

Master Thesis
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**The assessment of the cultural value of heritage:
incorporating plural interpretations and meaning or
sticking to a singular scientific model and definition?**

A qualitative research on the assessment of the cultural value and challenges
regarding the implementation of the cultural value by Dutch heritage
organisations

Abstract and keywords

The purpose of this research is to provide insights on the matter of the supposed importance of cultural value assessment in heritage management by Dutch heritage organisations. Often, Dutch heritage organisations mention the impact and importance of culture and cultural value on heritage practices in their policy plan or on their website, yet the ways in which this cultural value is defined, assessed and evaluated remains unclear or is not mentioned. By conducting qualitative research by conducting semi-structured interviews with immovable heritage organisations on their cultural value management practices and the challenges that occur, the research provided an answer to the research question: *What cultural assessment models do heritage agencies, organisations and funds in the Netherlands use, if at all, to rate the cultural value of a heritage site, and what challenges do these heritage stakeholders experience in using these models?*

The findings from these research showed that there are two perspectives regarding the cultural value assessment of heritage. The first dominant perspective holds on to the limited and traditional idea of cultural value as coming from the object itself, where it is believed that the worth of heritage does not depend on interplay between the object and the public, but is a fixed value that can be measured by the rather short-sighted objective scientific value systems of the Dutch Heritage Agency. By using this system that is based on rating the architectural and cultural historical significance of heritage, it is believed that the cultural value of heritage is assessed. The second perspective shows the aim to have a plural and inclusive approach towards heritage management, where the cultural value is approached from different angles, where not only the scientific experts' point of view, but also how the public identifies with the heritage and attach value to heritage is evaluated. Yet, there is no assessment tool developed to evaluate this and the heritage organisations stick to the dominant and limited perspective of the cultural value as coming from the object itself. This can be explained by the challenges that these heritage stakeholders experience regarding the cultural value of heritage. They find it a challenge to incorporate the cultural value that is subjective, not fixed and can differ per person in heritage management and hold an elitist stance towards involving non-scientific perspectives that do not have the expertise, like the public. Even though they state that they wish to involve communities, they view themselves as having the expertise which gives them the authority in value based heritage management. From these findings, it can be concluded that taking on a plural approach towards the cultural value of heritage by involving the public is often only a symbolic gesture in order to appear more inclusive in heritage management. There is no clear structure or assessment for this involvement of the public and because of this, the power and authority stays with the traditional power holders in the heritage field where they stick to the institutional quantitative approach to heritage value assessment.

Keywords: Cultural value, Cultural heritage, Assessment models, Pluralistic heritage management, Cultural identity

Preface

When I was in primary school, my mother was the secretary of the committee of the province Overijssel of the Bond Heemschut, an association focused on protection of cultural monuments in the Netherlands. The meetings of this committee always took place at my parents' house and while I was playing at home or watching TV, I remember the committee group talking about matters concerning the conservation of heritage in Overijssel. I remember being very impressed by the complicated topics that were discussed, but also by the dignified and stately men that were part of the committee. After my mother quit being a secretary, I remained interested in heritage. Whereas other kids my age only wanted to go to the beach on holiday, I wanted to visit historical buildings, archaeological sites and museums. From a young age, I have been interested in the story behind people's creations and what impact these "heritage creations" of the past still have on us today. Yet, the Critical Heritage Studies course that I took as part of my Master studies taught me that the cultural identity/beliefs we have today also have an impact on how heritage is valued and assessed. This interesting yet complicated interrelation between heritage values and cultural identity sparked my enthusiasm and made me question whether this is incorporated in contemporary heritage management in my home country, the Netherlands. By doing this research, I could provide an answer to this question myself, which made this master thesis a challenging yet rewarding project to work on.

I would like to thank my supervisor Dr. Emiel Martens, for his support and helpful input that inspired me to keep reflecting on the topic from different perspectives.

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Introduction

When looking at decision-making processes of preservation of cultural heritage sites, economic valuation methods are dominant (de La Torre, 2013; Snowball, 2011), notably the Contingent Valuation Method (Kim, Wong and Cho, 2007). At the same time, however, cultural heritage agencies and organisations often talk about the cultural value of heritage and how this should be taken into consideration when making decisions regarding heritage preservation. An example is BOEi, a Dutch heritage restoration and conversion organisation, which states that “cultural heritage is of important value to our country’s cultural value and history and that it can contribute to the cultural identity” (BOEi, n.d., para. 3). The motto in the policy plan of the foundation Oude Groninger Kerken is: “if we want to preserve culture, we have to keep on creating it” (Stichting Oude Groninger Kerken, 2017). They continue that by creating culture, support and involvement are guaranteed. Next, the Dutch Ministry of Cultural Heritage mention in their vision, mission and strategy document that the emotional/experience value has to be taken into account regarding heritage management. This document states that this value shapes the history and identity of groups of people and connects people in a world that is constantly changing (Ministerie voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, 2013). In addition, the Dutch municipality Nijmegen stresses the “cultural wealth” of the city by stating that

“The identity of a city and environment is partly determined by the past. And through the presence of the past [through cultural heritage], residents feel more connected to their neighbourhood or district [...]. The neighbourhood’s history is very valuable for its residents. Residents are proud of their own neighbourhood and the uniqueness of that neighbourhood can often be found in the history and character of the buildings and the urban structure” (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2013, p. 11)

However, even though heritage organizations, governments and municipalities, as the ones above, talk about the importance of culture and the cultural value of heritage, the ways in which this cultural value is defined and evaluated are usually not mentioned. None of these organizations seem to be able to translate the idea of cultural value into assessable components or criteria. Culture is related to meaning-making which connects heritage to the development of cultural identity, and is a process that differs per person (Lowenthal, 2000). This could be perceived as a challenge, since assessment relies on having “a common point of view on different values, different sites, different approaches” (Quagliuolo and Delfino, 2014, p. 1). However, there are accomplishments where the cultural value is incorporated in value

assessments of heritage landscapes. One is the cultural values model developed by Stephenson (2008), which focuses more on the cultural dynamics (divided into components forms, relationships and practices) that are happening between communities and their landscapes instead of incorporating generally accepted evaluation practices that are based on value typologies.

This raises the question how the cultural value of heritage is being assessed by Dutch heritage organisations, and what difficulties do they see here. In other words, the research question is: *What cultural assessment models do heritage agencies, organisations and funds in the Netherlands use, if at all, to rate the cultural value of a heritage site, and what challenges do these heritage stakeholders experience in using these models?*

With this thesis, clarity and insights on the matter of the supposed importance of cultural value assessment in heritage management is provided. The findings from these research showed that there are two perspectives regarding the cultural value assessment of heritage. The first dominant perspective holds on to the limited and traditional idea of cultural value as coming from the object itself, where it is believed that the worth of heritage does not depend on interplay between the object and the public, but is a fixed value that can be measured by objective scientific value systems. The scientific value system that is used by all the interviewed heritage organisations, is the value system developed by the Dutch Heritage Agency (In Dutch: Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, which is part of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, hereafter: RCE), which set up criteria that are solely focused on the architectural and cultural historical significance of heritage. By scanning heritage based on these short-sighted significance aspects, it is believed that the cultural value of heritage is assessed. The second perspective shows the aim to have a plural and inclusive approach towards heritage management, where the cultural value is taken into account by including the interrelationship between the cultural identity of people and the value of the building next to using the objective quantitative RCE system. This means that the value of heritage is approached from different angles, where not only the scientific experts' point of view, but also how people identify with the heritage and attach value to heritage is evaluated. Yet, there is no assessment tool developed to evaluate this and the heritage organisations stick to the dominant and limited perspective of the cultural value as coming from the object itself. This can be explained by the challenges that these heritage stakeholders experience regarding the cultural value of heritage. They find it a challenge to incorporate the cultural value that is subjective, not fixed and can differ per person in heritage management which is the opposite of the dominant discourse that is based on objective short-sighted scientific valuation methods

of the RCE system. Next, the heritage organisations hold an elitist superior stance towards involving non-scientific perspectives like public participation. Significance is placed upon expertise and professionalism in heritage management, where the value methodology is scientific, objective and measurable. Even though they state that they wish to involve communities, they view themselves as having the expertise which gives them the authority in value based heritage management.

The focus in this research is on material cultural heritage in the Netherlands and how agencies, organisations and funds see, evaluate and assess cultural value in tangible goods like objects, monuments and landscapes. For this research, data will be collected through semi-structured interviews with important stakeholders in the heritage field in the Netherlands, among others the foundation Agrarisch Erfgoed Nederland, consultancy organisation Gelders Genootschap, foundation Oude Groninger Kerken and the Monumentenfonds Utrecht. The reason for focusing on only material heritage is, that the value of these tangible immovable goods are often assessed based on the characteristics of the object/site itself that are derived from typologies, and do not take into account values that are based on meaning-making and people's connection to the place. Yet, value models regarding immovable material heritage like museum collections and archives incorporate this social (identity) value, which is visible when looking at RCE's value proposition system regarding material cultural heritage. Whereas the value of built heritage is assessed based on architectural-historical, culture-historical and ensemble values and the integrity/flawlessness and rarity of the place, the value assessment of movable heritage also includes the social value (spiritual, religious, political, symbolic, community and identity value) and experience value (emotion, sensory, aesthetic and associative value) when valuing Dutch museum collections (Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, 2014).

Little research has been done on the role and assessment of cultural value in the Dutch heritage sector and the international heritage field more generally. With this research, a contemporary in-depth picture is provided of the situation of the role of cultural value (assessment) in the management of heritage organisations in the Netherlands. Next to this academic relevance of the research, the thesis will also have social relevance. In the present-day, where heritage's role in creating an inclusive, solidary society is stressed in the Netherlands and the world in general, it is relevant to see how important Dutch stakeholders take this into account when assessing value regarding Dutch immovable heritage.

The thesis is structured by firstly, providing a theoretical framework that goes into the development of value-based management in heritage where the cultural value started to

become part of, how cultural values are related to other values and cultural identity and intangible values related to heritage, the rise of pluralistic heritage management and the Dutch heritage policy. Then, the methods section follows, which explains the choice of research method, the type of data analysis and sampling method used, how the operationalisation was executed and the credibility of the research. Next, the results are covered by analysing the data gathered on cultural value assessment and related challenges from the heritage organisations that were interviewed. Conclusions are then drawn in the conclusion and discussion section based on the results, which provides a contemporary in-depth picture of the perspective of the role of cultural value (assessment) in the management of heritage organisations in the Netherlands. Next to answering the research question, in this final section, the societal or practical implications of the research findings, limitations of the study and recommendations for future research are discussed.

Theoretical framework

1. Development of (use of) values related to heritage

In the field of cultural heritage studies, the scope of what entails cultural heritage has extended remarkably over time. According to Lowenthal (1998) this expansion moved “from the elite and grand to the vernacular and every day; from the remote to the recent; and from the material to the intangible” (p. 14). This led to an erosion of the dominant idea of cultural heritage as only including historical remains with a settled meaning, to the perception on cultural heritage as being a social process through which “any human artifact can be deliberately invested with memorial function” (Choay 2001, as cited in de la Torre, 2013, p. 158). This is incorporated in Borowiecki et al.’s (2016) definition of cultural heritage:

“the extraordinarily rich and valuable tangible objects and materials in the collections of cultural institutions; the heritage represented in landscapes and in the built environment; and also intangible, living heritage such as customs and traditions” (p. 19).

The reason behind the extension in perception of cultural heritage, according to de la Torre (2013), is the expansion of values that are recognized as having cultural significance for heritage. When looking at the term value in relation to heritage management, Mason and Avrami (2002) incorporates a subjective and objective perspective:

“First, and perhaps most often, value refers to morals, principles or ethics – ideas that serve as guides to action. (...) Second, value refers to the characteristic of things or objects. In this sense, one can speak of values as the qualities of places (sites, buildings, artefacts, and landscapes) we refer to as heritage.” (p. 15)

According to McClelland, Peel, Hayes and Montgomery (2013), it is important to stress that these values are subjective and socially constructed by either individuals, institutes, groups or organizations. These values are never inherent, but are attributed by these individuals, institutes or groups that have an interest in an object or place, based on their wants and needs (de la Torre, 2013). Jameson (2008) stresses the social influence by describing value as “attributes given to sites, objects, and resources, and associated intellectual and emotional connections that make them important and define their significance for a person, group, or community” (p. 429). Before an object or site becomes heritage, its quality has to be able to

bring up social associations (Jokilehto, 2006). The definition of value by Darvill (1994) summarizes this:

Attention [to value] is directed (...) towards sociological interpretations – sets of broadly-constituted, socially-determined assumptions, beliefs and knowledge-sets which may be termed ‘value systems’. Values in this sense (...) represent fundamental and inescapable constituents of social action, socially conditioned, unevenly distributed, and differentially ranked standards, ideals and understandings by which individuals and communities define goals, select courses of action, and judge themselves and others.” (p. 52)

When managing cultural heritage, the expansion of values and thus, importance of its social influence is taking into account. In the start of the twentieth century, Alois Riegl was one of the first persons to define and arrange heritage values (de la Torre, 2013). In his article: “The Modern Cult of the Monument: Its Character and Its Origin” Riegl (1982, “Der Moderne Denkmalkultus” in the original German version of 1903), states that in history, a shift is visible from the cult of the intentional monument to the modern cult of unintentional monuments. Here, he makes a distinction between commemorative values linked to intentional monuments and present-day values linked to unintentional monuments, like the *use value* (the functionality of the object) and *art newness value* (the new in art is appreciated). Both type of monuments deal with the value of age in a different way. For intentional monuments, age is an obstacle, since it needs to overcome (time) distance when aiming at creating a connection between the visitor and the specific event in the past that is memorized (Arrhenius, n.d.). Here, non-age appearance is central, because a decay of the monument would reflect a decrease in interest in the event the monument commemorates. For the unintentional monuments, however, age appearance and its distant past is appreciated (Arrhenius, n.d.).

With this article that opposed two types of values in cultural heritage, Choay (2011) states that Riegl reveals “the simultaneous and contradictory demands of the various values accumulated by the historical monument over the centuries” (as cited in de la Torre, p. 113). By isolating these individual values in heritage, Riegl was the first person to create value typologies and to stress the unsteadily nature of what/how the values of heritage convey/are determined over time and space (McClelland et al., 2013).

After Riegl, the value typology in heritage is extended by Lipe (1984), who aimed at

finding out how cultural heritage from the past operates as contemporary resources in society by describing the economic, aesthetic, associative-symbolic and informational value in relation to heritage management (McClelland et al., 2013). Here, the focus for Lipe was on value and meaning-making, which seem to be mainly captured in the aesthetic and associative-symbolic value. After Lipe, several international and local charters, organizations and heritage researchers have responded to this expansion of values by adapting a values-based approach to the management of cultural heritage that includes values focusing on the cultural significance of heritage (McClelland et al., 2013). An important charter that led this adaptation is the *Burra charter* of 1988 set up by ICOMOS Australia (International Council on Monuments and Sites). This charter contains procedures regarding conservation of the cultural significance of Australian heritage sites, which was seen as an important happening in the development of the understanding of cultural heritage (de la Torre, 2013). While Riegl distinguished *age, historical, memorial, use* and *art newness value* in cultural heritage, in the Burra Charter, the *social* and *aesthetic* were added as new characteristics of the cultural value of a particular site or place for past, present, and future generations. Here the social value being is described as “the qualities for which a place has become a focus of spiritual, political, national or other cultural sentiment to a majority or minority group”, the aesthetic value as “aspects of sensory perception for which criteria can and should be stated” (ICOMOS Australia, 2000, p. 12).

Continuously, people in the field of heritage studies have tried to improve conservation management by altering, adapting and adding approaches and values. Throsby (2000) poses characteristics similar to the Burra Charter to identify the multidimensional concept of cultural value for contemporary heritage management: “*spiritual value* which includes understanding, enlightenment, insight; *social value*, entailing connection with others and a sense of identity; *historical value* focusing on the connection with the past; and *symbolic value*: a repository or conveyor of meaning” (p. 29).

In review of the many different approaches stated above, Lvova (2013) states that “one can see that cultural value is a complex concept grouping qualities of heritage that are somewhat meaningful to individuals or societies” (p. 14). She distinguishes the cultural value as having symbolic, spiritual, historical and social qualities. These qualities are culturally constructed, and by acknowledging this, a steps are set towards a “process of democratization of heritage discourses and conservation” (Labadi, 2007, p. 149). With this democratization, the categorization of cultural heritage is reconsidered by also incorporating the social

perception of the message in a variety of cultures and circumstances, in order to get a more equal representation of the meaning related to heritage (Labadi, 2007; Quagliuolo and Delfino, 2014). Here, the viewpoint on what the cultural value exactly entails and where the emphasis lies depends on time and place. This reflects how heritage and the cultural value are “inherently dissonant and created through a continual process of conflict and negotiation” (Wells, 2017, para. 6), which makes it difficult to come with an all-encompassing definition of cultural value of heritage that is accurate for everybody in every situation. This is stressed by Gibson and Pendlebury (2009) who state that “in a democratic society, [...] definitions of value cannot be singular but must allow for plural interpretations and meaning” (p. 1). This is called a ‘cultural turn’ in the cultural heritage by Gibson and Pendlebury (2009) which makes difficult to give a precise definition of the cultural value in heritage. This is why heritage value-based management often have difficulties when defining heritage values.

2. Value-based heritage management

Values related to heritage management are discussed by various scholars in the critical heritage studies field. The critical heritage studies are about “addressing the critical issues that face the world today, the larger issues that bear upon and extend outwards from heritage” (Winter, 2013, p. 533). This means that, in this studies, a critical point of view is brought to socio-political complications that are involved with heritage, and a better understanding of the (positive) roles heritage can bring regarding social cohesion, cultural and environmental sustainability and conflict resolutions is researched (Winter, 2013). By investigating present-day relationships between people, heritage and power, critical heritage studies nourish a fruitful and engaging dialogue with the heritage conservation sector (Winter, 2013; Wells, 2017).

Critical heritage studies scholars use different words to mention the use of values in cultural heritage management: from “values-based conservation” (Mason, 2002, p. 5), “value-based assessment of cultural heritage” (Satterfield, 2002, p. 77) to “value-based management” (Mason, 2002, p. 27), or “significance-driven approach” (Stovel, 1997). Mason (2002) states that, when preserving, conserving or recognizing immaterial and material heritage, heritage professionals collectively agree on “the articulation of heritage values (often called ‘cultural significance’) as a reference point” (p. 5). However, instead of seeing this reference point as an encouragement to discuss and ponder the idea of value as being depended on cultural context, value determination is applied as the first step in the decision process of “understanding significance, developing policy, managing in accordance with policy”

(Truscott & Young, 2000). This means that, even though there are similarities in values-based heritage management, a lot of contrasting values are apparent. According to McClelland et al. (2013), this is because “each typology has emanated from a diversity of people and organisations, each approaching value from a different perspective whether, for example, art historical, archaeological, or cultural economic (or a combination thereof). With these values-based heritage management styles, “emphasis is also differentially placed across the range of typologies with several balancing sociocultural values with economic ones, as well as others largely ignoring the economic to focus instead on cultural or intangible values” (p. 593). This is also mentioned by Mason (2002), who states that it is dangerous when one value is dominant and diminishes the importance of others. He gives the example of a historic site, where the economic use value of the place is pursued which brings the historical value in danger (for example visitors who destroy the historical context and perhaps even resources of the site).

Rudolff (2006) states that, with these differences in views on values and how they have an effect on heritage, together with suspending a re-evaluation of the nature of values, value determination will never be done from a shared point of reference. Yet, Worthing and Bond (2007) mention that “typologies are, nevertheless, seen as providing flexible frameworks broadly acknowledging the range of values that need to be taken into consideration in cultural heritage management” (as cited by McClelland et al., 2013, p. 593). Mason (2002) also mentions that the concept of values have to be defined in an -at least provisionally- typology (see next section ‘cultural value vs. economic value’), so it can serve as a starting point from where adapted typologies can be developed in different heritage management situations.

As can be seen in the previous section (‘development of (the use of) value related to heritage’) value typologies are ever-broadening in scope. Also the next section discusses the heritage value typology by Mason, where cultural values and economic values are put next to each other. Yet, Gibson and Pendlebury (2009) state that “whilst there has been an increasing awareness of the position that heritage values are a social construction of time and place, there has been a stubborn clinging to ideas of ‘intrinsic value’ and a wish to separate them from the more obviously instrumental performative roles of heritage” (p. 7). This intrinsic value related to heritage means that the worth of an object or building is not related to evaluation of the public and assessed regardless of interplay with the public (the Allen Consulting Group, 2005). This means that value and meaning-making are seen as coming from the object itself without taken into consideration how this is interrelated with the publics point of view in that

time and place. When looking at the use of values in the Dutch cultural policy, this clinging to measuring of the intrinsic value of heritage is visible (see section ‘national heritage policies’).

3. Cultural value vs. economic value

Derived from the previously developed typologies named in section one of the theoretical framework, Mason (2002) developed a provisional typology where a distinction is made between economic and cultural values (see table 1), since he saw these values as the two primary meta-categories of heritage value. This is not a strict distinction, since economics is linked to culture and “ways of living together”, yet highlights two dissimilar points of view on the matter of valuing and values (Mason, 2002).

Table 1. Provisional typology of heritage values, Mason (2002)

Cultural Values	Economic Values
Historical	Use (market) value
Cultural/symbolic	Non-commercial use (nonmarket) values
Social	Existence
Spiritual/religious	Option
Aesthetic	Bequest

The subcategories for the cultural values section overlap, whereas the economic values categories are meant to be distinctive from each other. Interesting to note is, that there is no separate category for political value, since Mason (2002) states that all values are political, because it is “the use of heritage to build or sustain civil relations, governmental legitimacy, protest, or ideological causes” that is “part of the power struggles and exertions that determine the fate of heritage. Values occupy center stage when it comes to the decisions -the politics- about the conservation and management of heritage” (p. 11).

The *historical value* can, according to Mason (2002), be distinguished into two subtypes: the educational/academic value, which “lies in the potential to gain knowledge about the past in the future through, for instance, archaeology or an artist’s creative interpretation of the historical record embodied in the heritage”, and the artistic value focuses on “an object’s being unique, being the best, being a good example of, being the work of a particular individual” (p. 11). Second, the *symbolic value*, is not linked to the chronological

features of a place/site like with the historical value, but aims at building “cultural affiliation in the present and can be historical, political, ethnic, or related to other means of living together (for instance, work- or craft-related)” (p. 11).

