EUROPEAN HERITAGE LABEL

Constructing a Common European Cultural Identity

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ABSTRACT

The European Union (EU) declares itself to be more than a tool for governance or an economic organization. It states to be a mediator to build a common European culture based on a shared history, values, and future. The European Heritage Label (EHL) is the latest cultural initiative of the EU. The EHL gives a precise form about how the EU constructs common European identity through heritage. The thesis researches the use of the EHL to construct a common European cultural identity by European Union and the relation of the national heritage actors in the Netherlands and the sites to this endeavor. The thesis aimed to reveal the material and social experiences, practices and dialogues between people and things. Therefore qualitative research is chosen for methodology. The thesis demonstrated that the EU established a new heritage approach to build a common European cultural identity. In this new approach, tangible heritage places are managed according to intangible values. In order to do that the EHL inherited and combined former approaches from valid tangible and intangible heritage managements from contemporary heritage field. Such approach is a significant alteration of the Eurocentric and traditional way of perceiving heritage. The reason behind establishing a new heritage approach is to use the EHL for stimulating discussions about the values of Europe and the significance of the EU among several actors. Thesis showed that the EU set forth a range of activities to realize this objective. Some activities became obstacles for raising discussion and producing heritage actively in the present and contradict with the new heritage approach. However the thesis also explored that some activities are compatible for debating on heritage and producing it creatively regarding the needs of the European society.

KEYWORDS: Cultural heritage, European identity, European Heritage Label, European Union, critical heritage,

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1. Introduction

The initial ideas about the European Union (EU) were raised in the 1950's. It was an attempt by six founding countries to recover from the impacts caused by World War II. It initially started as a peace project with accompanying economic concerns. Through time it expanded to twenty-eight countries almost enclosing the entire European continent and altered the East-West segregation of the Cold War Period. It broadened its economic power and its role in political reconciliation. For instance, after The Treaty of Maastricht in 1993, it not only established its political legitimacy but also became a fostering agent of collective identity and socio-cultural values (European Commission, 2007a).

The EU declares itself to be more than a tool for governance or an economic organization. It states to be a mediator to build a common European culture based on a shared history, values, and future. It consistently promotes a set of ideas and feelings of belonging to a notion of a 'shared European identity' (Fontaine, 2014). Consequently, the EU is so-called 'as the World's first truly postmodern international political identity' (Graham et al., 2000, p. 84), which moves beyond the territories of national hegemony.

It is a difficult task to ensure a commonality for such a diverse society. So the EU established a unity in diversity approach to actualize integration by retaining the plural and diverse nature of itself (European Commission, 2007a). This created a two-faceted phenomenon. One facet underlines the common values like 'principles of freedom, democracy, and respect for human rights, tolerance and solidarity' (EU Legislative Act, 2011) which is distilled from the shared history. Indicating that some lessons are learned from pain, and some encouragements are gathered from successes. The other facet underlines the variety of national identities and cultures (Sassatelli, 2002). Diversity has to be retained by attaching common shared values and history to national values and identities. So Europeanness appeared to be an 'added value' (EU Legislative Act, 2011) which is hoped to be internalized by the citizens.

The unity in diversity approach is embedded in the official discourse of the EU's cultural policies. The operationalization of this approach can only be revealed by looking into the EU's official actions that concern culture and specifically heritage. The official actions which focus on cultural heritage can be listed as the European Heritage Days, the European Heritage Awards /

Europa Nostra Awards, and the European Heritage Label. The European Capitals for Culture also have substantial impacts on the cultural heritage, but it is rather a broad action that includes several topics on culture such as art, creative industry or media (European Capital of Culture, 2019).

The European Heritage Days is a participatory event organized by both the Council of Europe and the European Commission (EC). Monuments and sites which are normally closed are open to visitors on specific days. So this event is placing certain important heritage sites on a stage, aiming to make citizens learn from and experience these places (European Heritage Days, 2018).

The European Heritage Awards were co-initiated by the European Commission and Europa Nostra. Europa Nostra is an independent heritage organization in Europe which has more than forty countries within. The award program is directed towards experts and specialists. The heritage sites are awarded under four topics: conservation projects, research, dedicated service, education, and training activities. The award program focuses on the dissemination of positive experiences of raising awareness of European heritage (Lähdesmäki, 2014; Union Prize for Cultural Heritage, 2018).

Both of the initiatives are joint programs of the EU with another organization in Europe such as the Council of Europe or Europa Nostra. Both of the initiatives can include non-member states. So the decisive role of the EU is relatively relieved. Within these actions, the notion of common European heritage has the potential to be more inclusive due to their generality.

However, the European Heritage Label (EHL), which is the latest initiative of the EU, is only managed and implemented by the EU and the member states. So the EHL gives a precise form about how the EU constructs common European identity through heritage. The EHL focuses on the promotion of European dimensions of both tangible and intangible heritage in member states. It puts heritage on a network in attempt to sketch the common European narrative and history (European Heritage Label, 2019).

Several years after the UNESCO World Heritage List and the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, the European Union adopted a similar project by adding a European aspect to national heritage (EU Legislative Act, 2011). Both The World Heritage Convention and Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage prompt various discussions since their establishment (Smith, 2006; Harrison, 2012).

These discussions were mainly based on the struggle of unity versus diversity contradiction. On the one hand, such Universal conventions prompted the idea that heritage belongs to humanity and on the other hand, exalted heritage as a differentiating machine of cultures (Harrison, 2012). To embrace a variety of heritages and diverse approaches has become a difficult task in the globalizing world. Hall (2000) claims that every agenda or program would fail to solve such cultural complexity. According to him, the desire to be treated and represented with justice and the demand for recognition of being different cannot be satisfied simultaneously.

The European Heritage Label ventures to establish a heritage program which Hall calls impossible (Hall, 2000). It is and will be challenged with difficult questions such as: Does Europe have a common history or memory, and if so, could these be represented in a common heritage landscape? What does a European site look like, what are its defining features? Moreover, does the EHL offer the opportunity to give equal attention to tangible and intangible heritage?

Concerning these issues, the EHL is an interesting phenomenon that offers insights about how the EU approaches heritage in the era of globalization. Moreover, the EHL will reveal how heritage is used to start a dialogue about historical and contemporary debates within Europe. Alongside these social aspects, research on the EHL is academically relevant, as there have been few empirical studies looking at concrete European heritage practices, while many theoretical studies are exploring European identity and its relation to cultural heritage. The EHL provides a basis to conduct an empirical study since it consists of tangible sites. Also, due to its novelty, only a limited number and types of research have been conducted on the EHL, and neither of them has focused on particular cases or sites.

Consequently, this thesis addresses the following research question: How does the European Union use the European Heritage Label (EHL) to construct a common European cultural identity? And how do the national heritage actors in the Netherlands and the sites that have been awarded the EHL relate to this endeavor? In order to provide an answer to this question, interviews are conducted with the EU responsible actors from the EHL, the national EHL coordinator of the Netherlands and with the managers of the EHL sites in the Netherlands and participant observations are done on EHL sites within the Netherlands (Peace Palace, Kamp Westerbork and The Province Building of the Maastricht Treaty).

The thesis includes theoretical framework, methodology, results and finally conclusion and discussion chapters. Theoretical framework gives a basis to understand the EHL within the

broader heritage field and the EU cultural policies. Methodology covers the research design, data collection and analysis in which each methodological step is justified. The results chapter is built on to three sections. In the first section the history of the EHL is summarized. In addition to that the intentions of the EU actors and the responses of the site managers to these intentions are analyzed. The second section focuses on the active process of making the EHL. The activities and procedures to 'make' the EHL are analyzed in relation to several actors in this section. The third section explores the connection of the actors in the Netherlands to the EHL and the role of these national actors in constructing a common European cultural identity. In the conclusion and discussion chapter the main research findings are summarized and critical reflections on the findings are included. The last chapter does not only give an integral answer to the research question but it also intends to look on the limitations of the research and raise further research suggestions.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Putting heritage into context

Tangible or intangible things which are selected to pass from one generation to the next is the broad definition of heritage (Harrison, 2010). There is a 'mysterious aura' around heritage ''…that everyone has to recognize and revere…'' (Gnecco, 2015, p. 263). These words not only reflect the criticism of Gnecco (2015) but also they give a voice to wide-spread critical thought around heritage (Smith, 2006; Harvey, 2008; Harrison, 2012). Smith (2006) finds the source of the idea that exalts heritage in authorized heritage discourse (AHD). The AHD naturalizes heritage as something that 'just is' (Smith, 2006, p.300). Its immutability comes from 'inherent' values so that heritage cannot be opened up to challenges. She offers to reconsider heritage as a 'cultural process' to step out from this dominating universal discourse because heritage is something that is socially constructed.

Harvey (2008) perceives heritage as a series of discursive processes. For him, heritage is produced in the present. However, the present is not independent of the past. So he underlines the need for a historical narrative for heritage. He offers to extend the temporal scope of heritage in which the history of heritage or the 'heritage of heritage' can be conceived. In that way, Harvey (2008) opens the path to conceive heritage as a social construction.

Harrison (2012) is also concerned with the ''universal obsession' about heritage and the pervasive idea that heritage is something to be cherished (Harrison, 2012). He claims that such prevalence causes several crises. These crises are produced with the modern Cartesian duality which separates heritage as culture versus nature, tangible versus intangible, universal versus diverse. While covering this series of crises Harrison, explores the relations between ''people, 'things', institutions, corporations, governments, and the environment, as well as the ideological and epistemological structures that animate and give them meaning." (Harrison, 2012, p.31) As a result, he puts heritage into the social context. He also searches for 'creative frictions' in which the dominating heritage processes are confronted. He shows that the AHD is subjected to change and mutates according to contemporary debates.

Harrison (2012) perceives heritage through actor-network theory (ANT). ANT is a critique of traditional theory which regards the social as an invisible force that holds things together. Contrarily ANT perceives social as a moment in which things are reorganized and transformed. Network is used to indicate the connections of things and actor is anything (human and nonhuman) that has the power to change a state (Hoebink, 2018) As a consequence, the concept of heritage becomes the collective embodiment of objects, institutions, people, environment, and their relations. In short; heritage is the human and non-human aspects within networks.

The most significant outcome of approaching heritage from ANT perspective is the ethical stance that is offered by Harrison (2012). He gives a role to heritage in a wider context of "other pressing social, economic, political and environmental issues of our time" (Harrison, 2012, p.9). He suggests a practice in which heritage is produced actively in present according to the needs of contemporary collectivity. These needs are coherent with the collective living system of all the existing features (animals, plants, objects, places, practices) in the world and "any damage to part of the world assemblage also damages other parts of it" (Harrison, 2012, p.218). How this coherence is reached is another concern for him and he offers "dialogical democracy" in decision making processes. In this democracy experts and non-experts come within "hybrid forums" which tend to break down the barriers between experts, politicians, bureaucrats and laypersons (Harrison, 2012).

Smith (2011) adds another dimension to ANT with the concept of 'heritage making'. For her heritage is a constantly changing phenomenon. The change is generated by 'making' it. People, communities and institutions "… reinterpret, remember and reassess the meaning of the past in terms of the social, cultural and political needs of the present" (Smith, 2011, p.24). Heritage is constructed by the activities which "… actively engage with thinking about and acting out not only 'where we have come from' in terms of the past, but also 'where we are going' in terms of the present and future." (Smith, 2011, p.12). Heritage making indicates the performances of actors in different levels which are the institutional level, community level and the individual context. So heritage making reveals how networks are established and re-established between actors through social processes, activities and performances.

To understand the European Heritage Label and its relation to identity building, it is essential to look at what is inherited from three centuries of dominating heritage practices. It is

also essential to look at the discussions about common European culture and the cultural policies of the EU. By doing that first of all, the EHL can be put into the context of the broader heritage field. Secondly, its objectives can be understood within the EU cultural policies. Therefore the next two sections cover the history of heritage, which will serve as a basis throughout the analysis and the last section will cover the concept of common European culture and heritage in relation to the EU policies.

2.1.1. Nation building and Heritage

This section is about the relation of heritage and nation-building in the 18th and 19th century. Since the EU has governmental power over member states and citizens, it is relevant to trace back the relation of heritage and nation-states in historical context.

Harrison (2012) summarizes the history of dominating heritage practices by dividing it into three major periods. These three periods are directly related to economic and political developments in the World. According to him in the 18th century, heritage was strongly related to the ''Enlightenment concept of the public sphere'' (Harrison, 2012, p.41). It was a tool for public education which was preserved and held in individual and familial trust. In the 19th century, the ownership and management of heritage shifted to state control, and it was used for legitimizing the nation-state. In this legitimization process, the educative role of heritage was taken over by the nation state.

The other important conceptual idea, that was inherited from Enlightenment and kept till the end of the 20th century, was authenticity. Enlightenment sublimed reason and truth and attempted to establish an idealized system of aesthetics, ethics, and government. Discovering the objective reality was the main focus of thinkers in Enlightenment. So the value of original meaning and material existence of heritage was an important concern for distilling valid knowledge. The search for truth and appreciating heritage as material evidence from history come to hand to hand with political conjuncture of 19th and 20th centuries. This was the period in which nation-states come into being as dominant political powers (Orbaşlı, 2017). So nation state used heritage as a true confirmation of its existence and legitimize its own power.

Benedict Anderson (2006) conceptualizes the nation as an 'imagined community' which covered the need for 'continuity', a gap that was once filled by religious structures. Heritage as a

historical relic is precisely such a continuous notion. Due to its spatial fixity, it enhances territoriality and belonging, which are two other civic manifestations of the nation. As a consequence, heritage is demonstrated as the idealized construct of continuity and tradition (Graham et al., 2000). In a way, heritage enhances the feeling of symbolic stability and of national identity. Although rulers, heads or governments are subjected to change the 'nation' is a continuous entity emerging naturally from the past and extending to the future.

Continuity is also established by a linear and singular presentation of history which dissolves or excludes the history of 'others' (Ashworth et al., 2007). This is one of the reasons of Lowenthal's (1985) criticism of heritage. He sees heritage as the oversimplification of the past and the false consciousness of history. He distinguishes history and heritage as two separate fields. History is a discipline to understand the past. However, the past is used and exploited under the concept of heritage for present needs (Lowenthal, 1985).

The oversimplification of the past within one single narrative which belongs to one single 'community' causes homogeneity in which 'citizens' tend to feel familiar and similar although most of them will never know their fellow members (Anderson, 2006). Familiarity accompanied by a sense of proudness of being a coherent group who survived in the past and succeeded doing 'great' things in the past. Appreciating monumentality of heritage derives from such self-compliment of national identity (Labadi, 2013). Also, it embodies ''… a socially and politically conservative belief that things were better in the past…" (Smith, 2018, p.13)

However, these attempts to reach perfect homogeneity (Nazi Germany was an explosion of that) have been challenged by many factors raised after World War II. Hall (2000) categorizes these challenging factors into two broad topics. Firstly he stresses on the democratization processes. Hall calls this as 'history from below' (2000, p.7). Democratization is coupled with globalization which engendered fluidity of people and cultures. Indeed the contemporary global economic trends which minimized industrialization and arise the experience economy, forced heritage to be ''more inclusive and to market itself'' (Harrison, 2012, p.141). Secondly, Hall underlines the critique of Eurocentric grand-narratives. These critiques also aim for the Enlightenment ideal which seeks for universally valid knowledge. In the contemporary era, relativism modified the 'truth' and 'reason' to context-related conceptions and interpretation (Hall, 2000).

In summary the nation-state and the uses of heritage departed from their ingrained relation. On one hand the classical form of nation-state altered with the 'polyvocal world of multiple places, multiculturalism, hybridity, cosmopolitism, and internationalism.' Graham et al. (2000). Meanwhile, the traditional and Eurocentric understanding of heritage which is predominantly influenced by the Enlightenment is challenged with the wide-spread interest in the rest of the World (Harrison, 2012).

2.1.2. The Relativism of Values and Cultural Diversity

This section is about the relation between heritage and diversity. Since the EU implements a unity in diversity approach, it is relevant to look at how the contemporary heritage field deals with the relation of heritage and diversity.

Harrison (2012) gives a central role to the World Heritage Convention in the world. He sees World Heritage both as an agent of globalization and a subject to modification as a result of globalization. The Universalist and objective approach to heritage was made concrete in the World Heritage Convention by three criteria: outstanding universal value, authenticity, and integrity. Outstanding universal value is the significance of the heritage which makes it belong to the humanity (UNESCO, 2017). Authenticity and integrity are the levels of physical conditions of the heritage. The former one indicates the credibility and the second one defines the intactness of the heritage. However, these criteria have been challenged over the past few decades. (Labadi, 2013).

As mentioned earlier, in the traditional heritage approach, the truthfulness of information sources and the originality of the materiality is a fundamental prerequisite for the definition of authenticity. However, material authenticity has never been highly valued in Asian cultures. They esteem more intangible aspects of conservation such as cyclic rebuilding rituals as part of the building process and inherited craftsmanship. This was the initial clash of Eurocentric approaches with non-Western concerns about heritage (Stovel, 2008).

The Nara Document of Authenticity (1994) appeared as a solution and placed authenticity into cultural contexts (Stovel, 2008). The Document introduced and respected to the other approaches of authenticity which have intangible notions such as spirit and feeling (ICOMOS, 1994). This was a major departure from the objective perception of heritage to a relative

understanding which accepts the interpretive notion of heritage. The new understanding of authenticity drastically influenced the World Heritage criteria of authenticity (Labadi, 2013). Henceforward heritage cannot be considered as an intrinsically valuable entity on the contrary valuation of heritage is fundamentally an extrinsic process (Labadi, 2013). The relativism in heritage values needed a modification in dominating heritage discourses and practices. This modification was made explicit in the Burra Charter.

It was Australia ICOMOS who adopted the Burra Charter in 1979 but it would have an influential voice in the international arena. In the Charter, Australian specialists tried heritage sites that did not entirely consist of tangible assets. As a solution the term 'place' was used as the synonym of heritage which indicates a specific location that has both tangible as well as intangible values. The Burra Charter installs these values in a 'historic fabric'. So 'place' addresses a tangible 'historic' location which ought to have intrinsic and essential values. These values should be first defined then selected and finally preserved. The bundle of values which are worth to preserve is called 'cultural significance'. (Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter, 2013)

In the Burra Charter, diverse values are gathered around five topics: aesthetic, historic, scientific and spiritual values. Aesthetic values refer to sensual experiences like visual, auditory or tactile that impacts the cognitive and emotional perception of people. Scientific values indicate the potential of a site to reveal information and scientific data about history. Data is more precious if it is rare and representative. Spiritual values are intangible values that a place embodies or evokes. This could be related to a specific spiritual identity such as a religion or traditional practice of communities. Social values are the meanings and associations of a place which are attached by communities or groups. Historic values underline all other values, and additionally they have a strong relation with influential events, phases, movements, persons or group of people in history. Cultural significance is an assemblage of these diverse values that a place embodies. Management of the place is shaped around conserving this significance. (Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter, 2013).

Waterton, Smith & Campbell (2006) and Smith (2006) underline the problematic nature of the Charter with two significant criticisms. The first criticism is about the idea of 'fabric'. It defines the physical aspects of the place, and according to the Charter, the cultural significance is fixed inherently to this fabric. Such fixity neglects to the fact that values could be diversify or change over time. The other criticism is about the ambiguity of the actors. The responsible actors

who assess the 'significance of place' are not mentioned clearly. Waterton et al. (2006) claim that this responsibility is solely given to experts. Although the Charter claims to include communities and individuals to define the significance of the place, the method of involvement and participation of non-experts remained vague. It is criticized for being incautious about facilitating more equitable dialogue (Waterton, 2006; Smith, 2006). Groups or individuals are put into ''…audience status wherein they are required to 'understand' the significance of the place under the 'direction and supervision' of people with 'appropriate knowledge and skills' (Waterton et al., 2006, p.350). As a result, Burra Charter again falls in the traps of AHD in which ''…no room is left for challenging the nature of significance." (Smith, 2006, p. 105)

Along with several values introduced with the Burra Charter, the intangible aspects of heritage have become important and also the Burra Charter opened a path for considering heritage in a holistic way. However the most significant step about intangible heritage was taken with the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2003. However the Convention raised several debates, especially concerning the interrelatedness of intangible and tangible aspects (Smith, 2011). This '' has led to a certain rethinking of heritage practices'' (Smith, 2011, p.22). The Convention introduced several practices for safeguarding intangible heritage.

