are taken away that consequently erases their creation of becoming rational civilized citizen. The art field puts forward that real democracy will win when people choose for the civilization of the art field.<sup>45</sup> The art field describes the mass scale feeling of pain and how ‘we’ all are victims through experiencing social negation with neoliberal politics (Berlant, 2002, 54). To follow the art field becomes following the real way to freedom without pain.

Consequently, the art field can mourn publicly because it is assumed to matter to the collective and thus is a rational emotion. The belief is that the nation can eradicate systemically social pain by recognizing the pain to matter to collective, the absence of which becomes the definition of freedom’ (Berlant, 2000 53). Berlant explains that this definition of freedom is extremely problematic as taking pain away rests on cultural hierarchal politics, in which the marginalized feelings are accepted by the majority only when they matter to the collective (Berlant, 2000, 52- 53). That does not mean that the pain of ‘sick, immigrants, refugees, children, elderly, [...], ‘ordinary’ people’ as the art field has indicated them is not real<sup>46</sup>, but they become for the art field real identities with the common identity that they are oppressed by neoliberal politics. Remarkable is that in current art theories great narratives other of communities since 1989 are considered as failure that easily manipulates mass with a common identity (Möntmann, 2009, 16). But why is this elitist? This is elitist because when it considers ones own body the grand narrative of freedom are untouchable true, and the narrative of civilization is able to understand, recognize and take away all other pains.

As I have demonstrated, professor Tilroe even makes a linkage to Berlin’s wall and the grand narratives of 1989 and illustrates a world of those who are

---

<sup>45</sup> <http://metropolism.com/fresh-signals/bezetting-beursplein-amsterdam/> : last accessed 2/9/2011.

<sup>46</sup> <http://www.skor.nl/nl/site/item/open-noodnummer-over-de-nieuwe-politiek-van-cultuur> : last accessed: 29/9/2011

free and those who are not. By such an attitude the elitist civic way of looking at art, in which one becomes rational, is undone from all critiques. As a result, it is *because* the art field claims to be so much better and takes radically moral distance from the neoliberal government that it in my opinion, misinterprets the gesture of budget cuts wrongly as harsh gesture.

## ***5.2 Rereading the Neoliberal Gesture***

‘Others’ in the neoliberal government’s eyes are the ones from who the taxes ‘got stolen’ by leaving funding choices to experts who opt for innovative art. These ‘others’ could not create their own meaning and become citizens because the cultural institutions did not produce what the citizens liked and instead only produced something that a small part of society liked, was interested in and could understand. As I illustrated earlier, Prime Minister Rutte states that it is the government’s responsibility to spend taxes on art that everyone likes.

Let me first state clear, that the budget cuts are harsh to the art field<sup>47</sup>, but the art field misses that the reasons for cutting in the budget cuts. They are not only because I have demonstrated because of the change of the social imaginary signification, but the budget cuts are also a comforting gesture to the citizen. The neoliberal reading of art’s infrastructure existence as a fake contribution to the nation state and fraudulent towards people’s earned money is not an absence of emotion but an emotional orientation towards others (Ahmed, 2004, 4). The art field affirms this position of the Other by their protests that I have shown. The government expresses with the budget cuts that it protects its citizens from the art field who assume in creating its own meaning a lack of capability to reason of the citizens.

The neoliberal government asserts to have a strong belief in the capability of the individual to create oneself. He or she does not need to learn what taste is at all, does not need cultural institutions to become rational and civilized, but can choose for him or herself what is best. The art field’s portrait of the neoliberal government is exactly what the neoliberal government wants; the louder the art field screams<sup>48</sup> the bigger the impression of the government becomes that it is listening to ‘the people.’