The third value, *social value* of heritage, is linked to creating connections and networks and related to fact that heritage can be a public and shared space. This means that the place or site can be used for social events like markets or picnics for any type of social group (families, ethnic groups or groups with special interests). Also, social value refers to place attachment of a heritage site, which “refers to the social cohesion, community identity, or other feelings of affiliation that social groups (whether very small and local, or national in scale) derive from the specific heritage and environment characteristics of their “home” territory” (Mason, 2002, p. 12).

Fourthly, the *spiritual value* can be derived from the belief in institutional religion but also can relate to non-religious feelings of wonder and awe when going to a heritage site.

Lastly, the *aesthetic value* is a personal and individualistic one, and is linked to the visible features of heritage sites: “the many interpretations of beauty, of the sublime, of ruins, and of the quality of formal relationships considered more broadly” (p. 12). Also, the change of the site and design overtime is a form of aesthetic value and the sensory experience a heritage place gives in terms of feeling, sound, smell and sight can also contribute to the aesthetic value of heritage.

Mason (2002) states that the economic values overlap with the cultural values, but are separated because they are measured based on economic analyses and conceptualized in a very different manner. The *use value* is linked to price attachment to heritage goods and services, like entrees fees to historical places and labour cost for workers. The *non-commercial use value* is related to view of heritage as being a public good, which means the good is non rival (consumption of the good by person A does not rule out consumption by person B) and nonexcludable (nobody can be ruled out from consuming the heritage good). The non-commercial use values are classified further into *existence value* (the benefit that people have from knowing heritage, like for example the Grand Canyon, exists, even though they might never visit/experience it), *option value* (the aim to uphold the possibility that a person might consume a heritage good in the future) and *bequest value* (wish to preserve heritage for future generations).

With these economic values, there is a distinction between the values that expressed in terms of price, and are thus quantified, and values that are expressed in the aspects that form resource allocation decisions (Mason, 2002). In heritage management, heritage organisations,

funds and associations have to make decisions with the information they have at hand, whether it is quantitative or qualitative (Snowball, 2011). According to Snowball (2011), a benefit of using quantitative information is, that it enables organisations to make socially effective decisions that benefits society. An advantage of a qualitative approach to values is, that it can help to measure socially constructed cultural values on the long term. Snowball (2011) states that “the problem [with values] is how one quantifies the benefits of the [cultural heritage] to society so that the best decisions possible can be made” (p. 172). Quantification of the benefits of cultural heritage is seen as a problem, because the focus is mostly on societal economic benefits. This is why some scholars and policy-makers are not in favour of quantifying the value of cultural heritage; the focus often lies on the instrumental values -the side effects of the heritage like tourist expenditure and job creation- and not on the intrinsic value, which reflects the original (artistic) aim/idea behind producing this cultural heritage (Snowball, 2011). Since the instrumental values are mostly led by market transaction that focuses on valuation in price, it is perceived as an easier method to apply value quantification than to the intrinsic values. Often, instrumental methods like economic impact studies use the quantitative monetary value to measure the worth of a heritage site.

Yet, Snowball (2011) stresses that it is risky to use solely instrumental values to describe the value of culture, since these side effects can also be equitably brought by other non-cultural heritage industries. For example, a local supermarket will probably make more money than the local heritage site. But different from a local supermarket that stops existing, if the heritage site will no longer exist, its unique intrinsic values will get lost. These unique intrinsic values that a heritage site bring cannot be (re)produced by other cultural heritage products/sites. Yet, it is interesting that in practice, it is the instrumental economic value measurement that is most often used for legitimizing heritage conservation decisions (de La Torre, 2013; Snowball, 2011). According to Mazzanti (2003) this is because there is economic importance in cultural heritage since “its management state of conservation and access conditions influence human well-being” (p. 550). Mazzanti (2003) states that economic valuation is applied in the heritage sector, because heritage organisations have to legitimize why certain decisions for funding have been made regarding spending money, with the focus on ‘user benefits’. He states that “a consumer-oriented approach has increasingly taken over traditional supply driven approaches to cultural heritage management and conservation, leading to on-going market research studies to understand demand, strong marketing to generate awareness and attract new visitors, and a focus on encouraging repeat and new visits, both essential sources for long-term survival” (p. 550). This is why demand-led procedures

like economic value measurements are seen as a convenient ‘cultural analyst tool’ for making management conservation decisions (Mazzanti, 2003). The International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) states that the “economic value [...] does not deny the importance of other value dimensions, but has a specific role to play in cultural policy toward heritage fruition, enhancement and conservation” (1999, as cited in Mazzanti, 2003, p. 550). Yet, Snowball (2011) stresses how this role of economic valuation can bring (heritage) organisations to making dangerous comparisons when assessing the value of heritage.

However, Snowball (2011) mentions that it is incorrect to state that there are no tools to measure the intrinsic value of heritage: “economics offers effective non-market valuation methods that can go some way towards capturing this value” (p. 173). One well-known and widely used tool is the contingent valuation method (CVT), which evaluates people’s “consumption of cultural activities and whether they would be willing to pay (usually through an increase in taxes) to support them” (Snowball, 2011, p. 173). Yet, Snowball mentions here that it goes *some way* in capturing the intrinsic value, which means it does not capture it completely. Throsby (2007) stresses this problem by stating that some values “cannot sensibly be represented in individual monetary valuations” (p. 5). Here, he gives the example of the collective notion of identity in relation to heritage; heritage helps to express who people are. This value of identity is difficult to capture in financial terms, including the contingent valuation method and willingness to pay. Yet, Throsby (2007) stresses that identity should be taken into account, since “identity is something that is valuable to society at large and clearly affects decision-making surrounding cultural heritage” (p. 5). Even though economics is linked to culture and “ways of living together” (see provisional typology Mason), capturing the cultural value of heritage is impossible to complete capture and translate into quantitative economic values.

Klamer (2003) also finds this economic non-market valuation method in relation to material heritage problematic. These methods stand on the random utility theory (RUT), which is a theory that focuses on the viewpoint on value of individuals (Snowball, 2011). Klamer (2003) finds individual valuation of culture of little use, because these values are socially constructed and can change over the course of time. However, this does not stop scholars from using the CVT to make conservation decisions. An example is the study by Salazar and Marques (2005) who wanted to measure what would be the cultural and social benefits of the restoration of an old Arab Tower in the region of Valencia in Spain through the use of the CVT. Mourato, Kontoleon and Danchev (2002) also used the CVT to see what the

benefits are for the Bulgarian society and culture when conserving the Bulgarian old monasteries.

4. Cultural identity, intangible values and intangible heritage

According to Rudolff (2006), in value-based evaluation systems, values are interlinked with the concepts of significance (“the expression of values in heritage qualities” p. 59) and meaning (“refers to the understanding an individual or group gains through the interpretation of heritage values as expressed in heritage significance” p. 59). Lowenthal (2000) states that it is the meaning which connects heritage to the development of cultural identity. Meaning in relation to heritage is also discussed in the Burra Charter (see previous page), by stating that it indicates “what a place signifies, indicates, evokes or expresses” and that it only relates to “intangible aspects such as symbolic qualities and memories” (The Burra Charter, 1999, 1.16). Therefore, meaning is described as people’s reception of values and information in a reflective process of recognition when getting in touch with the heritage expression (Rudolff, 2006). Assman and Czaplicka (1995) link this meaning to the concept of cultural memory and relate this to the connection between society, culture and memory as being the contemporized past. This is characterized by what Assman and Czaplicka (1995) call “the concretion of the cultural identity”, where “cultural memory preserves the store of knowledge from which a group derives an awareness of its unity and peculiarity” (p. 130). This is translated in judgment regarding identity, which can cause the feeling of *us* vs. *the other* (being different than us) (Assman and Czaplicka, 1995). This cultural memory and thus cultural identity constantly links its knowledge to a present-day situation. Assman and Czaplicka (1995) states that the cultural identity is fixed in intangible values of memory and knowledge, yet “every contemporary context relates to these differently, sometimes by appropriation, sometimes by criticism, sometimes by preservation or by transformation” (p. 130).

Rudolff (2006) states that with “intangible aspects people actively ascribe -therefore identical to social, cultural or symbolic values- and are referred to as associations” (p. 61). He describes the intangible aspects as the unique links between people and a place. This is also visible in the framework developed by Karakul (2011) on the interrelations between intangible and tangible values within culture (see figure 1). Here, it is believed that culture develops connections with the build environment by intangible values, which is set up by its structuring structures (Karakul, 2011) that “are accepted as the shaping factors in culture on intangible values; and, as seen in the diagram, they perform as the “encoding” factors of the

intangible values over the built environment at the same time” (p. 108). The intangible values are the encoded aspects of built environment that will be decoded by the people that are in touch with the site. The site holds different types of tangible features which conveys the cultural codes brought over it. Yet, these cultural codes/encoded aspects of the built environment are often not seen by heritage policy makers (see section 6 ‘National heritage policies’).

The structuring structures are divided into living culture, building culture and value systems (Rapoport, 2002) (see figure 2), where the living culture consists of family structure, kinship, social structure and are effective on the interrelation between intangible values and the built environment (Karakul, 2011). The technology and knowledge which is part of the building culture, have an impact on the cultural practices and expressions. Lastly, worldviews, lifestyle, value judgment, ideals, meanings and beliefs are part of the structuring structures of value systems and influence cultural expressions and practices. These value aspects are influenced by the social or collective memory, which “refer to the memories that are shared within a group and (...) are a way to affirm the shared identity of a group through a celebration of what they select to remember” (Buckland, 2013, p. 5). This collective memory strengthens people’s cultural identity and is linked to heritage which conveys cultural codes that can either be or not be in line with their cultural identity. Assman and Czaplicka (1995) state that people can respond to this by “appropriation, sometimes by criticism, sometimes by preservation or by transformation” (p. 130). These cultural practices and expressions influence how the tangible values of the site are decoded and interpreted.

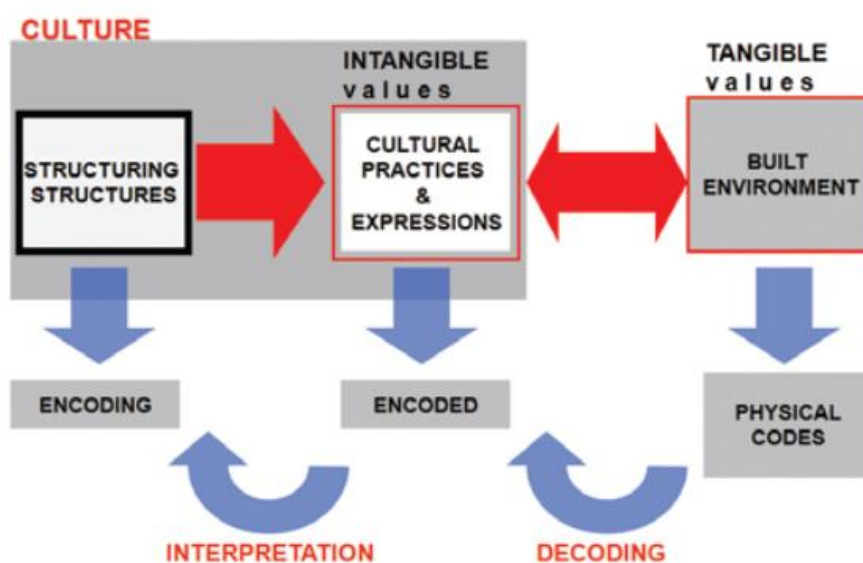


Figure 1 Framework Karakul (2011) Interrelations between intangible and tangible values within culture

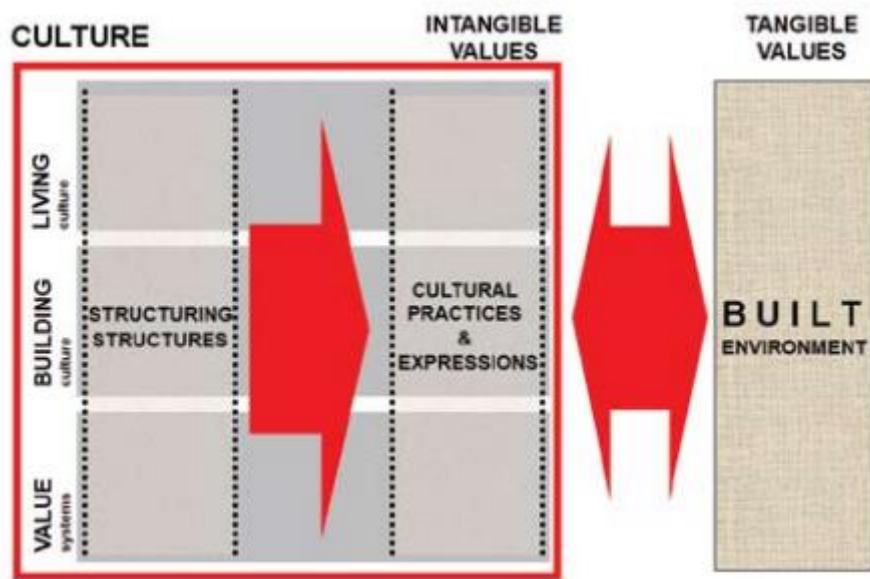


Figure 2 Culture in relation to intangible and tangible values and their structuring structures (Rapoport, 2002)

When looking at the influence of intangible heritage on the perception and management of cultural heritage, heritage institutions gradually acknowledged the importance of intangible heritage. In 1992, UNESCO developed a new programme *Intangible Cultural Heritage*, after which many developments were made in the field, which eventually led to the creation of the *International Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Heritage* (ICHC) in 2003 (Aikawa, 2004). This international convention is seen as a reaction against the World Heritage Convention of 1972, that applied a very Western point of view when looking at heritage and developed a World Heritage List that had a Eurocentric focus. This Eurocentric focus believes in Western cultural superiority, where the “focus is on Western achievements as the main objective; what has been accomplished in Europe, America and Australia is put before the achievements of the rest of the world” (Makrinius and Rebel, 2009, p. 1). Yet, the ICHC aimed at “acknowledging and privileging non-Western manifestations and practices of heritage” (Smith and Akagawa, 2008, p. 1). Here an expanded definition of intangible cultural heritage was applied:

“intangible cultural heritage means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills - as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith - that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history,

and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. It is manifested inter alia in the following domains:

- a. oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of intangible heritage;
- b. performing arts;
- c. social practices, rituals and festive events;
- d. knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe;
- e. traditional craftsmanship” (UNESCO 2003, as cited in Alivizatou, 2008, p. 46)

In the definition, it is stated that intangible cultural heritage *is constantly recreated by communities and groups*, which shows that with immaterial heritage, the past is perceived as a renewable resource (Holtorf, 2001). According to Alivizatou (2008), this is a different discourse than the idea of heritage being built on authenticity and being irreparable.

Alivizatou (2008) states that intangible heritage can be seen as ‘living heritage’ where “a shift can be observed from the preoccupation with the ‘object’ to an increased interest in the ‘person’” (p. 48). This means that, next to preferring transformation over authenticity, immaterial cultural heritage also chooses renewal over conservation (Alivizatou, 2008).

Prior to the ICHC convention, UNESCO already worked on protecting the intangible heritage all over the world. In 1989, UNESCO developed *the Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore*, where “the extreme fragility of the traditional forms of folklore is recognized and the need in all countries for recognition of the role of folklore and the danger it faces [...] is stressed” (General Conference of UNESCO, 1989, p. 2). In 1998, UNESCO developed *the Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity* which concerned safeguarding of forms of popular and traditional cultural expressions and cultural spaces (UNESCO, n.d.).

Yet, combining intangible and tangible heritage management regarding conservation practices is rare. UNESCO is afraid for possible political clashes that could arise between member states, application of world heritage sites solely based on symbolic associations is rare (Deacon, 2004). Next to that, UNESCO introduced a separate World Heritage Convention and a separate international heritage list, by taking on an add-on attitude towards including non-material intangible heritage (Deacon, 2004). According to Alivizatou (2008) this add-on attitude shows the institutional dichotomy that exists between intangible world heritage and tangible world heritage. This attitude is surprising, since UNESCO states that

“the intangible heritage should be regarded as the larger framework within which tangible heritage takes on shape and significance” (UNESCO, 2002, as cited by Bouchenaki, 2007, p. 2). Also, the Istanbul convention of 2002 organised by UNESCO stresses how cultural heritage has to be able to take into account the continuous interplay between the tangible and intangible heritage. Looking at all these developments, it is remarkable that there is still a large distance visible when looking at the conservation of intangible and tangible heritage at UNESCO (Alivizatou, 2008).

Deacon (2004) and Rudolff (2006) pity this, since they think that by combining tangible heritage initiatives with intangible heritage management, the dialogue between different departments accountable for heritage is nurtured and “fed”. Also, in the Shanghai Charter, adopted at the seventh Asia Pacific Regional Assembly of the International Council of Museums (ICOM) in Shanghai in October 2002, a holistic approach is proposed for the tangible and intangible heritage (Bouchenaki, 2007). This entails establishing “interdisciplinary and cross-sectorial approaches that bring together movable and immovable, tangible and intangible, natural and cultural heritage [and] developing documentation tools and standards in establishing [...] museum and heritage practices” (ICOMOS, 2002, as cited by Bouchenaki, 2007, p. 3).

Alivizatou (2008) states that the concept of cultural heritage should not allow separation between the material and immaterial heritage. She continues that the focus should be more on understanding the interrelation between cultural heritage and people’s identities. This is why engagement of communities is seen as essential when approaching and conceptualizing intangible cultural heritage in relation to the cultural heritage discourse. The involvement of the state “could lead to the ‘formalisation’ and the ‘bureaucratisation’ of intangible cultural heritage and the subsequent alienation of the communities” (Alivizatou, 2008, p. 50). Also regarding the conceptualization of the cultural value in heritage management, incorporation of engagement of communities is seen as important nowadays. In heritage management, a development is visible of an inclusive process regarding heritage management, where not only the perception of the government/heritage organisations is incorporated, but also the perception of the public and other stakeholders. The next section will elaborate on this, and calls into question whether this inclusive approach leads to a better understanding and implementation of the interrelation between cultural heritage and people’s identities.

5. Inclusive and pluralistic heritage management

According to Gibson and Pendlebury (2009), “the development of ideas of cultural value and the contingent and variable nature of heritage have very gradually begun to permeate heritage management practice” (p. 7). This means that manner of valuing heritage and whose values should be incorporated in heritage management is questioned and reconsidered. The Australian Burra Charter played an important role in this reconsideration. As been mentioned in the previous section, meaning in relation to heritage is also discussed in the Burra Charter, by stating that it indicates “what a place signifies, indicates, evokes or expresses” (The Burra Charter, 1999, 1.16). This means that, next to determining the value of the site based on architectural characteristics, the Burra Charter also integrates people’s experience in the value of heritage. Here, the focus is not only on heritage values from the heritage expert’s perspective, which is also the case when looking at the statement of the British discourse on conservation, “Sustaining the Historic Environment” of 1997 (Gibson and Pendlebury, 2009). In this statement, the importance of public participation in conservation practices is stressed. Derived from this statement, an international statement on European conservation processes by the Council of Europe was made in the “Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society” (Gibson and Pendlebury, 2009). This statement refers to the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, where they recognize “that every person has a right to engage with the cultural heritage of their choice, while respecting the rights and freedoms of others [...]” (Council of Europe, 2005, as cited in Gibson and Pendlebury, 2009, p. 8). Here, the focus is not only on heritage values from the heritage expert’s perspective, but on incorporating pluralist democratic engagement in heritage management where everybody can take part in:

- “The process of identification, study, interpretation, protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural heritage;
- Public reflection and debate on the opportunities and challenges which the cultural heritage represents” (Council of Europe, 2005, as cited in Gibson and Pendlebury, 2009, p. 8)

According to Gibson and Pendlebury (2009), this shows the development in the heritage sector where a more inclusive approach towards heritage management is practiced. This is demonstrated in Caspersen’s research (2009), which showed that public participation helped strengthening cultural heritage in a joint decision-making process based on a Landscape

Character Assessment (LCA) conducted in a planned national park in Denmark. Here, local business, recreational and sports organisations, citizens, municipal planners and city council members were divided into ten thematic groups that focused on different topics related to the future strategy of the Danish park. Caspersen (2009) states that “in order to facilitate a holistic approach, each group included participants and stakeholders from different sectors representing different interests (...) and based on the different presentations, the 10 groups discussed the current situation for their particular topic” (p. 37). Here, he mentions that process facilitators were present to put attention to barriers, gaps and conflicts that arise. By involving the public in assessing the landscape’s strength, condition, experience and vulnerability next to the strategy of the future of the Danish park, new and useful information on the local heritage from the public’s point of view was collected.

Even though Caspersen showed one case where public participation happens in heritage management, some scholars doubt whether this development of an inclusive approach is actually happening in practice. Findings of Waterton, Smith and Campbell’s (2006) research on the Burra Charter showed that whilst “the Burra Charter encourages wider participation in defining meaning in the historic environment, it does not relinquish control from the experts over defining cultural significance, the key measure guiding management decisions” (as cited in Gibson and Pendlebury, 2009, p. 10). Waterton et. al (2006) state that, nowadays, heritage organisations continue to put emphasis on traditional ideas of authority and expertise in heritage conservation management, where the main emphasis is on conserving “the physical fabric” (Gibson and Pendlebury, 2009). This emphasis on the expertise is also visible with the Dutch government, where the focus is on conserving the value of “physical fabric” by using the scientific RCE value system. The next section will elaborate on this.

Arnstein (1969) distinguishes different levels of influence of the public on heritage decision making, visible in figure 3.

Citizen Control	These two highest levels allow the have-nots to have major decision-making or full managerial power.	Degree of Citizen Power
Delegated Power	Allows the have-nots to negotiate and engage in trade-offs with traditional power holders.	
Partnership	Ground rules allow the have-nots to advise, but retain for the power holders the continued right to decide.	Degree of Tokenism
Placation	Allow the have-nots to hear and to have a voice. However, "they lack the power to insure that their views will be heeded by the powerful".	
Consultation	Real objective is not to enable people to participate in planning or conducting programmes, but to enable power holders to "educate" and "cure" the participants.	Non-participation
Informing		
Therapy		
Manipulation		

Figure 3 Ladder of citizen participation by Arnstein (1969, as cited in Yung and Chan, 2010, p. 458)

Here, Arnstein (1969) states that tokenism in relation to public participation shows that involving the public "is only a superficial exercise in which community participants become mere information providers, at best involved in consultation and not in more important and effective positions with decision-making power" (as cited in Yung and Chan, 2010, p. 458). This tokenism shows that involving the public is often only a symbolic gesture to be more inclusive regarding heritage management, where the power and authority remains for the traditional power holders in the heritage field.