The concept of safeguarding is used synonymously with conservation or preservation of tangible heritage in both the World Heritage Convention and in the Burra Charter. However, it became a systematic approach in the intangible heritage field especially after the ratification of ''Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Heritage". Within the Convention, the measures of safeguarding intangible heritage are listed. Safeguarding is used as an umbrella term and includes several practices such as establishing inventories, education, awareness raising, capacity building, and participation of communities, groups, and individuals. Especially in education and awareness raising practices, a particular emphasis is made on young people (UNESCO, 2003).

In summary, universal conventions prompted the idea that heritage belongs to the whole of humanity. However, it also exalted heritage as a differentiating machine of cultures (Harrison, 2012). To embrace a variety of heritages and diverse approaches, several conventions and practices were invented throughout the 20th and 21th centuries. As being one of the most diverse organizations in the World, the EU ventures to establish a heritage program to satisfy two

requirements. These are the desire to be treated and represented with justice and the demand for recognition of being different (Hall, 2000). The EHL underlines and promotes the intangible values of tangible heritage by combining the diverse approaches introduced by the Burra Charter and the 'Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Heritage which will be analyzed furtherly in Chapter 4.

2.2. Search for a common narrative in diverse Europe

The European Union, as a transnational organization appears to have an intention to build a common cultural identity. This plainly shows a need for the trust and legitimacy of its presence (European Comission, 2017). The reasons behind this are another issue that exceeds the scope of this research. Hence the concern of this thesis is the existence of this intention and the role of heritage to construct a common European cultural identity

Many scholars find it problematic to define a common European cultural identity, and some find it even impossible. Sassatelli (2002) links the literature on European cultural identity with integration models of the European Union. She relates the uniting discourse with federalism. In this approach, European identity is one common and often essentialist aspect that bases itself on notions such as freedom, civilization, democracy, and science. On the other hand, the ideas that have a particular emphasis on diversity are correlated with (neo) functionalism which limits the political unification with economic integration. In neo-functionalism, the EU is an institutional shelter, and common European identity is detrimental for diverse cultures under this shelter. Federalism and neo-functionalism directed to a combined approach as Edgar Morin (1987) calls it the dialogic nature of Europe where differences are combined without homogenizing them (as cited in Sassatelli, 2002).

Leggewie (2011) uses the metaphor of 'concentric circles' to represent the basis of a common European memory and heritage. These concentric circles are The Holocaust, communist crimes, population transfers after World War II, wartime and economic crises, colonialism, migration issues, progress and success story after 1945. He argues that these historical events and developments form the critical joints of an integrated historical perspective. At the same time, these historical phenomena are perceived differently and asymmetrically by nations, groups, or communities.

Delanty (2010) also searches for the commonalities of European culture. He does not put cultural identities as an underpinning aspect of political identities. For him, it is possible to talk about a shared European heritage as a cultural model which is cognitive, reflective, and creative, namely an interpretation of narratives. He uses Johann Arnason's four main narratives of European heritage. These are: 'heritage as shared political tradition, heritage as a unity in diversity, heritage as trauma, and cosmopolitan heritage.' (as cited in Delanty, 2010 p.11). In each topic, he opens a path for shared cultural aspects which does not remove the differences generated from national narratives of history.

As can be seen, there are several different narratives to create such understanding where commonalities could exist with diversities. The unity in diversity approach is also embedded deeply in the contemporary official discourse of the European Union. Calligero (2014) analyses this 'deep evolution of over long-term' (Calligero, 2014, p.2) where the official EU discourses move from unity towards diversity. This is deeply correlated with the recognition of growing migration numbers, which increase the ethnic and religious differences.

Some scholars undertook empirical researches to understand the notion of a common European identity in practice. Lähdesmäki (2014a) critically analyzed the EU's heritage initiatives. She explored the official documents of six initiatives, such as the decisions, guidelines, and application forms. She found that the EU heritage initiatives have developed strategies to give heritage European values. These are themed up in five main topics. First one is selecting heritage with labels and awards. Second one is reinterpreting the history of cities according to European contexts. Third one is emphasizing historical monuments as the stage of significant events in European history. Fourth one is creating new museums of exhibition spaces issuing European history with the purpose of education and tourism. The last one is iconizing the administrative buildings of the EU. She argues that these five strategies reflect the traditional Western approach to heritage in which heritage is bounded with a place and its material existence is a crucial element for continuity. (Lähdesmäki, 2014a). This research is very important to understand the fundamental discourses that are made concrete by heritage initiatives such as The European Heritage Days or The European Union Prize for Cultural Heritage because it issues the initiatives interconnectedly.

Lähdesmäki nuanced and widened her works by focusing on a single initiative. She used content analysis of promotional videos of sites awarded with the European Heritage Label (EHL)

(Lähdesmäki, 2017). As a result, she revealed that the represented stories of the sites embodied a paradox in which 'dark' sites are turned 'into a positive ethos of conquering these negative extremes' (p. 719). Videos have the potential to invoke pathos and sublimity. Besides, the narrators of the videos appeared to be the local experts, although they covered the stories from the view of the EU policies. 'In the videos of the European Heritage Label sites, various textual, visual, audible, and narrative tropes are intertwined with EU policy tropes' which intends to mobilize the viewers (Lähdesmäki, 2017, p. 720).

To understand the European Heritage Label and its relation to identity building, this Chapter revealed what was inherited from three centuries of heritage practices. It also looked to the discussions about common European culture and the official policies of the EU. Therefore the two sections covered the history of heritage and the discussion around the common European history. A theoretical frame was obtained to put the EHL into the context of the broader heritage field and the official cultural policies of the EU.

3. Methodology

3.1 Research design

The main aim of this research is to explore the construction of common European cultural identity through heritage by the EU. The research also intends to reveal the global and national influences on this construction within the context of heritage.

The heritage policy of the EU is two-sided. Firstly, it tries to foster unity and secondly, it emphasizes diversity. Unity indicates a common history that justifies the present and shapes a common destiny. Diversity, on the other hand, underlines the variety of national identities and cultures (Sassatelli, 2002). The concept of unity in diversity emerges as a solution for this paradox, since it implies that both concepts are reliable and actual.

The research question is designed according to this two-faceted cultural policy of the EU. On one side, the intentions of the EU are analyzed, and on the other side, the national policies of the Netherlands are examined. The reason for choosing the Netherlands as the national case study is related to its multi-cultural and diverse society. It shapes its national heritage policies according to this diversity. In other words, it has similarities with the unity in diversity approach. In this way, it is possible to analyze the concept of unity in diversity in the context of the EHL in great detail and depth.

Consequently, this thesis addresses the following research question: How does the European Union use the European Heritage Label (EHL) to construct a common European cultural identity? And how do the national heritage actors in the Netherlands and the sites that have been awarded the EHL relate to this endeavor?

In order to provide an answer to this question the EHL is analyzed as a "fundamental quality of experience of the material (and hence social) world." (Harrison, 2012, p.217) throughout the thesis. Harrison underlines that:

> "Heritage is not the inscription of meaning onto blank objects, places and practices that are produced in this process, but instead is produced as a result of the material and social possibilities, of 'affordances', of collective of human and non-human agents, material and non-material entities, in the world. It is not

primarily an intellectual endeavor, something that exists only in the human mind, but is one that emerges from the dialogue, or practices of people and things. " (Harrison, 2012, p. 217).

The EHL analyzed based on the definition of Harrison. So the methodology is established to reveal these material and social experiences, practices and dialogues between people and things. Therefore the thesis applied qualitative research which is compatible with the objectives of the thesis.

Qualitative research gives a rich and deeper data which is '' attuned … to the interconnections between the actions of participants of social settings.'' (Bryman, 2012, p.408) It also provides a contextual understanding of material and social experiences and practices of institutions, individuals, tools and heritage sites. The primary qualitative research method conducted in this thesis is semi-structured in-depth interviews combined with participant observation and documentary research.

Since the EHL is a governmental initiative of the EU, its formation is very much based on legislative documents and official reports. Official documents give a basis for critical analyses of the ideal European identity that is presented and justified by the EU. This is also relevant for the decision documents of the Netherlands. They bear so many hints about the national approach of the Netherlands towards the EHL.

However, these documents are produced in a political and social context in other words 'documents do not stand alone' (Atkinson & Coffrey, 1997). Semi-structured, in-depth interviews which are conducted with key official representatives have the power to expose these contexts. They provide rich descriptive data about personal and institutional motivations and experiences (Flick, 2010; Bryman, 2012). Since the EHL is a reflexive process in which intra and interrelations of the actors play a deceive role, interviews give a basis to understand the EHL within that dynamic structure.

Apart from official documents and the motivations and experiences of the actors, the Europeanness is interpreted at the awarded sites of the EHL. This interpretation is done through an analysis of the display of the sites and the narratives of the guided tours. In order to analyze the EHL in concrete terms, participant observation was conducted at the three awarded sites of the Netherlands.

3.2. Data Collection and Data Analysis

The data for documentary research consists of official documents of the EU, which are produced to initiate and execute the EHL. These documents are 'The 2011 Legislative Act of the European Parliament' and the Council, which establishes the European Union action for the European Heritage Label, the European Heritage Label Panel Reports (2013, 2014, 2015, and 2017) and the 2019 Evaluation of the European Heritage Label Action Synopsis Report. The documents were gathered from the official website of the European Commission and the official website of the EHL secretariat.

For documentary research Scott (1990) offers four criteria to assess the quality of documentary sources. These criteria are authenticity, credibility, representativeness, and meaning (Ahmed, 2010). First of all, the selected official documents provide genuine data from relevant sources. They are free from error or distortion, which ensures credibility. They represent all the legislation and reports of the EU institutions that are involved in the execution of the EHL. The data in the documents are clear and comprehensible. As a result, the selected official documents meet all the criteria.

The key persons from official institutions are chosen to conduct semi-structured in-depth interviews. They are the experts or officers who have the background knowledge of the formation and the organization of the EHL. They are employed in the executive positions of the EHL and awarded sites. These interviewees are the European Heritage Panel Chairperson, the policy officer of the EHL in the European Commission, the national coordinator of the EHL in the Netherlands, the Head of International Cultural Policy & Coordination of DutchCulture[1], the executive officer of the EHL in the Peace Palace in the Hague and an officer from the Province of Limburg Communication Department (for the Maastricht Treaty). However, with the executive officers of the EHL in Camp Westerbork and the Maastricht Treaty it was not possible to realize a face to face interview. They were interviewed through e-mail communication. As a result, all the relevant EU actors and the national actors are included in the research.

Apart from the e-mail interviews, all the interviews were conducted face to face. Special attention was paid for interviewing the respondents in their workplaces. This affected the quality

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[1] DutchCulture is an independent organization for international cultural cooperation for the cultural sector in the Netherlands and Dutch diplomatic posts abroad. (DutchCulture, 2019)

of the data because it provided a more comfortable atmosphere for respondents who are accustomed to the place. This was possible for five interviewees. The remaining one interview was conducted via a Skype call. The interviews took between 30 minutes to 150 minutes. Along with the interviews observations about the workplace, and body language and gestures of the respondents were noted. The scope and the aim of the thesis were explained to the interviewee and their permission was asked to record it. Anonymity is given to all of the respondents and throughout the thesis they are mentioned in pseudonyms. All the interviews were transcribed right after the interview.

The structure and the content of the questions are designed according to the institutions of the respondents. Respondents from the EU institutions were interviewed regarding the topics about the EU intentions, the meaning, and general objectives and future projection of the EHL. Respondents from the national institutions were interviewed regarding national and local motivations and objectives. National actors were also asked about their perception about the EU intentions and the objectives of EHL.

For the participant observation, all the awarded sites from the Netherlands were included in the research. In total there are three awarded sites: Camp Westerbork in Hooghalen, the Peace Palace in the Hague, and the Maastricht Treaty in the city of Maastricht. Participant observation was conducted for two guided tours in the Peace Palace. Each of them took forty-five minutes. After each guided tour, the visitor center was visited for approximately an hour. In the Maastricht Treaty, two guided tours were taken in the Province Building of Limburg. Each tour took about fifty minutes. In Camp Westerbork, it was not possible to take a guided tour due to language limitations, but the museum and site were visited, and a special event in the Memorial Centre was attended.

In each guided tour, the content and narrative of the tour and the behaviors of the tour guide and the visitors were noted down. Notes were taken about the displayed objects and scripts, during the site visits to visitors' center in Pace Palace and the museum at the Camp Westerbork. Within the Peace Palace Building, it was not possible to take photographs due to restrictions. Apart from that in each field, trip sites are photographed extensively.

All the gathered data was analyzed according to the grounded theory approach (Flick, 2010; Bryman, 2012). Grounded theory approach gives the opportunity to combine the induction and deduction of the analysis (Flick, 2009). It provides flexible but also well-defined structural

tools (Flick, 2009) which are ''coding, theoretical saturation and constant comparison'' (Bryman, 2012 p.568). So first of all, the data was read several times. Then data were subjected to coding. The coding process was done in two stages. Firstly open coding was conducted to break down, examine and conceptualize the data (Bryman, 2012). The open coding resulted in concepts. Concepts are the '' labels given to discrete phenomena'' (Bryman, 2012, p.570). The open coding was finalized when any other new concept was found. Secondly, axial coding was conducted in which concepts were compared and contrasted constantly. In this way patterns or distinctions were found which resulted in categories. The categories are regarded as elaborated concepts 'representing real-world phenomena'' (Bryman, 2012, p.570). The axial coding was finalized when the categories were saturated. The categories are related to each other for establishing the themes.

4. Research Results

4.1 Intentions of the European Heritage Label and Response of the Sites

This chapter firstly gives a summary of the history of EHL and the political context of the EU during the establishment of the EHL. Then the intentions of the EHL that are put forth by the EU actors are analyzed. In parallel to that, the chapter also analyses the EHL list as the outcome of this intention.

4.1.1 A brief history of the EHL

The European Heritage Label (EHL) was an intergovernmental heritage initiative founded in 2006. It was launched just after the negotiations of the Treaty of Lisbon in 2005 which tended to establish a new 'constitution' for the EU. This draft constitution intended to replace all the previous treaties with a range of new competencies (European Commission, 2017a). This was regarded as a big integration step so that the Netherlands and France voted against the Treaty of Lisbon. Political tension about this rejection reflected to other areas like culture, and so the Netherlands did not participate in the EHL initiative. This is mentioned by the national coordinator, Mr. Vrijes as: ''The EHL was an initiative started in 2006 and times were different at that moment. … the Netherlands was not so in favor of the EU perceive they were critical about Europe, about Brussels … The European contract, the basic law, we vote it against this treaty… So, in the beginning, we were not so we were not in favor of the EHL initiative.''

The eighteen EU member states and one non-member states Switzerland, participated in the initiative. The EHL was not terminated until 2011. By that time, it included sixty-eight sites. In 2011 the EHL was legally re-established as an official EU action with a new legislative act. After the new Act was in force, all the previous sites lost their label and affiliation of member and non-member states was canceled (EHL Panel Report, 2016).

In 2013 was the first selection year of the new EHL. The new action was opened only to member-states of the EU. Five member states confirmed their interest in the label during the first selection year. Netherlands was among these countries (EHL Panel Report, 2013). Every year the

number of the member states joining the EHL increased. At the time of writing, the EHL includes twenty-five of the twenty-eight EU countries. In total, the list includes thirty-eight sites (Figure 1.)

4.1.2. Legislation Act of the European Heritage Label and the List

The 2011 Legislation Act is the legal framework of the EHL. It defines the types and the characters of the heritage sites. The Act sets general, intermediate, and specific objectives. It specifies the other complementary initiatives in the field of cultural heritage. It sets the eligibility criteria for awarding. It defines the responsibility and composition of the EHL Panel. It lines up several procedures for selection, designation, monitoring, withdrawing, and evaluation of the action. (EU Legislative Act, 2011)

The writing of the Act was done in two steps. In the first step, a proposal was prepared by the European Commission. In the second step, the European Parliament and the European Commission discussed the proposed text and adjusted some points (EU Legislative Act, 2011). The chairperson of the EHL Panel, Ms. Smithson, remarked during the interview that the text has some inconsistencies due to the interventions made from diverse member-states. These inconsistencies sometimes create some misunderstandings for applicants and also difficulties in implementing the Act. To overcome these difficulties the EHL Panel, which is the independent advisory body, interprets the Act and puts these interpretations on the Panel reports*'*.

EUROPEAN HERITAGE LABEL
NOMINATED SITES

COUNRY	NUMBER
FRANCE	4
GERMANY (National Thematic)	4
POLAND	4
HUNGARY	3
NETHERLANDS	3
PORTUGAL	3
AUSTRIA	2
BELGIUM	2
ESTONIA	2
ITALY	2
ROMANIA	2
SLOVENIA	2
SPAIN	2
CROATIA	1
CZECH REPUBLIC	1
GREECE	1
LITHUANIA	1
LUXEMBURG	1

Figure 1. EU member states joined to the EHL and geographical distribution of the sites (author's design based on the information from the EHL official web site and Appendix 5)

The Act limits the number of the applications and selection of the sites per year. Every selection year, only two applications can be made per member-state, and only one site can be added to the list (EU Legislative Act, 2011). This limitation is brought for keeping a balance in number between member states. This is related to the critics to The World Heritage List (WHL) (See in Chapter 2). WHL is criticized due to unbalanced geographical distribution and over-representation of European countries (Sassatelli, 2006). The EHL took notice about this issue and tried to prevent such situation by limiting the numbers. Chairperson, Ms. Smithson, confirms this as: "Like I told you I am absolutely convinced that the limit on the numbers on the legal basis is because of World Heritage, the inflation of the number of sites and therefore they were also afraid of there will be an unbalance. "

However, this precaution seems not to be working. The geographical distribution shows that there is a noticeable concentration in Western and Eastern member states and seven member states do not have any sites on the list (Figure 1.)

The 2011 Act of the EHL opts to use 'sites' to name cultural heritage. It includes "… natural, underwater, archaeological, industrial or urban sites, cultural landscapes, places of remembrance, cultural goods and objects and intangible heritage associated with a place,

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including contemporary heritage. " (EU Legislative Act, 2011 p.3) So it does not distinguish between tangible and intangible heritage. Whether it is an intangible heritage practice or an object, the EHL requires a permanent location to present the heritage and make projects about it.

The sites are not categorized during the application or after awarding. However, for this study, a classification was made for the thirty eight sites to see the range of the heritage types (Figure 2) and the historical periods they belong to (Figure 3).