In addition, the art field’s way of putting forward that the ones against the art

---

<sup>47</sup> See annex 1 for practical consequences of the budget cuts

<sup>48</sup> The very first protests were a ‘screaming for culture’ this was not meant as as Deleuze would define: ‘‘a vehicle to uncover new terrains of struggle and new possibilities for collectivity’ (Ruddick, 2010, 21) but as I have shown a violation upon a body.

field are not civilized, affirms the belief that the Other lacks reasoning. Moreover, the painful feelings of exclusion are again affirmed, as the art field states that they are being excluded because they are not civilized. Thus neoliberal politics are not strong because 'they' just do not get how to become civilized. It is exactly the assumption of incapability and cultural vulnerability of citizens that the art field can 'fix' with looking at art that makes the neoliberals so strong.

In addition, the claim of the neoliberal government is strengthened when the art sector argues that innovative art is something to be truly understood when one has learned to look in the appropriated constructed way. However affirming that art is a 'leftist elitist hobby'<sup>49</sup>, confirms the lack of capability in the opposite way, since the joy of innovative art is presumed to be experienced in only one true way. As a consequence to presume art as only entertainment is the result of sad passions, since why would you only enjoy what you understand? Who claims that you do not understand art and who do you affirm with agreeing that you indeed do not enjoy? I have shown that this is a construct of a white western man who only loves himself and considers the love for him as the only rational and civilized one.

### ***5.3 Elitist Gestures of Love***

As a result, wonder, the opening of other relations and to art, are erased and the acknowledgment of pain affirms victimized weak positions and an outside higher power - that of the civilization or the individual freedom- that is able to reinstall the national utopia of 'no pain'. In other words, the art field and neoliberal government rhetoric over identify with the eradication of pain to describe the social inequality and their ability to reset true freedom. In addition, both assert that they can take people's pain away, which is either caused by the oppression of the neoliberals or the leftist elitist art field.

This is elitist because they decide FOR people how they should act and feel when looking at art and how they should act and feel in relation to others. This

---

<sup>49</sup> A claim of the minority government's ally Party of Freedom (PVV) 'Vindt de PVV nu wel of niet dat kunst een linkse hobby is?' <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ra5gPqH1egc&noredirect=1>: last accessed 29/9/2011. According to the PVV, they have never said that art is a leftist hobby, but the funding is. However, leftist elitist hobby has been repeatedly addressed in debates, for example at the Stedelijk Museum Symposium: 'de Nieuwe Elite': <http://www.stedelijk.nl/nu-in-stedelijk/publieksprogramma/symposia/the-new-elite-15-06-2011>

negative relation to art, the lack of power to determine the relation to art is only possible because Dutch citizens let themselves suffer by ideas outside them. Moreover Dutch citizens let them be determined and demanded by the constitution of nationalist essentialist, racist, and elitist ideas of becoming rational citizens in the public sphere (Spinoza in Ruddick, 2010, 25). Moreover, choosing sides in budget cuts on cultural institutions is useless because the good neoliberal government or art field only exist because of the affirmation of the 'mean other' *and* because affirming of a lack of power of the self. I assert that if we do not want to be kept between a nostalgic art field and neoliberal government we have to enable a true cultural shift and constitute our relation to art differently. In my conclusion I will not summarize my thesis but propose a new way to constitute our relation to art as an affirmative one. One that uses art not to master the meaning of the self, but a tool to think with and become with.

## 6. Moving Beyond the Good the Bad and the Ugly

Now, let us imagine after exposing the nationalist, essentialist, racist and elitist lines that serves the creation of the rational civilized masculine self, the presumed impossible: cultural institutions desire and acknowledge being open, inclusive and inspiring to the imaginary of all citizens. Not just Dutch citizens, but all human beings of the world. Art will become an equal partner, a tool to think with and not a slave of the individual rational subject. But where to start and how to establish horizontal experiences of art?

The first step is in my opinion to no longer assume the fiction of free will, because it assumes too simply that acting on our passions is an evidence of our freedom or free will. Individuals who believe that the mind – here meant as the active will – acts on a body (that is passive with regard to this will), might be conscious of their actions but is ignorant of causes that those actions are determined by (Spinoza, in Ruddick, 2010, 26; and in Donova, 2009, 172). This has first of all, become clear in my analysis of the (aesthetic) expressions of artists, curators, art students and professors. Furthermore, not liking (innovative) art, because I say so is also ignorant of the causes that have caused those actions, as I have shown for the neoliberal rhetoric. I assert, that we cannot just say we like or do not like art because we say so; we first have to become aware of the historical constructions that have put us in place to state so.