Gibson and Pendlebury (2009) state that it could also be that the public does not want to take part in process of identification, interpretation, conservation and presentation of the cultural heritage. Gibson and Pendlebury (2009) state that "devolving power to local communities may just result in empowering a NIMBYism (Not In My Back Yard) that is in reality primarily concerned with other issues, such as sustaining property values" (p. 11). This NIMBYism means that people want to experience and make use of the heritage facilities/possibilities, yet do not want to be bothered with having to take part in decisions regarding these heritage facilities. Yet, Potter (1985) states that this could again be linked to tokenism. The public can feel like their contribution does not have an impact on heritage management decisions, which can lead to the public not wanting to be involved and leaving it over to the heritage experts (Potter, 1985).

In the research by Yung and Chan (2011), the problems that were identified regarding public participation in built heritage conservation in Hong Kong were conflict of interest from the different stakeholders and different preferences between the public and government when

looking at heritage conservation. The government wanted to focus on improving the quality development of the living environment with their conservation decisions, yet the public was focused on conserving the heritage that displays their identity and local culture (Yung and Chan, 2011). Also within the citizens, a variety of viewpoints regarding the conservation were visible. Next, there was no effective public participation mechanism because “the consultations [regarding heritage conservation decisions] are more or less tokenistic as people [the public] only have the right to know and to express rather than the right to make decision” (Yung and Chan, 2011, p. 463). Also here, tokenism is visible in involving the public, since they eventually do not have a say in the decisions that are made regarding heritage conservation. It can be argued that pluralistic heritage management, in practice, instead of giving a voice to the people in decision-making and working towards an inclusive process in heritage conservation, may be used as a concealed way/covert form of the bigger heritage organisations keeping the control and retaining the authority.

6. National heritage policies

In the Dutch system, value-based typologies have been developed and used in cultural heritage management. From 1981, scientific historical research has been done based on architectural, building and cultural historical aspects of the monument (van Emstede, 2015). According to van Emstede (2015), the motivation underlying the use of a scientific approach in heritage management, is the desire to come with convincing cultural-historical arguments in heritage conservation. She states that this has led to an exhaustive (sub)specialization in art-historical research disciplines, each with its own guidelines for research and value assessment. However, the emphasis on a scientific research design and objective valuation criterion leaves no room for aesthetic aspects and excludes matters such as perception, experience and memorial value and identity, since these aspects are subjective and cannot therefore be part of a scientific research regarding heritage value assessment (van Emstede, 2015). This means that, when looking at figure 3, the social (in Dutch: sociaal-maatschappelijk) perspective is not taken into account in heritage management.

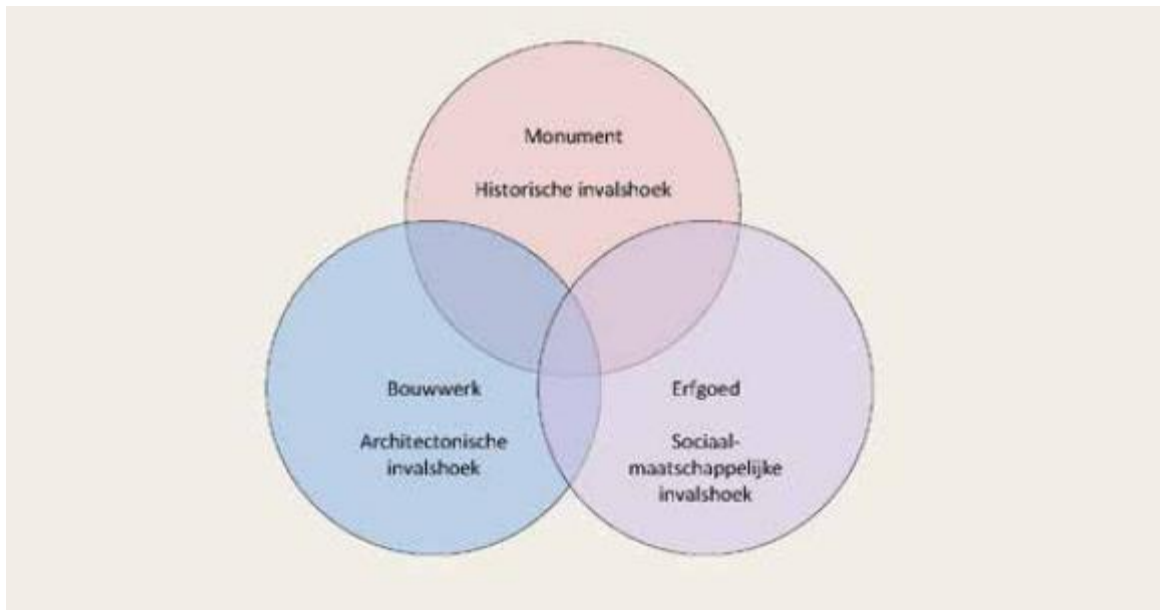


Figure 4 Schematic representation of the historical, architectural and social perspectives for analysis and valuation in material heritage management (van Emstede, 2015)

This is visible when looking at the significance evaluation of values in Dutch heritage preservation developed by Deeben et al. in 1999 for Dutch government levels to use for deciding whether a monument is worth preserving. Here, three categories were distinguished: perception (includes the aesthetic value and historical value), physical quality (includes integrity and preservation) and intrinsic quality (includes rarity, research potential, group value and representativity). Deeben et al. (1999) do include a perception category, and state that it takes into account the appreciation of the heritage from the public's point of view. However, when looking at the operationalization of this category, there is no involvement of the public perception. The aesthetic value criterion are based on the condition, shape and texture of the monument in relation to its surroundings, whereas the historical value criterion are based on the memory of historical events related to the monument or the association with myths and legends. These criterion are based on the scientific approach, which means that no subjective perspective of the public is taken into account (even though they state that they do). Next, it is also striking that with the memory and association, the complications that can arise are not mentioned. This identification with the monument can be contrasting for (groups of) people; what is considered a positive memory of a historical event for one person, can be seen as a negative historical memory for another. Only the single objective scientific point of view of the government is incorporated, and (deliberately) leaves no room for the perception of the public.

When looking at contemporary heritage management by the Dutch government, the

emphasis on a scientific research design that does not incorporate the social value of heritage is (still) apparent. The Dutch Cultural Heritage Agency (in Dutch: Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, part of the Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, hereafter: RCE) have developed a so-called MSP methodology which consists of five value criteria that “together give meaning to the object” of built heritage (Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, 2014, p. 48-50):

- architectural-historical values: aesthetic qualities of the design; material use, ornamentation and/or monumental art; importance of the history of the architecture and/or building technique; importance of the object / monument for the artist’s, architect’s or engineer’s oeuvre: coherence between exterior and interior (parts).
- Cultural-historical values: expression of (a) cultural, socio-economic and / or administrative/policy-based and / or mental/spiritual development(s); expression of (a) geographical, scenic and / or historical-spatial development; expression of (a) technical and / or typological development(s); innovative value or pioneering character; memorial value.
- ensemble values/situational values: meaning of the object as essential (cultural-historical, functional and/or architectural-historical and visual) component of a monument; iconic meaning of the object for the appearance of its environment; significance of the monument complex for its surroundings, district, city or zone; significance of the monument because of the high quality of the buildings relation to the historical-spatial context and in relation to the belonging green areas, roads, waters, soil conditions and/or archaeology; meaning of the object because of its lotting / furnishing / facilities
- integrity/flawlessness and recognizability: architectural flawlessness and/or recognisability of ex- and/or interior; material, technical and/or constructive flawlessness; recognizable expression of the original, or an important historical function; accumulation of interesting historical building and/or use phases; flawlessness and recognisability of the whole ensemble of the constituent parts (main and side buildings, fencing, landscaping and the like); in relation to the structural and/or visual flawlessness of the urban, village or scenic environment
- rarity; absolute rarity in architectural-historical, building-technical, typological or functional aspect; relative rarity of the cultural-historical, architectural and art-historical, situational and ensemble values.

Unfortunately, no information can be found on how the five criteria of the RCE are determined and assessed. When comparing these criteria to the historical, architectural and social perspective in figure 4, only the historical and architectural perspective to valuation are taken into account. Perception, experience and memorial value and identity are not included as factors that give meaning to the object; the focus is solely on meaning-making that comes from the object itself. The RCE does not incorporate the interrelation between cultural heritage and people's identities.

However, it is striking that, when looking at the value criteria that the RCE has developed for assessing the value of Dutch museum collections, both meaning-making that comes from the object itself and meaning-making of the collection that comes from the public are incorporated. Next to artistic value, historical value, ensemble value, condition value, rarity & representation value, museum use and economic value, the value assessment also includes

- “the social value: spiritual, religious, political, symbolic, community and identity value; An object or a sub collection has social value when a social group or community has a current relationship with a certain one object or a sub collection
- experience value (emotion, sensory, aesthetic and associative value); the experience with an object or sub collection relates to the extent to which it brings up sensations, emotions, and associations for the viewer. Experience is about an individual experience that gets a collective character because it is shared by a large group of people” (Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, 2014, p. 48-53)

This shows that apparently, it is possible for the RCE to combine objective and subjective meaning-making of the object in their value assessment of heritage. Supposedly, the RCE does not think incorporating both aspects with built heritage need to be incorporated in order to portray its value. Figure 5 shows that there is a valuation form for assessing the above mentioned values of Dutch museum collections which includes ‘helping questions’ (in Dutch: hulpvragen), for example “is the object decisive for the identity of a group at the moment?” and “does object / collection create a certain collective experience?” Based on the questions, heritage organisations can decide whether the social value is low, average or high. Also, the ‘develop potential’ (in Dutch: ontwikkelingspotentieel) of the object/collection is assessed by indicating whether there are many, somewhat, few or no possibilities to increase the social value of object/collection by, for example, research, restoration or placing it in an appropriate context. This is done by giving it a number from 0 to 3; 0 = no potential, 1 = little potential, 2

= some potential, 3 = much potential. Unfortunately, no information can be found on how this knowledge on the values is added up and how important the social value is in relation to the other values. It seems like all the values are considered as being equally important for determining the overall value of the museum object/collection, since they are all analysed in the same way. It seems like this form gives heritage organisations some guidance in how to deal with non-fixed and non-objective values, yet leaves it up to the organisation to figure out how to make sense this information and to decide whether the value is high enough.

Criteria		Hulpvragen	Laag	Gemiddeld	Hoog
Sociaal- maatschappelijk	Maatschappelijk (sociaal, spiritueel, religieus, politiek, symbool, gemeenschap, identiteit)	Vervult object/collectie een functie voor een bepaalde groep of gemeenschap in het hier en nu? Zijn er groepen die nu een bijzondere band met het object hebben? Heeft het een actuele, sociale, religieuze, politieke, maatschappelijke betekenis? Is het object bepalend voor de identiteit van een groep op dit moment?			
	Beleving (emotie, zintuiglijk, esthetisch, associatief)	Wekt object/collectie een bepaalde collectieve beleving op? Ademt het een bepaalde sfeer uit, roept het emoties op? Speelt het op een bepaalde manier in op de zintuigen?			

Waardering*	Argumentatie voor de waardering	Ontwikkel-potentieel**	Omschrijving ontwikkelmogelijkheden

Figure 4 Part of valuation form Dutch Heritage Agency that focus on the social value of museum collections (Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, 2013)

Methods

For this research, the qualitative method of in-depth semi-structured interviews has been chosen. According to Bryman (2012), the focus with qualitative research is on “the understanding of the social world through an examination of the interpretation of that world by its participants” (p. 380). For this research, understanding will be provided on the use and importance of the cultural value in heritage management through interpretation of the Dutch heritage field by its important actors. I chose for interviews that are semi-structured, because it entails having set up an interview schedule with questions, but leaves the door open for changing the order or going deeper into specific significant topics (Bryman, 2012).

The type of interview analysis that has been chosen for this research, is thematic analysis in combination with repertoire analysis. With the thematic analysis, open coding took place where first initial codes have been identified in each category of the interview (Braun and Clarke, 2013). After that, the codes have been put together in clusters that have similar meanings and links between the clusters have been drawn up into overarching themes (Braun and Clarke, 2013). Then I have checked whether the themes represent the data correctly. After doing this axial coding, finally, selective coding was executed where theme names have been determined that capture the content covered in the theme. The reason for choosing the thematic analysis, is that it can help to find common themes or interesting differences in themes across the gathered interview data. In this way, similarities and differences in perception of (the use of) cultural value in heritage management by important actors in the heritage field will be discovered.

In this research, the thematic analysis has been combined with the repertoire analysis. This interpretive repertoire analysis is established by social psychologists Potter and Wetherell (1987) which is described as “recurrently used systems of terms used for characterizing and evaluating actions, events and other phenomena” (p. 149). This means that, after developing themes from the thematic analysis, these themes will be linked and contextualised within societal relations. Hermes (1993) looks at these repertoires as “a storehouse of possible understandings, legitimations and evaluations that can be brought to bear on any number of subjects” (p. 87). In this way, different dimensions/perspectives of knowledge related to cultural heritage organisations can be constructed. This means that all the statements in the transcripts related to the cultural value of heritage are analysed as many times as it takes in order to find out how the themes that came up have a connection with underlying structures. These underlying structures are called practical ideologies by

Wetherell, Steven and Potter (1987) that “make up the systems of making sense available in a society” (as cited by Hermes, 1993, p. 87) The reason for using the repertoire analysis in addition to the thematic analysis, is to be able to see from what perspectives what type of themes arrive and how this influences their point of view regarding the cultural value of immovable heritage. By analysing the interviews many times, and going back and forth between the codes, themes, the identified repertoires and the data, I tried not to overlook important information and keep a critical stance towards the codes, themes and repertoires I discovered. In this way, I tried to execute valid research that is consistent and trustworthy. The concept mapping and code list that were used to develop the themes and the repertoires can be found in appendix 3 and 4.

The units of analysis that have been analysed for this research, are heritage organisations/actors that are active in the heritage field in the Netherlands. The type of sampling method that is used, is non-probability homogeneous sampling. This purposive sampling technique “aims to achieve a homogeneous sample; that is, a sample whose units (...) share the same (or very similar) characteristics or traits [and is] (...) often chosen when the research question that is being address is specific to the characteristics of the particular group of interest” (Laerd dissertation, n.d., para. 8). For this research, I chose to look for specific heritage organisations in the Netherlands that focus on immovable heritage (objects, buildings, monuments and landscapes) and work with value-based management in their daily practices where the importance of culture or cultural value is mentioned. By conducting interviews with heritage organisations, companies and funds that meet these characteristics, valuable information on the use, implementation and importance of the cultural value from immovable heritage organisations the Dutch heritage field has been retrieved.

The interview data have been collected by using a voice recorder. I went to the organisations and funds to conduct the interview. The interviews were conducted between March 20 and April 19 2018 and were held in Dutch since these people were mostly Dutch and speak Dutch at their job. By doing the interview in the language they speak at their work, the interviewee has been able to express him/herself in the best way. The following eight organisations and funds were interviewed as part of my research: Stichting Agrarisch Erfgoed Nederland, BOEi, Drents Landschap, Erfgoedhuis Zuid-Holland, Stichting Fryske Mole, Gelders Genootschap, Stichting Oude Groninger Kerken and Utrechts Monumentenfonds. In an email prior to the interview, I made the interviewees aware of their rights (having the right to withdraw their consent or discontinue participation at any time without penalty, and having the right to refuse to answer particular questions). Also, I asked the interviewees via

email whether they and the organisation wanted to be anonymous for this research. All interviewees replied that they were fine with mentioning the company and their occupation in the research, but some interviewees did not want their name mentioned in the research. This is why I chose to anonymize all the names of the people that participated in the research. Information on the interviewee's sex, nationality, occupation and the duration of the interview can be found in appendix 1.

For this research, three immovable heritage organisations were contacted per Dutch province (this means that 36 organisations were approached). These organisations are active in the field of restoration, preservation and redevelopment for Dutch immovable heritage in the province or in the whole country and work with value-based management in their daily practices where the importance of culture or cultural value is mentioned. From these 36 organisations, the eight organisations named above were willing to cooperate for the interview. The other organisations either did not respond or were not willing to cooperate. The interviewees that cooperated are situated in the provinces Zuid Holland, Utrecht, Overijssel, Gelderland, Drenthe, Groningen and Friesland. Even though not all provinces are incorporated in this selection process, I have tried to achieve a representative sample for all the heritage organisations active in the country. Yet, since only eight organisations responded, it is difficult to make generalizations about the findings that apply to all immovable heritage organisations in the Netherlands, which unfortunately makes the research less credible.

The qualitative data has been analysed manually. I chose to do this, because I liked to print the interviews and work with highlighters to visualize the codes and to discover linkages between codes that ended up into themes. Also, the context of the interviews becomes more clear to me when working manually, which makes easier to see the repertoires that the interviewees showed.

Derived from the literature review, I collected data on the concepts: 1. the perception on cultural heritage; 2. values related to heritage management; 3. the role of cultural value in heritage management; 4. assessment of cultural value of heritage and implementation in heritage decisions; 5. the possible challenges encountered with cultural value assessment in heritage management. The interview guide is derived from these concepts and holds the same order. The questions provide answers about these concepts and can be found in appendix 2. The goal of the interview is to gather information on the organisation's perspective and approach regarding immovable heritage, what values they (want to) ensure in their approach and what place cultural value holds here. Then, if cultural value holds a place, I wanted to find out how this is assessed, implemented and what challenges arise regarding taking into

account the cultural value in their practice. By doing this, valuable information is gathered which helped to answer the research question.

Concepts one and two focus on gathering information on where the organisations stand in relation to heritage (value) management. Topic one is linked to the theoretical framework, since it focuses on the overall perception the organisation has of heritage. This can be linked to the change in perception of heritage in critical heritage studies over the course of time. This also includes the use of values, which started with Riegl and kept on expanding and started to get incorporated in heritage conservation/management decisions with Lipe's and Throsby's approach and the ICOMOS Burra charter. In the theoretical framework, section two discusses the value-based heritage management and its advantages and disadvantages, and that the focus is often still on value of heritage as coming from the object itself, since it has intrinsic value. This literature is related to concept two in the interview guide.

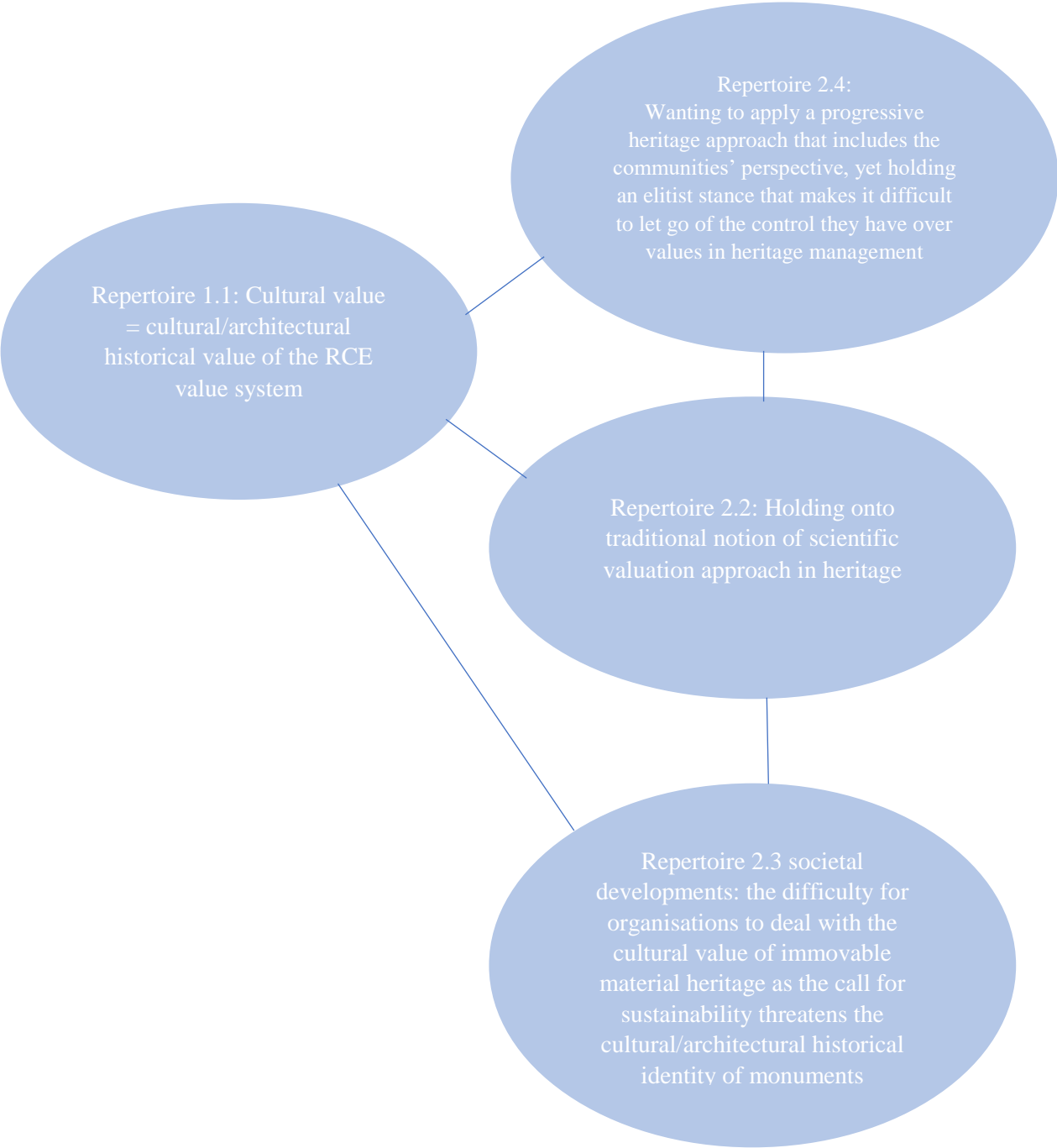
The topics three till six are focused on the role, assessment, implementation and challenges that are linked to the cultural value in immovable heritage. Section three focuses on the cultural value of heritage, which is covered in the literature by scholars who are trying to comprehend both the tangible but also the intangible aspects of heritage, like Throsby, Karakul and Mason. This is linked to section three of the theoretical framework, where the focus is on meaning, cultural identity and collective memory that influence the intangible values linked to heritage, which is discussed by amongst others Assman and Czaplicka and Rudolff. Here it is stated that the focus should be more on understanding the interrelation between cultural heritage and people's identities, which introduces section 5 of the theoretical framework which focuses on pluralistic heritage management. This pluralistic approach aims at being more inclusive regarding cultural valuing heritage by not only including the heritage expert's perspective, but also the perspective of stakeholders, like the public. There are challenges regarding this approach mentioned Gibson and Pendlebury, Arnstein and Yung and Chan, including tokenism, conflict of interest from the different stakeholders and different preferences between the public and government when looking at heritage conservation. This is linked concept four and five of the interview guide, that looks at the assessment, implementation and challenges that occur when taking the cultural value into account. Lastly section 6 of the theoretical framework focuses on the Dutch heritage policy, where history in valuation of heritage shows that the social perspective is not taken into account in built heritage management. Here the viewpoint of value as being intrinsic and thus, coming from the object itself is practiced, which is visible for in the Dutch Cultural Heritage