From the analyses, it can be seen that architectural heritage and accompanying other heritage types with architectural heritage are in the majority (almost half of the list). The sites that can be considered as 'places of remembrance' are runner-up in number. Natural landscape occurs on one site tagged along with a place of remembrance. There are not any intangible heritages on the list. In some cases, an awarded site consists of one or more heritage types such as the Pan-European Picnic Memorial Park, which is a natural landscape that is also a place of remembrance another example is Archive of the Crown of Aragon which is not only an architectural heritage, but it also includes many important documents and cultural objects.
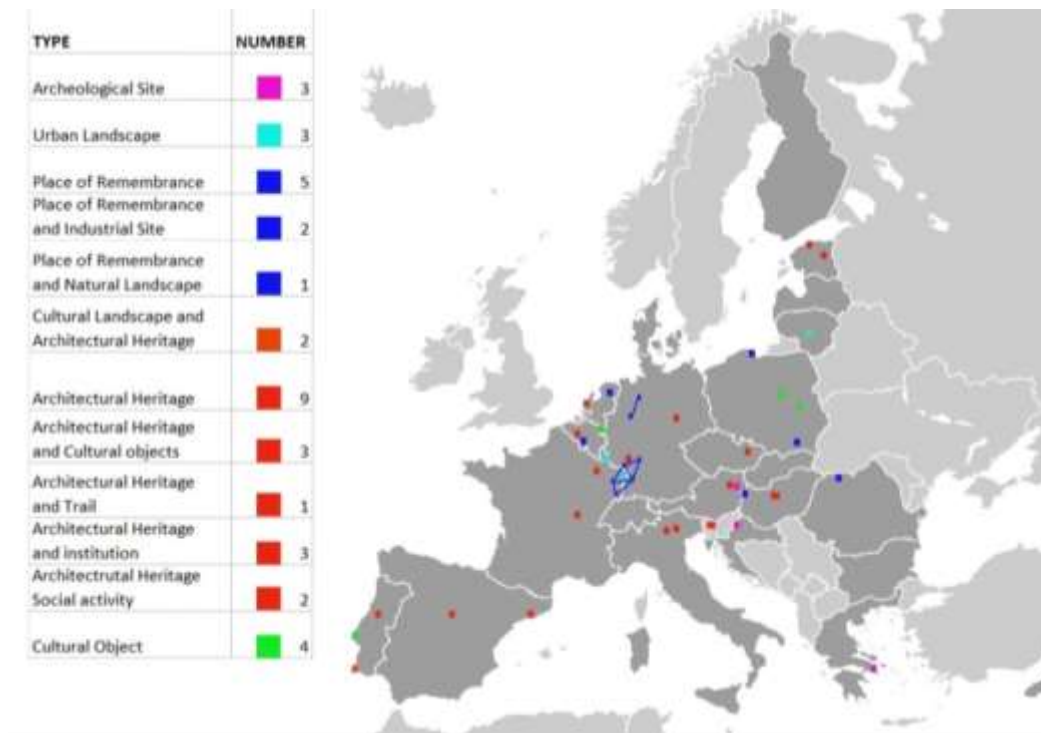

Figure 2. Heritage types of the EHL sites (author's design based on the information from the EHL official web site, and Appendix 5.)

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The sites in the EHL differ in terms of time periods. The European Commission and the Panel wishes to include sites from every historical period, and they also want to be balanced in that sense: "… that is exactly one of the reasons why the Panel is presenting the sites in a timeline because we think that's all. Periods are important, and we hope that went candidates I'd see the timeline they will find the gaps easier themselves." as was stated by the Chairperson, Ms. Smithson.

The earliest site dates back to the prehistoric period, but the majority of the sites are from the modern period. However, the EHL has a different approach in terms of the historicity of the site. It does not precondition a historic fabric like archeological sites or old buildings. Unlike the Burra Charter there is not limitation to include an intangible heritage that is associated with a contemporary site. From Figure 3, it can be observed that most of the sites are from the Modern period.
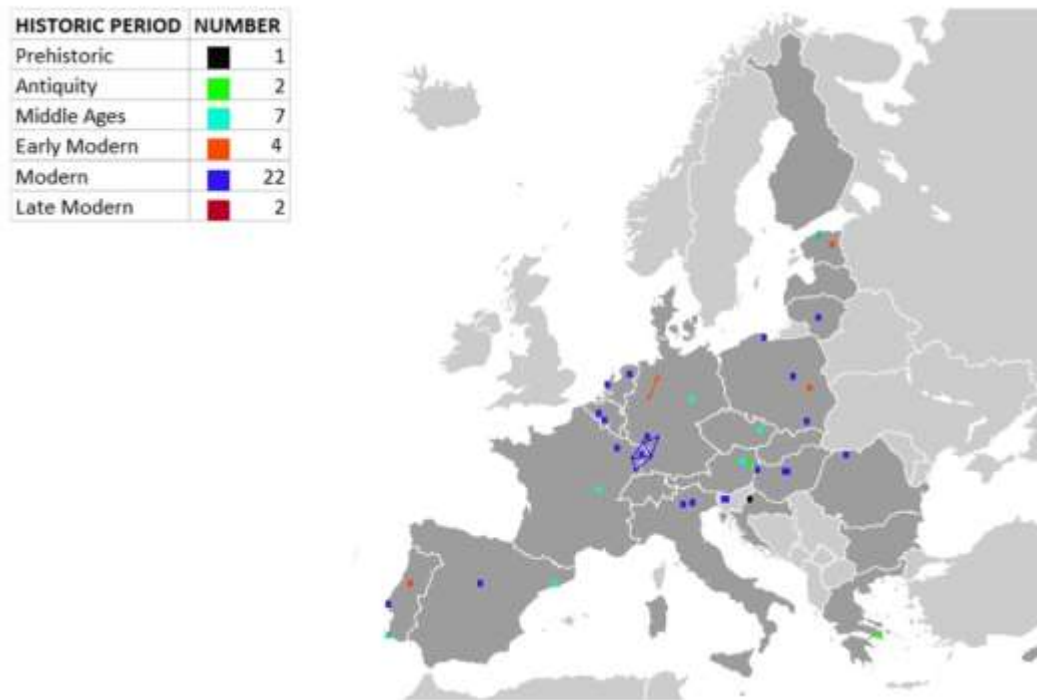

Figure 3. Historical periods of the EHL sites concerning management boundaries (author's design based on the information from the EHL official web site and Appendix 5)

Neither the Act nor the Panel has any intention to highlight architectural or tangible heritage sites. So why is the composition of the list dominated by these specific heritage types? It

shows how pervasive the monumental and tangible understanding of heritage remains among the actors involved. All the respondents mentioned the preconception of the site managers. They felt the necessity to introduce the architectural features and aesthetic values of their sites while preparing for the nomination for example as the DutchCulture representative, Ms. Fenigar, indicate ''… most of the time it's the outstanding architectural value and that we see a lot in proposals for the heritage label that they (site managers) want to describe how beautiful and special their building is.''

The Act does categorize sites according to political domains. This reflects the concern of governance of the EU. Who and in what scale the site is prepared for the requirements of EHL is relatively more important than defining the heritage types.

In this regard, three categories exist. Individual sites that is located in one country, transnational sites, and national thematic sites. Transnational sites indicate a thematic agglomeration of sites under a specific theme or an individual site that is situated in more than one country. National thematic site is again a collection of sites under a common theme. Sites apply and propose projects together in these applications (EU Legislative Act, 2011).

The majority of the sites are individual sites. There is only one national thematic site and one transnational site. The occurrence of the list shows that site managers are not in favor of applying under the national or transnational theme. The major reason for that is most probably due to accustomed management boundaries which are limited to the site. The site manager of the Peace Palace, Ms. Wienga, mentioned difficulties while working with the other sites located in different countries. Especially different national legislations make it uneasy to operate a common project and a work plan.

In brief, the Act and the Panel reports do not put so much effort to define and categorize sites. As mentioned above, 'sites' refer to almost the entire heritage types or combination of these types. The Act only categorizes the sites according to governance boundaries which are related to the objectives of the EHL. Such definition reflects the value based approach of the EHL, which will be analyzed in the next section.

4.1.3. The value-based approach in the EHL

The value-based approach was firstly presented by the Burra Charter to the heritage field. Since then, it became an international standard for heritage management (Waterton, 2006) (See in Chapter 2). Its influence can also be seen in the EHL. This influence is based on three topics. The first one is the concept of heritage that both of them signify. The second one is the concept of cultural significance and value-centered approach. The third one is the claim of participation and involvement. Below these three topics will be covered in detail, but it is important to indicate that the EHL has differences from the Charter as well. These differences are related to the inclusion of intangible heritage practices which will be analyzed below.

Sites cover several types of heritage under the definition of sites. It does not separate tangible or intangible; natural or cultural; movable or immovable; prehistoric or contemporary. It is used as an umbrella term for all types of heritage types. As a result, the term 'sites' in the EHL becomes equivalent to the term 'place' in the Burra Charter.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the Burra Charter brought 'cultural significance' as a fundamental concept to the field. The concept of 'European significance' (ES) in the EHL approximates to 'cultural significance' in the Burra Charter. However, the ES is only a subset of certain values defined in the Burra Charter. European significance corresponds to historic values because it indicates the 'significant' role of the site in European history and culture. Additionally, it corresponds to social values because it indicates the role in the building of the Union. Other values such as aesthetic, scientific, or spiritual are not the concern of the EHL. This was also expressed by all the respondents.

	Burra Charter	European Heritage Label
Historic Values	· Is the place associated with an important event or theme in history?	· Their place and role in European history · Their place and role in European integration · Their links with key European events
	· Is the place associated with a particular person or cultural group important in the history of the local area, state, nationally or globally?	· Their links with European personalities · Their links with European movements
	· Is the place important in showing patterns in the development of history locally, in a region, or on a state-wide, or national or global basis?	· Their cross-border or pan-European nature: how their past influence and attraction go beyond the national borders of a Member State · Their place and role in the development of the common values that underpin European integration.
Social Values	· Is the place important as part of community identity or the identity of a particular cultural group?	· Their place and role in the promotion of the common values that underpin European integration. · Their cross-border or pan-European nature: how their present influence and attraction go beyond the national borders of a Member State

Table1. Chart of the relation of Burra Charter and the EHL regarding historic and social values (author's approach based on the Practice notes of Burra Charter and the EHL Act)

The Act seems to demand the answers to questions included in the Burra Charter to find out the historic and social values. This tacit relation is demonstrated in Table 1. The Act does not expect sites to relate themselves to all criteria mentioned in Table 1, but at least they have to demonstrate links with one or more criteria's during the applications. These values are gathered in European significance. The Panel includes the statement of the ES in its reports. This statement is a summary of historical and social values. European significance is an indispensable feature of the site and the first criteria to be awarded in the EHL.

However, the Act does not give any prescription about the meanings these values indicate. For example, who are European personalities or what are the European movements? What is meant by European integration? Is European integration synonymous with the EU integration, or does it also indicate early intergovernmental attempts long before the establishment of the EU? If European integration is not defined precisely, how is it possible to define the common values that underpin this integration? These questions are left for interpretation. In the next section, these diverse interpretations are summarized by analyzing interviews, official documents, and the list.

4.1.3 Interpretation of the European Significance

A room for interpretation about the European significance (ES) is intentionally left by the EU institutions. This is expressed by the policy officer of the European Commission, Ms. Kater, " I think the EHL leaves a lot of room for a lot of interpretation.'' and the Chairperson of the Panel: "So, in fact, the added value of the EHL already was to invite themselves to think about their narrative to contextualize it." Chairperson also lists topics for such interpretation as: "…let's say in time and in geographical terms, in relation to their neighbors and the countries that are further away."

The EHL is used as a tool for stimulating discussions about the history of Europe. As it can be seen in Figure 4, these discussions are raised especially among sites and national institutions during the application because the task for assessing the ES is given to national actors. On the other hand Panel evaluates what is proposed for the ES. It confirms or rejects the interpretation of the national level thus the Panel becomes a gatekeeper of the ES. Promoting the ES is given to the EU Commission. Understanding the ES is left to the passive audiences like in the Burra Charter (See in Chapter 2.)
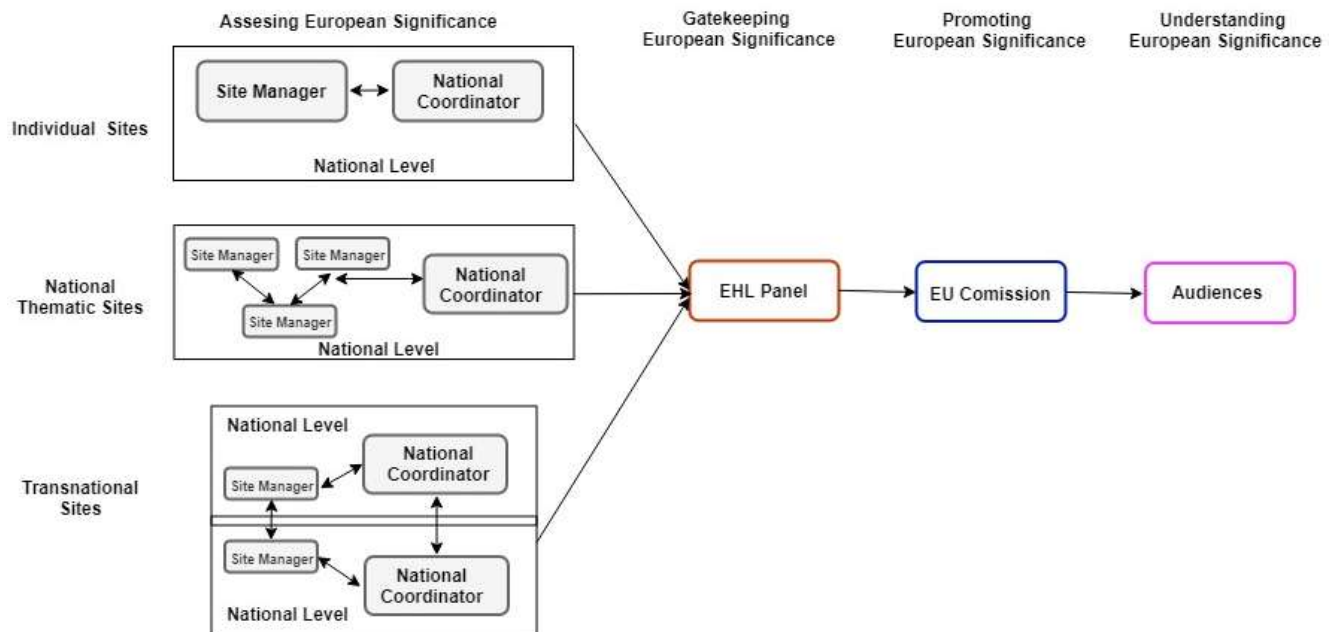

Figure 4. The distribution of responsibilities around the European Significance among institutions (author's design)

However the Panel does not have clear evaluation criteria for the ES. So there is an on-going discussion among Panel members about the ES. But these discussions are not open to any other stakeholder or to public. Consequences of such closeness are analyzed in the next section (See in Chapter 4.2)

From the interviews, it is understood that approaches to the ES are not univocal. Site managers, coordinators, and intermediaries in the national level and the members of the Panel perceive and assess the ES in a great variety. This disparity has both temporary and permanent reasons. Temporary reasons are mentioned by all respondents as being novice in the field. For example the Chairperson, Ms. Smithson, expressed this as: "… European dimension was rather new, and there was no schema before that." The respondents also referred to the novelty of the EHL. For example the EC officer Ms. Kater said: "…we always need to underline this is a rather a young action. We came into life in 2013, and now we are 2019, we are still in the process…" and the Chairperson, expressed the same issue as: "… This European Heritage Label is … not a baby anymore, but it's still an infant."

However, the best explanation of different interpretations of the ES is due to the fundamental characteristics of the EU which can be regarded as permanent reason. As mentioned in Chapter 2, cultural policies of the EU foster unity in diversity approach. Diversity has relied on national histories and cultures of member states. It is cherished and appreciated by all respondents. Diversity itself is considered as one of the European significance by respondents. But it is also seen as an obstacle to assess the ES. Chairperson, Ms. Smithson, notes that national heritage institutions are used "… to present a national narrative and to present history in national terms."

The reasons mentioned above cause confusion about the meaning and the assessment of the ES. One respondent (national coordinator of the Netherlands, Mr. Vrijes) touch upon emotional experiences: "It should be a place … European feeling can be found." One respondent (representative of DutchCulture, Ms. Fenigar) focus on cognitive dimensions such as evoking discussions and say that it should be the foremost place to talk about a significant historic event: "… when we talk about European history should this be the place where we discuss this story…". One respondent (Camp Westerbork site manager, Ms. Tejik) argue the opposite and claim the EHL gives a platform for disregarded sites: "The European label provides a stage from which to make contact with prominent heritage sites in Europe that lie outside the direct focus area of the

Holocaust / World War II.". There is also doubt about Universal and European significance expressed by the site manager of the Peace Palace "…in our organization it is not only European significance, but it's more like World significance."

Behind the scenes, panel members also have discussions about the ES of the sites. A recent discussion about awarding Charter of Law for the Abolition of the Death Penalty in Portugal sets an example to understand the content of these discussions. One of the Panel members objected awarding this site because "''…the real discussion about the death penalty was a century before." as expressed by the Chairperson during the interview and took place in Italy. On the other hand, some panel members claimed that the value of Charter derives from being in a permanent basis and the site from Italy did not apply. The final decision was a combination of these two ends. Its ES is expressed as; ''It is one of the first examples of the permanent suspension of the death penalty being codified in a national legal system.'' (European Heritage Label, 2019). This solution shows how actors involve in heritage making (Smith, 2011) actively and affect the meaning of heritage

Consequently, it can be seen that the ES can be linked to several factors. It can be based on claims such as being one of the earliest, one of the most influential, one of the most influenced and so on. Such a hierarchal comparison demonstrates the mindset of the 'canonical' model of heritage (Harrison, 2012). The discussions also reveal the strong aspiration for unity. According to respondents, the unity of Europe is constituted on steady values which are achieved after a long period of time as discussed in Chapter 2.

The Act set down the values as ''… the principles of freedom, democracy, respect for human rights, cultural and linguistic diversity, tolerance and solidarity.'' (EU Legislative Act, 2011). The list and the statement of the ES of the sites in the panel reports make these values concrete. So it can be said that the list is the summation of both interpretations of the ES by national actors and interpretation of the Panel members. Being the final product, the list represents the EU approach to the common heritage of Europe. What is understood by 'European integration' and 'pan-European nature' can also be traced by looking at the list.

The European Commission demanded a categorization of the sites in the list according to their link with these common values. According to suggested categorization, the EHL sites reflect four propositions. These are explained by the officer of the EC, Ms. Kater, as ''path to unity'';

''struggle for peace''; ''quest for knowledge'' and ''vanguards of progress''. The sites awarded till 2017 were put within sub-lists under these propositions.

Basing on these suggested propositions and the sub-lists a further analysis is made by the researcher as demonstrated in the Table 2. And the meanings attached to these propositions are explained below according to this analysis.

Path to Unity has links with three sub-themes which are related to the genesis of united Europe. Under the 'forerunners of EU, there are sites seems to be the early examples of the EU. The ES of these sites referred to more than one value of Europe which claimed to be embodied by the site. For example, in the ES statement of Archeological Site of Carnuntum, the Roman Empire is considered to be as "… predecessor of Europe, combining different cultures, religions, and geographic areas under one administrative system." (EHL Panel Report, 2013). In the ES statement of Imperial Palace, The Habsburg Empire addressed as a predecessor which "… included a wide range of ethnicities and religions that by standards of the time developed and evolved status of citizenship, including religious freedom and access to education." (EHL Panel Report, 2015).

The other theme 'history of EU' is related to the formation of the EU. It includes places of 'founding fathers' of the EU as expressed by the national coordinator, Mr Vrijes, such as Robert Schuman or Alcide de Gasperi. Additionally, some 'European Cities' are within this category. These cities are either places where significant events took place, or the EU institutions are situated intensely. The last theme, 'trade and dialogue' is interpreted as the accelerator of integration. The Great Guild Hall presented a history of interactions (EHL Panel Report, 2013).

The struggle of Peace has three sub-themes. One theme, solidarity and companionship, represents civil endeavor for establishing peace. For example, Franja Parisan Hospital is shown as the ''… outstanding symbol of human fortitude … solidarity and companionship in hardship, between … various nationalities and from the enemy.'' (EHL Panel Report, 2014). The other theme, constellation and diplomacy, represents official efforts such as the Peace Palace and Sites of the Peace of Westphalia as being formed with the efforts of state institutions (EHL Panel Report, 2013). The last theme is the answer to what happens if peace does not exist? So under 'war and conflict' theme, sites those are related to I and II World Wars, Holocaust and other early European wars exist.

Quest for Knowledge has two sub-themes. Intellectuality and education have sites that function as an archive, library, or educational institutions. These sites have a more intra-European focus and stimulate the knowledge of European citizens. On the other hand, sites under the 'discovery and science' theme are used as a demonstration to the World. For example, Neanderthal Prehistoric Site is reflected as '' a monument to Europe's contribution to the research on the genesis of humankind'' (EHL Panel Report, 2015). Sagres Promontory is interpreted as a key monument to disseminate the European culture, science, and commerce to Atlantic and the Mediterranean (EHL Panel Report, 2015).