In becoming aware of our position we need refuse and acknowledge the false assumption of the God's eye view perspective. This viewpoint claims to be able to know the all-knowing. As well the art field's protests as the neoliberal government assert a God's eye view perspective. As they assume it is possible to take a position outside of culture and assign essential all-declaring characteristics to the Dutch culture, while not being aware that the very statement creates a reality. Both address culture as the divine reflection of their free Dutch being, and deny the relation to the other and their history. As a consequence, the discussion between the art field and the neoliberals becomes as I have shown, a simple unjustified reflex in which the other just needs to observe better to see the true value of the Netherlands and the true value of art to the Netherlands.

Instead, I want to suggest a practice that aims to establish a horizontal

experience of art, and intervene is this one picture show of the Netherlands and the value of art. I propose that we name our relations to the world and not erase or dismiss them. As Haraway has pointed out, objectivity is not about disengagement but about designating the grounds you claim from, embedding yourself completely in reality (Haraway, 1988, 590). In feminism this practice is called the ‘politics of location’ (Braidotti, 2009, 243).

Using the politics of location in perceiving art will activate an awareness of the process of ontology: what is my position, what are my grounds, what are the conditions that I take for granted, how and why do I affect and relate to art in the way I do? That does not mean that experiencing art becomes some psychological exercise for the self, it is becoming aware that the self is the result of relations to many others, and *is* one of the many others.

As a result, art becomes not a reflection of society but a space-time block<sup>50</sup>. Since the difference between reflection and space-time block is that reflection mirrors ‘truth’ an essential part, while space-time block is a *possibility* created by the composition of all relations. In becoming aware of what possibility, why that artwork, drives at the surface, and thus simultaneously acknowledging other possibilities, we need to name the ground – the location- with a critical imagination.

Therefore I consider Irigaray’s ‘philosophy of wonder’ as crucial to think with art, since Irigaray asserts wonder as a positive feeling and not as a lack of knowing that indicates being of low class. Allowing wonder in looking at aesthetic expressions will make space for different phenomenological experiences that have been erased from history. Simultaneously, wondering in public will also make place for subjects to become different than the same or opposite of white western man. For the reason that something can only be opposite (or same) when it finds itself in the same framework with the same validation system. For example I have shown that the neoliberal and art field could only be opposites because both assume a modern understanding of sovereignty. Making space for wonder in our relation to art will open oneself up to be confounded by something beyond the understanding in terms of existing framework and knowledge. Moreover, wondering will be an act of resistance in the masculine public sphere of civic reason.

Subsequently, art becomes like a book and can be read over and over again,

---

<sup>50</sup> Read more: Deleuze, the Logic of Sense (1969).

mean different things in different times. Not because the book, the art work, is changing but because time and space are changing. I think that becoming aware of *what, how, why, and if* our relations to art are changing, can inspire curators and artists a unique resistance in the midst of the biopolitical field, aware of the order of things, moving beyond the good, the bad and the ugly.