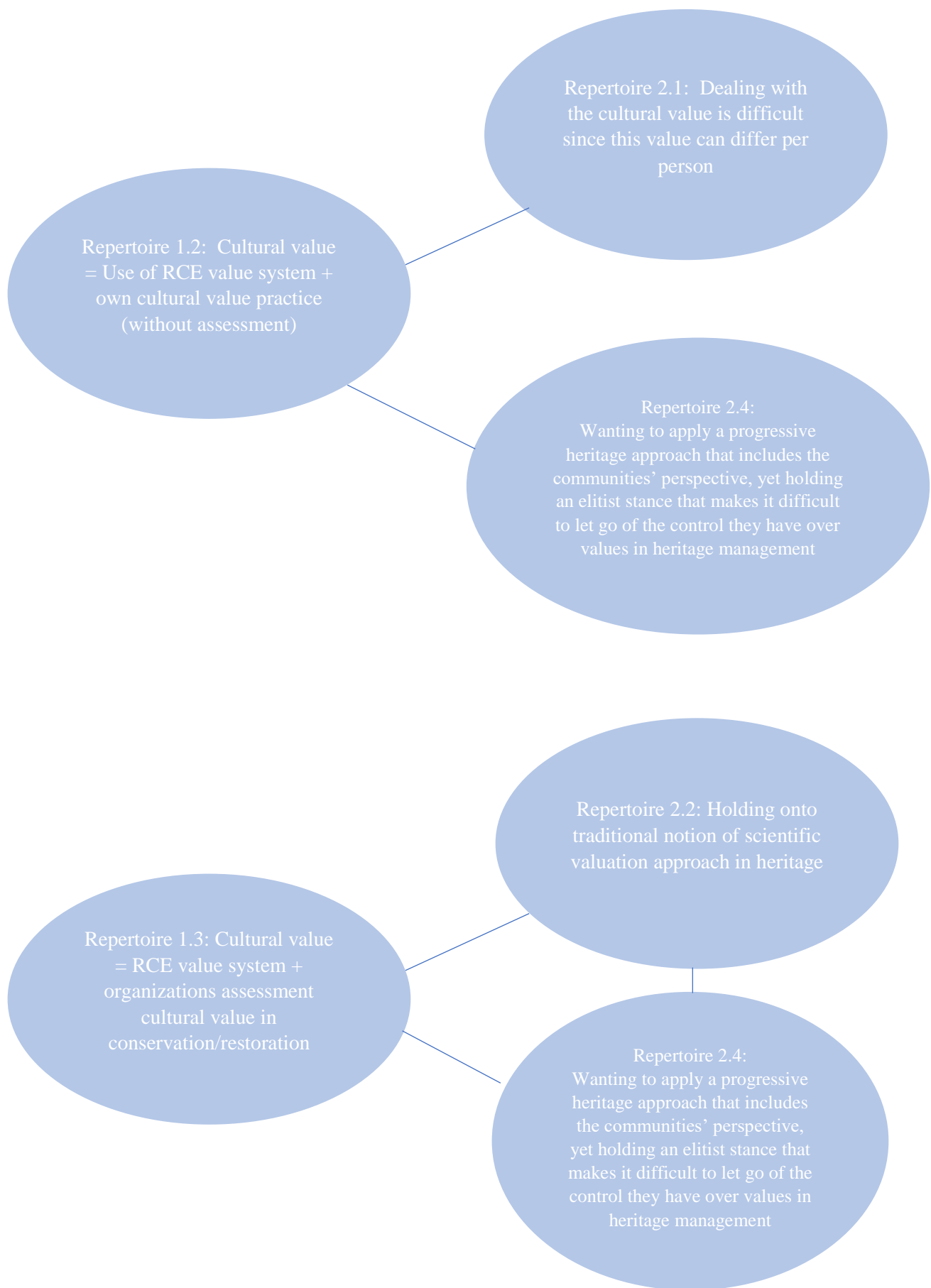
Agency's value system. This relates to the concepts of values, assessment, implementation and challenges related to heritage management.

Results

Linking the themes' repertoires

When looking at the repertoires within each theme, associations between the content of specific repertoires are visible and are visualized in the tables below. The repertoires and associations will be explained in the sections below.





1. Use of scientific RCE value system for determining cultural value

1.1 Cultural value = cultural/architectural historical value of the RCE value system

This point of view shows the repertoire of *the cultural value is the cultural/architectural historical value according to the RCE value system* and is prevalent when talking about cultural value regarding material immovable cultural heritage. All interviewees stated that they use the value system developed by the Cultural Heritage Agency (RCE), which is part of the Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science. This system is called MSP methodology and is not mandatory to use for heritage organisations. It consists of five criteria for cultural-historical valuation of material heritage that “together give meaning to the object” (Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, 2014, p. 20):

- architectural-historical values; amongst other things material use, ornamentation and / or monumental art, importance for the history of the architecture and / or building technique
- cultural-historical values: amongst other things expression of cultural, socio-economic and /or administrative/policy-based and/or mental/spiritual development(s);
- ensemble values/situational and urban development values; amongst other things meaning of the object as essential (cultural-historical, functional and / or architectural-historical and visual) part of a monument
- integrity/flawlessness and recognizability; architectural flawlessness and/or recognisability of ex- and/or interior; material, technical and/or constructive flawlessness
- rarity; absolute rarity in architectural-historical, building-technical, typological or functional aspect; relative rarity of the cultural-historical, architectural and art-historical, situational and ensemble values (see theoretical framework for extended version criteria)

When analysing the interviews, it becomes clear that applying the RCE value system to assess the cultural value is the dominant discourse. This discourse shows the organisations’ perspective that the object’s meaning can be determined based on the object’s cultural and architectural historical characteristics. When looking at the criteria, it seems like the criteria are interrelated and it all comes down to the architectural and cultural historical significance; the ensemble value, flawlessness and rarity criteria all relate to architectural and cultural historical factors like architectural flawlessness, absolute rarity in architectural-historical aspect or the cultural-historical meaning of the object as essential part of the monument. From

these criteria, it becomes clear that there is the idea that meaning comes from the object and is intrinsic, and how people identify with the heritage and attach value to it is not taken into account. This idea was also visible when interviewing the interviewees, because when asking them what they understand by cultural value, more than half of the interviewees stated that the cultural value of heritage is captured by RCE's value criteria. This means that for these interviewees, the focus is on meaning making that comes from the object itself. The place's/site's/artefact's characteristics are scanned based on these points¹, and the impact of the place is on people's cultural identity formation and vice versa is not evaluated. This is the case for interviewee 1, because when asking him what gives a building cultural value, he said the following:

“Well we work with the guidelines of the government, of the RCE. These are always included when working on a heritage project, that it must conform to these guidelines.. Yes those guidelines are the cultural-historical value, the architectural value, rarity, and flawlessness, those things. And in principle all valuations are built on this”
(Interviewee 1, Drents Landschap)

Interviewee 1 stated that he is satisfied with the RCE value system and he does not think there are aspects that should be improved. When talking about the cultural value, he keeps on referring to the cultural historical value determined by the RCE value system and does not mention anything about how people identify with the heritage and attach value to it.

Also interviewee 3 states that for him, the cultural value comes from the object itself and that you can get to this by researching the building or its soil archives:

“For me, the [cultural] value is that you learn from the past. So when you are researching a building ... you are discovering the building's story. From everything that has been there before. How they made a certain construction, how they lived there How they applied things. The monument or its soil “archives” are carriers of that knowledge. And often also the only carriers. [...] The building or soil archive is the core. If you do not have that, then you have no knowledge at all. So that intrinsic value is the core of cultural value for me” (Interviewee 3, Erfgoedhuis Zuid-Holland)

He talks about the building's story, yet links this to the past by focusing on “everything that has been there before”. This shows the architectural and cultural historical focus on cultural

¹ Unfortunately, from all the interviews no clear information is obtained on how the operationalization of the RCE value system works

value, where, just like with interviewee 1, nothing is mentioned about how people identify with the heritage and attach value to it nowadays.

There are differences visible in which value criteria is seen as most important in order to establish the cultural value. The architectural-historical value is mentioned as being the starting point by one interviewee, since it is always seen by the RCE as emphatically important that there was no loss when looking at the place's architectural-historical value. Two other interviewees mention that the cultural-historical value criteria is seen as most meaningful as well. Interviewee 1 gave an example that when cultural-historical research shows that the cultural-historical value of the site is high, the organisation will definitely decide to invest and redevelop the site. The other interviewees do not mention differences in importance when looking at RCE's value criteria.

This dominant discourse shows a limited way of looking at what cultural value entails, by assessing object's/site's cultural/architectural-historical characteristics in the methodological RCE manner. The interviewees are not obligated to use the RCE system, yet they use it since it is in line with their traditional idea of value being intrinsic, where the influence of the social construction of time and place is not taken into account. This is in line with Gibson and Pendlebury's (2009) view of heritage organisations that stubbornly cling onto this intrinsic value idea by using instrumental measurement tools that exclude the social influence on values. Even though the next two repertoires show that there are nuances within the use of the RCE value system, applying the RCE value system to assess the cultural value remains dominant.

1.2 Cultural value = Use of RCE value system + own cultural value practice (without assessment)

The focal point of this repertoire is the combination of *using the RCE value system + own cultural value practice* to find the heritage's cultural value. In this repertoire, three interviewees mention that the RCE value system is determinative when assessing the cultural value yet state that they also (want to) work by following their own knowledge and system. By using their own cultural value practice, the interviewees feel they complement the RCE system and make their cultural heritage management more complete. This suggests that these interviewees think that only using the RCE value system is not sufficient for grasping the cultural value of heritage. However, their own cultural practices do not seem to have a clear system and it seems to be happening incidentally instead of it being part of the programme. Also what they understand by cultural value in relation to their own cultural practice seems to differ quite a lot. Interviewee 4 states that the cultural value is all about the societal value of heritage and that the first conservation will be with the local community in order to explore what they want in terms of conversion of a heritage site. This is, because they believe it is essential and conditional that the local community needs to be the "carrier" ("drager" in Dutch) when redeveloping/changing a heritage site:

"That is our vision, that you have to invest in the immaterial side of heritage. Transferring knowledge to people. [...] The focus is really on the intangible side [of heritage], and meaningful conversion [of heritage]. [...] That is a big challenge. We really want to make conscious choices and of course the RCE system is decisive, but you also have your own knowledge. That you can then make your own choices and say: we do touch or change it [the heritage place/site]" (Interviewee 4, Stichting Oude Groninger Kerken)

Here, they see that next to assessing the material value of heritage, the intangible value of what the place means for specific communities is taken into account. According to interviewee 4, this intangible value is missing in the RCE value system. He gives an example of the oldest Moluccan church in the north of the Netherlands, which is a barrack with concrete blocks. This church was not high in value when looking at the building itself, but the Moluccan people were very attached to it, because it was the church that was part of the first Moluccan residential area in the Netherlands. He states that the church was of symbolic value for the arrival of the Moluccan community in the Netherlands. This means that interviewee 4 also takes into account the cultural identity and meaning making of communities in heritage

management. Yet, the interviewee does not mention a tool that is used to assess the communities' point of view and how this is weighed in relation to RCE value system is unclear. This suggests that there is no clear structure or guideline for incorporating the communities' point of view.

Also, when asking interviewee 3 about how his own cultural practice next to the RCE system is assessed and implemented, it becomes clear that there are no clear guidelines that are followed. Interviewee 3 mentioned that he personally always tries to include the building's history and what it means for society, yet this is not incorporated in the organisation's procedures itself. More importantly, this again shows that the cultural value is seen as meaning-making that is coming from the object, since the focus is on what the building means for society in cultural-historical terms (by focusing on stories on the people who lived there) and not what influence of the meaning of society is on the building nowadays. Also, how he personally assesses this meaning for society remains unsure:

“But if I do a building-historical research myself [following RCE value system], I also find it important to know if I can find out who has lived there [in a heritage monument]. Or whether it was in possession of father or son, or whether it remained within the family. What it meant for them. The story around it. What the building means for society. So if I can find this out, I always try to include that in the report”
(Interviewee 3, Erfgoedhuis Zuid-Holland)

Interviewee 5 stated that they are now working on an approach towards restoration of heritage where “core qualities” will be implemented in their heritage management decisions. With these core qualities, interviewee 5 wants to incorporate how people identify with the heritage and attach value to heritage today in BOEi's heritage development practices. She is aware of the difficulty that incorporating the cultural identity and meaning-making brings, since it is not fixed and differs per person/group. She stated that the organisation is working on the core qualities now and that it is still under development. She stated that they want to work with a maximum of six core qualities, but unfortunately she cannot tell me what these qualities are; for them it is unclear how this approach will be executed:

“So we do not just want to work along the guidelines of the RCE. [With our work, we want to] provide tailored work, which integrates a more sectoral valuation of buildings. Because we have the idea that this [the RCE value system] does not touch upon the needs that development-oriented and future-oriented disciplines have when it comes to development of heritage. These are two different languages. So for us the

core qualities are actually a way of making those more historical-oriented languages heard [...]. We see core qualities and heritage as something constructivist. It is the values that we attach to it today, which makes it heritage. That means that they are not entirely fixed values. So you have to be in conversation with each other in order to transfer or re-establish [these values]. This includes the immaterial story, but also involves the fact that one group appreciates it differently than another group. So that makes the work of me and of us, I find very interesting on the one hand. Because it is custom-made every time. On the other hand, it makes it so ... it is not entirely, completely susceptible. (Interviewee 5, BOEi)

It is interesting to see that, whereas interviewee 5 is working on implementing approach where the focus is on combining material information gathering of the object and intangible information gathering of meaning-making and the identification of people in relation to heritage today, interviewee 3 and 4 see these approaches as being separate. This separation looks similar to UNESCO's add-on attitude towards including non-material intangible heritage, which shows an institutional dichotomy between intangible world heritage and tangible world heritage (Alivizatou, 2008). Alivizatou (2008) is against this and states that that the concept of cultural heritage should not allow separation between material information gathering and intangible information gathering. Interviewee 3 and 4 believe their practice can be applied next to the RCE value system, without giving it a clear structure (guidelines/an assessment) or really making it part of the programme. Interviewee 5 wants to integrate material information gathering and intangible information gathering, yet mentioned that the fact intangible information is susceptible makes it difficult to incorporate it in their management. This shows that they hold on to the dominant idea of applying the RCE value system to assess the cultural value, even though they see the importance of the cultural identity and meaning-making of the public in heritage management. They embrace the more progressive pluralistic viewpoint of the value of heritage as not only being in the object itself, yet in practice, heritage valuation based on the cultural/architectural characteristics derived from the RCE system remains prevailing. This conflict between viewpoints is further explained in repertoire 2.4, which makes this repertoire linked to repertoire 2.4: Wanting to apply a progressive heritage approach that includes the communities' perspective, yet holding an elitist stance that makes it difficult to let go of the control they have over values in heritage management.

1.3 Cultural value = RCE value system + organizations assessment cultural value in conservation/restoration

The third repertoire focuses on organisations that *combine the RCE value system with their own value assessment* regarding heritage conservation and restoration. These assessments are quite distinct in how they approach cultural value; whereas one assessment is basically the same as the RCE value system, others take over parts of the RCE system or develop their own assessment. However, in general, also here the dominant discourse of applying the RCE value system to assess the cultural value is visible. Two of the interviewees (interviewee 6 and 1) mention that they have their own organisations assessment, but this is focused on meaning of the object itself and is based on the RCE system. Interviewee 6 stated that, when talking about their vision on the cultural value in their organisation, they use an ABC list:

For the total amount of heritage property we own, we have made a kind ABC list where we have defined the A category as being our core property, the B category is valuable but still needs restoration or something like that and the C category is for us of lesser value because it is, for example, a protected cityscape or a municipal monument. [...] Well, you may wonder what fits our core property? What we have identified as core property are, for example, the courtyards with a seventeenth-century structure. We think that we as Utrecht Monument Fund have enough knowledge and expertise to maintain it well [...]" (Interviewee 6, Utrechts Monumentenfonds)

Interviewee 6 sent me a report of what the criteria are to decide whether it is A, B, or C property. In this report, it became clear that this ABC list is based on the RCE value criteria culture-historical values, architectural-historical values and ensemble values/situational and urban development values. This means that they only look at the meaning of the object itself through these values and this is what they consider as being the cultural value of heritage.

Interviewee 1 explained how, within his organisation, they use the decision-making matrix to assess the cultural value in relation to other values in heritage restoration and conversion projects. It became clear, that also here, the focus is valuation of heritage as coming from the object itself and that it is based on the RCE system:

"The decision-making matrix is required for all investments above a certain amount. All projects where we redevelop, re-use, renovate heritage, but also the larger maintenance jobs must pass through that matrix. In this matrix, all sorts of factors are weighed. The first factor that is weighed is how the heritage investment contributes to

the statutory objective, which is maintaining the cultural-historical value. And that factor weighs twice as much compared to other factors. This was a very conscious decision. You can get up to six points there [for the cultural-historical value]. And for example, you can get a maximum of three points for the financial consideration. So we made it twice as important, compared to all other factors that play a role” (Interviewee 1, Drents Landschap)

Interviewee 1 stated that the other factors that are taken into consideration are; whether it is relevant for the organisation’s policy, what is the financial impact, exploitation effect, effect on the image of stakeholders and the workload for the employees. The cultural historical value is seen as twice as important in relation to the other factors and is measured by using the RCE value system. Here, the history of the building’s identity and culture is taken into account. It seems that interviewee 1 and interviewee 6 deviate from the dominant discourse of using the RCE value system because they have their own assessment, but this assessment is in fact based on the RCE value system.

As mentioned in the previous repertoire, interviewee 5 stated that within the organisation BOEi, they are currently working on developing a “core qualities” approach that includes the cultural biography view on heritage. With these core qualities, they want to incorporate how people identify with the heritage and attach value to heritage today in BOEi’s heritage development practices. In the previous repertoire, interviewee 5 states that the focus is on combining material information gathering of the object and intangible information gathering of meaning-making and the identification of people in relation to heritage today. Yet, when talking about how she thinks this core qualities approach will be executed, the focus seems to be more on the acquiring cultural-historical information on the place, by focusing on how, in the past, the place affected the people that were related to it and vice versa:

We [want to] show the heritage of a location, a building, a place, ensemble, in way that shows its historical layering. Where every layer -this is in a perfect world- where we unravel each layer with different professions, different domains and indicate it. And when talking about unravelling, you can think of questions like [...] how did this place come about? How did this affect the people in this environment who -because we often work with industrial heritage, we often talk about a heritage workplace-, how did this affect the people who worked there? What are the influences of the development of this place on its surroundings and vice versa? So we try to bring up

both the building and its context. Where both the material and the immaterial are brought up” (Interviewee 5, BOEi)

With their cultural biography, they want to focus on how people in the past identified with the heritage and attached value to heritage. Even though this information cannot come from the object itself, since it looks at what the perception of people related to heritage was in the past, it is similar to the cultural-historical value of the RCE value system, that focuses on the expression of cultural or mental/spiritual development related to the heritage object/building. With this approach, BOEi considers the interrelationship between the cultural identity of people in the past and the value of the building. Unfortunately, since it is unclear how the core approach will be executed (they are working on it now), no information was gathered on how the interrelationship between the cultural identity of people in the past and the value of the building will be evaluated.

Uncertainty in relation to how the organisations assess cultural value is also noticeable with interviewee 7 (Stichting Agrarisch Erfgoed Nederland). When talking about how the cultural value is assessed, he stated that this is included in their testing criteria for deciding on whether the foundation wants to invest in maintaining, restoring or redevelopment of agricultural heritage. These testing criteria are: social (family, neighbourhood), history (the story of the heritage), surroundings (yard and surrounding landscape), environmental law and legal procedure, economic feasibility (investments, operating costs and revenue model), sustainability and energy transition (new forms of energy generation and use), architecture (aesthetic and practical architectural applications), process (cooperation of interested parties) and testing the three propositions of the organisation’s manifest "Use the farm!". He explains that the social context is considered first and is focused on the people surrounding or related to the building (the family, owner and neighbourhood). Here, they want to know what connects them to the building, what they think of it and what should happen with the building in terms of restoration or redevelopment. This criterion takes into account the cultural value in terms of how the cultural identity of the building is linked to people that live in the area of the building or are related to the building by family. When asking the interviewee how they measure this social context (also in relation to the other criteria) the interviewee said he would send a document that explains this, yet he provided me document that listed these criteria, but did not explain how it is measured.

In this repertoire, two viewpoints regarding the cultural value of heritage management are visible. First, there is the dominant and traditional perception of the value of heritage as

coming from the object itself, and thus being intrinsic, and that these value is assessed by using the methodological and instrumental RCE value system (applies to interviewee 1 and 6). This viewpoint can be linked to repertoire 2.2, where it becomes clear that the interviewees hold onto traditional notion of scientific valuation approach in heritage. This is in line with the Allen Consulting Group (2005), who states that with this intrinsic value related to heritage, the worth of an object or building is not related to evaluation of the public and assessed regardless of interplay with the public. This means that value and meaning making are seen as coming from the object itself without taken into consideration how this is interrelated with the publics point of view in that time and place. The second viewpoint (applies to interviewee 5 and 7) embraces the more pluralistic viewpoint of the value of heritage by considering the interrelation between heritage and the publics perspective in that time and place. Yet both interviewees are not clear about how this is/will be exactly incorporated and assessed, which suggests the difficulty of incorporating this viewpoint in practice. It is challenging to translate a more open and inclusive perspective of heritage management into an assessment that is accepted by all people in the heritage field (like the RCE system). This can be linked to repertoire 2.4, which shows that interviewees state they want to apply a progressive heritage approach that includes the communities' perspective, yet hold an elitist stance that makes it difficult to let go of the control they have over values in heritage management.