'Vanguards of Progress' has two sub-themes. Among them, more weight is given to 'human rights, democracy, and freedom'. These sites show both the struggles and the achievements of ''…liberty, equality, tolerance, democracy…" (EHL Panel Report, 2015). There are also sites to illustrate the consequences faced with the absence of human rights and freedom such as Sighet Memorial . It is a dark site representing ''… the victims of communist regimes in Europe.'' (EHL Panel Report, 2017). Artistic creation and culture are also appearing to be the vehicle of progress. For example, Kaunas represents the interwar period modernist architecture. Leipzig's Musical Heritage Sites demonstrates ''… the historical evolution of European music…'' (EHL Panel Report, 2017).

In conclusion, the EHL sites give a total picture of what is assigned as common European heritage by the EU. This can be sketched in four steps.

- Firstly, the EU finds some essentials of itself in historic periods, which direct the audience to believe the EU may be a natural outcome of history. This step is related to establishing a sense of continuity which is underlined by Anderson (2006) regarding nation building (See Chapter 2).
- Secondly, the EU grounds itself on the values of human rights, democracy; freedom; solidarity; companionship; peace; conciliation; diplomacy; intellectuality; education; discovery; science and progressive art and culture.
- Thirdly the EU reads the history of Europe as the struggle to reach a perfect form and perfect amalgam of these values. Sometimes these perfect forms and amalgams are achieved, but sometimes they are lost.

- Fourthly the EU exemplifies such loss with war, catastrophe, and pain. As a result, the EU claims to be established regarding these concerns. So its only effort is to safeguard these values and not let Europe go through such disasters again.

This is how meta-narrative of European history is constructed through the EHL. These steps are consistent with Arnason's four main narratives of European heritage (as cited in Delanty, 2010). Heritage as shared political tradition corresponds to the first and second step. Heritage as a unity in diversity and cosmopolitan heritage matches with second and third step. Heritage as trauma on the other hand is related to the fourth step. Expression of this meta-narrative is also observed throughout interviews and seemed to be internalized by each respondent.

Categorization of EC	Themes distilled from Panel Reports (assessed by author)	Awarded Sites
Path to unity	Forerunners of EU	- Heart of Ancient Athens, ATHENS - Archaeological Site of Carnuntum, PETRONELL-CARNUNTUM - Imperial Palace, VIENNA - Olomouc Premyslid Castle and Archdiocesan Museum, OLOMOUC - Union of Lublin (1569),
	History of EU	- Robert Schuman's House, SCY-CHAZELLES - European District of Strasbourg, STRASBOURG - Alcide de Gasperi's House Museum, PIEVE TESINO - Village of Schengen, SCHENGEN - Maastricht Treaty, MAASTRICHT
	Trade and Dialogue	- Great Guild Hall, TALLINN
Struggle for peace	Solidarity and Companionship	- Historic Gdańsk Shipyard, GDANSK, - Franja Parisan Hospital, CERKNO - Javorca Memorial Church and its cultural landscape, TOLMIN
	War and Conflict	- Fort Cadine, TRENTO - Camp Westerbork, HOOGHALEN - World War I Eastern Front Wartime Cemetery No. 123, ŁUŻNA – PUSTKI, - Former Natzweiler concentration camp and its satellite camps
	Conciliation, and Diplomacy	- Sites of the Peace of Westphalia (1648), MÜNSTER AND OSNABRÜCK - Peace Palace, THE HAGUE
Quest for knowledge	Intellectuality and Education	- Mundaneum, MONS, - Historic Ensemble of the University of Tartu, TARTU, - Abbey of Cluny, CLUNY - General Library of the University of Coimbra, COIMBRA - Student Residence or 'Residencia de Estudiantes', MADRID - Archive of the Crown of Aragon, ARAGON
	Discovery and Science	- Sagres Promontory, SAGRES - Neanderthal Prehistoric Site and Krapina Museum HUŠNJAKOVO/KRAPINA,
Vanguards of progress	Human rights, Democracy and Freedom	- Hambach Castle, HAMBACH, - Pan-European Picnic Memorial Park, SOPRON, - 3 May 1791 Constitution, - Charter of Law for the Abolition of the Death Penalty, LISBON - Bois du Cazier, MARCINELLE - Sighet Memorial, SIGHET - Dohany Street Synagogue Complex, BUDAPEST
	Arts and culture	- Leipzig's Musical Heritage Sites, LEIPZIG - Franz Liszt Academy of Music, BUDAPEST - Kaunas of 1919-1940, KAUNAS

Table 2. Chart of the categorization about the sites according to their link with common values. (author's approach based on the categorization of the European Commission and own analysis of the EHL Panel Reports)

4.1.5 Safeguarding the European Significance

In the previous section, the value-based approach and accordingly, the purport of the European significance were examined. Additionally, the different interpretations of the ES and the meaning of common European heritage for the EU were analyzed. In this section, safeguarding and promoting the ES that is offered by the EHL is explored.

First of all, as mentioned earlier, the ES is indispensable criteria for being awarded. The two other criteria's are entitled as 'project' and the 'work plan'. In the Panel reports, the project is expressed as 'strengthening the communication of the European dimension', work plan is named as 'organizational capacity' (EHL Panel Report, 2014, 2015, 2017). Both of them are related to safeguarding and conserving the ES.

In this regard, the EHL is both influenced from Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Heritage and Burra Charter. It treats the ES as intangible heritage. The 'project' criterion is reminiscent of safeguarding. It includes 'appropriate information activities, signposting and staff training'; 'educational activities, especially for young people'; 'promoting multilingualism'; 'raising the … the attractiveness of the site … by using the possibilities offered by new technologies and digital and interactive means…' (EU Legislative Act, 2011 p. 4). So the effect of Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Heritage is very clear (See Chapter 2.)

Nevertheless, the EHL does not ignore the tangible aspect of the ES. These concerns take place under the 'work plan' criterion which ensures ingrained heritage practices. The 'work plan' also indicates the organizational and budgetary capacity to realize the 'project' criterion. By this way, EHL leaves preservation to 'relevant protection regimes' (EU Legislative Act, 2011 p. 4) and eliminates any possible clash with other actions or initiatives such as national legislation or World Heritage List. Contrarily it seems to be an 'added value' for both of them.

In summary, the EHL combines the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Heritage and the Burra Charter. While acquiring certain concepts and practices from former approaches, it eliminates some important aspects. One of the prominent aspects is participation and community involvement. Like the Burra Charter, the EHL puts communities, groups or individuals into an audience status, who are subjected to understand, appreciate, and cherish the ES which is demonstrated in Figure 4.

Audiences are specified as European citizens in the EHL. Similar to the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Heritage, a special focus is made on young generations. This is not only generated by the enthusiasm to transmit heritage to future generations but also by a feeling of threat and anxiety. One respondent, the EC officer, Ms. Kater, mentioned the differences between old and young generations regarding the view on the EU. "…it is important to raise the awareness that's why the target group is especially the young people because those who have lived the times of war they will not question the EU…" Old generations know the difficulties of war times or the problems of being disunited. So they are more aware of the need for the EU. Contrarily young generations are unaware as expressed by the Chairperson, Ms Smithson: "Previously we had a border; previously, we had to show an identity card or passport. Schengen also a beautiful site makes that you don't have to do that anymore. So, in fact, the younger generations are those who benefit the most from the EU." So the need of education expressed by the national coordinator, Mr. Vrijes by: "It is time to tell the stories of Europe, and this defines us who we are and where we come from… to people who are not used to these stories and they don't know them. By education and by telling them to youngsters."

Awareness raising and educational activities are not proposed to be limited to sites. There is also an intention to link the EHL with other EU education programmes such as e-twinning, Erasmus + or Lifelong Learning Programme as expressed by the EC officer Ms. Kater. It cannot be a coincidence that the newly assigned the officer in the European Commission has an extensive background in EU educational programmes. These are the points where the EU uses heritage in public education (See in Chapter 2) by encouraging education in sites and through its own educational programmes. In this regard, almost all the sites include guided tours, educational programmes and enhance multilingualism through increasing the number of languages in the tours or in the displays (EHL Panel Report, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2017).

Figure 6. The perceived hierarchy among audiences (author's approach)

Education and awareness raising also embodies the dignified manner to the values of Europe. Such seriousness has also affected the approach to tourism. Respondents emphasized that the EHL does not intend to raise the tourism demand. One respondent, national coordinator Mr Vrijes called "… tourism is an aspect there, but it's not the main aspect… ". On the contrary tourism is just an auxiliary issue which could only enhance economic growth which is expressed by the EC officer, Ms. Kater: "But definitely, all activities that have single out a place can always have a positive impact on the region as well." Although tourism is mentioned within the Act, the EU institutions are skeptical about it which is cleared in the words of the Chairperson, Ms Smithson: "…because I think that tourism is, it also mentioned in the legal basis within the EHL but you can't do everything".

From the answers of the respondents a tacit hierarchy is sensed which tends to differentiate visitors and set a priority among targeted audiences. In this priority sequence, at the bottom 'tourists' exists and at the top, there is the young generation. European audience is preferable than tourist category which also include international visitors. This is implicitly reflected in the answers of the respondents while they prefer to call potential tourists as European audience. Chairperson Ms. Smithson, expressed this as: "… we ask the sites how they would reach the European audience", also the representative of DutchCulture, Ms Fenigar, mentioned tourists similarly: "is important you can receive audiences, people from other European countries". Active citizens are the visitors of the site and the participants of the activities. They are expected to discover the meaning of the ES as mentioned by Chairperson as: " Each site is the gate for the citizens to discover and it's not only discovering the site but discovering something beyond the site." (Figure 6.). Distancing from tourism and setting a hierarchy among audience

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embodies "… fears of the potential commodification, or Disneyfication, of the past." (Smith, 2011 p.10).

4.2. Making the European Heritage

In the previous section firstly a brief history of the EHL was summarized. The summary also included some hints about the political context of the EU when the EHL emerged. Following this, the definition of heritage and the value-based approach to heritage was analyzed. The outcome of the value-based approach was identified as European significance. Next, the assessment of European significance and its interpretations were examined. Some relations and dissociations of institutions and experts were mentioned when needed. Finally, the methods for safeguarding and conserving the ES were explored. In summary, the intentions of the EU actors and the outcomes of these intentions was the main focus of the first section.

In this section, the thesis focuses on the active process of making the EHL. To establish a comprehensive approach, the Netherlands is included in the analysis. Firstly the sequence of procedures and the purposes of them are explored concerning actors. The roles and the relations among these actors and the differences in perceiving the EHL are other significant issues discussed in this chapter. The final part is dedicated to the network, which is put forth as one of the most important outcomes of the EHL as a differentiating factor from other heritage actions and initiatives.

The EHL needs a lot effort from several actors on a national or EU level. First of all, from the analyses, neither the national actors nor the EU actors are homogeneous and integral entities. These are negotiating to create a common understanding. However, national and EU actors tend to see each other as apart and relatively united.

The EHL is set forth by a range of activities. Within these activities ''…social and cultural values, meanings, and understandings both about the past and present are sometimes explicitly, and sometimes implicitly, worked out, inspected, considered, rejected, embraced or transformed.'' (Smith, 2011, p. 24). From the whole analysis, the EHL is tried to be analyzed as a 'moment of action' (Smith, 2011) in which common European identity is produced and continually reproduced.

To 'make' the EHL, it becomes clear that these activities and procedures are crucial. They serve as a platform for discussing and negotiating the meaning of European history and values. But they also reproduce the existing unequal power relations and hierarchies. Some of these procedures are defined in the Act, but some are formed along the way. Especially the ones which are formed among equivalent institutions are relatively unofficial and have more potential to generate challenging discussions. Temporary networks and intra-national networks can be counted as such activities. The official procedure is examined specifically in the next part, before analyzing these networks.

4.2.1 Official procedures, enhancing existing hierarchies.

The official procedures comprised of application, designation, monitoring, withdrawal, and evaluation. The first two procedures, which are application and designation, create the EHL list. Figure 7 shows the bureaucratic circulation of the application and designation of the site. The application comes from the national level, and designation is made on the EU level. The sites undergo in two-stage selection. Similar to the World Heritage Convention, sites which are going to be nominated are determined by the member states. In other words, member-states can organize selection criteria and processes according to their cultural agenda and needs. For example in the Netherlands, application processes are managed by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science and the selection is done by the Council for Culture.

The second selection is held at the EU level. An advisory and independent panel is assigned advice to the European Commission for the selection of the sites. Before designation, the view of other EU institutions such as the European Parliament, European Council of Ministers and European Committee of the Regions are asked by the European Commission. But as a rule, the European Heritage Panel advice is followed for designation.
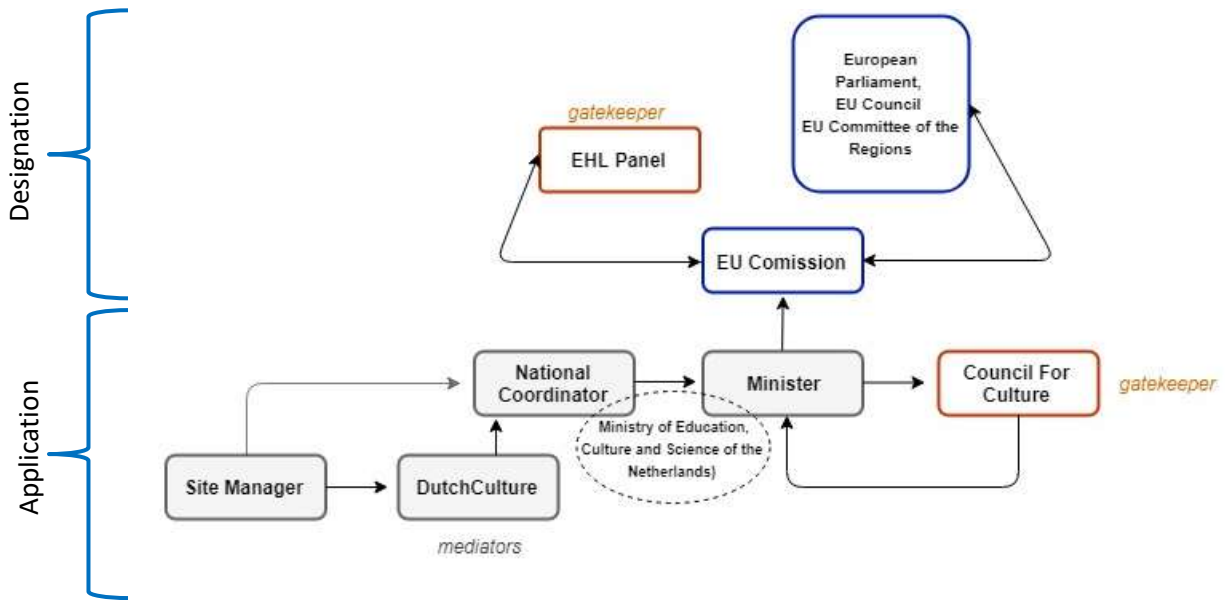
Figure 7. Application and designation sequences of the EHL among the national and EU actors (author's design)

After designation, sites have to comply with their proposed projects. Every four years, there is a monitoring process held by the Panel. This is done in order to check the site management to see if they follow the projects and keep to the adequate work plan. In theory, if the site does not meet the project and work plan criteria any more an eighteen month dialogue period is started. If the Panel is not convinced the withdrawal of the site is announced (EU Legislation Act, 2011).

Such organizational structure bears a hierarchical order in which the national institutions are subordinate to the EU institutions, particularly to the EHL Panel. Indeed the respondents from the national institutions of the Netherlands perceive the EU as a separate and independent entity and entitle it as 'Brussels'. The same situation is observed in the EU level implicitly within the statement of 'bottom-up' approach of respondents. At the bottom of the hierarchy, there are audiences which have minimal power in determining or influencing the European significance or the 'project' or the 'work plan'. At the top, there are EU institutions that specify what European significance is and how it should be managed (Figure 8). The EHL panel which is at the top of the pyramid consists of independent experts who have diverse backgrounds in heritage-related fields such as architects, historians, archeologists or museum professionals announced (EU Legislation Act, 2011). This is the reflection of dominating heritage practices in which the professionals have a central role in assessing and managing heritage.

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Figure 8. The perceived hierarchy among the national and the EU institutions (author's approach)

Both Smith (2006) and Harrison (2012) criticize such dominance because it sets a boundary between heritage and ordinary people and differentiates heritage practices with everyday life. Harrison (2012) also finds a direct relation of such professionalization with the bureaucratization of heritage. Indeed the EHL sets a great number of bureaucratic procedures, and each procedure embodies complicated and time taking activities.

Respondents from the national level underlined the difficulties while filling the application forms. This is also stressed in the first Panel report: "Most candidate sites do not have the resources to prepare complex applications." (EHL Panel Report, 2013). Also, the application forms needed to be filled with specific jargon. This jargon is unfamiliar to the site managers due to preceding heritage practices. As mentioned in Chapter 4.1, the site managers are more used to national narratives and traditional heritage rhetoric, which is based on tangible aspects.

As a consequence, national coordinators play an intermediary role in translating the requirements of the EU to the sites. In parallel, they assist sites to express themselves adequately in the application forms. In addition to national coordinators, there are also other intermediary associations. For example, in the Netherlands, DutchCulture plays a significant role and shares responsibility with the national coordinator.

Another important thing is that application is seen as a tool for opening discussion for the national level to think about European history and the role played by that particular heritage beyond national narratives. Even rejected sites can be involved within that discussion by applying to the EHL. In a way, the EHL tries to open heritage to discussion and challenges. However, in practice, sites seem to embellish their European aspects rather than starting a discussion around

them. As analyzed in Chapter 4.1, the ES is left for interpretation but the assessment criteria for ES are not made precise. This was also expressed by several stakeholders at the evaluation process held in 2018. In the evaluation report, it is underlined that ''some of the different-level interviewees deemed the European significance criterion to be ambiguous.'' (Evaluation Report, 2018, p.12). The vagueness of the assessment criteria enhanced the superior position of the Panel in which sites are driven to convince the Panel without having much of an opinion about the ES. Also, the Panel opens the meetings neither to national coordinators nor to site managers. As a consequence, the attempt for raising discussion and trying to open heritage to challenges which put forth by the EU institutions becomes nothing more than a wishful thought.

Within the Panel meetings, the European significance is also opened for debate as analyzed in Chapter 4.1. The Chairperson relates such discussions to the diversity of Panel members. Diversity not only generates from different professions but also due to the experiences of the experts. The Chairperson, Ms. Smithson, expressed this as: "… Perspectives are different also whether you are an archaeologist or a museum professional, built heritage professional whether work in the town whether you are working in NGO or big institutions, small institution." Experts are also appointed by different EU institutions (Table 3.).

Appointing EU institution	Number of the Panel Member
European Parliament	4
Council of Ministers	4
European Commission	4
Committee of the Regions	1
Total	13

Table 3. Numerical distribution of the Panel members according to their appointing institution.

Panel reports implicitly include the links of the site to contemporary political and social problems of Europe. The Chairperson gives an example of the Pan-European Picnic Memorial Park, Sopron, Hungary. The site was nominated because of its strong symbolic value in "breaking down the fence system between respective countries" and "causing the collapse of the Iron Curtain in Europe" (EHL Panel Report, 2013, p. 20). It has links with the 'border fence' which was completed in 2015 in Hungary. The fence functions to stop immigration, primarily arising

from Syria. The report implicitly links the site to this debate by using the word fence and the photograph evokes contemporary scenes.