## Bibliography

- Abt, J. (2006). The Origins of the Public Museum. In S. Macdonald (ed.), *A Companion to Museum Studies* (pp. 115-134). Malden, Oxford and Carlton: Blackwell Publishing.
- Adajian, T. (2005). Book review: The aesthetic function of art, Gary Iseminger. *The Journal of aesthetics and art criticism*, 63 (4), 386.
- Ahmed, S. (2004). Introduction: Feel your way. In *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (pp. 1-19). Routledge.
- Arneil, B. (1999). *Politics & Feminism*. Oxford and Maiden: Blackwell.
- Bennett, T. (2006). Civic Seeing: and the Organization of Vision. In S. Macdonald (ed.), *A Companion to Museum Studies* (pp. 263-281). Malden, Oxford and Carlton: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Bennet, T. (2009). *The Birth of the Museum: history, theory, politics*. New York: Routledge.
- Berlant, L. (2001). The Subject of Thru Feeling: Pain, Privacy, and Politics. In A. Sarat, & T. R. Kearns (ed.), *Cultural Pluralism, Identity Politics and the Law* (pp. 49-84). University of Michigan Press.
- Bockma, H. (2011, June 11). Er zit pijn in, dat klopt. interview halbe zijlstra, staatssecretaris voo Cultuur. *Volkskrant*, 4.
- Bracke, S., & Puig de la Bellacasa, M. (2009). The arena of knowledge: Antigone and feminist standpoint theory. In I. van der Tuin, & R. Buikema (ed.), *Doing Gender in Media, Art and Culture* (pp. 39-53). New York: Routledge.
- Braidotti, R (2004). Gender and power in a post-nationalist European Union. *Nora: Nordic Journal of Women's Studies*, 3 (12), pp 130-143.
- Braidotti, R. (2009). Dymrna and the figuration of the woman warrior. In R. Buikema, & I. van der Tuin (ed.), *Doing Gender in Media, Art and Culture* (pp. 241-260). New York: Routledge.
- Buikema, R. (2009). The arena of imaginings: Sarah Baartman and the ethics of representation. In R. Buikema, & I. van der Tuin (ed.), *Doing Gender in Media, Art and Culture* (2nd Edition ed., pp. 70-84). New York: Routledge.
- Demeester, A. (2011, August/September). *Metropolis M*, 32 (4), pp. 21.
- Donava, S. (2009). Re-reading Irigaray's Spinoza. In M. Gatens (ed.), *Feminist interpretations of Benedict Spinoza* (pp. 165-188). University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

- Donker, B. (2011, September, 10). De culturele elite will niet meer elitair zijn. *NRC Handelsblad*.
- Donker, B., & Kammer, C. (2011, September 3). Kunstenaars moeten meer naar publiek luisteren. *NRC Handelsblad*.
- Donker, B., & Stokmans, D. (2011, July 8). 'Gezellig was het niet, Nodig Wel' Staatsecretaris Zijlstra blikt terug op zijn eerste jaar met ingrijpende keuzes. *NRC Handelsblad*.
- Dullaart, C. *Sad Dutch Flag*.
- Dutch Ministry of Education, Science and Culture. (2011). *Meer dan kwaliteit: een nieuwe visie op cultuurbeleid* trans. *More Than Quality*.
- Fanon, F. (1952:2008). *Black Skin, white Masks*. New York: Grove Press Publishers Group West.
- Filopovich, E. (2011, August/September). *Metropolis M*, 32 (4), pp. 26-27.
- Gatens, M. (1996). Through a Spinozist Lens: Ethology, Difference, Power. In P. Patton (ed.), *Deleuze: A Critical Reader* (pp. 162-187). Oxford and Cambridge Massachussets: Blackwell Publishers Inc.
- Gatens, M. (2000). Feminism as "Password": Re-thinking the "Possible" with Spinoza and Deleuze. *Hypatia*, 15 (2), 69-75.
- Grosz, E. (2005). The Time of Thought Identity, Sexual Difference, and the Future. In *Time Travels: Feminism, Nature and Power* (pp. 155-170). Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Haraway, D. (1988). Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective. *Feminist Studies*, 14 (3), 575-599.
- Harvey, D. (2007). *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press Inc.
- Hein, G. (1998) *Learning in the Museum*. New York: Routledge
- hooks, b. (1984) *Feminist Theory from Margin to Center*. Boston: South End Press.
- Kaplan, F. E. (2006). Making and Remaking National Identities. In S. Macdonald (ed.), *A Companion to Museum Studies* (pp. 152-169). Malden, Oxford, Carlton: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Mak, G. & Waaldijk B. (2009). Gender, history, and the politics of Florence Nightingale. In R. Buikema, & I. van der Tuin (ed.), *Doing Gender in Media, Art and Culture* (2nd Edition ed., pp. 85-89). New York: Routledge.