2. Challenges regarding the cultural value of heritage

2.1 Dealing with the cultural value is difficult since this value can differ per person

With this repertoire, interviewees stressed the difficulty of *dealing with the cultural value as this value can differ per person*. According to most interviewees, cultural value is related to meaning making, which makes it a qualitative and less tactile value than a value that can be expressed in numbers (for example the economic value of a heritage site). The cultural value is also not fixed for people, which makes it complicated to make generalized statements that hold for a longer period. Interviewee 4 stressed the difficulty of the variety in meaning-making in relation to heritage:

“Meaning is very much linked to people. So when you think [something] has meaning, I can think whatever. But we must create room for that, for broad social appreciation. Or valuation, let me put it that way. And that is broader, and more intangible, let say it like that” (Interviewee 4, Stichting Oude Groninger Kerken)

Interviewee 4 stated that, cultural value is about meaning-making which can be different per person. He stressed this by stating that he can think something does not mean anything to him (“I can think whatever”), but somebody else does think it has meaning for him/her (“when you think something has meaning”). This makes it difficult to make value statement based on meaning-making, since everybody has different criteria on which they base their meaning. There are no general criteria that apply to everybody. Interviewee 6 also mentioned how this meaning-making of people and heritage organisations can change overtime, which makes it difficult to come up with valuations that last for a long time:

You have to continuously assess, like: today it is very valuable [cultural value of heritage]. But what is considered as valuable today, can be seen as less valuable tomorrow (Interviewee 6, Utrechts Monumentenfonds)

Interviewee 6 stated that they want to look at their heritage property every once in a while, to see whether their point of view regarding the value is still accurate/up-to-date (in Dutch: actueel). They are planning on doing this this year, which means they have not started it yet. This might suggest that they see how it is a problem, but do not think reconsidering the valuation of their heritage property is important enough to make a priority in their heritage management. This can be, because they now use the RCE value system, which gives guidance in valuing heritage that comes from the object itself. This can be measured objectively with the RCE system, which is not the case with meaning making in relation to cultural value. This is what interviewee 6 sees as a challenge:

“Because the cultural value is sometimes less tangible/tactile, it is challenge to make it objectively measurable. That is sometimes difficult” (Interviewee 6, Utrechts Monumentenfonds)

Interviewee 1 sees the challenge in the fact that cultural value is linked to qualitative information, which he finds difficult to measure:

“We are trying to make it SMART [Drents Landschap’s decision making matrix]. It is difficult of course because there is a lot of qualitative information involved [in the matrix]. But we must be able to measure it in some way. (Interviewee 1, Drents Landchap)

Interviewee 1 thinks that (cultural) valuation has to measurable in numbers and always refers to the cultural-historical value by the RCE system when talking about the cultural value. This

cultural-historical value comes from the object itself, which does not have to be linked to qualitative information and meaning-making. By using the RCE system, it could be that interviewee 1 circumvents involving qualitative information, since it needs “to be measurable in some way”. This can be linked to repertoire 1.2 where the interviewees state they have their own cultural practice next to the RCE system, but this practice does not have a clear structure (guidelines/an assessment) or is really part of the programme. This is probably because they find it difficult to incorporate the cultural value that is subjective, not fixed and can differ per person in heritage management where the dominant discourse is based on objective scientific valuation methods like the RCE system.

Another challenge of cultural value assessment that came up with two interviewees, is that it is difficult to deal with the *historical layering* of heritage. Historical layering is about the adaptations that are made on a monument/historical building overtime, which leaves traces on/in the monument/building. All these adaptations make up the “archive” of the place (Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, 2018). This archive is based on historical valuation that comes from the object itself. Yet, how important the preservation of the historical layering is for the public, depends on the perception of people in the heritage field. When talking about historical layering, interviewee 4 stated that they put modern art in cemeteries because they want to do new things there. Other people can say that it is a shame for the historical adaptations of the cemetery overtime, yet interviewee thinks it is an addition to the cultural value of the place. He links the cultural value to the experience value of the place for today’s public and according to him, adding another layer increases its experience value. The conflict here is between the traditional valuation of heritage where the meaning comes from the object itself and should be preserved, and the perspective of interviewee 4 that focuses on the securing the cultural value of heritage by investing in the experience value of the public:

“We now have seven cemeteries [under our care] [...] we have placed modern art there. Really permanent. Then you can say, that is a violation of those cemeteries. But it is an addition to cultural value. Modern Art. But is that then an addition to the cultural value of the heritage? Yes, then you have to have a clear definition of what you think cultural value is. And saying no.. from our organization’s point of view is historical layering the biggest cultural value. It is not an obstacle to the future. So we also want to do new things”

(Interviewee 4, Stichting Oude Groninger Kerken)

Interviewee 5 also mentions the difficulty with historical layering, but links it to the idea that there are different viewpoints in how complete research in the historical layering of buildings

is. All the adaptations to the building together make up the “archive” of the place, yet interviewee 5 misses the intangible history/story “layers” behind all the buildings adaptations; how people lived there and what effect this had on the building and vice versa. Working on showing the historical layering of a building is possible by restoring the building, yet experiencing the intangible story layers is considered as difficult by interviewee 5:

“That the added value (in Dutch: meerwaarde) of it [incorporating historical layering in value assessment] is recognized [by heritage parties/partners]. That the added value is transferred and recognized [by heritage parties/partners]. [...] That is a challenge. And the inconceivability (in Dutch: niet tastbaarheid) of heritage. So what lies in the ground and also that which is not left to us. I am wondering, how can we make sure that inconceivable layer becomes one of those layers that we will be able to experience or will be able to experience again. Or a layer from which we know it is there. That is [...] a challenge in terms of design. Because we do not want to hang a sign with "In the past, here was a...". Then we can hang signs all over the Netherlands! Or QR codes. We do not do that, we do not want it that way. But how do you do that then? I think that is a challenge”

(Interviewee 5, BOEi)

Just as interviewee 4, interviewee 5 also wants to create an experience value where local residents and current users of the building are informed and will embrace the identity that was given to the building in the past, and at the same time will also give their own identity to the building in the present. This is in line with Alivizatou’s (2008) statement that the focus in heritage should be more on understanding the interrelation between cultural heritage and people’s identities. Yet the fact that identities are subjective, which includes meaning making that differs per group/person and even within the heritage field is seen as a challenge by the interviewees.

2.2 Holding onto traditional notion of scientific valuation approach in heritage

This repertoire is linked to the two different viewpoints towards dealing with the cultural value in heritage that came up during the interviews. Three interviewees mentioned the idea of heritage valuation by using the scientific approach. *This dominant perspective places significance upon expertise and professionalism*, where it is seen as important that a value methodology is objective and measurable. Yet, next to this viewpoint they talk about incorporating the second viewpoint, which is related to *incorporating participation of the public or communities in addition to the dominant scientific approach*. Interviewee 5 relates

to this by calling this the non-professional discourse, interviewee 3 talks about valuation/appreciation of the public and interviewee 2 about involving residents. Interviewee 5 states that when incorporating participation of the public, the whole picture of heritage is shown. A more pluralistic viewpoint of the value of heritage as not only being in the object itself is acknowledged, yet, with this second viewpoint, a rather elitist stance towards involving non-scientific perspectives in their practices is noticeable. Interviewee 5 is aware of that it is important to incorporate the professional and the non-professional discourse to get a good picture of what heritage entails and how it should be approached. Yet, in practice, she believes it is impossible to integrate these two approaches because you “have to make choices”. Here she takes an elitist point of view by stating that she can make this choice of excluding the non-professional discourse, because she is a heritage professional.

“During my studies, we were taught that we should not only display the official discourse as heritage professionals, but also the non-professional discourse. And that we should not make choices but that we should be able to show the whole [picture of heritage]. But, that is an impossible task if you develop it [a restoration project]. You must make choices. So then I try to convince myself that because we are professionals, we can make that choice. This means that we make that choice from the professional perspective” (Interviewee 5, BOEi)

Interviewee 3 states that they always base their work on scientific basis, even though he sees that as a heritage organisation you also must deal with the public’s appreciation. Here, just as with interviewee 5, it looks like he says this because it is a progressive way of looking at heritage today, yet still holds on to the dominant scientific way of approaching and managing heritage (by using the RCE value system):

“Well, of course you have the scientific basis. Where we always base our work on. But of course you also have the valuation/appreciation of the public. And the municipality also has a lot to do with that. What does the man in the street really think of heritage? Or its importance?” (Interviewee 3, Erfgoedhuis Zuid-Holland)

Interviewee 2 mentions a project where residents of a town were involved in that town’s heritage redevelopment plans. He states that residents are involved and that is what they like to do, yet this does not seem to be his true belief, since he states that they “are the experts of course”. Here a clear elitist superior stance towards involve non-scientific perspectives in their practices is visible.

“I always try to work together with historical circles. We also involve residents [in a specific heritage project]. And then anyone can suggest things [regarding the project]. It is just .. we are the experts of course. But we would like to do it together with the people” (Interviewee 2, Gelders Genootschap)

The interviewees’ elitist standpoint towards incorporating public participation is in line with findings of Waterton, Smith and Campbell (2006) on the Burra Charter, that showed that whilst “the Burra Charter encourages wider participation in defining meaning in the historic environment, it does not relinquish control from the experts over defining cultural significance, the key measure guiding management decisions” (as cited in Gibson and Pendlebury, 2009, p. 10). This can be linked to repertoires 1.2 and 1.3, where the interviewees hold on to the dominant idea of applying the RCE value system to assess the cultural value, even though they state that they embrace the more progressive pluralistic viewpoint of the value of heritage as not only coming from the object itself. Also in this repertoire, the interviewees acknowledge this progressive pluralistic viewpoint, yet heritage valuation based on the tradition notion of scientific valuation of heritage remains prevailing.

This dominant perspective places significance upon expertise and professionalism, which is probably why two interviewees state that challenges regarding cultural value management can be overcome by working together with other experts in the cultural heritage field. Exchanging information, discussing difficulties and securing the values related to heritage; this is done through cooperation with other heritage organisations. Even though getting together to talk about heritage issues from different fields (restoration organisations, municipalities, provinces) probably provides a variety of perspectives, these standpoints still come from the same professional/scientific position. The interviewees talk about exchanging knowledge that involves valuation of heritage, yet they do not mention the role that cultural value plays here. Interviewee 6 focuses on exchanging knowledge with other organisations about the influence of sustainable adaptations on the value of heritage

“We think it is very important to share the knowledge we have [about sustainable adaptations in heritage]. That is either with comparable organizations, Stadsherstel Utrecht or Stadsherstel Rotterdam and sometimes with Hendrik de Keijser. We are all relatively small organizations. Then I always find it more important to share that knowledge than to invent the wheel each time. I really see the added value of doing this” (Interviewee 6, Utrechts Monumentenfonds)

Interviewee 2 stated that the organisation is part of professional groups like advisory and policy committees and wants to make other professional parties in the heritage field enthusiastic about doing value based heritage research. Also here, it seems to be more about making sure the values of the RCE system are warranted, and does not mention anything about the cultural value:

“Thinking [about heritage aspects] with people. We do this in different ways. Because we are in many advisory committees, policy committees, we try to make people within this committees enthusiastic about it. We sometimes do this research but also other parties. In this way we try to stimulate research and guarantee/secure the values. We do this via the committees, and sometimes also through giving lectures. For bigger groups. (Interviewee 2, Gelders Genootschap)

There is a high chance that the value issues will be discussed along the lines of already existing systems, like the RCE value system (see first theme). The dominant discourse in the interviews showed the organisations’ perspective that the object’s meaning can be determined based on its cultural and architectural historical characteristics derived from the RCE system (see repertoire 1.1). By working together with heritage experts that also hold this same perspective, they probably do not have to deal with different/opposing notions of the cultural value, and can continue applying the traditional notion of scientific valuation in heritage management as coming from the object itself. In this way, repertoire 1.1 and this repertoire are related. Yet, also repertoire 1.3 and this repertoire are related, because the organisations hold on to the tradition notion of scientific valuation of the RCE system in their own developed cultural value assessment.

2.3 Influence societal developments on cultural value

The third repertoire within this theme of challenges is *dealing with the cultural value of material immovable heritage, as urbanisations threatens the cultural identity that people have related to heritage in contracting regions* (in Dutch: krimpregio’s). The three interviewees are aware of the fact that cultural value of heritage is an unfixed and changing phenomenon and that factors from outside the heritage field can have an impact on how people identify and attach value to heritage. In the case of urbanisation, it is difficult for heritage organisations in rural areas to decide how to act upon this development, because this trend shows that people identify less with what rural life and culture has to offer. Interviewee 4 stated that urbanisation makes the social environment stand under pressure, because the communities are

decreasing. For interviewee 4, the cultural value is linked to what it means for people, yet if there is a trend that less people are living in an area, he doubts whether it is worth investing in heritage in that area:

“[There] is the shrinkage, it is of course a contracting region [the region where the foundation operates]. Here you see the same movement as elsewhere, that people go from the countryside to the cities. The chance that they return to the countryside is very small. People see their future in an urban environment. And this makes the social environment [of the countryside] stand under pressure. Do we now invest in the use of the building of which we actually know and say the community destined to perish (in Dutch: ten dode opgeschreven). Or that the population is very much aging”

(Interviewee 4, Stichting Oude Groninger Kerken)

Interviewee 7 also has to deal with the shrinkage problem in contracting regions, since the foundation he works for focuses on preservation of agricultural heritage. He worries about the cultural identity of the agricultural farm life. In contracting regions, only large farm companies stay exist and smaller companies disappear. Here, interviewee 7 is afraid that people will not be able to relate with the traditional farm business and this makes it difficult to decide on what to do with these historical farms; whether to keep the spirit of farm life alive or go along with the urbanisation trend and depart from the traditional notion of the cultural value of farm life:

“So we have to deal with that [vacancy of historical farms]. We try to find an answer to this problem in the areas where this occurs. And that is especially the case in contracting areas where relatively large farms are active. And then you see that only the big farm companies remain to exist. They continue to grow. And the middle-sized farm companies do not survive. Because there are no successors. We must, of course, also form our opinion about this” (Interviewee 7, Agrarisch Erfgoed Nederland)

Another repertoire is related to *the difficulty for organisations to deal with the cultural value of immovable material heritage as the call for sustainability threatens the cultural/architectural historical identity of monuments*. The government is working on a transition task (in Dutch: transitieopgave) where they want to make heritage more sustainable than it is now. Immovable heritage includes old historical buildings which cost more energy to maintain in comparison to modern buildings. By making sustainable adaptations to the heritage less energy will be lost, and thus more costs will be saved. This, however, often

harms the cultural value of the heritage. By changing the (appearance of the) heritage site, people can attach a different meaning or less meaning to the place, which has an influence on the cultural value of the heritage. Interviewee 1 stated that they choose to make little sustainable adaptations so the cultural value and how people experience the site does not get jeopardized. This cultural value and experience value is related to preserving the cultural/architectural historical value of the building. By changing the appearance of the building, the cultural and architectural characteristics are less visible, which harms the cultural and experience value of the site:

“I think that people who visit our [heritage] places should be able to experience their beauty. You can completely panel everything and stick thick packs of expensive insulation everywhere. But we have deliberately chosen to apply a thin layer of insulation. This is a bit at the expense of energy consumption and also a bit of the comfort of the house. But the experience and cultural value of the property is much larger than it would be normally” (Interviewee 1, Drents Landschap)

Interviewee 6 stated that altering the building changes what the building stands for and how people relate to it. Here, just like with interviewee 1, it seems like preserving the cultural/architectural historical value of the building is key. By changing this too much with sustainable adaptations, the building will lose its authentic historical appearance value, which changes how people perceive it. This suggests that also here, the focus is on meaning that is coming from the object itself:

“We find sustainability very important, to also apply this in monumental buildings. That can sometimes also be conflicting. For example, you cannot just apply double glazing in a monument. This changes what the building stands for and how people look at it. You cannot simply place solar panels everywhere if you would really like to. We of course make substantive consideration regarding this” (Interviewee 6, Utrechts Monumentenfonds)

Interviewee 3 also mentioned the challenge of dealing with the cultural value of heritage in relation to the call for sustainability. Here he is concerned of the chance of losing the authentic quality of the historical buildings by making sustainable adaptations. He is afraid that the object loses its traditional meaning and value:

“Yes, I think sustainability is a big challenge. Not only regarding buildings, but also to the environment. Construction of windmills, solar panels in landscapes .. yes .. it is all part

of it, or it will be all part of it. ... I think in terms of what I think is dangerous [...] yes right, you must link cultural heritage to a new transition task. And then I think, yes of course that is possible, but you can also look at areas that still require quality [...] yes there are so many ugly areas in the Netherlands [laughs]. Can you not do something with that? Can you not combine this transition task with these areas. Then, you can also make quality. I would like it to happen in this way. And then you do not have to do that in valuable landscapes” (Interviewee 3, Erfgoedhuis Zuid-Holland)

Both repertoires deal with societal developments and the impact of it on the interviewee’s idea of cultural value of heritage. With the contracting regions development, cultural value is linked to what it means for people by interviewee 4. However, if there are less and less people living in that area, fewer people are connected to the place, which brings the cultural value in jeopardy. Interview 7 is afraid that shrinkage makes it difficult to keep the traditional notion of the cultural value of farm life alive. Here, he links the cultural value to authenticity by focusing on preserving the traditional cultural historical value of farm life and does not see the cultural value in the modern development of the identity of the farm life. This can also be seen in the repertoire of dealing with the cultural value in relation to sustainability developments in heritage. Here, the cultural value is considered as preserving the cultural/architectural historical value of the building and by changing the appearance of the building for sustainability reasons, the meaning of the object and thus the cultural value decreases. This shows they focus on securing the authentic image of the building and do not take on a progressive approach where the image of heritage is seen as a social construction that can change in time and place. Yet now, in modern times, the focus is on sustainability, which asks for adaptations on buildings so it can be secured for a longer time and for next generations. However, it seems that heritage organisations hold onto the dominant idea that cultural value is about preserving the authentic identity of heritage and sees that changing the cultural/architectural historical characteristics (measured by the RCE system, see theme 1) has a negative impact on this traditional identity, and thus its cultural value. This idea can be linked to repertoire 1.1 where the cultural value is seen as the cultural/architectural historical value of the RCE system. Also, this idea can be linked to the previous repertoire 2.2, where the heritage organisations hold onto traditional notion of scientific valuation approach in heritage. Sustainability threatens the cultural value, which is the cultural/architectural historical value determined by the scientific valuation approach of the RCE system.

2.4 Wanting to apply a progressive heritage approach that includes the communities' perspective, yet holding an elitist stance that makes it difficult to let go of the control they have over values in heritage management

The last repertoire related to challenges regarding the cultural value in heritage that is detected, is the conflict of stating that they *want to apply a progressive heritage approach towards cultural value heritage management that includes the communities' perspective, yet hold an elitist stance that makes it difficult to let go of the control they have over values in heritage management*. The majority of interviewees mentioned that they wish to include young people that go to school, neighbours, residents, students and the public/community in general in their future heritage projects. This can be linked to Alivizatou's (2008) statement that in the heritage field "a shift can be observed from the preoccupation with the 'object' to an increased interest in the 'person'" (p. 48) and that the focus should be more on understanding the interrelation between cultural heritage and people's identities. Also, Bouchenaki (2007) mentions that with integrated management and conservation of material and immaterial cultural heritage, the first step is to link material heritage more to its connected communities, so its social, spiritual and political values are taken into consideration. Even though the interviewees stated that they are aware of the importance of letting the community participate in heritage projects because it increases the support for heritage (in Dutch: draagvlak), involving the communities in projects seems to be the exception to the rule regarding heritage management. Also, the aim for increasing support seems to be different for the interviewees. Interviewee 7 stated that through this support, the community will be informed on the value of a heritage object. This shows that the focus is more on meaning making that is focused on the object, instead of on people that are connected to it. This is exactly the opposite of Alivizatou statement of a shift to an increased interest in the person and does not really seem to be about involvement of communities, but more about communicating knowledge to the public:

"For us it is not only the object that matters, but also the environment. [...] we want all those involved, whether that's the owner [of the heritage building], the sister, the government, the neighbours, the public opinion...that they are well informed about what the exact value of a certain object is. Or a group of objects. So that is, let us say, a kind of awareness side [approach to heritage]" (Interviewee 7, Agrarisch Erfgoed Nederland)

Here an elitist stance towards the public is visible, which is also detectable for interviewee 2, where residents are able to suggest things regarding the project, but “they are the experts”. This makes it hard to believe that involving communities will be taken as seriously as their own professional point of view. He also states that all these people must be kept in line, which makes it look like he is not that open towards letting different non-scientific community groups participate in heritage projects:

“I always try to work together with historical circles. We also involve residents [in a specific heritage project]. And then anyone can suggest things [regarding the project]. It is just .. we are the experts of course. But we would like to do it together with the people” (Interviewee 2, Gelders Genootschap)

We are working on setting up a project together with three municipalities from the Achterhoek, government and provinces. To map the most valuable interiors in that municipality. [...] Participation has to take place there. With residents of the municipality Winterswijk and Oost-Gelre. We are still thinking about this now, how we can let the people themselves, the residents themselves, play an active role in that research. Students from certain universities will also be involved. In this way we try to involve all kinds of parties. And in this way we hope to develop a large support (in Dutch: draagvlak) for things. But also to inform people, make them excited about it. To increase their awareness. [...] It is complicated. There are many parties that you have to involve in heritage. You must keep all those people in line. These are more complex projects. [...] That makes it also more interesting and fun. You hear and see more. And you also achieve more together” (Interviewee 2, Gelders Genootschap)

Interviewee 5 stressed how she wants to incorporate more community’s involvement in heritage restoration, but that this depends on the heritage project and the development manager involved in the project. Even though she stated that she gives examples of projects where communities were involved, in the end it is up to the development manager whether this will be implemented. This shows that the importance of incorporating communities is subjective and not accepted as a formal step in heritage management (yet):

“I see that as something [...] a kind of second project to deal with. To see what we can do with it [incorporating the cultural value] within BOEI. I try to grab the attention every once in a while within BOEI to say a little bit about it. To quote a project elsewhere in which a lot has been developed through participation which is very much

supported by a community. And here again, it is the case that every development manager [of BOEi] does it in his own way. The restoration projects come to BOEi in a different ways. So this makes the participation different every time. With one project, it can be that we simply say, we stick to the basic conditions that are set. You have to, at a given moment, have to give the environment the opportunity to say something about what you [as BOEi] are going to do. Well we already do this. And other times, you enter into a dialogue with a community: what do you want? But that is often when there is an project assignment coming from the community” (Interviewee 5, BOEi)

The interviewees’ elitist attitude shows that, even though they acknowledge the progressive approach that focuses on a more inclusive process regarding heritage value management, they view themselves as having the expertise which eventually gives them the authority in value based heritage management. This repertoire can be linked to repertoire 2.2 where the heritage organisations also hold on to the tradition notion scientific valuation of heritage (since it is based on expertise and professionalism) even though they state that they also want to include non-scientific perspectives (by incorporating participation of the public or communities) their value based heritage management. The heritage organisation seem to find it difficult to let go of the control in determining the (cultural) value of heritage and to take other (non-professional/scientific) perspectives into consideration. This is why they will probably use the scientific RCE value system that focuses on meaning that comes from the object, which means this repertoire is also linked to repertoire 1.1. Yet, also repertoire 1.3 and this repertoire are related, because the organisations do not let go of the control they have over values in heritage management by sticking to the tradition notion of scientific valuation of the RCE system (repertoire 2.2) in their own developed cultural value assessment.