Photo 1. Original photo illustrating the break through the border (Foto Tamás Lobenwein; EHL Panel Report, 2013, p. 20)

Photo 2. Refugees at the Hungarian border (Kafkadesk, 2019)

Such symbols are not discussed aloud so much. The Chairperson underlies that the site managers are not aware of the links between the sites and contemporary problems. For example she said: "… sites present … a wider background so that people put today's problems in a wider perspective and we (panel) were astonished of ourselves to discover that. When we discovered it we put it in our reports but it has not been picked up yet." This is consistent with the closed session meetings and disclosure of pieces of advice by well-thought-out reports. At this point, it is vital to ask: Why the Panel evades from expressing the links explicitly? The answer is hidden in the quote of the Chairperson: "When we make presentations and panel members they talk about it (political links), it's not completely a role to put that too much, and our reports are about the selection and so on. We put it little in our introduction, but we (panel) are not politicians."

This is related to what Smith (2011) calls the narrow path of heritage scholarship "where it was believed that the political use of heritage could be ignored, or even controlled, through the provision of trained and so-called objective and professional experts, who are well versed in the technical application of national and international legal and policy instruments." (Smith, 2011, p. 14)

Mentioning the link between political identity and heritage explicitly in the Panel reports could cause a disturbance among national actors, and the Panel can be questioned for that. Evasion of politics is sensed by the researcher while interviewing with the national coordinator of the Netherlands and the site manager of the Peace Palace. Both of them were uncomfortable of

talking political identity. According to them, identity is something about politics, and it is a hype which popularizes extremes. For example the national coordinator, Mr. Vrijes, expresses this as: "… sites tell the story as many people as possible but look the issue of identity is tricky. Identity is more politics today. "

4.2.2. Sharing the power of making the EHL

All of the facts described in the previous section establish the implicit power of the Panel. The political use of the heritage is left to the European Commission (EC) as a consequence the power of making the EHL is shared with the EC. Some little frictions can be observed from such sharing.

The EC principally takes charge of the promotion and the communication of the EHL. It not only tries to present the EHL to the public but also to the institutions and the individuals of the EU such as Parliamentarians or Commission members. Additionally, it has the responsibility to introduce it to the international platform, particularly to other actions and initiatives within UNESCO and Council of Europe and also to the international heritage community. So the EC has to develop various tools and methods for promotion and communication.

The EC primarily has focused on creating tools for European citizens. For example, it curated an exhibition which is reproduced and delivered to all awarded sites. It included the pictures and explanations of the awarded sites. Another important instrument is the promotion videos in which awarded sites are explained by site managers accompanied by scenes from the location and the activities. The videos are analyzed critically by Lähdesmäki (2017). Her work showed that videos are intended to invoke pathos and sublimity to mobilize the viewers with political concerns. Souvenir objects like postcards or memory games for children are additional elements. The EHL is made visible on the internet by putting the awarded sites at the Wikipedia. Specifically, social media desired to be used for promoting. Some initial proposals are emerged like providing free train passes for youngsters in exchange for sharing contents in social media. This is expressed by the Chairperson and the EC officer.

The EC has not formed any specific communication apparatuses for the heritage community or other initiatives like annual meetings or conferences. However, it has communication channels through official and personal contacts. Especially the social capitals of

the Panel members play a significant role to disseminate the concept of the EHL to heritage community. The Chairperson shared her dialogues with other heritage experts who are not involved in the making of the EHL during the interview. Heritage community is relatively more aware of the EHL, and this is approved by all the respondents.

However, both the Chairperson and the EC officer mentioned about the lack of awareness of the EHL within the EU institutions. Neither Parliamentarians nor Commission members seem to know about the EHL. The Chairperson expressed their frustration as: "… Commission and the European Parliament are using Instagram or twitter they hardly use the EHL. Even there is a clear connection with things that we discussed. Even worst, sometimes they show the site of the EHL, but they do not even mention that."

Tools that are mentioned above remained relatively weak. The national coordinator, Mr. Vrijes, mentioned this as in the following "'The EC has worked on their tools and instruments and their tool kit starting from 2006 now for 12 years and they built up, unfortunately, only a small tool kit. "

Especially the slogan 'Europe starts from here' is criticized by several respondents. The slogan gives an impression of a rather exalted and honorable view, but the sites have dark and contested elements. The representative from DutchCulture expressed this as: "… it is very difficult if you have postcard 'Europe Starts Here'. It sounds so nice and friendly but of course, it is a bloody history, and it is a history of conflict and exclusion." This creates the honorable aura around heritage that puts heritage in an indisputable position (see in Chapter 2)

However the EHL is wished to start a discussion about history and heritage rather than being proud of it. So the slogan does not reflect the intentions and objectives of the EHL. The Chairperson expressed the Panel's criticism and suggestion as: ''… If you have a concentration camp or deportation camps, Europe starts here... There you see the difference between the panel and people want to communicate... We would have preferred something: the places that shaped Europe.''

It is clear that there are differences in approaching to the EHL between the Panel and the European Commission. So the perceived unity of the EU by national actors is not an exact feature and as Smith (2011) claims the EHL is made thought constant negotiation of people, communities and institutions.

Sites also have as many as different approaches and motivations in making the EHL. In the next section, these differences and the relations of the sites are analyzed within the subject of networking.

4.2.2. A cherished outcome; Networking

In the Chapter 4.1, the types of heritage within the EHL were analyzed. In that analysis it is seen that the types and contents of the sites are in great variety. Additionally, contemporary functions of the sites are in a broad range. For example, some sites are open for visitation like museums or archeological sites. Plenty of them are official places such as parliament, municipality, or court buildings. Based on the type and the functions of the sites, the experiences of the site management differ extensively.

These factors shape the motivations and approaches of the site managers to the EHL. For example, as it is expressed by the Chairperson, Ms. Smithson, relatively small and unrecognized sites like Franja Parisan Hospital and Javorca Memorial Church in Slovenia are motivated to be more visible and attract attention. On the other hand, the Imperial Palace in Vienna applied to the EHL to present itself as one single entity because at the moment its institutions are so much dispersed. For Schengen or Maastricht, the urban environment is as important as the site itself. Nevertheless, the major motivation is, of course, for the symbolic value of the EHL. Symbolic value is attributed to sites by European significance in other words sites are made significant to Europe by the EHL.

The Chairperson, Ms. Smithson, expressed that the EHL was sometimes criticized because of such diversity which makes the list look patchy, but she was aware that the diversity bears a great potential. This potential becomes concrete when different motivations, experiences, approaches, knowledge levels, and views could come in contact with each other. This constitutes the idea of networking. Networking also takes place in the Act. It is underlined in the project criteria in which the sites are expected to share experiences and initiate common projects. Additionality, the Commission is made responsible for fostering networking (EU Legislation Act, 2011). That means networking was proposed intentionally in the legislation, but it was not so much notable until the first monitoring meeting in 2016. At that meeting, all the awarded sites came together and shared their experiences about the procedures of the EHL and their projects.

The atmosphere started up some new ideas among site managers. The representative from DutchCulture, Ms. Fenigar, who also participated in this monitoring meeting, expressed the atmosphere as "… after the presentations the light popping up: Oh wow you are dealing with the same topic as I am but from totally a different angle you are basing the same periods and time, and this is how you have done, and that is interesting…". Networking has become so important that the site manager of the Peace Palace puts it as the real benefit for the site when compared to their proposed project. She expressed her astonishment as ''That is I think a really benefit and in the beginning, we did not think about this possibility'' (Wrienga, 40).

Networking is not the only beneficiary for the sites. It also serves for the essential objectives of the EHL. This is expressed by the site manager of the Peace Palace, Ms. Wrienga as:"… that is also to picture broader that not only focusing on our national organizations of the Netherlands and also not focusing on the national story but focusing on the European story." After the 2016 meeting, the Peace Palace organized activities with Mundeneum and Franz Lizts Academy which are also in the EHL list. Organizing events with other label sites now is something the site managers always search for this is expressed by Ms. Wrienga as: ''… we are also in our minds when we organize activities…Oh! Maybe there is a link with another heritage site…''

Site managers and the EU actors seemed to be surprised that networks could create dynamism in which the experiences and the impacts of the sites could extend over national territories. Due to experience and knowledge sharing, networks also assist in reaching equality and balance between the sites.

The networks have the potential to become hybrid forums (Harrison, 2012) in which dialogical democracy is established between experts, politicians and bureaucrats. This also indicates that the hierarchical, bottom-up approach (Figure 8) could be turned to a more flat and equivalent structure.

However networking is desired to be organized more structurally and permanently by the EU actors which seems to line it up in accustomed bottom-up approach. To do that on one hand the European Commission opened a call to give the responsibility for designing and managing the networking to a specialized organization at the beginning of 2019. On the other hand, the Panel is thinking about more essential interventions in the legislation about the idea of networking.

The attempts to put networks into permanent structures could extinguish the momentum of it. As it is put by the site manager of the Peace Palace and the representative from the DutchCulture, the ideas to organize common events comes out within impromptu discussions. Also, these are temporary events that take less effort and time, which makes them relatively flexible. Due to their flexibility, they have the potential to respond to contemporary discussions and present needs. The active production of heritage in the present regarding the needs of contemporary society is what Harrison (2012) proposes for heritage practices. However instead of taking advantage of such momentum that produces heritage actively in the present, the EU actors tend to stabilize the networks. The other weak point is the exclusion of layperson from networking. As discussed in Chapter 4.1 they are put into passive audience status which keeps out layperson of being active in making the European heritage.

4.3. Europe in the Netherlands or the Netherlands in Europe ?

The previous section analyzed the process of making the EHL by examining the sequence of processes in relation to several actors. The intra and interrelations of these actors are also explored. Differences in approaching the EHL are made explicit. Also, networking, which is the most considerable outcome of the EHL, is analyzed in relation to these diverse actors.

In this section, the main concern is to give an answer for the second part of the research question which is: how do the national heritage actors in the Netherlands and the sites that have been awarded the EHL relate to the endeavor of constructing a common European cultural identity. So the connection of the actors in the Netherlands to the EHL and the role of these national actors are explored. To do that firstly the national selection criteria in the Netherlands are summarized. The four themes which are added as the national layer are analyzed in relation to the sites. Afterward, the three sites which are included in the EHL list are examined in depth according to their European significance, national criterion, and safeguarding projects. These sites are the Peace Palace, Kamp Westerbork, and the Maastricht Treaty. This chapter covers the actual existence of the EHL on the national level within the Netherlands case.

4.3.1 Themes of the Netherlands

In Chapter 4.2, the application processes were analyzed in detail. In addition, the sequences of application and designation among the national actors in the Netherlands are depicted explicitly in Figure 8. It can be seen that site managers are the main actors that request their sites to be included in the list. However, the application goes through several operations so that it can get ready for the evaluation of the Panel.

Decisive operation is the selection process of the Council for Culture in the national level of the Netherlands. The Council for Culture is an independent advisory body which consists of eight members with diverse expertises. It provides recommendations about arts, culture, and media for the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science of the Netherlands. Its other responsibility is to give advice on the EHL sites. As a rule, these recommendations are followed by the Ministry. It plays a similar role with the Panel and in the same way it has a superior position among other national actors (See in Chapter 4.2).

Duties of the Council for Culture about the EHL are determined by the requirements of the Ministry. The Ministry asked for advice on three important topics until 2019 about the EHL. The first one concerned the assessment criteria for selecting sites for the nomination of the EHL. The second one was about evaluating the sites which have applied. The third one was to specify the features of the Panel members who are going to be offered by the Netherlands (Ministerie van Cultuur, 2012).

For assessment, the Council for Culture combined the three criteria of the EHL and added a national criterion for evaluating whether a site can be nominated from the Netherlands (Raad Voor Cultuur, 2012). Assessment of Council for Culture can be put into three steps. It firstly evaluates the ES and then looks at the relation of the site with the national themes. These themes are tolerance and law, culture and sport, mobility and social engineering, money, and trade. Themes are proposed to give an answer for the contribution of the Netherlands to the European history and culture. If these two criteria (ES and national themes) are met, then the sites are evaluated according to their management and financial status. By this way, the Council combines the expectations of the EHL with the national narrative of the Netherlands (Raad Voor Cultuur, 2012).

The four national themes are not defined explicitly in the recommendations of the Council for Culture. The gap is filled by DutchCulture. As it is explored in Chapter 4.2, DutchCulture has an intermediary role between the sites and the EU. This time it plays the same role for the Council for Culture. It makes the meanings of these themes more clear for the candidate sites. For that reason, it published a website and introduced the themes by small definitions and samples. The sample sites are for inspiration.

Below the themes are analyzed in relation to the definitions and sample sites of DutchCulture. The sites which are evaluated by the Council for Culture are also included in analysis (Table 4). In addition to these, how the themes are internalized by the national respondents is also examined.

The most prominent theme is 'Tolerance and Law'. Its importance can be observed by looking through the multitude of candidate sites which apply under this theme (six out of ten). Also, all three awarded sites in the EHL are under this theme.

Tolerance and Law are related to the peace project in Europe, which is perceived as the prominent reason for the existence of the EU. The Netherlands is appreciated to be one of the forerunner countries of the EU (Creative Europe Desk, 2019a). This fact is also mentioned by the national coordinator, Mr. Vrijes, as a source of pride: "… the Netherlands is one of the grandfathers of the EU, so we believe in Europe…". And he expressed that this creates a sense of exclusivity when compared to other member states: "How do you create a list which is in balance … that Bulgaria and Romania or Italy feels the same European spirit as France and Netherlands. You know France, Belgium or the Netherlands are forerunners of the European Union, so it is very easy for them to get maybe ten sites from the list, but that's not the purpose.". So according to national actors, the fact of being one of the first countries in the creation of the EU makes the Netherlands relatively more inclined to peace. This shows how the integration history of the EU is interpreted differently by national point of view as noticed by Leggewie (2011) (See in Chapter 2)

The Netherlands is also represented as the scene for international cooperation and justice. This is justified as being a neutral country during World War I and partly in World War II. The tradition of neutrality was emphasized by both the national coordinator and the representative of DutchCulture. The national coordinator was basing the establishment of the Peace Palace on neutrality: "… the Peace Palace which is the symbol of the way the Dutch government and Dutch

traditions are established … the Netherlands was so called a neutral country it stayed in between conflicts and want to monitor conflict they want to find diplomatic solutions… ”

On the other hand the representative of DutchCulture was explaining that the sites from World War I in Europe cannot be selected from the Netherlands because of its neutral position. "… as well here in the Netherlands so far we said in WWI we are a neutral country it is not likely the story of the WWI told from the Dutch European Heritage Label site."

The second theme is 'Culture and Sport'. Culture is underpinned by outstanding artistic and architectural movements in the Netherlands. These are the ones who influenced other European artists such as De Stijl and the paintings of the 'Dutch Masters'. Sport is also approached from the same perspective in which the 'Dutch' interventions to international sport types are shown as influential (Creative Europe Desk, 2019c).

The third theme is 'Money and Trade'. In this theme, the Netherlands has had an important position for the European trade networks through the centuries. For example, Amsterdam is depicted as the center of trade capital in the seventieth century (Creative Europe Desk, 2019e).

The fourth theme is 'Mobility and Social engineering'. This theme is represented by the impressive words from Descartes: ''God made the Earth, but the Dutch made Holland'' (Creative Europe Desk, 2019d). So the theme is underpinned by the idea that the Netherlands has developed extensive technical skills about water and land management and also the infrastructure for transportation.

The intention to show the contribution of the Netherlands to the European history and culture can also be found in the wish of the national coordinator to convince well-known 'Dutch' heritage sites in Europe to apply the EHL nomination such as Van Gogh Museum or Anne Frank House: "It is nice you mentioned Anna Frank House because that is one of these sites I would really like to introduce to The Label. … And it's the same with Van Gogh." This is also underpinned by the opinions to complete the nominating process from the Netherlands at the number of two hundred. The representative of DutchCulture stated: '' …and now that is the year the idea that the list will be ended when we reach around 200 labels or so and then you have (The Netherlands) enough sites that you can say ok this might be us to reoffer''. In other words, according to national actors, the Netherlands could depict its contribution to Europe with a decent

amount of sites. What is verified here is that the notification of several respondents who claim that national actors tend to interpret the ES from a national perspective (See Chapter 4.1).

Themes	Sample sites on the website of DutchCulture	Sites applied for the EHL nomination to Council for Culture
Tolerance and Law	• Portuguese-Israelite Synagogue and High German Synagogue Amsterdam • Peace Generation in University of Tilburg • Treaty of Utrecht • The Peace Palace	• Camp Westerbork (included in the EHL list) • The Peace Palace (included in the EHL list) • The Kloosterkwarticr in Sittard (rejected by the Council for Culture) • Line 1629 in Den Bosch (rejected by the Council for Culture) • Huis Doorn (rejected by the Council for Culture) • Maastricht Treaty (included in the EHL list)
Culture and Sport	• The arts in Saint Lucas guild in Delft • Cobra art movement: The museum in Amstelveen • Ice skating in Thialf Heerenveen	• Arp Schnitger - European organ builder Groningen (rejected by the Council for Culture)
Mobility and Social engineering	• The Westpolder • Shipbuilding: Czaar Peter House in Zaandam • Migration: Wilheminakade in Rotterdam, from a muddy delta to the gateway to Europe	• The Roman Maas Bridge in Cuijck (rejected by the Council for Culture) • Glass Palace in Heerlen (rejected by the EHL Panel)
Money and Trade	• Hanze: International Trade Union • East Indian house, Amsterdam • Slave Trade: the Commercial House in Middelburg • Freddy Heineken: 'The King of Beer'	• The Hoge Veluwe National Park

Table 4. Chart of the categorization about the sites according to their link with national themes. (author's design based on the categorization of the DutchCulture and Decisions of Council for Culture)

It is interesting that the only national theme which is directly related to one of the European values (See Chapter 4.1) is Tolerance and Law. The other national themes have indirect only relations with the common European values. For example, mobility and social engineering

can be related to 'Vanguards of Progress' or the money and trade theme can be associated with 'Path to Unity' but these relations are not made explicit. This could be the underpinning reason that only the sites within the tolerance and law theme are awarded by the Panel. Additionally, tolerance and law was the only elaborated theme in the interviews. The national coordinator and the representative of DutchCulture only mentioned the topics of other themes and did not give any further explanation.

In summary, while the EU actors intend to open a discussion around European values and the role of the EU on these values, the Netherlands national actors tend to express the significance of the Netherlands for Europe. So this shows that the EHL is not perceived only for common European values but also as a platform to demonstrate the national narrative of the Netherlands. This intention also has contribution to nation building processes (Anderson, 2006) in which the citizens of the Netherlands would feel proud of what they have added to Europe as a nation. It is reasonable to say there is a mismatch with the approach of the EU and the approach of the national actors of the Netherlands which clearly demonstrates the unity in diversity approach. This mismatch is not in opposing or competing positions. They have some overlaps that need to be enlarged and enhanced.

How European significance and national themes are interpreted by site managers and reflected on the sites are other important topics. These are discussed in the next sections. Three sites which are included in the EHL list are analyzed in depth in relation to each other, to the EHL objectives and to the national themes.

4.3.2 The EHL in the Netherlands

The first two sites which have been included on the list were Camp Westerbork and the Peace Palace. They were awarded at the same time in 2013. This was an important event for the respondents. National coordinator expressed this as: "… if you look at the Peace Palace and Camp Westerbork in the way they are twins they belong to one another. ". Similarly the representative of DutchCulture, underlined the same issue as: "… it was nice that we nominated the Peace Palace and Westerbork at the same time because you have the ideal idea of peace … and everything is wrong with the Holocaust …"

Camp Westerbork and the Peace Palace are different expressions of the value of peace. Peace Palace represents the endeavor for peace. Camp Westerbork, on the other hand, reflects the horror of the lack of peace. The third awarded site was the Maastricht Treaty, which is related to the history of the European Union integration.

Leggewie (2011) argues that specific historical events (See in Chapter 2) form the critical joints of an integrated historical perspective. It seems that the EHL sites of the Netherlands are depicting the same meta-narrative of European history, which is defined in Chapter 4.1. The awarded sites in the Netherlands show that one of the common values of Europe is peace and diplomacy. History is the struggle to reach the perfect form of peace (Peace Place). Sometimes peace is lost, and when it is lost, there is the war and crime (Camp Westerbork). The EU is established for peace and not to face such pains again, so the steps to get a more integrated Europe is important (The Maastricht Treaty). So the sites from the Netherlands reflect these critical joints.