- Mbembe, A. (2003) Necropolitics. *Public Culture*, 15 (1), 11-40.
- Möntmann, N. (2005). Art and its Institutions, current conflicts, critique and collaborations. In N. Montmann (ed.). Black Dog Publishing.
- Möntmann, N. (2009). New Communities. In N. Montmann (ed.), *New Communities* (pp. 10-19). Toronto: Public Books .
- Noble, T. F., Strauss, B., Neuschel, K. B., Accampo, E. A., Roberts, D. D., & Cohen, W. B. (2008). *Western Civilization Beyond Boundaries* (5th Edition ed.). Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Pfister, U. (2008). Origins and Principles of World Art History: 1900 (and 2000). In K. Zijlmans, & W. van Damme (ed.), *World Art Studies: Exploring Concepts and Approaches* (pp. 69-80). Amsterdam: Valiz.
- Obrist, H. U. (2011, August/September). *Metropolis M*, 32 (4), p. 32.
- politieke redactie. (2010, October 28). Rutte: kabinet moet snoeien om te groeien. *NRC Handelsblad*.
- Ponzanesi, S. (2009). The arena of the colony: Phoolan Devi and postcolonial critique. In R. Buikema, & I. van der Tuin (ed.), *Doing Gender in Media, Art and Culture* (2nd Edition ed., pp. 85-89). New York: Routledge.
- Preziosi, D. (2009). *The art of art history: a critical anthology*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rise, D. Theory, Practice and Illusion. In A. McClellan, *Art and its Publics: Museum studies at the Millennium*. Malden, Oxford and Carlton, 2003: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Roberts, M. (2007). Capitalism, psychiatry, and schizophrenia: a critical introduction to Deleuze and Guattari's *Anti-Oedipus*. *Nursing Philosophy*, 8 (2), 114-127.
- Roelstraete, D. (2011). Zeven jaar na datum. *Metropolis M*, 32 (4), 20.
- Ruddick, S. (2010). The Politics of Affect: Spinoza in the Work of Negri and Deleuze. *Theory Culture Society*, 27 (4), 21-45.
- Rutte, P. M. (2011, January 16). Buitenhof: Premier Rutte. (C. Polak, Interviewer) NPS, VARA, VPRO.
- Ruyters, D. (2011). Generatie Niets. *Metropolis M*, 32, 17.
- Rydell, R. (2006). World fairs and Museums. In S. Macdonald (ed.), *A Companion to Museum Studies* (pp. 135-151). Malden, Oxford and Carlton: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism*. London: The Pantheon Books.

Spivak, G. C. (1988). Can the Subaltern Speak? In C. Nelson, & L. Grossberg, *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Illinois.

## Annex 1

In the fields of art and culture, the budget will shrink by 200 million Euros; for visual art it means going from 53,3 to 31 million on an annual basis, taking immediate effect in 2013. Amongst other things, this will lead to:

- A 50 % cut in the budget for stipends and working grants for artists;
- A 50% cut in the budget of the Mondriaan Foundation, the body e.g. responsible for supporting international projects;
- A dramatic reduction of the number of contemporary visual arts institutions receiving state support (which currently include Witte de With, De Appel, BAK, Marres, etc.) from 11 to 6;
- A total withdrawal of all support for art magazines;
- The end of government subsidies for functions now fulfilled by the Manifesta Foundation, SKOR | Foundation for Art and Public Domain, and the NiMK – Netherlands Media Art Institute;
- The end of all public financing of the post-academic education for artists offered in places such as the Ateliers, Rijksakademie voor beeldende kunsten, European Ceramic Work Centre, and the Jan van Eyck Academie.

See for more information:

[http://dezaaknu.nl/nieuws/2011/06/18/dutch\\_coup\\_d\\_tat\\_in\\_art\\_and\\_culture](http://dezaaknu.nl/nieuws/2011/06/18/dutch_coup_d_tat_in_art_and_culture)