Conclusion and discussion

This research aimed to provide clarity and insights on the matter of the supposed importance of cultural value assessment in heritage management by Dutch heritage organisations.

Frequently, Dutch heritage organisations mention the impact and importance of culture and cultural value on heritage practices, yet the ways in which this cultural value is defined and evaluated are usually not mentioned in their policy plan or on their website. Also, from this information, it seemed that organisations were not able to translate the idea of cultural value into assessable components or criteria. By conducting qualitative research by interviewing immovable heritage organisations on their cultural value management practices, the research provided an answer to the research question: *What cultural assessment models do heritage agencies, organisations and funds in the Netherlands use, if at all, to rate the cultural value of a heritage site, and what challenges do these heritage stakeholders experience in using these models?*

The research question is answered, by outlining two perspectives regarding the cultural value assessment of heritage. The first perspective of the interviewees holds on to the traditional idea of cultural value as coming from the object itself. This idea of the intrinsic value of heritage is dominant amongst the heritage organisations, which means they believe that the worth of heritage does not depend on interplay between the object and the public, but is a fixed value that can be measured by objective scientific value systems. The scientific value system that is used by all the interviewed heritage organisations, is the value system developed by the Dutch Heritage Agency (part of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science). This cultural-historical value system scans the place's/site's characteristics based on architectural-historical values, cultural historical values, ensemble values, integrity/flawlessness and recognizability and rarity. This approach shows a limited vision on values and meaning making of heritage as coming from the object itself without taken into consideration how this is interrelated with the public's point of view in that time and place. These criteria are solely focused on the architectural and cultural historical significance of heritage and by scanning heritage based on its architectural and cultural historical significance, it is believed that the cultural value of heritage is assessed. Some heritage organisations stated that they use their own cultural value practice next to the value system by the Dutch Heritage Agency (RCE in Dutch), yet this practice does not have a structure and takes place incidentally instead of it being part of the programme. How this cultural practice works and is assessed is unclear and, in practice, limited heritage valuation based on the objective cultural/architectural characteristics derived from the RCE system remains

prevailing. Heritage organisations also mentioned that they combine the value system of the Dutch Heritage Agency with their own value assessment regarding heritage conservation and restoration, which makes it seem like they deviate from the dominant discourse of using the RCE value system because they have their own cultural value assessment, but this assessment is in fact based on the culture-historical values, architectural-historical values and ensemble values derived from the RCE value system.

The second perspective shows the aim to have a plural, inclusive and more modern approach towards heritage management, where the cultural value is taken into account by including the interrelationship between the cultural identity of people and the value of the building next to using the objective quantitative RCE system. This means that the value of heritage is approached from different angles, where not only the scientific experts' point of view, but also how people identify with the heritage and attach value to heritage is evaluated. Yet, how this will be exactly incorporated is unclear, and there is no assessment tool developed to evaluate this. This shows that the heritage organisations find it difficult to incorporate this viewpoint in practice, which can be explained by challenges regarding the cultural value that were experienced by the heritage organisations. The heritage organisations stated that they find it a challenge to incorporate the cultural value that is subjective, not fixed and can differ per person in heritage management which is the opposite of the dominant discourse that is based on objective short-sighted scientific valuation methods of the RCE system. Next, the heritage organisations hold an elitist superior stance towards involving non-scientific perspectives like public participation. Significance is placed upon expertise and professionalism in heritage management, where the value methodology is objective and measurable. By working together with heritage experts that also hold this same perspective, they do not have to deal with different/opposing notions of the cultural value from the public, and can continue applying the traditional and limited notion of scientific valuation in heritage management as coming from the object itself. The heritage organisations stated that they wish to include young people that go to school, neighbours, residents, students and the public/community in general in their future heritage projects, yet they view themselves as having the expertise which gives them the authority in value based heritage management. Lastly, the heritage organisations see societal developments like urbanisation and the sustainability trend as challenges, because it threatens the traditional cultural historical identity of farm life and the cultural/architectural historical identity of monuments. This second perspective shows that, even though there is the aim to approach value of heritage from different angles, the first limited and traditional perspective remains dominant amongst

heritage organisations.

The findings of the research substantiated the information in the theoretical framework. The heritage organisations do acknowledge the cultural value of heritage and its importance, yet it is not incorporated and still seen as something apart from actual heritage management. This is in line with research by Alivizatou (2008), where she states that the focus should be more on understanding the interrelation between cultural heritage and people's identities, but that in practice, there is an institutional dichotomy between this focus and contemporary tangible heritage management. It is interesting that cultural value is seen as coming from the heritage object by the heritage organisations, which it reflects Gibson and Pendlebury's (2009) statement that "whilst there has been an increasing awareness of the position that heritage values are a social construction of time and place, there has been a stubborn clinging to ideas of 'intrinsic value' and a wish to separate them from the more obviously instrumental performative roles of heritage" (p. 7). Also the idea that the cultural value is difficult to grasp and subjective is seen as a big obstacle for the organisations. The institutional approach to heritage by using a scientific expert system like the RCE value system is dominant, since it sees definitions of values as objective and singular. The heritage organisations stated that they want to incorporate nonprofessional approaches by involving the public, yet they hold an elitist stance towards public participation where the public is occasionally involved, but eventually does not have a say in the decisions that are made regarding heritage conservation. This is in line with the findings by Arnstein (1969) and Yung and Chan (201) where tokenism is visible in involving the public with heritage management, which means that involving the public is often only a symbolic gesture to be more inclusive regarding heritage management. By doing this, the power and authority stays with the traditional power holders in the heritage field where they stick to the institutional quantitative approach to heritage value assessment.

The findings of this research have societal implications, since it shows that a limited, traditional and singular perspective towards the cultural value and value management in general is held by Dutch immovable heritage organisations by assessing heritage following the RCE value system. The Dutch Heritage Agency should adjust its system to an approach where modern visions related to cultural value are incorporated, because, as Gibson and Pendlebury (2009) state: "in a democratic society, [...] definitions of value cannot be singular but must allow for plural interpretations and meaning" (p. 1). The RCE system is the dominant and accepted way of valuing heritage, and by taking the lead in changing the vision towards valuing heritage, the heritage organisations will probably follow and apply this

modern and plural perspective in their cultural value assessment and value management in general.

A limitation of this research is the amount of heritage organizations that are interviewed. Since only eight organizations from seven Dutch provinces are interviewed, it is difficult to make generalizations based on this study that apply to the heritage management of all immovable heritage organisations in the Netherlands. Another limitation is the limited information that could be found on how the RCE value system is assessed in practice. The criteria were explained, but how this should be rated remains unclear. Also, from the interviewees, no clear information is obtained on how the operationalization of the RCE value system works. The theoretical framework, analysis and conclusion would have probably been more in-depth if this information would have been gathered/available.

For future research, it is suggested to compare the Dutch RCE value system with other conservation systems that are used by international governments. By looking outside of the Dutch heritage context, and analysing different ways of approaching the value of heritage, a general overview of how heritage is managed by different countries is created. By doing this, cases of modern/pluralistic and/or traditional/intrinsic value heritage management are found. From this findings, recommendations can be drawn for the Dutch Heritage Agency to apply in order to develop a more modern and pluralistic perspective on heritage management.

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Appendix 1 Overview interviewees

Interviewee 1

Nationality: Dutch

Gender: male

Occupation: head of heritage at foundation Het Drents Landschap situated in Assen, Drenthe

Duration interview: 49.00 minutes

Interviewee 2

Nationality: Dutch

Gender: male

Occupation: architecture historian, advisor heritage “young architecture” (jongere bouwkunst in Dutch) and specialist reconstruction at Gelders Genootschap situated in Arnhem,

Gelderland

Duration interview: 1.35.23 minutes

Interviewee 3

Nationality: Dutch

Gender: male

Occupation: art historian, building historian and head of department heritage and space (ruimte in Dutch) at Erfgoedhuis Zuid-Holland situated in Delft, Zuid-Holland

Duration interview: 1.19.30 minutes

Interviewee 4

Nationality: Dutch

Gender: male

Occupation: director of foundation Oude Groninger Kerken situated in Groningen, Groningen

Duration interview: 1.35.22 minutes

Interviewee 5

Nationality: Dutch

Gender: female

Occupation: heritage advisor and communications employee at BOEi restoration and reconstruction company situated in Amersfoort, Utrecht

Duration interview: 1.22.34 minutes

Interviewee 6

Nationality: Dutch

Gender: female

Occupation: director of the fund Utrechts Monumentenfonds situated in Utrecht, Utrecht

Duration interview: 1.17.44 minutes

Interviewee 7

Nationality: Dutch

Gender: male

Occupation: secretary of the board, treasurer and responsible for the publicity of the foundation Agrarisch Erfgoed Nederland situated in Holten, Overijssel

Duration interview: 1.22.45 minutes

Interviewee 8

Nationality: Dutch

Gender: male

Occupation: general coordinator of the foundation De Fryske Mole situated in Leeuwarden, Friesland

Duration interview: 55.33 minutes

Appendix 2 Interview guide

Bedankt voor uw deelname aan mijn masteronderzoek door middel van dit interview. Zoals u al weet, focus ik met mijn onderzoek op de (rol van) culturele waarde bepaling/implementatie in materieel cultureel erfgoed management in Nederland. Voor het interview heb ik u geïnformeerd over het consent formulier.

Dit formulier heeft u net gelezen en ondertekend, is dat correct?

Voordat we beginnen met het interview, heeft u nog vragen?

Dan beginnen we met het interview! De eerste vier vragen zijn korte introductie vragen, waar we kort doorheen zullen gaan voordat we met de grotere hoofdvragen beginnen.

- **Perception on cultural heritage**

- 1) Kunt u me wat vertellen over wat u doet binnen de organisatie?
- 2) Wat is de rol van uw organisatie met betrekking tot materieel erfgoed in Nederland?
- 3) Wat zijn de doelen van uw organisatie met betrekking tot materieel erfgoed in Nederland?
- 4) Wat is uw beeld op het huidige cultureel erfgoedbeleid in Nederland?

- **Values related to heritage management**

- 5) In erfgoed management, wat ziet de organisatie als de hoofdwaarden die hierbij (dagelijks) betrokken zijn?
- 6) Waarom beschouwt de organisatie deze waarden als zijnde belangrijk?

- **The role of cultural value in heritage management**

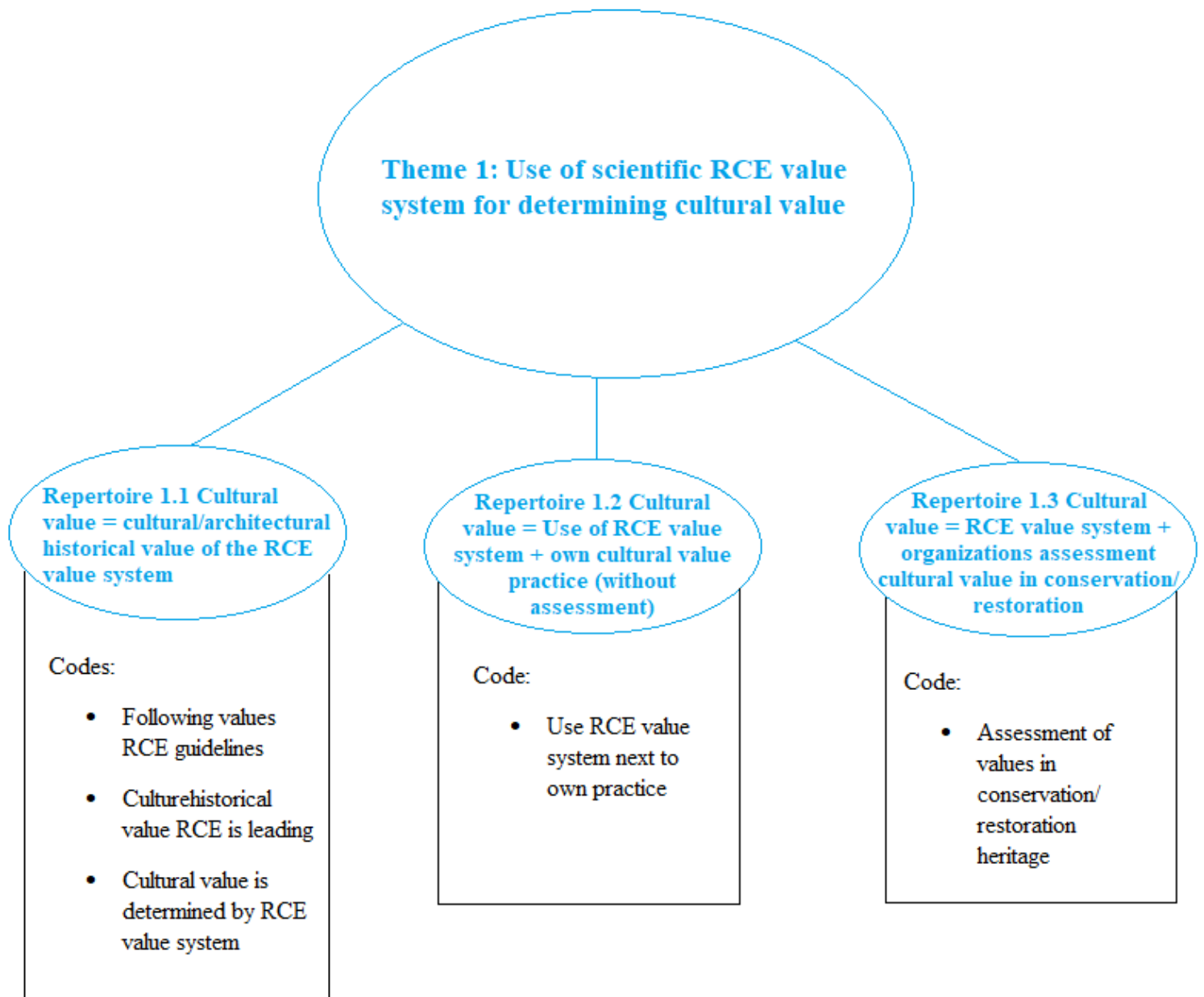
- 7) Wat is de organisaties perceptie/visie op de culturele waarde in erfgoed management?
- 8) Hoe belangrijk is de culturele waarde in beslissingen omtrent erfgoed?
- 9) Waarom is dit zo?
- 10) Hoe zit de culturele waarde reeds in het beleid van de organisatie?

- **Assessment of cultural value of heritage and implementation in heritage decisions**

- 11) Hoe wordt de culturele waarde precies geëvalueerd/beoordeeld in materieel erfgoed management in uw organisatie?
- 12) Wat zijn de specifieke stappen die in culturele waarde beoordelingen genomen worden?
- 13) Waarom wordt deze manier van culturele waarde bepaling gebruikt?

- 14) Hoe belangrijk is de culturele waardebeoordeling in vergelijking met andere waarden in materieel erfgoed?
- 15) Verschilt het belang van het vastleggen van de culturele waarde per materieel erfgoed type (monumenten, landschappen, archeologie en museale collecties)?
- **The possible challenges encountered with cultural value assessment in heritage management**
- 16) Wat zijn de uitdagingen die u in de organisatie ervaren heeft in het bepalen van de culturele waarde in materieel erfgoed management?
- 17) Verschillen de uitdagingen in bepaling van de culturele waarde per type materieel erfgoed (monumenten, landschappen, archeologie en museale collecties)?
- 18) Hoe worden deze uitdagingen overkomen/overwonnen?
- 19) Wat zijn de kansen/mogelijkheden voor de bepaling van culturele waarde in materieel erfgoed management (voor de toekomst)?

Appendix 3 Concept mapping themes, repertoires and codes



Theme 2: Challenges regarding the cultural value of heritage

Repertoire 2.1 Dealing with the cultural value is difficult since this value can differ per person

- Codes:
- Historical layering
 - Heritage continuously changes
 - Heritage "lives"
 - Subjectivity of heritage value

Repertoire 2.2 Holding onto traditional notion of scientific valuation approach in heritage

- Codes:
- Scientific approach vs. non-scientific people approach to heritage
 - Work together with other professionals

Repertoire 2.3 + 2.4 Influence societal developments on cultural value:
- dealing with the cultural value of material immovable heritage, as urbanisations threatens the cultural identity that people have related to heritage in contracting regions
- the difficulty for organisations to deal with the cultural value of immovable material heritage as the call for sustainability threatens the cultural/architectural historical identity of monuments

- Codes:
- Impact of contracting regions trend
 - Impact of the sustainability trend

Repertoire 2.5 Wanting to apply a progressive heritage approach that includes the communities' perspective, yet holding an elitist stance that makes it difficult to let go of the control they have over values in heritage management

- Code:
- Involvement of communities in values

Appendix 4 Code list

Theme 1 Use of scientific RCE value system for determining cultural value

Codes:

Following values guidelines RCE

Gelders Genootschap: Dit zijn bijvoorbeeld plannen voor gebouwen. Dan is er vaak ook een bouwhistorische component van belang. Bouwhistorisch onderzoek wordt gedaan [aan de hand van richtlijnen RCE], die van monumentenbeschermingen zijn vaak heel kort. Tot jaren negentig, dan worden ze langer. Vaak worden voor planbeoordelingen.. zit al een hele club bij elkaar dan is het ook vaak dat het gebouw tot in detail in kaart gebracht is. Hele ontwikkelingsgeschiedenis maar ook de waarden van de verschillende onderdelen. Dat soort onderzoek doen we ook wel. We doen aparte cultuurhistorische onderzoeken. Maar we integreren ze ook in een herbestemmingsonderzoek. Dus dit voorbeeld.. dit is wel heel leuk [pakt een bepaald document erbij]. We hebben ook zogenaamde dynamische waarde stelling bedacht waarbij op basis van bouwhistorische waarden de veranderingmogelijkheden worden aangegeven. Moet ik even de kaart hebben [zoekt in document]. Dat is een naoorlogse school daar hebben ze een onderzoek voor gedaan. Daar heb ik zelf ook aan meegewerkt. Dan wordt de situatie in kaart gebracht. Dan hebben bouwhistorische waarden in kaart gebracht. Op basis daarvan de ruimte voor verandering. En verder zit hier ook een stukje duurzaamheid. Dat proberen we nu ook in ons onderzoek te integreren.

Drents Landschap: Nou wij werken met de richtlijnen van de rijksdienst, van de RCE. Die worden altijd met de opdracht meegegeven, dat het conform die richtlijnen moet, ja die richtlijnen zijn de cultuurhistorische waarde, de architecturale waarde, zeldzaamheid, gaafheid dat riedeltje. En in principe worden alle waarderingen daarop gebouwd.

Drents Landschap: Dan gaan wij in eerste instantie naar de cultuurhistorische waarde kijken. Die worden vaak onafhankelijk bepaald, meestal zijn het als het monumenten zijn kun je in de gevende omschrijving duiken. Maar als het nodig is dan doen wij ook zelf onderzoek uiteraard. Dat kunnen we zelf doen maar dat besteden we ook regelmatig uit. Voor bouw of cultuurhistorisch onderzoek, naar de waardering. En wij maken altijd een heel heldere financiële analyse.

Drents Landschap: : Nee, het gaat goed. Ik zou daar niks aan willen veranderen. De richtlijnen van de rijksdienst zijn prima. Dus nee ik zie daar niet echt iets dat verbeteren moet.

Utrechts monumentenfonds: Voordat wij een restauratie starten maken we altijd een bouwhistorisch rapport. In dat bouwhistorisch rapport wordt altijd beschreven wat de cultuurhistorische waarde is, wat de stedenbouwkundige waarde is, wat vanuit de geschiedenis de waarde is. En dan wordt het natuurlijk in zijn totaal beoordeeld [aan de hand van richtlijnen RCE]. En bij restauraties maken wij ook, dan beoordelen we ook altijd de panden. En als iets hoog monumentaal waardig is dan geven we ook vanuit het UMF dan vinden we het ook belangrijk om onze kennis en kunde te geven en te zorgen dat de restauratie op een kwalitatief hoogwaardig niveau wordt uitgevoerd

Utrechts Monumentenfonds: De stedenbouwkundige waarde (zoekt verder voor document). We kijken altijd naar de architectuurhistorische waarde, de cultuurhistorische waarde zoals ik het net al noemde, de ensemble waarde en de algemeen historische waarde, de

gebruikersgeschiedenis en zeldzaamheid en gaafheid. Wij volgen daarbij de richtlijnen van de Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed. Hij staat ook in het beleidsplan

Erfgoedhuis ZH: je moet juist die kennis die je uit zo'n gebouw kan halen. Uit zo'n bodemarchief die moet je, daar moet je iets mee doen.

Erfgoedhuis ZH: nou wel in de zin als we bouwhistorisch onderzoek doen dan kijken we wel naar waardes van ja wat is aangepast in welke periode.. dat zit er wel in die systematiek in [volgens richtlijnen RCE]. Met archeologisch onderzoek is dat natuurlijk niet anders. Als je gevraagd wordt om een waardering te geven, dan is dat natuurlijk via het oude systeem.

Erfgoedhuis ZH: Voor mijzelf zitten de waarde in dat je leert van het verleden. Dus of je nou een gebouw onderzoekt.. het vertelt gewoon het verhaal van ervoor. Van alles wat er ervoor is geweest. Hoe ze een bepaalde constructie maakten, hoe ze leefden. Hoe ze dingen toepasten. Eigenlijk zijn monumenten of bodemarchief dragers van die kennis. En veelal ook de enige dragers. Je hebt natuurlijk veel geschreven bronnen. Niet van alle perioden. Mar dat helpt wel. Maar alsnog is het gebouw of het bodemarchief dat is de kern. Als je dat niet hebt, dan heb je helemaal geen kennis. Dus die intrinsieke waarde dat is voor mij de kern van culturele waarde

Culturehistorical value RCE is leading

Gelders Genootschap: in eerste instantie worden de cultuurhistorische waarden in kaart gebracht. Op basis daarvan maken we dan een transformatiekader.

Gelders Genootschap: Ja dat wordt in principe wel, dat is wel leidende, richtinggevend [de cultuurhistorische waarde in erfgoed]. Maar deze rapporten, dat gaat in nauw overleg met opdrachtgevers. Ja en op basis van die cultuurhistorische waarden kun je daar verder op ingaan. We proberen dingen bij elkaar te brengen.