However Leggewie (2011) also indicates that these historical phenomena are perceived differently and asymmetrically by nations, groups, or communities. These asymmetries enhance the diversity in which each site adds so many layers to the EHL list. The further sections are dedicated to understanding the awarded sites and their relation with the EHL.

4.3.3. Camp Westerbork: a place for dialogue

Camp Westerbork has a multi-layered history. Its formation begins with the Jewish Refugees who escape from Nazi Germany in 1939. It hosted refugees until 1940. After the German invasion of the Netherlands, the camp turned into a transit camp in 1942. Many Jews, Roma and Sinti people were sent to the concentration camps situated in Central and Eastern Europe such as Auschwitz, Bergen Belsen or Sobibor. The famous Holocaust victims such as Anne Frank or Etty Hillesum stayed at this camp for a period of time (Kamp Westerbork Official Website, 2019) Anne Frank was especially emphasized by the Council for Culture and by the Panel (Council for Culture, 2013; EHL Panel Report, 2013). After the transit camp period in 1945, it was used as a prison for perpetrators of Nazi crime. Until the beginning of the 1970's, it hosted the Moluccan community who arrived from former Dutch colonies in West-Indies (Kamp Westerbork Official Website, 2019).

Such multi-layered dimension of Camp Westerbork is the prominent attribute of its European significance. The site is regarded as a place which "… has links to crucial topics in European history such as occupation, persecution, migration, decolonisation, and multiculturalism." (EHL official website, 2019). This fact is also mentioned by several respondents. Both the national coordinator and the representative of DutchCulture related the awarding of the site to this attribute. The Chairperson additionally expressed the remarks of the Panel on the issue: "That's a good example (Camp Westerbork) because indeed it would be so much easier the Panel said only deportation camp to the concentration camps. But the Panel said no, your story is far more interesting than that the real value is, in fact, this multilayered and this contrast."

It seems that especially the site managers give more emphasis to the transit camp period. This can also be observed from the museum and camp site which are designed according to the transit camp period (Photo 5, 6) . In the museum, the central story and displayed elements belong to deported people. The barracks are also restored according to this historic layer (Photo 3, 4).

Photo 3.The house of the Camp commender, restored and put under glass shelter (Photo by author)

Photo 4. Barracks at the campsite (Photo by author)

Photo 5,6 .Displayed objects about the transit camp period (Photo by author)

The other layers find a place in temporary exhibitions or events. For example, when participant observations were done, there was a temporary exhibition called "A suitcase full of hope" (Photo 7) about the refugee camp period (1938-1940). Also, there was an event (Photo 8) with the Mollucan Community representing the accommodation camp period (1951-1971). So the principle and the permanent historic layer of the site are selected as the transit camp period, but with auxiliary activities, the other layers are also reflected. However, other layers need further elaboration on a permanent basis.

Photo 7..Displayed object from the temporary exhibition of 'A suitcase full of hope" (Photo by author)

Photo 8. Event of the Mollucan Community in Memorial Center (Photo by author)

The inclusion of other historic layers is in the schedule of the site management. They announced that major changes would be done in the museum and the campsite in the following

three years. These future plans were asked to the site manager, but she did not want to give detailed information. She only mentioned that the other layers would take more part in the site.

The site bears different layers of European history, which are related to certain conflicted issues. All the layers have more or less a dark face of history. First three periods show the most important incidents in European history: the Holocaust and World War II. These are regarded as determinate events in the Europan history by the site manager of the Camp Westerbork, Ms. Tejik: "… a decisive role in the formation of the European Community". The last period of the camp also carries contested elements. There is an on-going debate between Dutch people and the Mollucan Community due to violent actions directed to each other in recent history.

The site realizes the objectives of the EHL in some ways. For example, the display is inclusive to other victims of the Holocaust such as Romani, Sinti, and gay people. So that relatively disregarded groups of Holocaust are reflected more and memorialized.

The other fact is the events carried regarding Mollucan Community. The site gives a platform for dialogue. Two parties, the Dutch people and Mollucans, come together to communicate and express themselves. The site manager Ms Tejik, expresses this as: "… it also focuses on minorities and socially and economically weaker groups – then and now. … Dutch citizens of Indonesian descent and Moluccans also serve as symbols for groups that are discriminated against in the current European community. This is the most important objective that one can derive from the Westerbork site: respecting the values on which the EU is built." Such events also form an atmosphere for dialogical democracy (Harrison, 2012) in which laypersons have the opportunity to involve to the discussions around history and heritage.

However Camp Westerbork sustains classical approach which uses heritage for public education purposes (See in Chapter 2). These educational programs are coherent with the EHL approach that gives visitors a passive audience role. Camp Westerbork has educational programs which focus on different age groups of children and young. Teacher Trainer Colleges is established for school teachers to disseminate the "… didactic principles of the Camp Westerbork " (Kamp Westerbork, 2019).

Additionally, some programs are created to enhance the level of education and knowledge. A special chair was founded at the Vrije University Amsterdam which focuses on the legacy of the war in the Netherlands. The discussion and knowledge created in this chair has the risk to remain within the limits of academic field. A significant role is attributed to the site

management to transfer the academic discussions to layperson but the researcher did not examine such transfer within the display.

Photo 7..Relation of Camp Westerbork with ather European camps (Photo by author)

Photo 8. European Heritage Label Plate (Photo by author)

To conclude, Camp Westerbork is a significant site to demonstrate the terrible side of the war and the Holocaust. This is also very important to show the value of peace. In addition to this, it also has a history which bears conflicting issues within communities. In parallel to European values, the site opens irreconcilable issues to dialogue. However, such dialogue should be enhanced, and the discriminated communities should be more included on a permanent basis. Such inclusiveness should also be extended to layperson and the potential of dialogical democracy (Harrion, 2012) should be realized.

4.3.4. Peace Palace: Europe is Important for the World.

The Peace Palace, in other words, the 'twin' of Camp Westerbork is interpreted as the modern temple of peace. It houses the International Court of Justice and Permanent Court of Arbitration. Apart from these two courts it also includes The Hague Academy of International Law and an extensive library about law and peace.

The foundation of the Peace Palace dates back to the late 19th century. Its formation is related to the peace movement in the Western World which gained extensive popularity among thinkers and writers such as Leo Tolstoy, Bertha von Suttner, and Alfred Nobel. The movement found its concrete expression in the International Peace Conferences. The first Peace Conference was done in 1899 with the call of Russian Czar Nicholas II. The Hague was chosen due to the

neutral position of the Netherlands, as mentioned earlier. The establishment of the Permanent Court of Arbitration and to build a permanent place for it was decided in the Second Peace Conference. These two conferences included more than forty countries all around the World. The building was built with the financial support of Andrew Carnegie, who was an important American entrepreneur (Peace Palace, 2019a).

Photo 9..General view of the Peace Palace (Photo by author)

Photo 10. Display about Andrew Carnegie in visitor center (Photo by author)

Today the Peace Palace serves as the stage for international diplomacy and peace. The Permanent Court of Arbitration has been operating since 1913 in the building. It functions for dissolving the controversies between states and international organizations or individuals. The International Court of Justice was established in 1922 and has been the juridical body of the United Nations since 1946. It concerns the conflicts between states which are under several topics such as '' land frontiers, maritime boundaries, territorial sovereignty, the non-use of force,...'' (Peace Palace, 2019b). There are several judges and arbitrators who come from different countries of the World and work under these two courts.

All of these aspects show that its formation derived from international collaboration, which goes beyond the European continent and its functioning relies on World Wide endeavor. However, the Panel interpreted the Peace Palace as the ''… European efforts of peace processes."

(EHL Panel Report, 2013). The Panel seems to disregard the international effort under it and only confines itself to underline the universal necessity of peace.

However, the universal significance of the site exceeds the European significance. This was also the concern of the site manager, Ms. Wrienga, as: "… our organization is not only European significance, but it's more like World significance. Because in Peace Place we also have people from, we have a heritage which is broader. The USA, Asia, and Africa..."

The Council for Culture tried to find a compromise. It combined Universal and European significances in these sentences: '' The foundation of the Peace Palace symbolizes the peace movement corridor came inside and outside of Europe… The Peace Palace now symbolizes the role of Europe in the world.''(Council for Culture, 2013). This confirms the approach of the Panel, and in parallel, it emphasizes the universality of the site.

Universality is embedded in the interpretation of the site. There are two ways for exploring the site. These are the visitor center and the guided tours. The visitor center includes a small exhibition about the history of the Peace Palace and the formation of the Courts. It also gives some examples of the important international cases accompanying the summaries of the function of the Courts. The displayed objects, images, or the videos only can provide the core issues of the Peace Palace because of its limited space. It is designed for tourists to have a short glance in order to allow them to pass by quickly. The detailed display of the site exists in guided tours.

Photo 11..Display about Universal collobration in Peace Place (Photo by author)

Photo 12. General view of the visitor center (Photo by author)

The guided tours, are focused on the building itself rather than the concept of peace or the formation of the Courts. This shows how pervasive the monumental and tangible understanding of heritage remains among the site managements of the Peace Palace (See in Chapter 4.1). In guided tours, the building is introduced as the temple of peace, which was built and served for peace. The design of the building serves as the basis for such interpretation. The ornamentation and the art objects within the building are depicting peace as the ultimate status humankind can reach. There are several signs that glorify the struggle to reach peace and heroism. All of the signs interpret history as progressive and linear so that the contemporary era can be perceived as the most developed period of the humankind (Ashworth et al., 2007) In short, the building is a typical interpretation of the 19th century understanding of history.

In spite of opening linear interpretation of history to discussion the guided tour prefers to follow the same interpretation. It does not mention the fact that the two World Wars came to be after the establishment of the Peace Palace. It also disregards the ongoing conflicts in the rest of the World. Progressive and linear history is also internalized by the other national actors. In the decision of the Council for Culture, the Peace Palace is depicted as the answer to the wars in Europe (Raad Voor Cultuur, 2012). The national coordinator expressed that as: "… the argumentation of the Peace Palace was here the idea started, the concept started of solving conflicts with diplomacy and not by military force. This Peace Palace is the symbol of these new thinking and the change of the mindset."

Unfortunately, such understanding of history was unproven with the two world wars and the other wars that are faced today. As aforementioned, the guided tours do not mention these facts. They rather exalt the tangible appearance of peace within the building.

The guided tours also interpret universal collaboration through tangible elements. These elements are gifts such as cultural goods and objects donated by different countries around the World. The primacy of tangible elements accompanied with the traditional notion of authenticity in which material aspects are primarily noticed (Stovel, 2008). Several times the guides mentioned that the building remained the same since its construction. They warned visitors a couple of times not to touch the objects due to their uniqueness and vulnerability.

As a result, neither the visitor center nor the guided tours serve for opening discussion about historic or contemporary debates and the efforts given to sustain peace. The potential of raising questions or discussions in the visitor's minds are eliminated with such an interpretation.

This potential could be realized by the Academy of International Law, but still, this cannot reach out to the layperson.

Additionally, the fact that the Peace Palace is included in the EHL was not mentioned during the tours. Neither the European significance nor the symbolic value of Europe for the World is stressed by guides. These facts also hinder the objectives of the EHL.

Photo 13.. European Heritage Label Plate (Photo by author)

Photo 14. Poster about the Peace Place (Photo by author)

In summary, the Peace Palace has practical and also symbolic meanings for international diplomacy and peace. Its Universal significance is more visible than its European significance. This visibility is also enhanced with the interpretation of the sites. European significance becomes vague with these interpretations. Additionally, the presentation of the site remained in the 19th-century progressive and linear interpretation of the history. As a consequence, it becomes rather difficult to start a dialogue around historic and contemporary debates which distances it from an atmosphere for dialogical democracy (Harrison, 2012) in which laypersons have the opportunity to involve to the discussions around history and heritage.

4.3.5. Maastricht: '' A workplace for Europe."

The Maastricht Treaty is the most recently awarded site from the Netherlands. It was placed on the EHL list in 2017. Its European significance is more explicit compared to other sites. The ratification of the Maastricht Treaty established the economic and monetary union. It also designed the EU institutions such as the European Parliament and Committee of the Regions. Additionally, the article about culture was introduced by the Maastricht Treaty. So it is regarded as the most significant ''milestone for European integration'' (EHL Panel Report, 2013).

The awarded site is The Maastricht Treaty and its associated place the Province Building of Limburg. The Treaty which is displayed in Maastricht is a copy version of the textbook. The original version is stored in Rome. This fact reflects the alteration of a traditional understanding of authenticity by the EHL. Also, it shows the intangible aspect of the European significance exceeds the tangible existence of the sites.

However, the intangible meaning of authenticity was not internalized by the respondents. They implicitly indicate that this is somehow the weakness of the site. For example the national coordinator, Mr Vrijes s, expressed this as: "What is the story you are going to tell? It is a book, it is a document, it is a paper, and it's a copy. You are not to blame. But yes, it is a copy. The original one is in Rome like all other laws and treaties and agreements." Awarding the Maastricht Treaty with the Province Building of Limburg is made reasonable because it was the original place where the Treaty negotiated and signed. This means the weakness of the unauthentic object could be disregarded by the original building. This is underlined by the Charperson, Ms. Smithson as: "In fact, they have the Province Building. They still have the meeting room as it was…" The authenticity was also a topic in the guided tours. While guides mention that the book was a copy, they emphasized that the displayed desk and the meeting room were authentic elements.

Photo 15.. The 'original table' in which the Maastricht Treaty is signed (Photo by author)

Photo 16.The copy of the Maastricht Treaty (Photo by author)

The Maastricht Treaty is not only associated with the Province Building of Limburg. It is associated with the region of Limburg and in particular with the city of Maastricht. Maastricht is reflected as the most European city of the Netherlands. This proposition is not only based on the Treaty but also the location of the region. Limburg is situated in between Belgium and Germany. So multi-culturalism and multilingualism are put as the essential characteristic of Maastricht. Within the city, there are so many symbols representing the European Union (Photo 17,18).

Photo 17,18. Symbols about the EU in the city of Maastricht (Photo by author)

The Province building displays so many elements about the Europeanness of the city, and these are interpreted by the guides. For example, the walkway above the Maas River, which is

inside the building, contains German, French, and Dutch poems on the windows which correspond to the directions of the countries. Some guides are also city guides, and this affects the interpretation of the Maastricht Treaty and the Province Building.

The diversity of the neighbors is also used for legitimizing the euro during the guided tours. For example officer from the Province of Limburg Communication Department, Ms Darling, expressed this as: "Elderly people like me, we know the difference when we have our own currency, and then the euro… How difficult it was to trade. Because we are in the Province, you can visualize it, Limburg is very small, and we have Germany and Belgium neighborhoods. So we were used to going to groceries in Belgium and in Germany … we always had three wallets in our pocket, one would make German money; one would Belgium money and the Dutch. It is a very simple example that we use to tell the story.''

Photo 18. French Poem in the Province Building (Photo by author)
Photo 19.The coins before the euro (Photo by author)

The euro is seen as the most concrete and prominent outcome of the Maastricht Treaty by several respondents. For example the national coordinator, Ms. Vrijes said: "So this monetary union and also, of course, building a new Europe, without borders, without the wall … But at the same time when you look at your wallet, you will see this coin.". However, the monetary union was not put as a glorious step by respondents. On the contrary, it demands a price, especially from the developed countries of the EU and in particular from the Netherlands. This was

expressed by the national coordinator as: "You have to do something for Europe … doing things together, helping one another, leveling the national budgets so helping Hungary or Poland with some extra money or with some extra injections. That's why Brussels helped Greek to stay in European monetary union"

Such understanding was set forth by the Council for Culture. The criticism of Council for Culture was expressed by the representative of DuthCulture, Ms Fieneg, as: "In the process of signing the Treaty of Maastricht, there were so many ideas about what was going on, and we are still dealing with the aftermath effects of the Maastricht Treaty. Of course, it was decided to be a monetary union but there was not decided to become a more political union or more cultural union, and we had a hall crises in Greece and were are in solidarity now you can't look at Maastricht Treaty only as a great step in a time where we all signed the treaty.''

The criticism of the Council for Culture was taken seriously by the site management so that the collaboration with Maastricht University was moved one step further. The University already included European studies in its curriculum but with the 'Working on Europe' program the ambition of such collaboration turned out "… to position Maastricht as a meeting place for debate and dialog and as an expertise center of knowledge and vision on Europe and European integration. "(https://www.maastrichtuniversity.nl/um-and-europe) The transmission of the EHL awarding from a cultural object to the entire city is highly compatible with the objectives of the EHL. However like the two other examples (Camp Westerbork and the Peace Palace) it has the risk to remain within the limits of academic field.

5. Conclusion and Discussion

Based on the semi-structured in-depth interviews, participant observation and documentary research the thesis demonstrated that the European Union (EU) established a new heritage approach to build a common European cultural identity. In this new approach, tangible heritage places are managed according to intangible values. In order to do that the EHL Legislation Act inherited and combined former approaches from valid tangible and intangible heritage managements from contemporary heritage field. These can be put into two topics.

The first one is the value based approach which is inherited from the Burra Charter. The tacit relation of the EHL and the Burra Charter is made explicit in the thesis. This relation showed that the European significance is designed as a subset of certain intangible values (historic and social values) defined in the Burra Charter.

The second one is safeguarding of the European significance like intangible heritage practices. The thesis showed that the EHL is influenced from the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Heritage. It adopted 'project' criterion by including several practices such as education, awareness raising and capacity building just as the Convention.

While inheriting these two approaches, in parallel the EU institutions *officially* renounced some traditional understandings of heritage. One of them is the notion of material authenticity which was emerged from the Enlightenment and was based on the idea of objective truth (Stovel, 2008). The EU institutions did not focus about the material authenticity of a heritage site on the contrary they listed 'unauthentic' heritage sites such as the Maastricht Treaty.

The other important issue is to challenge the relation between heritage sites and the national narratives. Since the emergence of a modern understanding of heritage coincided with the rise of the nation-states, heritage was very much shaped and used according to the needs of nation building. The interpretation of heritage sites was intertwined with the national narratives since the beginning of 19th century and predominantly survived today (Hall, 2000). This was expressed by almost all the respondents and also explored during the research of the Netherlands case.

The national institutions of the Netherlands used the EHL not only for discussing common European of the Netherlands for Europe. This also intends to enhance the sense of

nation in which the values but also as a platform to demonstrate the national narrative of the Netherlands. As a consequence they relate to the endeavor of constructing a common European cultural identity by expressing the significance citizens of the Netherlands would feel proud of what they have added to Europe.

The EU encompasses the national narratives with the unity in diversity approach. However the main aim is to use the EHL, to revive national interpretations and to put sites within narrative of European history. The EHL is used to establish a meta-narrative of European history which is analyzed in depth in the thesis (Chapter 4.1). This meta-narrative gives a sense of continuity and also has significant aspects to legitimize the power of the EU which approximates it to the notion of nation building (Anderson, 2006).

As a result, the thesis claims that the EU institutions recognized that tangible and intangible heritage should be fused in a single entity. In parallel, they noticed the valuation of heritage is an extrinsic process. The values are not an essential attribute of the heritage sites so they are subjected to change. This also means heritage can be opened up to interpretations as well as to the challenges. Such approach is a significant alteration of the Eurocentric and traditional way of perceiving heritage which was criticized by several scholars (Smith, 2006; Harvey, 2008; Harrison, 2012). The thesis demonstrated that the EU and national actors constantly debated, re-interpreted and compromised the new heritage approach which is established by the EHL Legislative Act. These negotiations also contribute to build the common European cultural identity.

The reason behind establishing a new heritage approach, which is defined above, is to use the EHL for stimulating discussions about the values of Europe and the significance of the EU among several actors such as the EHL Panel, the independent cultural organizations, the national heritage agencies and the site managements. So this new approach demanded the active involvement of diverse actors for 'making' (Smith, 2011) the European heritage.