Drents Landschap: Dan gaan wij in eerste instantie naar de cultuurhistorische waarde kijken. Die worden vaak onafhankelijk bepaald, meestal zijn het als het monumenten zijn kun je in de gevende omschrijving duiken

Drents Landschap: Ja dat is veruit de belangrijkste uiteraard ja [cultuurhistorische waarde].

Drents Landschap: Uiteindelijk hebben we toch gekozen om daar onderzoek naar te laten starten, omdat het een heel bijzonder ding was [bepaald houten gebouwtje]. Dat zagen we ook wel en niemand wist er iets van. En uit dat onafhankelijke onderzoek bleek wel dat het cultuurhistorisch zeker wel waardevol was. Onvoldoende denk ik om echt voor monumentenstatus aan te vragen, maar toch wel zekere waarde heeft. En toen hebben we eigenlijk besloten van oké dan laten we hem staan en gaan we m her ontwikkelen.

Monumentenfonds: Dus als er een pand heeft met meer culturele historische kenmerken, die gaat dan voor om aan te pakken en te restaureren dan een pand die minder kenmerken heeft. De prioriteit gaat dan dus uit naar het pand met meer kenmerken [de kenmerken volgens richtlijnen RCE].

Cultural value is determined by RCE value system

Gelders Genootschap:

Interviewer: Hoe wordt de culturele waarde in kaart gebracht? Kijk [pakt document rijksdienst erbij]. Dit zijn de criteria van de rijksdienst, cultuurhistorisch. Wij gebruiken deze.

Architectuurhistorische, bouwkundige waarde, algemene historische criteria. Maar hier staat bovenaan de cultuurhistorische waarde. De afgelopen twintig jaar wordt de term cultuurhistorie als een soort van koepelterm gebruikt. Primair zijn voor ons altijd de architectuurhistorische waarden geweest. Dat was voor ons altijd het uitgangspunt. En dan heb je nog stedenbouwkundige waarden, de waard situering van het gebouw. Maar dat staat hier verder uitgelegd [wijst stuk in document rijksdienst aan].

De architectuurhistorische waarden zijn primair. Er is een verschuiving aan de hand. Eerst was dit heel essentieel, vroeger was dit heel nadrukkelijk van belang. Heel essentieel. Dat staat er ook in [in het document]. Het was altijd van groot belang dat architectuurhistorisch er geen verlies was. Maar dat moet in goede conditie verkeren. Zeker de architectuurhistorische waarde. Hier wordt dat cultuurhistorische waardes genoemd, valt dat eronder. Wij noemen dat algemene historische waarden.

Gelders Genootschap: Nou het is zo, op basis van die criteria van de rijksdienst. Dan maken we zo'n groslijst. De volgende stap is dat de hoogste gewaarde gebouwen/objecten, die worden dan nader onderzocht.

Monumentenfonds:

Interviewer: En dan meer eigenlijk gefocust op de culturelere waarde beoordeling. Hoe wordt dit concreet beoordeeld?

Mijn collega de restauratie architect doet dit dus aan de hand van de bouwhistorische rapportage die wordt opgesteld. En aan de hand van die rapportage als onderlegger gaat zij dus kijken naar de planvorming. En daarbij probeert ze alles wat een hoge monumentwaarde is te respecteren en onderdeel te laten zijn van haar planvorming. Dus dat is enerzijds met de restauratie

Use RCE value system next to own practice

SGOK: Dat is onze visie, je moet juist investeren in die immateriële kant. Mensen kennis overdragen [...]. De focus is echt op de immateriële kant, en een zinvolle herbestemming.[...] Dat is een hele grote opgave. Wij willen dan echt bewust keuzes maken en dan is natuurlijk de rijksdienst het systeem wel bepalend in, maar je hebt ook je eigen kennis. Dat je dan zelf keuzes kan maken waarvan je zegt: daar blijven we altijd vanaf.

Erfgoedhuis: Maar als ik zelf een bouwhistorisch onderzoek doe. Dan vind ik het ook wel belangrijk om te weten als ik er achter kan komen, wie er gewoond heeft. En of dat van vader of zoon, of binnen de familie bleef als bezit. Wat het voor ze betekent heeft. Het verhaal eromheen. Wat het gebouw voor de samenleving betekent. Dus als ik daar achter kan komen probeer ik dat altijd in de rapportage mee te nemen. Omdat ik dat onderdeel van de geschiedenis van het gebouw vind.

BOEi: We willen dus niet alleen maar langs de richtlijnen van de RCE werken.

Maatbestelling opleveren, die wat meer sectorale waardering van gebouwen integreren in ons werk. Want wij hebben het idee dat dat niet raakt aan de behoefte die de ontwikkelingsgerichte en toekomstgerichte disciplines hebben als het gaat over het ontwikkelen van erfgoed. Dat zijn twee verschillende talen. Dus eigenlijk zijn voor ons de kernkwaliteiten een manier om die wat meer historische gerichte talen, dat duiden dus van dat erfgoed in zulke bewoordingen te doen dat dat meer ontwikkelingsgericht kan worden opgepakt door ontwerpers maar ook al alleen door onze eigen ontwikkelingsmanagers

ontwikkelingsgerichte manier te kijken naar dat erfgoed. Dat dwingt dat niet af.

BOEi: Kijk dit zijn kaders voor ons [richtlijnen RCE] die ons wel beetje helpen natuurlijk in het structureren van zaken. Zij maken richtlijnen die voor ons, die dienen als basis. Voor de manier waarop we dit kernkwaliteiten verhaal gaan inzetten. Dus dat is wel heel handig.

BOEi: Eigenlijk, wat moet je doen, een cultuurhistorische waarde stelling, cultuurhistorisch onderzoek doen. Je moet aantonen dat je erfgoed in beeld hebt. Nou, ik kan je vertellen dat ook bij ons, daarom zijn we ook bezig met dat kernkwaliteiten verhaal, dat het ook bij ons nog tot nu toe vaak gewoon alleen dat vinkje wordt gezet. Het onderzoek is gedaan. Punt. We gaan weer verder. Dat is volgens mij lang niet voldoende om op een veel meer

Assessment of values in conservation/restoration heritage

Drents Landschap: Die besluitvorming was bij ons nooit heel erg SMART. Dat hebben wij nu SMART gemaakt. Wij hebben nu sinds kort een zogenaamde besluitvormingsmatrix. De besluitvormingsmatrix is nodig voor alle investeringen boven een bepaald bedrag. Alle projecten die we draaien herontwikkeling, herbestemming, renovatie, restauratie, maar ook de wat grotere onderhoudsklussen die moeten door die matrix lopen. Dan worden allerlei factoren afgewogen. De eerste factor die wordt afgewogen is hoe de investering bijdraagt aan de statutaire doelstelling. Dan praat je over de cultuurhistorische waarde. En die factor die heeft een twee keer zo grote wegingsfactor als alle anderen. Dat hebben we dus heel bewust gedaan. Je kunt daar maximaal zes punten krijgen. En bijvoorbeeld de financiële afweging kun je maximaal drie punten krijgen. Dus wij hebben die twee keer zo belangrijk gemaakt, vergeleken dus met alle andere factoren die meespelen.

Kijk en hier zie dat de bijdrage aan de statutaire doelstelling heeft inderdaad zes punten, en al die andere aspecten, slaat het aan bij het beleid, slaat het aan bij het overheidsbeleid, de financiële impact, wat is het effect op de exploitatie, de organisatie impact; heeft het een grote belasting op het personeel, imago stakeholders effect, wat doet het voor ons. En over de kwalitatieve aspecten, daar kan het samenlevingsaspect bijvoorbeeld in zitten. Maar deze kan maximaal 3 punten hebben en die bijvoorbeeld zes. En er zit een minimum grens in van twaalf. Die moet je halen. Dus als je hier al zes punten hebt, dan zit je al op de helft.

Monumentenfonds: Wij hebben voor ons totale bezit hebben we een soort A B C lijst gemaakt waarbij we dus de A categorie hebben gedefinieerd als zijnde dat is ons kernbezit, de B categorie is waardevol maar hoeft nog bijvoorbeeld een restauratie of iets dergelijks en de C categorie is bij ons van mindere waarde omdat het bijvoorbeeld een beschermd stadsgezicht is of gemeentelijk monument. Dat betekent niet dat de panden niet belangrijk zijn voor de binnenstad, maar dan kijken we naar het totale bezit van de vraag van kunnen wij daar me onze kennis en kunde het beste voor zorgen. Of zou het bijvoorbeeld ook een ander particulier kunnen doen. En we hebben inderdaad op die ABC lijst een aantal panden op de C categorie. Dat zijn bijvoorbeeld de panden die beschermd stadsgezicht zijn. Dat zijn dan de kleinere objecten die bijvoorbeeld in de jaren tachtig opnieuw zijn gebouwd vanuit het historiserend perspectief. Nou daar kun je je afvragen past dat bij ons kernbezit? Wat wij als kernbezit hebben aangemerkt, dat zijn bijvoorbeeld de hofjeswoningen. Met een zeventiende-eeuwse structuur. Ja en dan denken we dat wij als Utrechts Monumentenfonds genoeg kennis en kunde hebben om dat goed te onderhouden, zorgen dat het authentiek blijft. Dat het ook op een deskundige manier wordt geëxploiteerd. We hebben er wel eens over nagedacht van goh,

kunnen we dit verkopen? ... Wij vinden dan zo'n hofjesstructuur, dat is zo belangrijk om te handhaven. Dat hoort bij ons kernbezit.

Agrarisch Erfgoed: Maar wij hebben een soort checklist, die kan ik je wel geven. Wij hanteren een aantal uitgangspunten. Een daarvan is de -daar begint het eigenlijk mee- met de sociale context. Dus dat is de familie, de eigenaar en de buurt. De buurt is ook erg belangrijk. De mensen eromheen, de burens. Dat is een. Ten tweede is de historie. Dus echt het verhaal van de plek. Van wat is er nou met deze boerderij nou allemaal gebeurd in de afgelopen honderd jaar, tweehonderd jaar, driehonderd jaar... en dat is belangrijk. Dat is goed ook voor het bewustzijn van wat is het .. waar we zijn. Ten derde is de omgeving, dus dat is echt laat maar zeggen het erf op een boerderij. Maar ook de landschapselementen die er nog zijn. En de essen en de .. weet ik het ook allemaal. [...] De economische haalbaarheid is belangrijk. Dan gaat het om.. wat is de functie die er nu is. En nou ja, is die functie op zichzelf genomen instaat om de kosten van het onderhoud en het gebruik van het gebouw te dekken. Als een boer het in principe niet redt zal ik maar zo zeggen.. dan kan hij er beter mee stoppen. Anders dan gaat alles langzaam maar zeker achteruit. Dus je moet altijd een economische drager hebben om te zorgen dat het per saldo nou ja... overeind blijft. En dan een ander aspect wat steeds maar belangrijker wordt, is de duurzaamheid. In hoeverre is het gebouw voorbereid op nieuwe eisen ten opzichte van de isolatie en van energieverbruik. Maar misschien ook wel een stap verder; kan het gebouw ook dienen om energie op te wekken. Dus een positief saldo te hebben. Energieneutraal of zelfs een positief saldo. [...] En dan heb je natuurlijk de esthetische kant van het geheel. Dus de architectuur. Dat is de typologie van de boerderij. Maar ook de moderne toepassing. Dus de aanpassingen die je maakt om het een modern bruikbaar gebouw te laten zijn. En dan hebben we nog een paar andere waarden en die hebben te maken met het proces. Dat is dus van hoe werk je samen met de betrokken partners om ervoor te zorgen dat je krijgt wat je krijgt. En wat in de toekomst een belangrijk toetsingscriterium zal zijn, dat is de nieuwe omgevingswet. Die een aantal criteria geeft waaraan je je moet houden. Eigenlijk zou je in deze omgeving de erfgoedwet moeten meenemen. Dat is natuurlijk voor de monumenten van belang. Nou dat is ons toetsingskader om het maar zo te zeggen. En dat gebruiken we nou ja, om objecten en boerderijen te beoordelen. En dan de haalbaarheid te vast te stellen. En dus het erfgoedkarakter.

BOEi: [Wij willen een culturele biografie opstellen] waarin wij het erfgoed van een locatie, een gebouw een plek, ensemble, weergeven in een soort historische gelaagdheid. Waarbij elke laag, dit is dus idealiter, waarbij we bij elke laag met verschillende professies, verschillende domeinen, ontrafelen en daarna duiden. En dat ontrafelen denk aan vragen als, per laag, hoe is als je de laag bijvoorbeeld ziet he. Er zijn ook lagen die je niet ziet. Hoe is deze plek tot stand gekomen? Hoe heeft dit invloed gehad op de mensen in deze omgeving die, omdat we vaak met industrieel erfgoed werken gaat het vaak over een werkplek. Hoe heeft dit de mensen die hier werkten beïnvloed? Wat waren de invloeden van de ontwikkeling van deze plek op de omgeving en hoe waren die andersom? Dus proberen per plek uiteindelijk het gebouw zowel als de context boven water te halen. Waarbij zowel het materiele als het immateriële boven water moet komen.

Theme 2 Challenges regarding the cultural value of heritage

Codes:

Heritage continuously changes

Gelders Genootschap: want de monumentenzorg is niet om onder een kaasstolpje te zetten. We zijn begeleiders van transitie en verandering. Want we zeggen altijd: niets is zo veranderlijk als een monument. Maar ook, alles om ons heen verandert continu. Dat is al eeuwen zo. Kijk naar Amsterdam en de grachtengordel. Wat daar staat.

SGOK: Dus wij zeggen van ja, de cultuur is voor ons wel een flexibel begrip. En soms is het iets toevoegen. Maar het is altijd, als je het maar doet vanuit kwaliteit.

SGOK: Maar dit staat ook in ons beleidsplan: de mensen moeten wel in beweging blijven. Dus we moeten niet stilstaan, we moeten meegaan.

Monumentenfonds: En dat de wens is dat we ons [erfgoed] bezit een keer in de zoveel tijd updaten om te kijken van nou is ons inzicht van toen nog steeds actueel.

Monumentenfonds: Maar overtijd wordt wel gekeken van.. We moeten dat wel regelmatig actualiseren. Ook van, ja binnen onze organisatie werken we ook met mensen. Door de kennis en kunde die je opdoet, weet je soms ook wat meer van bepaalde objecten.

Historical layering

Gelders Genootschap: kijk naar Amsterdam en de grachtengordel. Wat daar staat. Is geen zeventiende-eeuwse stad die daar staat. Door de eeuwen heen zijn er steeds dingen aangepast. Her en der vind je nog wel een huis dat helemaal zeventiende-eeuws is. Rond die zeventiende-eeuwse huizen zijn er een aantal weer veranderd. Zo vind je ook wel weer delen terug uit de zeventiende eeuw. Soms staan er ook nieuwe dingen tussen, uit de negentiende eeuw, twintigste eeuw. Maar het totaal, je kunt het een beetje beschouwen als een Gesamt kunstwerk. Ik zeg wel kunstwerk.. maar dat is er dankzij die veranderingen die hebben plaatsgevonden. Dat vindt iedereen nu fantastisch. Maar je hebt vrijwel geen plek waar de geschiedenis bevroren is. Dat is ook niet de bedoeling. Wij begeleiden dat. Dus we zoeken altijd naar behoud van essentiële cultuurhistorische warden.

Fryske Mole: In dit soort gevallen ga je toch vaak.. die betonbak met staalschroef [bij erfgoed molens] horen toch bij elkaar en dat is toch wel een gegeven voor de jaren 50. En dat houden we in stand. We gaan niet die betonbak met houten schroef doen. Dat hoort niet bij elkaar. Dan moet je ook voor een houten schroefbak kiezen. Je moet wel tijdsbeelden en fasen bij elkaar houden. Het monument is dus zeg maar het geschiedenisboek. Het is voor de boerderij wel makkelijker dan voor een molen. Maar een molen met een stalen schroef ja dat staat voor een fase van de jaren vijftig. Dat is een hele duidelijke fase voor die molen geweest. Nou dat laten we dan zo. Als we daar iets gaan bijbouwen, dan gaan we dat in stijl 2018 doen. Dan gaan we dat niet doen in een stijl die allang geweest is. Geschiedvervalsing, dat wil je ook niet. Een monument is als een geschiedenisboek, en het tijdpad hier moet duidelijk zichtbaar zijn.

SGOK: Wij hebben nu op onze zeven kerkhoven, we gaan er acht doen, we hebben daar moderne kunst geplaatst. Echt permanent. Ja dan kun je zeggen, dat is een aantasting van die kerkhoven. Maar het is wel een toevoeging aan de culturele waarde. Moderne kunst. Maar is dat dan een toevoeging van de culturele waarde van het erfgoed? Ja dan moet je de definitie natuurlijk wel scherp hebben. En zeggen nee vanuit onze organisatie is die historische gelaagdheid is eigenlijk de grootste culturele waarde. Maar het is geen belemmering voor de toekomst. Dus wij willen ook nieuwe dingen doen.

Erfgoedhuis: Er is altijd aan gebouwen gesleuteld. Je komt bijna nooit in een monument dat volledig in de bouwtijd zo is neergezet en er is nooit meer iets aan gedaan. Dat bestaat niet. Dan ligt het eraan waar je komt. Op een boerderij, daar ging het op een andere manier dan in een stadswoning wellicht. Maar dat vind ik op zich wel weer heel aardig. Hoe een boer het hout wat ie nog heeft liggen [lacht], beetje aanpassingen aan zijn pand zit te doen. Ja that's life. Zo werkt dat. Dat is dus ook onderdeel van dat verhaal en onderdeel van het gebouw.

BOEi: Ook niet alleen vanuit de factor, maar vanuit de vector. Dus wat als je kijkt naar erfgoed als mogelijk een podium. Nou die drie visies probeer ik een beetje in die kernkwaliteiten te vatten. Waarbij de basis wellicht zou kunnen liggen in culture biografie

BOEi: wij zien kernkwaliteiten en erfgoed als iets constructivistisch. Het zijn de waarde die wij daar heden ten dage aan hechten, wat het tot erfgoed maakt. Dat betekent dat het, het zijn niet geheel vaststaande waarden

BOEi: De meerwaarde ervan [van historical layering] kunnen zien. De meerwaarde daarvan overgedragen te krijgen. Dus dat is wel een behoorlijke taak die nu nog bij mij ligt in overleg met natuurlijk onze directie die daar de sturende kracht in is. Maar zoals ik al zei onze jongeren garde. Dat is een uitdaging. En de niet tastbaarheid van erfgoed. Dus ook dat het in de grond ligt of ook dat wat niet is overgebleven aan ons. Ik vraag me af, hoe kunnen we zorgen dat dat een van die lagen wordt die we straks wel nog kunnen beleven of weer kunnen beleven. Of waarvan we weten dat het er is. Dat is wederom weer een ontwerpuitdaging. Want we willen niet vooral een bordje ophangen met "hier was ooit". Dan kunnen we heel Nederland gaan volhangen met bordjes! Of QR-codes. Zo doen we het niet, zo willen we het niet. Hoe kun je dat dan doen. Dat vind ik wel een uitdaging.

Subjectivity of heritage value

Gelders Genootschap: Dat staat ook in deze criteria verder uitgelegd [wijst naar document richtlijnen rijksdienst]. De criteria waar je dan op let. Dat zijn criteria die wel voor mensen die thuis zijn op dit terrein, kunnen worden toegepast. Je kunt het niet aan iedereen overlaten. Het geeft wel inzicht in een stukje dat deels subjectiviteit is. Maar deels ook heel objectief te meten maar niet altijd.

Drents Landschap: Ja wij proberen het SMART te maken. Het is lastig natuurlijk want er zit heel veel kwalitatiefs in. Maar ja je moet wel ergens kunnen meten. Ja.

SGOK: En daar kom je dus bij wat wij .. ons beleidsplan heet ook bakens van betekenis. En dat betekent, je kunt zeggen van ja dat zijn bakens die krijgen we dus. Maar betekenis is dus heel erg aan mensen gekoppeld. Dus wat jij van betekenis vindt, kan ik vinden van ja het zal wel. Maar je moet daar ruimte voor creëren, voor brede maatschappelijke waardering. Of waarde stelling laat ik het zo zeggen. En die is breder, en ongrijpbaarder laat ik het zo zeggen.

SGOK: Echt permanent. Ja dan kun je zeggen, dat is een aantasting van die kerkhoven. Maar het is wel een toevoeging aan de culturele waarde. Moderne kunst. Maar is dat dan een toevoeging van de culturele waarde van het erfgoed? Ja dan moet je de definitie natuurlijk wel scherp hebben. En zeggen nee vanuit onze organisatie is die historische gelaagdheid is eigenlijk de grootste culturele waarde. Maar het is geen belemmering voor de toekomst. Dus wij willen ook nieuwe dingen doen

Monumentenfonds: Ja wat ook altijd nog een uitdaging is, is dat omdat juist de culturele waarde soms wat minder goed tastbaar is, dat je hem objectief meetbaar maakt. Dat is nog wel eens lastig.

SGOK: Dan komt er een waarde ongrijpbaar is en heel vaak emotioneel geladen is. Waarbij je ziet bij het afstoten van de katholieke kerken, dan gaat het niet meer om het prachtige gebrandschilderde raam helemaal daarachter, of het altaar linksvoor, de toren.. nee ik ben daar gedoopt met mijn familie.. Dat is bij de Molukse kerk natuurlijk ook zo. Daar zit een heel ander soort waardepatroon achter. Maar hoe je dat moet managen daar gaat het hier om. Dat is ontzettend lastig. Of zeggen als overheidsinstelling, we zetten een vinkje en het is van grote waarde. Ja dat is ontzettend lastig. Wij zeggen altijd, mensen houden niet alleen van rijksmonumenten.. Dat is een diffuus lastig terrein.

Monumentefonds: Ik doe altijd een beetje het gekke voorbeeld van: er is een of ander muisje in Limburg beschermd omdat hij daar heel weinig voorkomt. Maar in Duitsland loopt hij heel erg veel. En die muis die kent de grens niet. En die zoekt voedsel en die gaat van de ene provincie naar de ander of naar de landsgrenzen. Het maakt voor hem helemaal niks uit. En dat is soms weleens lastig ook. Want ik vind, van hoe maak je nou..

Monumentenfonds: Maar je hebt continu een afweging te maken van: vandaag is het heel erg waardevol. Maar het kan zijn dat wat vandaag waardevol is, morgen minder is..