The EU set forth a range of activities to 'make' the EHL (Smith, 2011). Within these activities ''…social and cultural values, meanings, and understandings both about the past and present are sometimes explicitly, and sometimes implicitly, worked out, inspected, considered, rejected, embraced or transformed.'' (Smith, 2011, p. 24) so that a common European identity can be continually reproduced.

The thesis revealed that most of the activities designed by the EU reproduced the existing unequal power relations and reduced the potential of opening heritage to discussion. The first confirmation for this claim was the hierarchical order in which the national institutions are subordinate to the EU institutions, particularly to the EHL Panel. This is the reflection of the dominant heritage practices in which the professionals have a central role in assessing and managing heritage (Smith, 2006; Harrison, 2012). The potential to debate on the contemporary political and social problems of Europe eliminated by the narrow path of heritage scholarship that tries to control the political use of heritage by technical intervention of the EHL legal and policy instruments (Smith, 2011)

The second confirmation was related to the first one. Harrison (2012) finds a direct relation of such professionalization with the bureaucratization of heritage. Indeed the EU sets a great number of bureaucratic procedures, and each procedure embodies complicated and time taking activities which exceeds the capacity of the site managements.

The third confirmation was about the exclusion of communities, groups and individuals from actively making the European heritage. They are put into passive audience status that have minimal power in determining or influencing the European significance or the 'project' or the 'work plan'. They are only subjected to understand and cherish the meaning of the site by educational activities. Education and awareness raising also embodies the dignified manner to the values of Europe. Such seriousness has also affected the approach to tourism. The thesis revealed the intention of the EU actors to distance the EHL from tourism. Such intention is related to the "… fears of the potential commodification, or Disneyfication, of the past." (Smith, 2011 p.10).

As a consequence, the activities which are put forth by the EU became obstacles for raising discussion and producing heritage actively in the present (Harrison, 2012) which seems to contradict with the new heritage approach. This is also hindered by the continuation of monumental and tangible understanding of heritage among the actors. The EHL list explicitly demonstrates the preconceptions of the actors which are discussed in Chapter 4.1.

However the actors, who involved actively in making of the EHL, formed relatively unofficial and dynamic practices along the way. Temporary networks can be counted as one of them. Networks are formed as temporary events which take less effort and time. These attributes make them relatively flexible. The networks create dynamism in which the experiences and the impacts of the sites could extend over national territories. Due to their flexibility, temporary

networks have the potential to respond to contemporary discussions and the present needs. The active production of heritage in the present regarding the needs of the contemporary society is what Harrison (2012) proposes for heritage practices. The networks have the potential to become hybrid forums (Harrison, 2012) in which dialogical democracy is established between experts, politicians and bureaucrats. This also indicates that the hierarchical, bottom-up approach of EU institutions could be turned to a more flat and equivalent structure. Networks are the most compatible tools for the new heritage approach that needs a lot of participation and involvement of diverse actors. Instead of taking advantage of such momentum and produce heritage actively in the present, the EU actors tend to stabilize the networks. Networking is desired to be organized more structurally and permanently by the EU actors which seems to line it up in accustomed bottom-up approach.

The EU institutions should take notice of the inconsistencies between the new heritage approach and the activities they establish for realizing it. In order to resolve the inconsistencies, the EU institutions should firstly let the temporary networks to form their own dynamism freely. The other important issue is that the EU institutions should create a number of different tools for participation and community involvement. Preliminary efforts for participation can be found within the sites like Camp Westerbork (See in Chapter 4.3) but they are rather initiated with the individual efforts of site managements.

Following Harrison's (2012) actor network theory and Smith's (2011) making heritage concept, the most significant contribution of the thesis to the existing literature is analyzing the EHL as a "fundamental quality of experience of the material (and hence social) world." (Harrison, 2012, p.217). The thesis showed that the EHL involves several actors which are engaged in dialogical relations. These relations are established by social processes and performances within the institutional levels, communities and the individuals.

The actors which are analyzed within the scope of the thesis are the EU institutions, the national actors, the site managers, the list itself, the procedures of the action, the networks created by individual sites, the panel members, the panel decisions, the tools that are created for communication, the community of professionals and individuals.

However there are also other actors that 'make' (Smith, 2011) the EHL such as the people visit heritage sites and in particular people who involved to the educational activities of the sites.

The thesis excluded these actors due to time and length restrictions. This shows that further inquiry is necessary to understand the motivations, experiences and activities of these actors.

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Appendix 1: Overview of the respondents

- Interview with the European Heritage Panel Chairperson; Ms. Smithson. Two hours and fifteen minutes.
    > She is a cultural heritage professional in architecture background, also experienced in UNESCO, World heritage. This Panel is independent advisory body which is responsible to evaluate the applications and suggests the sites which can be included or rejected. It prepares reports including the reasons for inclusion and rejection. Panel also carries the monitoring processes. Monitoring is developed to follow the realization of the project. Project is slated during application by site managements.

- Interview with the policy officer of EHL in European Commission: Ms. Kater. One and a half hour.
    > She is experienced in education programmes of the EU (Erasmus + and Lifelong learning programme). She has become responsible from the EHL since March. European Commission is in charge of bureaucratic procedures and to develop communication tools for the EHL (videos, advertisement, slogan, and exhibition)

- Interview with the national coordinator of the EHL in the Netherlands: Mr. Vrijes. One hour and fifteen minutes.
    > He is a heritage expert working in the National Heritage Agency of the Netherlands. He is also experienced in the World Heritage Sites of the Netherlands. He is responsible to help sites to fill in the application forms. He assists them to understand the expectations of the Panel and the European Commission during application and monitoring. He also arranges yearly meetings with the assigned sites in the Netherlands. He also participates to network meetings in European Level.

- Interview with the Head of International Cultural Policy & Coordination of DutchCulture: Ms. Fenigar. Half an hour.
    > DutchCulture is ''the network and knowledge organization for international cultural cooperation.'' It is funded by both Government of the Netherlands (Ministries of Foreign Affair and Culture) and European Commission (for European Activities). Together with the National Coordinator, she helps applicant sites during application and monitoring process. She participates to network meetings in European Level.

- Interview with one of the employee of Cultural Affairs of Carnegie Foundation, Peace Place who is responsible from the EHL activities; Ms. Wienga Half an hour.
    > She is the person who manages the heritage related activities.

- Interview with one of the employee of Province of Limburg Communication Department: Ms. Darling. Half an hour.

She is not the responsible person for the management of the EHL. She is assigned to make guided tours. She accompanied me during my field trip. I did the interview during our tour in the building.

Email Responses

- Response from the manager of Communication Department of Province of Limburg: Mr. Sijon. He is the responsible person for the EHL activities. He promised to interview with me but he quitted. He posted me one page answer to proposed questions.
- Response from the Coordinator of Education Office of Camp Westerbork: Ms. Tejik. She is the responsible person for the EHL activities. She posted me two pages answer to proposed questions.

Appendix 2: Interview Guides

1. **Interview guide for EU actors**
- How does the European Union perceives the common European identity and shared heritage?
- What is the role of the EHL within the broader frame of cultural programs of the EU and what are the relations between them.
- How unity in divertiy approach is implemented in the EHL
- Could you define the dynamic model of heritage governance that is indicated in the Panel reports
- How could the EHL could enhance the networks of the sites
- In which ways do you think the EHL is different from World Heritage Sites or the Representative list of intangible hertage
- How can the EHL could contribute to the national heritage policies
- What are the features that give a place its European character?
- What are the common European values, history, and memory that are displayed at the site and how they are represented within selected sites today?
- How the does the procedures are operated by the EU institutions

2. **Interview guide for national actors**
- How does the European Union perceives the common European identity and shared heritage?
- What is common European values and shared history that is perceived by the Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands?
- How does the European Union use the European Heritage Label to construct a collective European cultural identity?
- How does this complement the national identity in the case of the Netherlands?
- How does this complement to other labels such as World Heritage List or Intangible heritage list in the case of the Netherlands?
- How the selection criteria in national level is operated by the Ministry of the Netherlands?
- What are the features that give a place its European character?
- What are the common European values, history, and memory that are displayed at the site and how they are represented within selected sites today?
- How the monitoring of the sites in national level is operated by the Ministry of the Netherlands?
- What are the future programmes of the National Heritage Agency about the Label?
- What are the future programmes to enhance the Europeanness notion of the sites?

3. **Interview guide for site managers**
- What were the main motivations for applying to the European Heritage Label and because Peace Palace is important all over the World; do you think to apply to World Heritage List ?

- What are the common European values, history, and memory that are displayed at the site and in which ways they are represented?
- How does the European Heritage Label will complement to the values and significance of the site?
- What are the future programmes to enhance the European dimension of the site?
- Are you developing or looking for a network within the EHL?
- Are the bureaucratic processes of the EHL explicit? How do you operate these processes?
- In which ways you changed the management and your on-going activities?

Appendix 3: Overview of the Field Work

<u>Camp Westerbork</u>
- Guided tours of Camp Westerbork are in Dutch. So the researcher couldn't make any guided tour. Instead of that:
- Visited the Museum and the camp area. Took notes about the display and made interviews with visitors. This field trip is done in March 2019
- Participated to an activity which was a memorial gathering in the Memorial Centre concerning the Moluccian-period. That was also in Dutch but the researcher had the opportunity to talk with participants, made observations about general audience behaviors and interactions with each other. The event took place in March 2019
- So researcher went to Camp Westerbork two times and spent two afternoons (around 8 hours) at the site.

<u>Peace Palace:</u>
- Researcher did two guided tours. Each tour researcher took notes about the content of the tour, the reactions and the questions of the visitors also the narrative of the tour guide. Taking photographs was forbidden within the tour. Before and after the guided tours researcher made observations in the visitor's center. Took photos of small exhibition within it and made small interviews (lasted around 5 minutes) with visitors.
- So researcher went to the Peace Palace for two times and spent two afternoons (around 8 hours) at the site.

<u>Maastricht Treaty</u>
- Visited the Province Building of Limburg which is associated with Maastricht Treaty. The copy of the Treaty is displayed at the Province Building. In the morning researcher toured with the guidance of Ms Darling. Took photos of the building and made an interview with her.
- At the same day researcher participated to another guided tour with a different guide (city guide) and a student group. Took notes about the behaviors and questions of the visitors. Took notes about the content of the tour.
- So researcher went to the Maastricht Treaty for one time and spent a total day in the Province Building (around 5 hours).
- Researcher also made a quick trip in the city and tried to capture the sings of Europeanness of the city. (Application is closely related to the city of Maastricht)

Appendix 4. Code List
Making the EHL

- Narrating European significance in application
- Application order
- Application form
- Auxiliary support for app.
- App. Experience
- Dependence on application
- Help applying
- Check the application
- Enormous application process
- Demotivating factor: EHL takes a lot of time
- Not easy to get in the list
- In application asses the success
- Assessment criteria's given to sites
- Enthusiastic in application
- Application is time taking
- Rawness of first experiences
- Not knowing what to do
- Sites are not aware
- Intermediary role of national coordinator
- Warn to site manager
- Intermediary role of DutchCulture
- Discuss together with national coordinator
- Discuss sites proposal in national level
- Offer to sites
- Reactive in processes
- Experienced in EU education prog.
- Being Neophyte
- Experience sharing within experts(panel)
- Gatekeeping role of Panel
- Panel look only for 3 criteria (but criteria's are interpreted by panel members!!)
- Criteria's are precise
- Panel meetings also future plans
- Inner-dynamics of Panel
- Brainstorming is the spirit of Panel
- Search for consensus
- Diverse panel members
- Diverse experts in Panel
- Differs according to several parameters.
- People from intangible heritage studies
- Discussions about European sig. among panel
- Site visits of panel
- Assessment on document level and on spot.

- Strong arguments to be accepted
- Democratic panel discussions
- Everybody is listened
- Closed meetings
- Reports took a lot of effort
- Panel implements 2011 law
- Panel changes every year
- Panel members need to familiarize
- Interpretation of the law
- Vision for future in panel meetings
- Also for evaluation
- Panel should progress
- Database of experts
- Difference in choosing panel members
- Fresh expertise
- Effective position of the Panel Chairperson
- Following up Previous researches
- Assistance to research
- Close collaboration with Chairperson
- 2011 decision as legal basis
- 2011 text is bible
- Diversity in making the law
- Text proposal prepared by Commission
- Result of compromise
- Loss of consistency
- Consensus on text
- Legal responsibilities of the EU Commission
- Denial of gatekeeping role of the Panel
- Two staged selection
- EU is aware of different approaches
- Consulting public opinion
- Commission's Shared responsibility with the Panel
- Being Neophyte
- Bottom-up approach
- Bottom up in Nat level
- Self-experience
- Empathy
- Personal experience with EHL sites
- Capacity Building
- Evaluation period
- Evaluation outcomes
- Evaluation is independent
- Evaluation meeting
- Suggestion to share application forms

- Handy for new ones
- Demanding process
- Field work
- Disbelieve to revoke the Label
- Comparison with other EU programmes.
- Dependence on National Level
- Dependent to member states
- Priority to selection
- Knowledge lack among EU institutions
- Site directors are important to implement
- Operating capacity needs expertise.
- High bureaucratic procedure

EU official approach/intentions
- House of European History as accepted official history
- Magnitude of the responsibility
- Intention is not marking out the sites
- The 'gate' concept
- Integrity of the list
- Map is static
- Should be represented by net
- Clearing for citizens and sites
- Supportive role of other EU programmes
- Rail passes to young people
- Overflow from national level
- Including in curriculums
- Integrity of diverse programs
- Unity in diversity
- Reminding values
- Remember the value of EU
- Cooperation with European History
- Participation
- Introducing EU to sites
- Awareness rising
- Create awareness in sites
- Creative Europe Program
- Relate to Other EU educational prog.
- Sites cannot link themselves to other programmes of EU
- Passes messages
- No reason for cancelling the EHL
- In the case of canceling that would be political message
- Success is up to EU
- Brussels cares for us
- EHL is the action of EU

- Signposting rather than justification
- Fundamental tool is labelling
- Link to national educational institutions
- Teach in national education agencies
- EHL will be long lasting
- State building understanding (EHL is not that)
- A form of anachronism (get rid of)
- Be careful state build. / anachronism
- Not sufficiently underscored by citizens
- EHL is not propaganda of EU
- EHL is not publicity for EU
- Respect to citizens
- EU is not delivering Euroepannes through EHL
- New governance model
- No prejudice in EHL
- EHL will influence civil society and sites
- Not to happen again (war)
- Same European spirit everywhere
- Hierarchy between countries in spirit?
- Connect countries by telling stories
- Time to tell stories

National actors intentions
- Peace is the symbol of Dutch Government and traditions
- Netherlands as neutral country
- Netherlands responded because of its tradition
- Proud to obtaining labels
- Took 4 years to get another label.
- Netherlands is respectively have more sites
- Four themes in Netherlands; law; money and trademanship; culture and sport and finally mobility and makeability
- Decisive role of Dutch Culture among politics

EHL history
- Older Label
- EHL started in 2006
- Netherlands was critical about EU
- Vote against Lisbon Treaty
- In beginning Netherlands didn't joined EHL
- Launching in Avignon
- France believe in this concept
- Tool kit started from 2006

EU Intentions perceived by national actors

- Creating EU history
- Interest in heritage within EU
- EU looks for common ground
- Economic story is not enough
- Define what binds us as a continent
- List will give EU an identity
- Sharing heritage in the EU
- Encourage critical thinking
- Brussels is not stilling national values

European significance
- Seeing international visitors as a factor of Europeannes
- International law
- Humanitarianism and peace
- Cooperation of Nations
- European personalities
- Peace project
- City of peace and justice (Hague)
- Consensus of being European
- Focus on European story
- Linking site to European story
- Link to European story
- Peace movement
- People of Peace Movement
- Freedom, democracy as Eur. values
- Creation of EU as one of the European significance
- Abstract European value
- Being the first in history
- Base is Eur. Sig.
- Moving beyond national values
- Categorization of sites
- Against categorization
- Need more categorization
- More themes
- Chronological approach
- War times
- Europe is in your doorstep
- Common history in hometown
- More layered history
- Peace Place and Westerbork at the same time
- New thinking and the change of mindset Peace Place (But it was before Camp Westerbork)
- Peace Palace and Camp Westerbork are twins
- Same message the two sites give

- Multilayered history of Camp Westerbork
- Camp Westerbork dark site
- Panel intervened in the application of Camp Westerbork
- Conflicted issues between Molucan community and Dutch people
- Conflicted issues between Molucan community and Dutch people
- Sad history of Molucans
- Show history not just black and white
- Worried of the Camp Westerbork display
- Glasshouse divides normal place from horror but that was not the case
- There are more famous camps (compared to Camp Westerbork)
- Should be the place to discuss that imp story
- Netherlands is not a place to discuss WWII
- Netherlands was neutral
- Outstanding example of an important part of European history
- Significance is related to pulling effect
- Panel interprets European sig.
- No schema for European sig. before
- Testimony to dark elements but positive outcomes
- Solidarity, resilience, beauty
- Value of Franja hospital
- People from past wanted to tell the story
- ''Panel would be tempted only to focus on the recent moment of the history.''
- All periods are important
- Timeline to find the gap
- The reason for unclearness is European sig. is new
- Citizens and applicants should think
- Pseudo-European significance
- Creating myths
- Discover intangible meaning
- Tartu reflects enlightenment
- Tartu University as connections of universities
- Continuity in sites
- Immediately related to European values
- Symbolic value is related to scale
- Vienna applied to be perceived as single entity
- We share same history
- Guidelines includes values
- Values are broad but not vague
- Cannot prescribe to site holder
- Sites will tell the story
- ''It should be a place we are overall European feeling can be found. ''
- Believing the roles of places in history
- Sites are stepping stones
- Contributed to what is Europe today

- Democracy
- Idea of democracy influenced other countries
- Peace Palace contributed to construct Europe without war
- Schengen and authenticity

History
- EHL is putting things in a wider context
- No single answer
- History of European powers is not EU today
- We want a total history
- Diverse history
- Present history with its diverse meanings
- Depart from 19th century history making
- Receive presentism
- Holistic perception of history
- You can't change past
- Responsibility is to look past in open eyes
- Some history is wishful thinking
- Permanent basis is more important than being the first
- Draw attention to different facts
- Some values are steady
- Statistical distribution of goats curve (interpretation)
- But additional perspectives exist
- Criteria of EHL: part of Eur history and integration
- Room for interpretation
- Subjectiveness of the history
- Reality of history
- History is not a construction
- Truth is essential in history
- You can construct a story around something that existed.
- Heritage is true, a proof
- Coins in the wallets are real

What is the EU
- EU is more than economics
- EU as peace project
- Confusion of the concepts of Europe and the EU
- Brussels as separate entity
- Duality of citizens and Brussels
- On spot
- Beyond local and national
- What is EU?
- Misperceptions about EU
- Triangle of main institutions

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- European Parliament and Council of Minister jointly decide
- Democratic
- There is no Brussels
- EU is democratic
- Excuses for unconformity among European politicians
- I obtained from Brussels
- ''Brussels imposed''
- EU institutions are democratic
- European project brings everyday benefits
- Europeans should cherish
- Up to citizens
- Things change rapidly
- Europe is not falling apart
- Europe become more united after Brexit
- All countries different perspective about the EU
- Longest period of peace
- Thanks to European institutions
- time since 1945, there is no real war
- Europe was not economic
- EU is a peace project
- War times was exactly the same Syria
- Political constellation is changing in Europe
- Europe integration
- Two camps
- Monitory union and integration
- Related to post war period
- Europe is in your pocket
- But you don't think about Europe
- Taking things granted
- Do something for Europe
- ''You have to believe in European principles''
- Pay the price: Solidarity, extra money and cultural injections to get a balance between countries
- To make a balance between different countries

Audience
- Young people as main target
- Including children
- Citizens
- Older generations are more aware
- Locals and European audience
- Focus on young
- Make young people active
- Young generation is more aware of present