Erfgoedhuis: dit concept is zo gaaf, daar moet je ook niet teveel mee willen. Dus daar moet je ook bepaalde mate van controle op willen uitvoeren. Maar dan kom je inderdaad bij het publiek en die hebben een andere perceptie. En die gaan dan helemaal in die oude modus van ja, mooi oud. Dus ja ook daar moet je het verhaal vertellen waarom iets belangrijk is. Waarom je iets belangrijk vindt of waarom denk dat het in stand moet worden gehouden zoals het is

BOEi: Dus dat maakt het ook wel ingewikkelder om de kernkwaliteiten, daar gewoon een standaard voor te ontwikkelen. Want het is gewoon altijd werken met mensen.

BOEi: En de niet tastbaarheid van erfgoed. Dus ook dat het in de grond ligt of ook dat wat niet is overgebleven aan ons. Ik vraag me af, hoe kunnen we zorgen dat dat een van die lagen wordt die we straks wel nog kunnen beleven of weer kunnen beleven. Of waarvan we weten dat het er is. Dat is wederom weer een ontwerpuitdaging. Want we willen niet vooral een bordje ophangen met "hier was ooit". Dan kunnen we heel Nederland gaan volhangen met bordjes! Of QR-codes. Zo doen we het niet, zo willen we het niet. Hoe kun je dat dan doen. Dat vind ik wel een uitdaging.

Heritage "lives"

Drents Landschap: Dus het is niet alleen maar een zeg maar dood element wat we technisch goed verzorgen

Monumentenfonds: ik denk dat de periode tussen 1960 en 1970 toen was de Utrechtse binnenstad helemaal niet interessant om te wonen. Dus alles was verloederd en verkrot en dat.. maar nu is erfgoed weer hip, het leeft. Mensen willen graag in de binnenstad wonen.

Agrarisch Erfgoed: En dat is dan natuurlijk van, hoe kijkt de gewone man en vrouw ernaar. Hoe kijken die naar hun omgeving. Als iedereen met oogkleppen op alleen maar op hun Iphonetje loopt te kijken, dan heb je weinig erfgoed. Althans, weinig erfgoedbeleving. Op het

moment dat je om je heen gaat kijken. Op de fiets stapt en gaat wandelen. Weet ik veel wat. En je gaat goed kijken naar wat je allemaal tegenkomt. En je doet er ook aan mee. Dan gaat het leven. Dan pas gaat het leven.

Scientific approach vs. non-scientific people approach to heritage

Erfgoedhuis: Nou ja je hebt natuurlijk de wetenschappelijke onderbouwing. Waar wij altijd vanuit gaan. Maar je hebt natuurlijk ook de appreciatie van het publiek. En daar heeft de gemeente ook heel erg mee te maken. Van wat vindt de man in de straat nou eigenlijk erfgoed? Of belangrijk? Dat is natuurlijk ook een spanningsveld natuurlijk.

Erfgoedhuis: Nou ja, ik denk dat gemeente ook meer afhankelijk zijn van de publieke opinie en daar misschien ook meer naar luisteren dan voorheen. Want vroeger was het een vrij helder kader van dit is een rijksmonument. Nou prima. En daar kan je natuurlijk ook je vraagtekens bij zetten, want in de loop van tijd wordt er ook aan panden gesleuteld. Dus je kan stellen van ja, misschien kom je soms op een punt dat je dingen moet afvoeren. Omdat het wetenschappelijk gezien, de kennis van het pand, te weinig waarde meer vertegenwoordigd. En die stap wordt nooit gemaakt omdat er allerlei juridische applicaties aan vast zitten. Dan denk ik dat het geen consequent beleid is wat je dan voert. Maar het was wel een kader waarbinnen je wel heel makkelijk werkt. Als je veel meer als gemeente geneigd bent om naar je bevolking te luisteren. Die misschien wel heel andere beelden heeft van wat wel of niet erfgoed is. Ja dan wordt het een diffuser beeld wat je krijgt. En daar heb je wel mee te maken. Maar het maakt het aan de andere kant wel spannend.

Erfgoedhuis: dit concept [gebouw] is zo gaaf, daar moet je ook niet teveel mee willen. Dus daar moet je ook bepaalde mate van controle op willen uitvoeren. Maar dan kom je inderdaad bij het publiek en die hebben een andere perceptie. En die gaan dan helemaal in die oude modus van ja, mooi oud. Dus ja ook daar moet je het verhaal vertellen waarom iets belangrijk is. Waarom je iets belangrijk vindt of waarom denk dat het in stand moet worden gehouden zoals het is.

BOEi: En hier vind ik, hier heb ik best wel, ik vind een lastig onderdeel, omdat ik in mijn opleiding heel erg heb geleerd dat we niet alleen maar het officiële discours moeten weergeven als erfgoed professionals, maar ook het niet-professionele discours. En dat we geen keuzes moeten maken maar dat we het geheel moeten kunnen laten zien. Alleen dat is een onmogelijke taak als je het gaat door ontwikkelen. Je moet keuzes maken. Dus dan probeer ik mezelf er dan maar van te overtuigen dat, omdat wij nou eenmaal professionals zijn, dat wij dan dus die keuze kunnen maken. Wat betekent dat wij vanuit die professionele rol die keuze maken.

Gelders Genootschap: Ik probeer dan ook altijd in samenwerking met historische kringen samen te werken. We hebben ook inwoners erbij betrokken. En dan kan iedereen ook dingen aandragen. Het is alleen.. wij zijn wel deskundigen natuurlijk. Maar we willen het graag samen met de mensen doen.

Work together with other professionals

BOEi: Daar ben ik nu mee bezig [meerwaarde van culturele biografie en waarde overdragen aan andere professionals]. Dat staat op papier. Dan komt er een stroomschema die ik koppel aan onze werkwijzer die ontwikkel fases al in zich heeft. Zodat onze ontwikkelingsmanager

elke keer denkt: o ja hier moet dit, o ja hier moet dat. En vervolgens ga je heel veel erover praten. En dat is gewoon ook nog wel een ingewikkelde, want wij werken landelijk. Dus al onze project ontwikkelaars, project managers die werken ook landelijk en die zitten niet per se hier op kantoor. Dus dat gaat via mail via bellen. En het zijn elke keer de directie zegt dan: loop even langs bij Menje, neem even contact met haar op. Dan gaan we het erover hebben. Dan gaan we eerst kijken; wat ligt er al. Met welke partijen zit je om tafel. Welke contacten heb je al in de wijk, in het gebied. Wie zijn daar al mee bezig. Kunnen we hen interviewen. Dus ik zie dat echt als een verandermanagement opgave.

Gelders Genootschap: Samen met mensen denken. Dat doen wij op verschillende manieren. Maar dat onder andere omdat wij in heel veel adviescommissies zitten, beleidscommissies, proberen we daar binnen de commissies mensen warm te maken. Wij doen dat onderzoek soms maar ook andere partijen. Zo proberen we onderzoek te stimuleren en borging van de waarden. Dat doen we via de commissies, en soms ook via via het geven van lezingen. Voor bredere groepen.

Gelders Genootschap: Dan maken we een eindselectie van die monumentenlijst die in aanmerking komen. Dat doen we in dit geval samen met vijf historische kringen. Die zijn erbij betrokken. Dus een fusiegemeente, oost Gelre. Dus en die historische kringen zijn allemaal vertegenwoordigd in zo'n beleidscommissie. Waar wij ook in zitten. Op die manier hebben we snel contact met al die partijen. Die zelf ook nog allerlei dingen nog aandragen. Wat wij ook willen doen.

Utrechts Monumentenfonds: We vinden het heel belangrijk om de kennis die we hebben te delen. Dat is of met vergelijkbare organisaties, Stadsherstel Utrecht of Stadsherstel Rotterdam en soms met Hendrik de Keijser. We zijn allemaal relatief kleine organisaties. Dan vind ik het altijd belangrijker om die kennis te delen dan om elke keer het wiel uit te vinden. Daar zie ik heel erg de meerwaarde van in.

Erfgoedhuis: Omdat we bouwhistorisch onderzoek doen en bestemmingsplannen bekijken omdat er iets her bestemd moet worden. Maar ook vanuit de opdracht van de provincie. Hebben we ook expert meetings georganiseerd. Waarbij we nou ja, rond een gebied of een object dat her bestemd moet worden, specialisten en de gebruikers en belanghebbenden en gemeenten om tafel krijgen en kijken: ja wat is er? Wat speelt hier? Wat zijn de kansen, wat zijn de mogelijkheden? Ja dan zie je soms, we dan op die dingen zitten die vastgelopen zijn. Dit speelt al jaren en komt maar niet verder. Daar proberen we zo'n sessie te organiseren. En dan zie je ineens, hoppa! Dat het net even een duwtje nodig heeft soms.

Impact of contracting regions trend

SGOK: Het tweede is de krimp, het is natuurlijk een krimpregio. Waarbij je ook hier dezelfde beweging ziet als elders ook dat mensen vanuit het platteland naar de steden gaan. De kans dat ze naar het platteland terugkeren is dan ook heel klein. Mensen zien hun toekomst in een stedelijke omgeving. En daarbij staat de maatschappelijke omgeving ook onder druk. Investeren wij nu in het gebruik van het gebouw waarvan we eigenlijk zeggen de gemeenschap is ten dode opgeschreven. Of die is zo vergrijsd. Of moeten we juist wel investeren dat mensen denken: goh wat gebeuren hier leuke dingen. Ik blijf hier.

Agrarisch erfgoed: Dus we hebben daar wel mee te maken [vacancy of historical farms]. En we proberen daar ook een antwoord op te vinden. In de gebieden waar zich dit voordoet. En

dat zijn vooral de krimpgebieden en gebieden waar betrekkelijk grote boerenbedrijven actief zijn. En dan zie je dan dat de hele grote overblijven. Die groeien verder. En de middelmaten die redden het niet. Omdat er geen opvolgers zijn. Daar moeten wij natuurlijk ook iets van vinden.

Agrarisch Erfgoed: En nou ja, dan ontstaat er dus een conflict. Van de oude boerderij met zijn traditionele landelijke omgeving, dat dat ineens verstedelijker raakt. Wat moet je daar nou mee. Dan kijk je naar oplossingen, nou dan kijk je soms naar een prachtige nieuwbouwwijk en dan staat er ineens een oude boerderij middenin en die heeft dan een functie van kinderboerderij gekregen of iets dergelijks. Dat is op zichzelf wel prima maar in feite is daarmee het karakter van die boerderij compleet verdwenen. Het ziet er nog wel uit als een boerderij, maar het is natuurlijk echt een stedelijke omgeving. Waar ja heel anders gewoond en geleefd wordt. Je kunt je dan afvragen of je in zulke gevallen de boerderij moet bewaren. Of dat je misschien een modern gebouw er kunt zetten dat veel beter aan de eisen voldoet.

Impact of the sustainability trend

Monumentenfonds: We vinden duurzaamheid heel erg belangrijk om dat ook toe te passen in monumentale panden. Dat is ook wel eens conflicterend. Je kunt bijvoorbeeld niet zomaar dubbel glas toepassen in een monument. Je mag niet zomaar overal zonnepanelen neerleggen als je dat misschien wel zelf zou willen. Daarin maken we natuurlijk een inhoudelijke afweging.

Erfgoedhuis: Ja duurzaamheid vind ik wel een grote uitdaging. Niet alleen met betrekking tot gebouwen, maar ook tot omgeving. Aanleg van windmolens, zonnepanelen erin, landschappen.. ja.. het hoort er allemaal bij, of het gaat er allemaal bij horen. ... Ik denk wat betreft, wat ik dan ook wel een gevaar vind is dat sommige overheden zijn, ja je moet cultureel erfgoed verbinden aan een nieuwe transitieopgave. En dan denk ik ja tuurlijk kan dat, maar je kunt ook kijken naar gebieden die nog kwaliteit behoeven. En dat vind ik dan, ja dat is dan leuk om mee te knutselen. Maar ja er zijn zoveel leuke gebieden in Nederland [lacht]. Kan je daar nou niet iets mee doen. Kan je daar die opgave niet mee combineren. Kan je ook kwaliteit maken. Dat zou ik toch willen. En dan moet je niet in waardevolle landschappen dat willen gaan doen. Als dat niet nodig is

Drents Landschap: Ik vind dat mensen die onze plekken bezoeken, dat die ook de schoonheid ervan moeten kunnen ervaren. Je kunt alles wel helemaal aftimmeren en overal dikke pakketten dure isolatie tegenaan plakken. Maar daar hebben wij bewust voor gekozen om een dunne laag isolatie aan te brengen. Dat gaat dan wel een beetje ten koste van de energieverbruik en ook een beetje van het comfort van het huis. Maar de belevingswaarde en de culturele waarde van het pand is veel groter dan gewoon.

Involvement of communities in values

Gelders Genootschap: Daar doen wij nog niet zo heel veel mee richting scholen en jongeren. Moet ik zeggen. Er zijn andere organisaties die daar wat mee doen. Maar ik ben ook bezig met het opzetten voor kunsterfgoed en educatie. Maar jongeren, het is wel belangrijk om te kijken naar de invloed. Daar zou veel meer aandacht aan besteed moeten worden. Dat is wel de toekomst. Het is een cliché maar ik vind het wel belangrijk dat je daar vrij jong mee begint. Op de basisscholen al meeneemt de kinderen. Er zijn zoveel leuke dingen te ontdekken. Dus dat is wel van groot belang.

Gelders Genootschap: Ik probeer dan ook altijd in samenwerking met historische kringen samen te werken. We hebben ook inwoners erbij betrokken. En dan kan iedereen ook dingen aandragen. Het is alleen.. wij zijn wel deskundigen natuurlijk. Maar we willen het graag samen met de mensen doen.

SGOK: Uitsluitend in samenwerking kan je dit probleem aanpakken. En dat is samenwerking met je stakeholders. En daar moet je het eigenlijk van hebben. Alleen redden we het niet. Daar is de problematiek te groot en te zwaar voor. Maar ook te uitzichtloos. Als je zegt het gaat over kerken en die moeten alleen kerkelijk gebruikt worden. En als het niet kerkelijk gebruikt wordt, is het geen kerk meer en kan die weg. Ja dat kan. Maar wij zijn een cultuurhistorische organisatie met een erfgoeddoelstelling. Je zult het dus in samenwerking met andere maatschappelijke partijen moeten doen. Of dat nou particulieren zijn, of dat nou jeugd is. Je moet altijd naar samenwerking zoeken. Dat is het medicijn.

Gelders Genootschap: We zijn bezig met het opzetten van een project samen met drie achterhoek gemeenten, rijksdienst en de provincies. Om in die gemeente, de meest waardevolle interieurs in kaart te brengen. Daar willen we, daar moet participatie gedaan worden. Daar wordt ook met inwoners met gemeente Winterswijk en oost-Gelre. Daar zijn we nog over aan het nadenken, hoe we de mensen zelf, de bewoners zelf ook een actieve rol hier in kunnen laten spelen binnen dat onderzoek. We gaan ook studenten inzetten van bepaalde universiteiten. Zo proberen we allerlei partijen erbij te betrekken. Op die manier een zo groot draagvlak voor dingen te organiseren. Maar ook mensen te informeren, enthousiasmeren. Bewust te maken van [...] Het is ingewikkeld. Het zijn heel veel partijen die je bij erfgoed moet betrekken. Al die mensen moet je wel in het gareel houden. Dat zijn complexere projecten [...] Dat maakt het ook wel interessanter en leuker. Je hoort en ziet meer. En je bereikt ook meer samen.

Erfgoedhuis: [...] En juist die dingen spreken meer tot de verbeelding van het algemene publiek dan de hoogdravende verhalen over allerlei architectonische aspecten. Als je dat zo verhalen, dan hebben ze er iets mee. Omdat ze zelf met hun eigen huis zoiets hebben. Ze willen er ook weleens iets aanpassen en er iets aandoen. Dus ja, zo kom je veel dichterbij de mensen. En zo krijgt het gebouw ook nou hier meer ruimte dan wanneer het een abstract architectuur theoretisch verhaal is. Ook al kan het helemaal kloppen. Dat moet er ook zijn, maar daarmee raak je de mensen niet. Ja.. en het draagvlak is nog altijd waar het om draait. Als je het draagvlak niet hebt, dan heb je niks meer. Dan gaat het geld er niet naartoe.

Gelders Genootschap: We hebben ook inwoners erbij betrokken. En dan kan iedereen ook dingen aandragen. Het is alleen.. wij zijn wel deskundigen natuurlijk. Maar we willen het graag samen met de mensen doen. In Noord-Limburg hebben we het onlangs nog gedaan. In de gemeente. We proberen op die manier wel de mensen erbij te betrekken. Het is wel nieuwe eigenlijk. Bij die wederopbouwonderzoeken is dat nog wat minder gebeurd.

Gelders Genootschap: Ja weer helemaal trendy [interieur van jaren 40, 50, 60].. maar op die manier willen we wat meer de inwoners erbij betrekken. Dus als je dan de interieurs van opa en oma, die ooit hip waren, weer in een bepaalde setting in dorpen kan laten zien. Mensen kunnen dan nog andere dingen aandragen. Dit staat nog in de kinderschoenen.

Gelders Genootschap: ja dus participatie is wel iets wat heel belangrijk is. Waar we echt op willen inzetten de komende jaren. Bij onze onderzoeken doen we ook echt dingen samen met het publiek, met mensen. En dat is ook wel belangrijk.

Gelders Genootschap: er wordt steeds meer van de mensen. De lokale bevolking, bekeken van wat vinden jullie? Wat moet er bij gebracht worden.. dat je samen kunt kijken. We zeggen ook dat het beter is om op deze manier op dit soort dingen in te steken. Dat is ook belangrijk. Als we daar nu niet de waarde van inzien van delen, of dingen alleen oplegt. Dan gebeurt er minder dan dat je samen dingen doet. Gedurende zo'n project. Dan kun je ook, ja dan bestaat er toch meer bewustwording van dingen. Waarde van dingen. Dan komen die verhalen boven. Van vroeger. En dan gaat het ook meer leven. En dat is wel een leuke ontwikkeling.

Drents Landschap: Wij zijn echt een organisatie die samen met en voor de samenleving werkt. Wij willen niet los van die samenleving staan.

SOGK: Ons jubileum, we bestaan volgend jaar vijftig jaar zou met belangrijke mate in teken staan van juist die visie op de toekomst, werken met jongeren. Daar ligt toch wel de uitdaging.

SGOK: Dus je ziet wel vaak, bij Klein Wetsingen is het een geval geweest waar wij eigenlijk.. ja daar werd nog af en toe een dienst gehouden. En het werd verhuurd aan een koor maar dat was eigenlijk ook niet veel. En de mensen werden allemaal ouder. Dat zat een beetje op een dood tij. En op dat moment ga je eens met die mensen praten en dan zeg je van: ja wij zijn nu eigenaar geworden.. Hoe kijken jullie zelf tegen de toekomst aan? En daar ligt dus eigenlijk de basis. Dat je de lokale gemeenschap eens even bekijkt van.. Waar heb je behoefte aan? Je moet eerst een aantal stappen zetten voordat je überhaupt denkt aan in welk kader je wat doet. En dat is een verkennen van waar heeft de lokale gemeenschap behoefte aan. En dat is een verrijking [...] Maar wij opereren dan wel op het maatschappelijke vlak he.

SGOK: het eerste gesprek is natuurlijk met de lokale gemeenschap. Wij doen nooit iets waar anderen niet op zitten te wachten. En dat is wel voorzichtig opereren natuurlijk. Ja dat je zegt we gaan gewoon aftasten. Want we hebben die lokale gemeenschap nodig als drager voor een herbestemming, een bestemming, dat is gewoon hartstikke noodzakelijk. Of voorwaardelijk eigenlijk, anders komen we niet verder. En dan is de volgende stap. Waar denken jullie als gemeenschap dat ieder blij van wordt als bestemming of herbestemming? Soms valt het doek dan al want dan zeggen ze: ja de mensen helemaal niks want ze willen dat de kerk gewoon prima zo blijft bestaan. En dan ga je van: niet gebruik is achteruitgang. Gebruik is toch voorwaardelijk voor de toekomst

Agrarisch Erfgoed: De enige oplossing die je hierin [verschillende opvattingen van boeren over onderhoud erfgoed boerderijen] kunt vinden is door met elkaar in gesprek te gaan. En, maar ook aan de andere kant, om de industrie uit te nodigen om met oplossingen te komen die, geredeneerd vanuit beide aspecten, acceptabel is. ... Maar goed, dat is de oplossing. Je moet met elkaar in gesprek. En dan kom je er ook in veel gevallen ook wel weer uit. Dat is ook wel de praktijk.

Agrarisch Erfgoed: voor ons is het niet alleen het object wat van belang is, maar ook de omgeving. Wij hebben het uitgebreid met twee hoe zal ik het zeggen.. twee aspecten. Een is: wij willen graag dat alle betrokkenen, als dat nou de eigenaar is, de zus, de overheid, de burens, de publieke opinie, dat ze goed geïnformeerd zijn over wat precies de waarde is van

een bepaald object. Of van een groep van objecten. Dus dat is laat ik maar zeggen, dat is een soort bewustmakingskant.

BOEi: Dat wij niet, als we het hebben over participatie van de maatschappij, daar doen wij weinig in.

BOEi: En een keer voor een groep studenten te spreken. Dat vinden we inderdaad wel belangrijk. Dat biedt ons natuurlijk ook weer de mogelijkheid om, he, ook weer kennis op te doen. We zijn wel een hele erge kennis minded organisatie. Al zeg ik het zelf. We staan niet stil om het maar even zo te zeggen. Dus die uitwisseling is voor ons ook heel belangrijk.

BOEi: Ik zie dat als iets wat ik zodra ik dit een beetje op papier heb, een soort van tweede project om aan te pakken. Om te kijken wat wij daarmee binnen BOEI mee kunnen doen. Ik probeer wel zo nu en dan mijn podium te pakken om daar eventjes heel iets over te zeggen. Een project elders aan te halen waarbij door middel van participatie heel erg iets is ontwikkeld wat heel erg wordt gedragen door een gemeenschap. En ook hier geldt weer: elke ontwikkelingsmanager doet het op zijn eigen manier. Het komt op een andere manier binnen. Dus is die participatie elke keer weer een beetje anders. Bij de ene zeggen wij gewoon, dan houden wij ons aan de basisvoorwaarden die worden gesteld. Je moet namelijk op een gegeven moment, moet je de omgeving de kans geven om iets te kunnen zeggen over wat je gaat doen. Nou dat doen we al braaf. En andere keer ga je juist met zo'n gemeenschap in gesprek: wat willen jullie dan? Maar dat is vaak wanneer er vanuit de gemeenschap een opdracht komt.