- Old generation knows more about EU benefits
- People who are not used to
- Audiences are different in sites Main audience is European students
- Camp Westerbork old audience
- Peace Palace international visitors

European Comission role and
- Knowledge about the EHL
- Contributing to the promotion of EHL
- Notice of audience about the EHL
- International notice about the EHL
- Promotion of the EHL in national level
- Branding & Communication
- New communication tools
- Virtual connection
- Virtual reality
- Communication with citizens
- Tendency not to direct audience
- Need for communication
- Needs more visibility
- EHL for communication
- EHL exhibition as advertising tool in the sites.
- Not much advertising in national level
- Need for branding
- Commission and Parliament members are not promoting the EHL much
- Need the use of social media
- Social media
- Web-sites are static but referential
- Put in Wikipedia
- Communication tools are a little weak
- Communicate about history and values
- Normal people are not aware of the list
- Heritage community knows the list
- Communicate the audience
- Videos should be improved
- Videos get better because panel gave feedback
- Focus to the reason why you get the label
- Panel is not responsible for communication
- Communication of label is not perfect
- Hints to commission (about com.)
- Hints to sites (about com.)
- Staff training
- Guides should talk about EHL
- Want to share story with citizens

- Include in media
- EHL is announced through web-site
- Civil people don't know much
- Should be more communication and advertising
- People don't know
- Cannot expect the average people to knew
- Takes time to be known

Benefits of sites
- Enhance the site
- Contributing to the promotion of the site
- Benefit of the EHL
- Reinforcement of operating capacities
- Goodwill from regional governments
- Sites get recognition
- Peace Palace has a continuing project
- Label will not make any difference on that (peace palace)
- For Camp Westerbork European dimension is more important

Maastricht nomination
- Toughest job is for Maastricht
- Limited accessibility of Maastricht
- Starters in heritage
- Conditions are difficult for Maastricht
- Treaty needed to be told
- Authenticity in Maastricht
- Suggestions for display
- Bodily Performance Change the routes
- Seriousness of Province Building
- Is not publicly accessible
- Maastricht is different than other two
- Large step forward in time Maastricht
- Maastricht important city
- Parliament building is important for region
- Lent to European Commission
- Island
- Parliament is heart
- Island is secure
- Guides are diverse
- City guides
- Tourism rose after Treaty
- University groups
- European students

- Maastricht was not known before Treaty
- Tours are free
- Hospitable tours
- Schools and universities
- Can't walk alone
- Government Building
- Copy, authenticity
- Visitor behaviors
- Accessibility
- International visitors
- Book is associated with place
- Euro is important
- Europe in pocket
- Older knew difference
- Young people as the main target
- European neighbors
- Euro is daily important
- Euro made it easier
- Simple example to tell the story
- Security in the beginning of EU
- Multilingual treaty
- The EHL exhibition part of the tour
- Variety of sites
- Visitors search for their national site
- Happy with EHL exhibition
- Exhibition adds to tour
- City guides are also guiding
- Cities story is integrated with EU
- History is linked
- University
- International students
- International students
- 'Working on Europe' project
- City of Europe
- Being proud of European
- Maastricht has advantages
- Transportation
- Island
- New building
- Close conference center
- Maastricht has advantages
- Big demonstrations while negotiations.
- Remembering the period
- Island as Castle

- Multilingual city
- European city
- Accessibility is easy
- Entrance from island imp.
- No hierarchy among member states
- Building is our
- Having enough representatives of Europe
- There are EU signs in the city
- Students are interested in Treaty and Parliament

Rejected sites
- Sites don't see their potential
- Tribute to rejected sites
- Every applicant site is important
- Story of House Doren
- Story of different monarchies of Europe
- Council for Culture rejected
- Gatekeeping role of Council for Culture
- Joint discussion with DutchCulture
- Decisive role of Council for Culture
- Main reason for rejection is the European values.
- Site holders are disappointed when they are rejected.
- One site insisted
- Rejection of Schunck Palace
- Related to founding fathers
- Desire to become a city of Europe; Heerlen
- Rejection of House Doren
- Tell the story of neutrality
- Rejection of Keramich Workcentrum
- Claims of Eur Sig: One of the first goods
- Who rejected

Delisting
- Criteria's to be delisted
- Ideally sites keep the label
- In theory it can lose label
- Hesitate to remove big sites from label

Monitoring
- Keeping up criteria's
- Panel is monitoring
- Monitoring as exercise
- Couching and dialogue rather assessing
- Presentations of sites

- Monitoring as a network meeting
- Need a methodology for monitoring
- Make it democratic
- Resistance to bureaucracy
- Main criteria's: progress and continuity
- Hints before monitoring
- Applicable for all sites
- Involve all stakeholders
- Keeping up the 'promises' is criteria for continuing
- Inspector role of Brussels; find out wrongs and missing
- Strong performance of the Netherlands
- Monitoring experience
- Brussels perceived like an examination committee

Relation with national heritage policies
- Some countries could be influenced
- Approach from nationalistic governments
- Budgets are being cut
- Governments won't spend so much for Europeannes
- More liberal governments will approach differently
- Contribute little to National heritage policies
- Agency has its own agenda
- EHL work small

Motivations of the site managers
- Sites want to be recognized
- Help protection
- Show others
- Audiences from European countries
- Apply for prestige
- For our town
- Just glory/symbolic values
- Motivated for having values

Project criterion
- Importance of the project criteria
- On-going projects
- Expansion of projects
- Concentrate to the EHL project
- Interpretation for visitors
- Audience oriented management
- Focus to the project
- Education emphasis
- Goes along with education

- Add pedagogical activities
- Project
- Creative sector
- Refugee's project
- My Europe, My New Home
- Project as criteria
- Project is rejection reason
- Project and work plan differentiation came from different heritage legislations
- Confusion about work plan and project
- It was clear for who negotiated
- Things take time
- Web-sites
- Multilingualism
- Project is 4 years
- Most of the projects are long term in content
- Experts from education area
- Memory game of the EHL
- Creative industry
- Future plans are in applications
- Next four years
- Projects are about: communication, marketing, education

Networks
- Network development
- Network meetings in EU level
- Organizing joint events with other sites
- Broadening national level
- Beyond national practices
- Difficulties about working with different sites
- Differences with the other sites
- Links with other sites
- Meeting in National level
- Organizing events jointly in National level
- Internal contact in National level
- Contact about researchers
- Lack of joint events In national level
- First and last event in the beginning in national level
- Auxiliary support
- Informing each other
- Every site is unique
- Comparison with other sites
- Reaching to a consensus in National level
- Internal balance in National Level
- Wish to become an active site in network

- Contact with national coordinator
- Bringing sites in network.
- Cooperation projects
- Need for network enhancement
- Uneven capacity among sites
- Multilingual aspect
- Components of network
- New caretaker for network
- Structuralizing network
- Sites are now isolated
- We are in part of something more
- Real benefit network
- Impromptu networking
- Sharing diverse approaches
- Common projects
- International cultural collaboration
- Step out from bubble
- Export knowledge
- Enrich work
- Network
- Make sure of connection (dutchculture)
- Differences approaching to EHL
- Network
- Diverse theme ups
- Learn from each other
- Interaction
- Network will grow
- Linking themes
- Develop team up and anchors
- Legal adjustments according to network
- Keeping alive the momentum
- Network also helps to make them link to other eu programmes
- Cooperation with completely different sites
- Sites have connections. They should enhance the connections.

Raising discussion
- Deriving to think about European history
- Rethinking of Europeannes
- Raising discussion
- Discussions about what is European history
- Different interpretation of the list
- On-going discussion about EHL
- Diverse histories of nation states
- Discussions among Panel experts

- Critical look of panel members
- High quality of discussions
- Label as conservation opener
- Think tanks
- Conversation about contested heritage
- Every heritage from Netherlands is contested
- Conversation in international level
- Pointing controversial issues
- Critical of Maastricht interpretation
- Discussions of being in EU
- Can't look a great step
- Maastricht as debate for reflection
- Looking through debates as heritage policy in the Netherlands
- Cultural class article is introduces in Maastricht
- Grow as a center of reflection and debate
- Maastricht authenticity
- Dialogue ensures solving problems
- Braveness to open up dialogue
- Consequences can be brake ups
- Big sites were thinking
- Sites think their Eur. sig.
- Invite to think is added value of EHL
- Time, geography, relations topics to think
- Attract attention from researchers
- ''We have stirred something''
- People think critically
- Steer relational thinking
- EHL is about asking questions
- Sites provide the background of today's political problems
- See in a wider background
- Astonished to discover
- Immigrants and Hungary Sopron
- Sites are not aware (of present imp)
- Not the role of the panel(present discussions)
- Jury (panel) is independent
- Using it is the role of politicians
- Raising discussion is priceless
- EHL does not say to look for
- Deepen the understanding of the site
- Journey of discovery
- Eur. and Net. have to face with difficult history

Justification of the EU
- Obama and Athens example

- American president values European heritage
- Confirmation of Europe is a peaceful place by authority

Unesco and other labels
- Comparison with UNESCO
- Togetherness of the EHL and WHL
- Confusing Universal/European significance
- Comparison with WHL
- Suitability to WHL
- Architectural significance in WHL
- Comparison with other sites in the WHL
- Limiting the numbers
- No need for competition
- List will be ended in 200 (netherlands)
- This might be us
- Seek for geographical balance
- Balance of numbers
- Relation with other transnational org.
- No limit in final list
- Values are prior
- Informing among other labels
- Collaboration with other labels
- European cultural routes
- Comparison with different labels
- EHL is about story
- Value project
- WHC is outstanding architectural value
- WHC bias
- We don't care the beauty or specialness
- Unesco is for preservation
- No preserving in EHL
- Diverse types of heritage
- Tangible, intangible
- Focus is presenting
- Presentation is important
- Be bolder in difference
- WHC is not the same
- Criteria's are completely different
- WHL is about architecture
- UNESCO intervenes when disrupted
- Brussels wont intervene for protection
- WHL is also not so much known
- Netherlands is in WH for 45 years
- WHL effect tourism demand

- Pull effect of WHL
- Main target is not tourism
- Take action for over tourism
- WH is about architecture
- Peace palace is not unique regarding aesthetics
- Culture is mostly about stones
- Other heritage types included
- Meaning is crucial
- Is not important regarding architecture
- It's not about tangibility
- If a site is destructed label won't be losed

Dominant heritage preconceptions
- Attitude differences
- Tangible cultural objects all over world (peace palace)
- Notice of heritage community about the EHL
- Legal basis is influenced by World heritage system
- UNESCO ambiguous attitudes towards EHL
- In favor taking the work pressure
- Then more reluctant
- Don't want competition
- WHL-EHL influence each other
- Inflation of the numbers is a lesson
- Influence WHL by contextualizing
- Introduce deeper understanding
- Value based approach
- Interaction of different type of heritage with built environment
- Some other labels are also open to types
- Difference is network
- All schemes influence each other
- Holistic approach is included in AHD texts
- On-going discussions among professionals
- Continuation between heritage and contemporary creation
- Not biggest, beautiful or OUV

Universal values
- Seeing international visitors as a factor of being universal.
- Universality of the site
- Losing the label
- Threat of losing the label
- Confusing Universal/European significance
- International collaboration while building Peace Palace
- You cannot be blamed to integrate universal values in your treaties
- Arrogant to say these are our values

- Other regions are doing it also
- Nobody prevents them to adopt universal values
- Combat cultural relativism
- A lot people don't have access to human rights
- Contribution from all regions of world
- We didn't have all that values in the past
- EHL values shared in Europe
- Not in Universe

Stakeholders
- Main stakeholders are not heritage community
- Building is functioning actively as court.
- University and Brue Europa as partners

Identity and Politics
- Disturbance about identity issue.
- Contemporary debates about identity in different countries
- No single definition of Europeannes
- Concerns of contemporary nationalistic movements
- Up-coming populism
- Self-identity
- Sites are proud Convinced Europeans
- They defend European values
- Identity is about politics
- Dimensions of identity: what I am, what I want to be, How I am perceived
- Use heritage wrong way
- Contradictions between communities
- No hierarchies between heritages of communities
- Disturbance to talk about identity
- Encourage the feeling national identity is lost for Europeanness
- Identity is hype
- Identity is a tendency to popularize extremes
- No importance hierarchy among countries
- Everybody has own identity
- Europeannes won't replace national identity
- Identity has connections with culture
- Roots
- Many shared stories between identities

Tourism Approach
- Distancing from tourism
- Visitor seek for other sites
- Impact on tourism
- Tourism as an impact
- Tourism for development

- Marking out can enhance tourism
- Tourism is part of the application
- Tourism connected to other parameters
- Accessibility
- Pulling effect
- Could raise tourism demand
- Distancing from tourism
- Tourism is mentioned in legal basis
- EHL can't do everything
- Strategies for accessibility
- Innovative ways to access
- Sustainability
- Response to reduce traveling
- Apart from physical how will you reach?
- Power of books
- Media tourism
- Camp Westerbork is also difficult to access

Weaknesses of the EHL
- Not all EU states joined to EHL
- Limited with EU members
- Geographical limitation
- Missing funds
- Including all member states
- Uneven geographic spread
- More sites
- Need for impact study
- Now bonded with Creative Europe prog.
- Not knowing what to do
- Youngness of the EHL
- Creative industry is preferential in EU
- Firsts are pilot
- Won't affect the tourism demand of big sites
- Could affect tourism demand in small sites
- Accept the loads from beginning
- For some sites Label is not interesting enough
- Anna Frank House is one of the sites that are wanted to be introduced.
- Van Gogh is another site that is wanted to be introduced.

Critics to the EHL
- Listing is exclusion
- List gives privilege to sites
- Critics to slogan 'Europe starts from here'
- Slogan is diplomatic

- Not enough support
- Shouldn't be the promotion of EU
- Hope to mature
- Videos are English
- Still 19th-century history writing
- No incentive
- Takes a lot of courage
- Some hitches in network
- Things don't change easily
- Small tool kit: Exhibition, meetings
- Missing of infrastructure
- Brussel should help
- More tools and organize different things

Diversity
- Diverse sites
- Diverse heritage types
- Diversity: cultures are next to one another

Appendix 5. List of the EHL sites in detail

SCALE	COUNRY	NAME	Nomination date	Type	Theme 1	Historic Period	Other Nominations
		Archaeological Site of Carnuntum, PETRONELL-CARNUNTUM	2013	Archeological Site	Forerunners of the EU 1	Antiquity	
	AUSTRIA	Imperial Palace, VIENNA	2015	Architectural Heritage	Forerunners of the EU 1	Middle Ages	
		Mundaneum, MONS	2015	Architectural Heritage and Cultural objects	Intellectuality and Education 3	Modern	UNESCO World Heritage (cultural)
	BELGIUM	Bois du Cazier, MARCINELLE 2017	2017	Place of Remembrance (Industrial Site)	Human rights, Democracy and Freedom 4	Modern	
	CROATIA	Neanderthal Prehistoric Site and Krapina Museum, HUŠNJAKOVO/KRAPINA	2015	Archeological Site	Discovery and Science 3	Prehistoric	
	CZECH REPUBLIC	Olomouc Premyslid Castle and Archdiocesan Museum, OLOMOUC	2015	Architectural Heritage	Forerunners of the EU 1	Middle Ages	
		Great Guild Hall, TALLINN	2013	Architectural Heritage	Trade and Dialogue 1	Middle Ages	
	ESTONIA	Historic Ensemble of the University of Tartu, TARTU	2015	Architectural Heritage and institution	Intellectuality and Education 3	Early Modern and Modern	Tartu Observatory World Heritage (Natural)
		Abbey of Cluny, CLUNY	2014	Architectural Heritage	Intellectuality and Education 3	Middle Ages	
		Robert Schuman's House, SCY-CHAZELLES	2014	Architectural Heritage	History of the EU 1	Modern	
	FRANCE	European District of Strasbourg, STRASBOURG	2015	Urban Landscape	History of the EU 1	Modern	
	GERMANY (National Thematic)	Sites of the Peace of Westphalia (1648), MÜNSTER AND OSNABRÜCK	2014	Place of Remembrance	Concelation, and Diplomacy 2	Early Modern	
		Hambach Castle, HAMBACH	2014	Architectural Heritage and Social Activity	Human rights, Democracy and Freedom 4	Modern	
	GERMANY	Leipzig's Musical Heritage Sites, LEIPZIG	2017	Architectural Heritage and Trail	Arts and culture 4	Middle Ages	

SCALE	COUNRY	NAME	Nomination date	Type	Theme 1	Historic Period	Other Nominations
INTERGOVERMENTAL	GREECE	Heart of Ancient Athens, ATHENS	2014	Archeological Site	1 Forerunners of the EU	Antiquity	UNESCO World Heritage (cultural)
		Pan-European Picnic Memorial Park, SOPRON	2014	Natural Landscape Place of Remembrance	4 Human rights, Democracy and Freedom	Modern	
		Franz Liszt Academy of Music, BUDAPEST	2015	Architectural Heritage and institution	4 Arts and culture	Modern	
	HUNGARY	Dohány Street Synagogue Complex, BUDAPEST	2017	Architectural Heritage	4 Human rights, Democracy and Freedom	Modern	Protective zone of the Budapest World Heritage Area
	ITALY	Alcide de Gasperi's House Museum, PIEVE TESINO	2014	Architectural Heritage	1 History of the EU	Modern	
		Fort Cadine, TRENTO	2017	Architectural Heritage	2 War and Conflict	Modern	
	LITHUANIA	Kaunas of 1919-1940, KAUNAS	2014	Urban Landscape Architectural Heritage	4 Arts and culture	Modern	
	LUXEMBURG	Village of Schengen, SCHENGEN	2017	Urban Landscape	1 History of the EU	Late Modern	
		Peace Palace, THE HAGUE	2013	Architectural Heritage and institution	2 Concelation, and Diplomacy	Modern	
		Camp Westerbork, HOOGHALEN	2013	Place of Remembrance	2 War and Conflict	Modern	
	NETHERLANDS	Maastricht Treaty, MAASTRICHT	2017	Cultural Object	1 History of the EU	Late Modern	
		Union of Lublin (1569),	2014	Cultural Object	1 Forerunners of the EU	Early Modern	
		3 May 1791 Constitution	2014	Cultural Object	4 Human rights, Democracy and Freedom Solidarity	Modern	
		Historic Gdańsk Shipyard, GDANSK	2014	Industrial Site Place of Remembrance	2 Companianship	Modern	
	POLAND	World War I Eastern Front Wartime Cemetery No. 123, ŁUŻNA – PUSTKI	2015	Place of Remembrance	2 War and Conflict	Modern	

SCALE	COUNTRY	NAME	Nomination date	Type		Theme 1	Historic Period	Other Nominations
								UNESCO World Heritage (cultural)
		General Library of the University of Coimbra, COIMBRA	2014	Architectural Heritage and Cultural objects		3 Intellectuality and Education	Early Modern	
		Charter of Law for the Abolition of the Death Penalty, LISBON	2014	Cultural Object		4 Human rights, Democracy and Freedom	Modern	
	PORTUGAL	Sagres Promontory, SAGRES	2015	Cultural Landscape Architectural Heritage		3 Discovery and Science	Middle Ages	
	ROMANIA	Sighet Memorial, SIGHET	2017	Place of Remembrance		4 Human rights, Democracy and Freedom	Modern	
		Franja Parisan Hospital, CERKNO	2014	Architectural Heritage		2 Solidarity Companianship	Modern	
	SLOVENIA	Javorca Memorial Church and its cultural landscape, TOLMIN	2017	Cultural Landscape Architectural Heritage		2 Solidarity Companianship	Modern	
		Archive of the Crown of Aragon, BARCELONA	2014	Architectural Heritage and Cultural objects		3 Intellectuality and Science	Middle Ages	
	SPAIN	Student Residence or 'Residencia de Estudiantes', MADRID	2014	Architectural Heritage and Social Activity		3 Intellectuality and Education	Modern	
TRANSNATIONAL	GERMANY	Former Natzweiler concentration camp and its satellite camps	2017	Place of remembrance	2	War and Conflict	Modern	
	FRANCE				2			